LET'S CLEAR THE AIR!

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AIR POLLUTION
December 10-12, 1962 Washington 25, D.C.

Report of the Chairman, Panel A

THE AUTOMOBILE, THE TRUCK, AND THE BUS

WOLFGANG E. MEYER

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Public Health Service

Panel A--"The Automobile, The Truck and The Bus"--covered a wide range of subjects on air pollution from motor vehicles. The papers and discussions dealt with the pollutants that are emitted, the role and effects of these pollutants, control methods, public policy decisions, control programs and the impact on the motoring public.

Professor Meyer reported that it was not only the exhaust system of gasoline engines that discharges contaminants to the atmosphere. Another important path is through the engine crankcase. Also, fuel vapors escape through vents from the fuel tank and the carburetor.

Although many compounds are present in the exhaust those of greatest importance to air pollution are hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide and nitrogen oxides. On the other hand the major pollutants from the crankcase, fuel tank and carburetor are the hydrocarbons.

Measurements show that the exhaust and crankcase emissions are the most significant. Evaporative losses are believed to be relatively small in comparison to the others.

The diesel engine differs from the gasoline engine in a number of respects. It uses heavier fuel, it normally operates at higher air-fuel ratios and it has a different fuel supply and fuel ignition systems. These as well as other design factors produce important changes in combustion processes and consequently in exhaust emissions. Diesel exhausts are lower in hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide than exhausts of gasoline engines, but are slightly higher in nitrogen oxides.

Diesel blowby gases contain only small quantities of pollutants because the diesel compresses air only. And since the diesel uses volatile fuel, evaporative losses from the fuel tank are low. No vapor escapes from the fuel supply systems because these are closed from the atmosphere.

However, diesel engines present more serious problems of smoke and odors as compared to gasoline engines. Manufacturers of diesels go to great pains to insure as complete combustion of fuel as possible and a properly maintained diesel engine at part load rarely smokes. Black diesel exhaust smoke can largely be prevented by proper maintenance, operation and control of injected fuel.

As we all know diesels smell. The actual cause of the odor has not yet been defined or control methods developed. It is well to remember that poorly tuned gasoline engines can also generate a great deal of odor.

The total emission from a single vehicle is not large. It is important to keep in mind that it is the operation of great numbers of vehicles in one area that creates the air pollution problem.

Dr. Chambers made it clear that we cannot consider air pollution from motor vehicles and from other sources as entirely separate problems. Also that "total air pollution load" has little meaning without a knowledge of what constitutes this "total load". He pointed out that there is the need for further research on what happens to pollutants in the atmosphere and that it is difficult to precisely predict the effects of air pollution controls on air quality.

It is insufficient to eliminate any single source of pollution; all of them contribute to the objectionable qualities of a polluted atmosphere. In spite of current--and justifiable--concentration on abatement of vehicular pollutants, it is obvious that some kinds of pollution already recognized as objectionable of hazardous have little or no relationship to the automobile.

Dr. Chambers cautioned that the battle of air pollution cannot be finally won as long as the number of sources are increasing, just as the last schoolroom cannot be built as long as the number of students increases.

Dr. Nelson indicated that it was not possible to make accurate appraisals of economic loss but that this burden was great to the individual, to the community and to the nation. It is clear that the development of procedures for assessing economic loss badly needs increased effort.

Most of Dr. Nelson's attention was directed at the adverse effects of air pollution on vegetation and health. The damaging consequences of air pollution to crops, forests and ornamental plants have been known for a long time. In fact, it often is the first effect of air pollution that is noted. Annual smog damage in which motor vehicles play a prominent role has been currently estimated to be $8,000,000 in California. Similarly, damage to agricultural crops in the eastern part of the United States has been estimated at $18,000,000. It is believed this is mostly from ozone, again auto emissions are the suspects.

Turning to the effects of air pollution on man, one must first call

attention to the important contribution to odor and to eye irritation. Although these do not lead to actual disease, they are nevertheless of widespread concern.

Of great interest is the extent of health impairment resulting from the typical levels of air pollution found frequently in our major cities. At the onset it can be stated this question is a difficult one and precise answers will require research methods with a high degree of refinement. The difficulty in defining the health effects of air pollution results from the fact there is no specific air pollution disease. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that air pollution acts primarily through the exacerbation of existing disease.

Dr. Nelson commented that, although the complex problem of human health effects from air pollutants is not well defined, a number of very strong leads suggest association between air contaminants and disease. Moreover, extensive and careful research is now underway which gives indication of reinforcing these suggestions.

Although one cannot always clearly distinguish the role of auto emissions in these effects, plainly, this source is generally significant and often predominant.

Mr. Chandler reported on the work of the automobile industry in the control of motor vehicle emissions. Before development of control devices, it was necessary to obtain data on the emissions. The Automobile Manufacturers Association played a vital role in such studies. He pointed out the efforts of the automobile industry and others in seeking solutions to the motor vehicle emission problem. At present,

development of catalytic and flame-type afterburners continues and several such devices are undergoing test and evaluation.

The crankcase emission problem has been successfully resolved. In 1959 the Automobile Manufacturers Association announced that all 1961 model American automobiles sold in California would be equipped voluntarily with systems to effectively eliminate the crankcase as a source of hydrocarbons.

In this instance the solution was simple and involved applying systems that had been used for many years for crankcase ventilation in special application. Favorable experience in California led to the decision to install blowby devices on a nationwide basis when the U. S. Public Health Service stated this was desirable. In December of 1961, it was announced that 1963 American-made gasoline-powered vehicles would be equipped voluntarily with positive crankcase ventilation systems on a nationwide basis.

In the opinion of Mr. Chandler, a new dimension has now been added to the design of automobiles. In addition to the usual criteria for design of engines--performance, cost and fuel economy--has been added a fourth criterion--vehicle emissions.

Even if a new engine type with lower emissions is developed it will be some time before the engine will appear on new cars because of the time required for production engineering and tooling. Of more immediate importance is the reduction in emissions that can be achieved by modification of engines currently in production.

The automobile industry urges all communities with air pollution

problems in which motor vehicle emissions are important factors to consider the benefits that can be achieved through vehicle maintenance and inspection programs combined with positive crankcase emission systems.

The Honorable Paul F. Schenck discussed "Public Policy in Motor Vehicle Pollution Control". He posed a number of questions:

Should pollution from motor vehicles be controlled? If so to what extent and by whom? Is a national policy necessary or can satisfactory solutions be achieved by each of the 50 states?

In considering the need for public policy we must recognize that it is vital to maintain the quality of our air resources. This resource is not limitless and a growing population and expanding technology are placing added demands on the air resources.

The motor vehicle presents a different type of problem from the usual air pollution source. It is present in very large numbers and it is mobile.

Congressman Schenck asked who has the responsibility for air pollution from motor vehicles? The industry which produces them? The public which uses them? The government? He felt all three must share the burden.

The auto industry has a responsibility to develop motor vehicles with reduced emissions. The individual car owner has a responsibility to maintain his vehicle in good repair. Government must take steps to keep vehicles that discharge large quantities of pollutants off the road.

Congressman Schenck felt that, at the national level, government should exert vigorous leadership. It should stimulate the development of cars that do not pollute the air; it should support research; it should develop criteria to serve as bench marks for those who design engines; and it should shed light on what air pollution does to human health, to vegetation and to property.

Mr. Maga, in his discussion on "The Rationale of Motor Vehicle Emission Control", outlined the factors that must be considered in any such program. Among these factors are the concentration and volume of pollutants from motor vehicles, the total pollutants from vehicular and non-vehicular sources, the atmospheric concentration of contaminants, the adverse effects experienced, and the desired goal of air quality. The steps taken in California were cited as an example of an approach to the problem.

In California numerous studies demonstrated the need for control of motor vehicle emissions. The question was not, should this be done, but rather, how should it be done, and what legal and administrative steps were required. It was decided that the first step should be the establishment of air quality standards for communities. These standards, together with information on such things as emissions and atmospheric concentration of pollutants, were used to calculate motor vehicle emission standards.

The State Legislature required the Department of Public Health to set standards on air quality and on emission from vehicles. In the following year the Legislature established a State program for the

control of these emissions by requiring the installation of devices that comply with the emission standards. An independent Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board was created to carry out the control program. In the law are a number of safeguards to the public, and schedules for installation of devices after two or more have been found to meet the standards and the criteria of the Board. While California's program may not be one that each state should follow, most of the factors that were considered there will also have to be taken into account elsewhere.

Mr. Bright, a member of the California Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board, described the efforts of that Board and the problems inherent in a motor vehicle pollution control program. He reported that a great deal of progress has been made. The Board has approved a number of crankcase control devices and is currently testing several exhaust control devices. The Board proceeded with care and discretion in setting criteria to be followed by device manufacturers on longevity, effect on engine operation, safety and ability of the device to operate under a wide range of driving conditions. Each of these presented problems that had to be considered and resolved.

One of the most important problems will be that of enforcement and compliance. The present law is concerned with the initial installation of the control device. It does not include anything about inspection and enforcement. A committee of the Board is now developing a workable program to assure satisfactory operation of devices.

One of the considerations in enforcement is that once two or more

devices are certified they will be installed over a period of three years.

Mr. Bright emphasized that many factors must be taken into account by the motor vehicle administrators in addition to requirements of registration of a vehicle. The problem of enforcement is fairly simple for new vehicles but complex for used ones.

It is expected most of the questions on how to accomplish the inspection will be answered in the next few months. Some of the considerations included the use of licensed inspection stations, of windshield stickers and distinctive code entry on the vehicle registration to indicate presence of devices.

Mr. Marsh viewed motor vehicle emission control from the standpoint of the motoring public. He pointed out that the motoring public is a very large proportion of the American public--with three out of four families owning at least one motor vehicle.

The American public generally responds sensibly on matters which are appropriate for public decision or individual action when it is informed. In Mr. Marsh's judgement the motoring public is not convinced that the motor vehicle is a major factor in air pollution in most urban areas.

If facts prove that vehicles are a substantial factor in the air pollution of an area one of the greatest needs is to effectively inform the public. It will expect the technical experts to answer the pertinent questions in a simple and clear way that they can understand and in turn make sound judgements in developing public opinion.

Mr. Marsh stressed that the motoring public has the right to expect that a sound and orderly procedure will be followed. If a community or state desires to obtain action it should obtain the facts, develop reasonable and effective methods for correcting the situation and have an effective program of public information.

The information should include facts to provide the public with an understanding of the overall problem, and facts to justify to motorists any anti-pollution devices. Such information should include the cost, installation, and maintenance of devices and give special attention to what are considered to be appropriate financial and other responsibilities of the motorists as to air pollution control.

A number of individuals participated in the open discussion. None of these questioned the philosophy that was presented by the panel members or the factors that had to be considered in programs to control the emissions from motor vehicles. These questions and comments dealt mainly with methods of control and use of control devices. The need to consider the role of rapid transit together with other methods was pointed out. Several written statements were submitted for possible inclusion in the Conference Proceedings.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Caplan stated that several important points were made which required emphasis. First, impatience should not lead us to institute controls before it is clearly established that they will do good rather than harm; we should not place our hopes on wishful solutions to motor vehicle emissions but must couple practicality with our dedication. Inspection and enforcement

costs may be of greater magnitude than the cost of the control device per se. Finally, even with general agreement on the philosophy of establishing motor vehicle control requirements, this philosophy is for naught if the basic facts are not reasonably correct.

I think you will agree with me that formal presentations as well as the discussions indicate the great deal of interest, research and activity on air pollution from motor vehicles. One is always tempted to report that the problems in which he is involved are complex. I think that I am justified in describing the problem of air pollution from motor vehicles as indeed being complex and one that has broad public impact.

While many problems remain, much has already been learned, and much has already been done.

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Survey Finds Air Pollution In 7 Areas

The residents of seven Georgia counties are living in areas of significant air pollution problems, according to a survey.

Air pollution problems in Georgia, especially in Fulton, DeKalb, Richmond, Bibb, Muscogee, Chatham and Glynn counties are expected to become steadily worse in the absence of preventive action, authorities say.

The survey was a cooperative effort of the Industrial Hygiene Service, State Health Department; Division of Air Pollution, Public Health Service; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and the state climatologist, Weather Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce.

* * *

THE MAIN CAUSES of air contamination are industrial plants, home heating plants, burning refuse dumps, power generation stations, motor vehicles, agricultural operations and commercial establishments.

The survey conclusions have just been published in a booklet, "Air Pollution in Georgia."

The study group urged Georgia to:

Strengthen local anti-air pollution activities; make air quality assessments regularly in problem areas; and give the responsibility for an extensive air pollution program to the State Health Department.

Hepatitis Scare On

PORTSMOUTH, N.H., Aug. 11 (UPI)—Portsmouth city health officer Dr. Gerard Griffin Saturday reported an outbreak of infectious hepatitis in the Wentworth Acres section of the city.

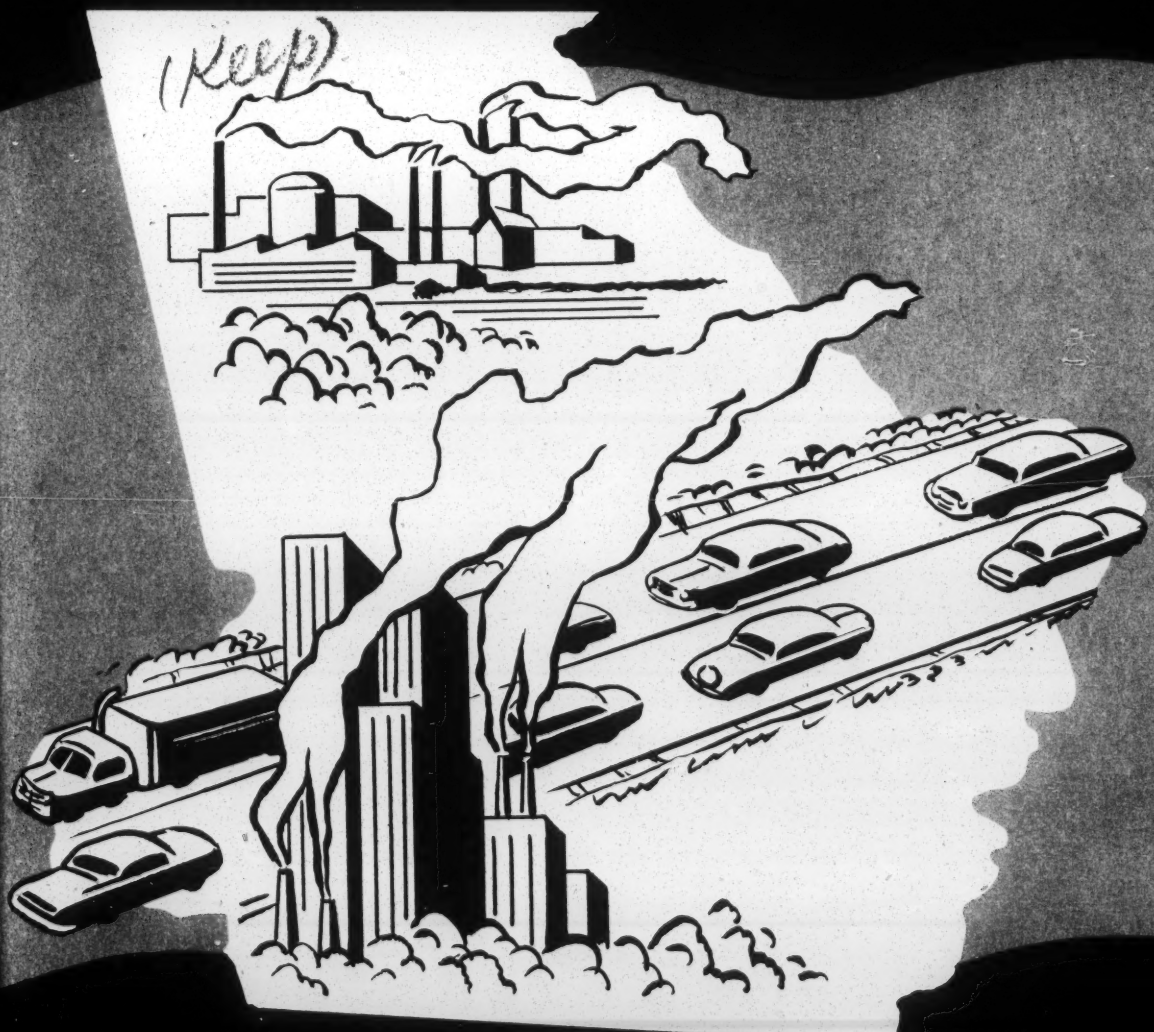
Dr. Griffin said the disease was contracted by eight members of five families living in former Air Force barracks, now a low-rent housing unit.

He said gamma globulin was being distributed to prevent spread of the virus. He said a team of specialists from the New Hampshire Board of Health was expected here Saturday to attempt to track down the cause of the outbreak.

Navy Pilot Injured By Crash in Japan

TOKYO, Aug. 11 (UPI)—A U.S. Navy pilot was injured Saturday when his Skyhawk jet crashed and burned during takeoff from Atsugi Naval Air Station, the Navy announced. The pilot, Lt. (jg) Andre F. Cianciotto, 25, of Hanford, Calif., was reported to have suffered a broken shoulder.

AIR POLLUTION in Georgia . . .



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- Migration and Desegregation
- What Each One of Us Does
- Editors Discuss Private School Plan
- Highlights from Recent Literature

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New South Notes

Population shifts are taking place all over the country. Rural areas are being depleted of population while urban centers are growing rapidly. NEW SOUTH this month gives readers some of the trends in population shifts and what these trends mean to desegregation. The article, prepared by the Research Department of the Council, is presented under the title, "Migration and Desegregation."

Alexander Miller, Director Community Services, Anti-Defamation League, recently wrote to the *Christian Science Monitor* a letter in which he discusses group tensions and the understanding it takes to preserve community harmony. In his letter, he includes another letter from Mrs. Doris Bodenheimer which, in Mr. Miller's opinion, expresses the understanding, charity, and wisdom needed today.

Much has been and will be written on the so-called private school plan. Recently, the *Richmond News Leader*, noted for its strong segregationist's viewpoint, severely criticized the pamphlet, "If the Schools Are Closed . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan." This editorial is reprinted in full here along with two others with somewhat different opinions. The other editorials were originally published by the *Lynchburg News* and the *Arkansas Gazette*.

This issue of NEW SOUTH concludes with another in the frequent offerings of "Highlights from Recent Literature."

Migration and Desegregation

The size and composition of the population of any city with biracial school systems is one of the principal factors affecting school desegregation. The relative difficulty that a particular school district may face is, to a great extent, determined by the number of students involved in the transition.

Population trends in the South have, therefore, a special meaning for school desegregation. Here is what is happening:

1. Population in rural areas is declining. Negroes and whites are moving to urban regions, both North and South. The Negro rate of departure was higher than that of white persons between 1940-50 and perhaps has remained higher; but the difference is slight. Probably a larger number of the white migrants stop in Southern cities. On the other hand, the larger family size of the Negroes means that the Negro rural school-age population stays larger than would be expected.

   Rural schools are emptying while city schools are being over-crowded. Rural school children must often travel far to attend segregated schools. Children attending these schools come from scattered and sparsely populated areas, as a result of the decreasing rural population. If schools remain segregated, we can anticipate a growing number of half or nearly empty schools.

   How dramatic has been the population shift from rural to urban residence is indicated by the fact that in the school year 1956-57 there were *fewer* white children enrolled in the rural schools of nine Southern states than there had been in 1939-40; these nine were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas. In six states there were *fewer* Negro children enrolled: these were Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee. During the same years, enrollments of both Negro and white children in the schools of metropolitan areas climbed sharply. White enrollment in the metropolitan schools of Kentucky increased 34%, and Negro enrollment in the metropolitan schools of Mississippi rose 23%: these were the *lowest* increases in the whole region. The highest metropolitan increases for white children were in Florida (where enrollment jumped 165% in the 18-year period), Texas (137%), Virginia (119%), and Mississippi (101%). The highest metropolitan increases for Negro children were in Texas (137%), Florida (106%), Louisiana (67%), and Georgia (62%).[1]
2. State population increases tend to

[1]From statistics prepared by Dr. John A. Griffin for *Southern Schools: Progress and Problems*, published by the Southern Education Reporting Service, 1959.

Migration

(Continued)

be concentrated in urban areas. For example, since 1920, population growth in Georgia has occurred largely in five urban areas—Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon and Savannah. In this 36-year period, the proportion of the state's population in these centers almost doubled, rising from 22.4% in 1920 to 41.5% in 1956. While the state's population increased 7.8% from 1950 to 1956, the population of 115 of Georgia's 159 counties actually declined.[2]

3. As migrants from the rural areas move into cities, the middle and upper economic class whites are receding into surburbia. This tends to intensify and cause deterioration of the already congested central city. If this trend, which is evident in both segregated and desegregated centers, should continue, it is probable that residents of the city proper will tend to be chiefly Negroes and lower economic group whites. Furthermore, it is conceivable that Negro children will eventually constitute a greater proportion of the total city school enrollments than white children.

   Atlanta furnishes our illustration of this trend. For the school year 1959-60, Negro enrollment was *up 3,202* over the previous year; white enrollment was *down by 1,272*. The current ratio was 57.9% white, 42.1% Negro; in September 1958, it had been 60.6% white, 39.4% Negro.

   The following figures show that in a representative sample of the South's principal *cities*, the nonwhite percentage of the total population increased, or only slightly decreased, from 1940 to 1950.[3] All the preliminary evidence indicates that in the 1950's the exodus of middle and upper-economic class whites from the cities to the suburbs has accelerated, and that rural migrants, including Negroes, have continued to throng into the cities.

City	% Increase 1940-50 Nonwhite	% Increase 1940-50 White	% of Total Pop. Nonwhite Pop. 1940	% of Total Pop. Nonwhite Pop. 1950
Atlanta, Ga.	16.1	6.2	34.6	36.6
Birmingham, Ala.	19.4	23.5	40.7	39.9
Charleston, S. C.	—2.8	— .5	44.6	44.0
Charlotte, N. C.	19.4	38.9	31.1	28.0
Houston, Texas	45.2	57.9	22.5	21.1
Jackson, Miss.	65.7	53.4	39.1	40.9
Nashville, Tenn.	15.6	— .4	28.3	31.4
New Orleans, La.	21.9	12.5	30.3	32.0

4. Although the Negro population is shifting from predominantly rural to predominantly urban, the ratio of Negroes to whites in *metropolitan areas* declines. The 1940 to 1950 nonwhite percentage of the total population of the metropolitan areas of the same eight cities illustrates this decline; in only one of the eight has the nonwhite ratio increased.

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[2]John L. Fulmer, *Population Estimates of Georgia Counties for 1956-1957 with Analysis of Reasons for Changes from 1950.* Special Report No. 33, with Industrial Development Branch of the Engineering Experiment Station, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1957, pp. 5, 14, and 18.

[3]Figures in this table and in the next one are taken from a report by the Federal Housing Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, Market Analysis Section, August 15, 1953.

City	% Increase 1940-50 Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite Pop. % of Total Pop. 1940	1950
Atlanta, Ga.	15.6	35.0	27.7	24.7
Birmingham, Ala.	16.4	24.8	39.0	37.3
Charleston, S. C.	14.7	56.9	49.2	41.5
Charlotte, N. C.	15.4	35.5	28.5	25.4
Houston, Texas	44.5	54.5	19.7	18.7
Jackson, Miss.	15.3	51.0	51.7	45.0
Nashville, Tenn.	13.5	28.4	22.1	20.0
New Orleans, La.	25.5	23.5	28.9	29.3

Another comparison can be made by examining more closely recent changes in Atlanta. The standard metropolitan area of Atlanta was enlarged by one county in 1956 and by another in 1958; it now includes five counties. For these five, the Negro population *increased* 20.4% from 1900 to 1959; but, the proportion of Negroes to the total population of these counties *declined*, from 33.6% in 1900 to 22.1% in 1959. In the city of Atlanta itself, the proportion of Negroes was, as is shown in the above figures, increasing. In 1952 and 1953, however, the climb was arrested when the city annexed large outlying areas which were mainly white in population: had these sections been part of Atlanta in 1950, the Negro proportion of the city's population would have been, not 36.6%, but only 31.2%. Yet, by 1959 the Negro population within the present city limits of Atlanta had *risen* to 36.5%.[4] And the Atlanta experience is illustrative of that of many cities throughout the South. It includes, as it were, three movements: heavy increase of Negro population; steady decline of the proportion of Negroes to total population in the metropolitan area; a stable or increasing proportion of Negroes within the city proper.

5. Emigration from the South as a whole is going on at a slightly faster rate than immigration into the South. Most emigrants from the South are in the productive age group from 21 to 45, and as a result, net migration losses are not proportionately felt in school enrollments.

Even without considering school desegregation, these trends have important implications for the South's educational system. The gravity of this situation becomes evident as one looks at the growing school enrollments and the existing inadequate facilities with which to cope with them. In this regard, Professor John M. Maclachlan wrote:

> . . . it seems clear that the approaching educational crisis in the South may be one of the gravest proportions, without any regard to changes in the legal basis of biracial education in the region. The first and most basic consideration is that there will be in the South, by 1960, [compared with 1950] almost one-third more white and over one-third more nonwhite persons of school age.[5]

If these estimates are fairly accurate, one can immediately perceive the gigantic task facing the schools. Herculean efforts will be needed to build new schools, provide adequate classroom facilities, secure additional teachers, and strengthen the overall school program to accommodate the growing army of

[4]Metropolitan Planning Commission, *We're Feeling Like a Million*, Atlanta 1959. p. 4.

[5]John M. Maclachlan, "Population Factors Affecting Education in the South," *Journal of Public Law*, Spring 1954, pp. 114-115.

Migration

(Continued)

school children from many varied backgrounds. Between 1940 and 1950, in the 13 states of the South, the white population between 10 and 19 *declined* more than 397,000; the nonwhite population between ages 10 and 19 *declined* more than 220,000. The statistics on population increases from 1950 to 1960 make a stronger impact, as Professor Maclachlan says, "when one pauses to reflect that one of the most serious problems of the late 1940's and early 1950's was a relentless increase in the need for schools and teachers," despite the school-age population drop.

In addition to the economic problems created by recent population trends, problems of a cultural and academic nature are also of considerable consequence. The "hub" of the city, into which comes the masses from the rural areas, houses the lower socio-economic groups, both white and colored. For the present and for the next few years at least, the best possible school administration and teaching will be necessary even partially to fill in the gaps that are the result of inferior environments. As Professor Homer L. Hitt has said, "To a large degree the future of southern cities and thus the quality of life in the South will depend on the contributions of the newcomers to the urban scene."[6]

Counterbalancing forces are gradually coming into play which will perhaps change the direction of recent population trends. First of all, urban renewal: hundreds of cities are currently attempting to do away with the blighted areas surrounding their central business districts. The blighted areas are being replaced by business establishments and frequently by high rent apartments beyond the incomes of the previous inhabitants of these areas. Secondly, the exodus from the rural areas has almost reached its climax. Thirdly, practical considerations will almost inevitably necessitate the reduction of some discriminatory housing practices. On these last two points, Irene B. Taeuber, of Princeton University, expresses the following opinion:

> To project the migrations of the past into the future is impossible, for the sources of supply in the rural South are approaching exhaustion. To project a continuing exodus from the South and a continuing mobility in the metropolis without the reduction of residential segregation leads to results that are not consonant with real possibilities. Continually declining white populations and rapidly increasing Negro populations would lead eventually to the transfer of political power in the central cities and so terminate the segregation.[7]

Whether all or some of our schools desegregate in the future, today's school crisis calls for and demands cooperation and community organization. Our schools may operate on an efficient level but only if school board members, administrators, teachers, parents, community leaders, and other responsible persons are willing to apply the most feasible and workable solutions.

It seems apparent that many school

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[6]R. B. Vance and N. J. Demerath, editors, *The Urban South,* Chapel Hill, 1954, p. 77.

[7]Irene B. Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro," *Population Bulletin, November* 1958, p. 149.

districts are reaching that situation where segregation becomes immediately costly: i.e., where populations have shifted, leaving unused school capacity in one place, overcrowded school capacities elsewhere. The impact of recent population trends require that schools fulfill their primary objective—the development of the individual and of his potentialities in order that he may become a mature, participating member of our democratic society.

What Each One of Us Does*

Most of the cities in the United States have experienced a sharp rise in group tensions during the past few years. As a matter of fact, in many urban centers we are only a misdirected stone's throw away from ugly racial strife and mob violence. This situation is due in no small part to the unfortunate proclivity of too many of us to hold a whole group responsible for the actions of an individual. The antisocial traits ascribed to an entire minority group because of the actions of some individual members of the group are too well known to *be* rehearsed here.

How different has been the reaction of Mrs. Doris Bodenheimer of Houston, Texas. She is the anguished mother of a 12-year-old boy who was brutally slain recently by a gang of young delinquents. It so happens in this instance that the victim was white—those arrested, Negro. Writing with a deep compassion which blotted out all bitterness, Mrs. Bodenheimer penned the following letter which was printed in the Houston Post on Aug. 1, 1959:

"Since my son's death I have been largely sustained by the sincere sympathy of the whole community, but the attitude on the part of some has alarmed me. I have felt from the beginning that some abstract evil force had killed my son. The person or persons responsible is ill and to find a scapegoat will not absolve society from its share of guilt.

"People who are oppressed and deprived by society hit back. Finding my son's murderer will not keep alive some child who now lives—more murderers will be bred by the conditions which bred his murderer.

"As long as we foster the sickness of slums and segregation we shall all be infected by it.

"This is not to say that I am convinced of the guilt of current suspects, but merely that the anger directed against them would be put to better use if turned toward those conditions which breed crime."

If more of us could achieve the understanding, wisdom, and charity displayed by Mrs. Bodenheimer; if her words can provide us with a guidepost for community action, there is hope that much of the racial strife which seems to be threatening can be averted. For in the last instance, the responsibility for working out our problems of living together peacefully falls not upon government, not upon organizations, but upon what each one of us does as an individual.

Alexander F. Miller
Director Community Services,
Anti-Defamation League
New York, New York

**Reprinted from Christian Science Monitor*

EDITORS DISCUSS PRIV

Why It Will Work

The Richmond News Leader

Two professors of education at Emory University, Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke, have produced a 40-page pamphlet for the Southern Regional Council, entitled "If the Schools Close." Here the authors review various proposals in Southern States for the establishment of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools.

"They dismantle the private school plan completely," says *Time* magazine, reporting on the pamphlet. And *Time* adds that the authors "prove" such schools will not work.

One or two things need to be said before this "proof" is rebutted. The first is that the pamphlet comes from the soft-headed Southern Regional Council, a Liberal outfit dedicated to the integrationist cause. The second is that the two authors are professors of education, with a vested interest in the public school system and an understandable prejudice in favor of its perpetuity. It would have been incredible if such authors, under such auspices, had produced a pamphlet that said anything else.

The authors' first objection to private schools goes to their costs. On this point, they observe that Georgia's public schools buy supplies on a State-wide basis, benefit from State-wide administrative services, and draw upon $28 million in Federal aid. A system of private schools, by contrast, could not make use of State buildings and "could not begin to pay for new buildings." Private schools could not afford qualified teachers, they contend, nor maintain an enriched curriculum. In brief, "a system of private schools . . . is unworkable, legally, socially, and economically."

What is to be said of these melancholy strictures, especially as they might apply to private schools in Virginia? Simply this, that the two theorists have no comprehension of certain realities. The authors, like educationists the country over, are accustomed to think in terms of nothing-but-the-best; they see large and grand, not small and homely; their vision is of thousands of pupils and millions of dollars. And their case boils down to "proof" of a proposition not even in dispute—that a vast system of private schools, equal in every way to public schools that have been 80 years in development, could not possibly spring into efficient operation overnight.

Such proof may be impressive, but it is hardly relevant to the problem at hand. Not even the sovereign State of Georgia, whatever her laws may require just now, ever will close *all* of her

(Continued on Page 12)

RIVATE SCHOOL PLAN

Why It Won't Work

The Lynchburg News
Reprinted from Warren Sentinel

Consider this, if you will, a response to the editorial bowl of mush served up last week by the illustrious Richmond News Leader. Reprinted elsewhere on today's page, that editorial solemnly recites crusty fables, takes stiff jabs at popular whipping boys, Time magazine and "liberals," and to the tune of carefully metered prose proudly raises the Confederate flag.

As much as one would like to indulge in flights into a southern fairyland, the time has come for Virginians to face, squarely, the facts at hand. While one may wish so very strongly for segregated classes to succeed, one must peel the patina of wish from the statue of hard reality.

Written in the angry tones of a Captain Queeg facing mutiny, the News Leader editorial states that private schools set up in certain areas of Virginia to avoid public school integration are quite workable, contrary to the findings of a thorough study prepared by two professors at Emory University for the Southern Regional Council.

Among other interesting facts reported by Professors Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke in their study, facts conspicuously absent from the News Leader editorial, was the comparative cost of private and public education. A survey of the Atlanta area disclosed that the average per pupil cost of a year's schooling in public facilities was $265 while the average for private facilities was a whopping $625. It was the contention of the professors that cost alone would ultimately prohibit the bulk of southern white students from avoiding integration by attending private classes.

Like it or not—and this newspaper does not like it any more than the Richmond News Leader—it is a reasonable contention. Moreover, its soundness can be demonstrated right here in Virginia where both Prince Edward and Warren counties are having trouble raising money for their private school efforts. Warren County has postponed a decision on operating private classes to determine whether a needed $140,000 can be collected. Prince Edward County admits that it will take $300,000 to operate private classes for white students this year, but those in charge of the private school foundation funds will not say exactly how much has been collected.

These figures of funds needed to operate private schools are not hazy myths rooted in an era long ago. They are, quite simply, matters of definite fact. Yet in speaking of Professors Green and Gauerke, the News Leader called them "two theorists (who) have no comprehension of certain realities."

Won't Work *(Continued)*

What reality could be more certain than Prince Edward's private school budget of $300,000? Or Warren County's goal of $140,000?

Further, what reality could be more certain than the pictures on this page? Here are the private schools that Prince Edward's white citizens will operate this year. Here are the public facilities they will abandon. Below is the dark interior of an old blacksmith's shop that will be used as a classroom.

How theoretical, we would ask the News Leader, is all this?

Let us raise some further questions:

For how long will the white citizens of Prince Edward County be willing to force these sacrifices on their children?

For how long will they be able to raise enough money to keep these makeshift private classes open?

For how long will the courts and the Federal government permit the county to deny educational opportunities to Negro children?

Forever?

This is not a time chauvinistically to shout States' Rights slogans, but rather a time to shake off fables and wipe the stardust of hopeless dreams from our eyes. It is a time to face facts. Let us hope that this excursion into folly will be a short one for Prince Edward County and that its cost in time, money and education of children will be held to a minimum. Then, let us hope the County reopens its public schools and turns, realistically, to ways to limit the integration that will come.

PRINCE EDWARD

The Arkansas Gazette

. . . This report has drawn an interesting rebuttal from the Richmond News-Leader, the newspaper which proudly sired the now-defunct theory of interposition and beat the drums for legislation authorizing a private school system. Characteristically, the News-Leader begins by attacking the Council as "soft-headed" and the two Emory faculty members as biased by their "vested interest" in public education.

Even so, the News-Leader makes what must be regarded in context as a significant concession to the correctness of the professors' judgment:

> Such proof may be impressive, but it is hardly relevant to the problem at hand. Not even the sovereign state of Georgia, whatever her laws may require just now, ever will close all of her public schools as the price of avoiding integration in any one of them. When rational men talk realistically of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools, they are talking of a small number of private schools serving a small number of children in a small number of counties.

We pass no judgment on how rational a considerable number of the South's political leaders have been in the past two years, and certainly we can agree that they haven't been talking realistically about the region's educational problems. But certainly they have been holding out to their people the hope that they could create private schools on a wholesale basis as a device for evading even token integration—and they have continued to hold out that hope until

it was proved false by the march of local events.

As we have said repeatedly, we know of no legal or moral reason why any group of parents cannot establish a private school tailored to their tastes. But if they do they must be prepared to pay heavily for the privilege—in money if it is to be a first rate institution, or in a reduction of quality if they cannot afford a heavy outlay from their own pockets.

An excellent example may be seen in the only private school system now operating in the South as a substitute for public schools—that in Prince Edward County, Virginia, which the Richmond News-Leader cites as evidence of what it calls the fallacy of the Council's report. Yet the News-Leader's own polemics would seem to pinpoint grave deficiencies.

For example, the newspaper contends that there is no problem of finding competent teachers because Prince Edward is abundantly supplied with competent professionals and "the salaries of Atlanta or Richmond or Washington hold no special appeal for them." In other words, the private schools must pay their teachers well below the going rate and hope that they will remain because of "ties of family and habit"—a hope proved wistful by the whole national pattern of teacher migration.

Moreover, classes must be held in lodge halls, abandoned store buildings, and private homes—with this as a permanent condition since the News-Leader concedes that there is no prospect of raising money from private sources to build modern school plants. But it is contended:

> That is to say, the classrooms will be entirely adequate for Prince Edward County. They would not suit the fluorescent dreams of a professor of education in Atlanta. In these humble schools a tolerably full curriculum will be offered. True, there will not be band, or orchestra, or courses in hair styling for the girls. But the quality of education will be at least as good as the quality of education in the former public schools.

Finally, the News-Leader Proclaims:

> . . . the people of Prince Edward ask nothing of the outside world; they are indifferent to the educationist values that Professor Green and Gauerke count so highly.

Such, then, is the fate of the white children of Prince Edward. They will attend classes in makeshift schoolrooms, they will be taught by underpaid teachers, they will have access only to limited curricula—and their elders will tell them they are fortunate to be immunized against the standards and values of the outside world.

For the Negro children of Prince Edward County there are presently no schools at all—public or private—with all that this implies in terms of social and economic problems for the whole community.

And this is taking place, to the accompaniment of the News-Leader's applause, in the rural South, which has always needed the highest possible degree of "outside" aid to improve the educational opportunities of its children. And it is that same rural South, despite all the great equalization programs of the past, that is still steadily losing population, watching each generation of its children head for the cities in search of those standards and values the News-Leader says the people of Prince Edward have proudly rejected.

Will Work

(Continued from Page 8)

public schools as the price of avoiding integration in any one of them. When rational men talk realistically of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools, they are talking of a small number of private schools serving a small number of children in a small number of communities.

The Georgia pessimists seem not to understand this. It is easy enough to make out a bleak case for private education if the problem is thought to be one of serving, as in Georgia, 850,000 children now housed in 3,000 schools. The problems are completely different if one is thinking, as in Prince Edward County, of serving 1,500 pupils formerly housed in eight schools.

Professors Green and Gauerke must have lived too long in the city; they seem not to understand a rural county. There is no problem in finding qualified teachers for private schools in a Prince Edward County; in a small county there always will be a sufficient number of competent men and women who are tied to their community by ties of family and habit. The salaries of Atlanta or Richmond or Washington hold no special appeal for them; they enjoy a contented existence where they are.

Neither is the requirement of acceptable school buildings a serious problem in such rural counties. The Prince Edward Educational Foundation, to offer an actual success as opposed to a hypothetical failure, has had an embarrassment of choices. More than a score of suitable church buildings, lodge halls and private homes were offered for private classroom use; from these an entirely adequate selection was made.

That is to say, the classrooms will be entirely adequate for Prince Edward County. They would not suit the fluorescent dreams of a professor of education in Atlanta. In these humble schools, a tolerably full curriculum will be offered. True, there will not be band, or orchestra, or courses in hair styling for the girls. But the quality of education will be at least as good as the quality of education in the former public schools.

The authors of this pamphlet fail to take other factors into account. One is the closeness and unity of a small rural county, in which almost literally everyone knows everyone else. They do not properly appraise the determination of such small societies to preserve their social structure—in plain language, to preserve segregation. They do not comprehend the self-containment of such counties; the people of a Prince Edward ask nothing of the outside world; they are indifferent to the educationist values that Professors Green and Gauerke count so highly.

Private schools can succeed in such areas as Prince Edward—the only areas in which public schools are likely ever to be wholly abandoned. They will succeed because the parents there are determined to make them succeed, and because these parents have at hand the resources necessary for success. These countrymen will not be much impressed by jerimiads from the Southern Regional Council. They no longer are interested in academic reasons why a system of private schools can't work; they are daily finding reasons why it can.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

NAIRO. "CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL: A REPORT ON A DECADE OF PROGRESS." Journal of Intergroup Relations, Vol. 1, No. 5, September, 1959. National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19. $1.50, single copies. 133 pp.

How does social change take place . . . both directed and undirected social change? This volume deals with social change in *one* of the many dimensions of a community's life, in *one* particular American community, during *one* particular and observable period of time. It deals with the subject of racial desegregation in the Nation's capital, and covers a period of approximately twelve years. Chapter titles indicate the areas covered: Integration—A Challenge to Community Agencies and Institutions; Discrimination in the Federal Agencies in Washington, D. C.; Changing Patterns in Employment; The Employment and Utilization of Negro Manpower in the District of Columbia's Government and Private Enterprise; The Practices of Craft Unions in Washington, D. C., With Respect to Minority Groups; Status and Trends in Housing; Public Accommodations in the Nation's Capital, 1947-1958; Public and Private Health and Welfare Agencies — Ten Year's After; The Public School System.

A concluding chapter deals with dynamics and techniques for effecting desegregation. It notes that the most striking thing about the desegregation process in Washington is the fact that the changes have been largely the result of effective work of social action groups. They developed a *modus operandi* for maximizing their effectiveness with a minimum of capriciousness, contention, and confusion. Diverse approaches were used by the various organizations, but the general pattern includes a first phase of assessment and a second phase of social action to effect a change of policy and to end the practice of segregation. The major facets of this phase, are: (1) calling attention to the issue, (2) effective confrontation and negotiation, (3) effective operations (pressure and persuasion), and (4) litigation. Another phase, involving reaction and decision, is crucial, and the final phase, resolution, involves not only desegregation but also integration.

* * *

Green, Reginald H., editor. "THE COLLEGE STUDENT AND THE CHANGING SOUTH." United States National Student Association, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

A report of the Southwide Student Human Relations Conference, sponsored by the U. S. National Student Association, the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Area Councils of the YMCA, the United Student Christian Conference, Hillel, and the National Federation of Catholic College Students, and held at Pfeiffer College,

Highlights

(Continued)

Misemheimer, North Carolina, November 1959. The conference drew over 120 students from 60 campuses in eleven states, and 30 resource people, speakers, and discussion leaders. Some highlights from the formal presentations, the workshops, and discussion groups:

SEGREGATION, EQUALITY, AND THE SOUTH TODAY

The basic question seems to me what do we really believe. Do we believe in the equality of races, or don't we?

—James McBrideDabbs

I think Negroes are entitled to equal treatment by the law. But that does not mean I think that equality means the same school.

—Thomas Ellis

Nine to ten million people have been on the periphery in every avenue of life, never allowed to participate in the main stream.

—Benjamin Mays

RACE RELATIONS, THE UNIVERSITY, AND THE STUDENT

Any degree of alleged objectivity is hard to achieve and suspect if achieved. We need to have patience and to think carefully not to ask easy, but false, questions and give easy answers. We cannot encourage the belief (that even President Lincoln held) that the problem could be solved without positive action by anyone.

—Weldon James

I feel that it is an age of conformity, yet I wonder if any age was not potentially that. I think it's a question, perhaps, of determination and courage. If any age was saved from being an age of conformity, was it not because there were those individuals who would not let it be so? . . . Students have a peculiar privilege and a peculiar opportunity; they live in a new era and they move in a new era in which it is their right to face these problems.

—Fred Weaver

INDIVIDUAL CHALLENGES, CHANNELS, AND OPPORTUNITIES

The basic issue is not so much the 14th Amendment as the First Commandment . . . The basic question is do we believe in the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, or do we worship at the altar of state sovereignty.

—The Reverend Will Campbell

The conference proved to be an eye-opener. During the 2½ days I came to understand that Negroes can be intelligent, understanding, informed; that they can be my equal or superior; but, above all, I came to understand that they are real persons, that they have feelings and a real desire for community.

—Participant from Segregated White College

You have real problems on your campus (a major state institution facing desegregation). I wouldn't like to be in your position.

—Participant from Segregated Negro College

It is the quality of our thought and of our lives which is really important.

—Warren Ashby

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Nineteen sixty will be a year of great social decisions. I regard public schools as indispensable, and I do not want to see a generation miss its chance at education as did the one in Atlanta's reconstruction days."

Mayor William B. Hartsfield
Atlanta
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

"I have observed in my travels throughout the states that local school boards are now beginning to put forth efforts to solve their desegregation problems with the cooperation of their local PTAs and we feel that our local (NAACP) branch leaders will also cooperate if they are met on an equal basis."

Gloster Current, Manager,
NAACP National Offices,
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

"Even the politicians who seek to exploit racism against education have discovered that closing the schools is an act of political stupidity. It compels people to choose between their prejudices and their children's future, and in this choice the children always win, later if not sooner."

From the CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"An effort to open a private school 'for white pupils only' in Selma, Alabama, has been temporarily abandoned . . . The closing of the Raney School [in Little Rock] and the failure of the Selma private school to get to first base does not mean that the opposition to integrated public schools has languished. It does mean that the people of the South know a private school when they see one and they demand either good public schools or good private schools for their children. They seem to be getting a little weary of subterfuges."

From the CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"When and if the time comes that we will be faced with the question of closing schools, I believe the administration and the Legislature will face realities and the public education system will continue."

U. S. Rep. Erwin Mitchell
of Georgia
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

"Warren County [Virginia] today is an object lesson. If the governor of Virginia really wants to overcome its lag in industrial development, he can face only in one direction. It is in the direction of public school support."

From the VIRGINIAN-PILOT

The Changing South in Print!

"New South—an excellent magazine dedicated to saving the South from destroying itself by clinging to the shabby myths of the 19th Century."

Harry W. Ernst
Charleston* (W. Va.) *Gazette

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today."

Current Events

"New South . . . provides editors, students and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the South."

Avery County* (N. C.) *News

"[The Council has] earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual material."

Atlanta Constitution

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

Christian Century

Leslie Dunbar

JM

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION, NORTHERN STYLE

SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

--

MARCH 29, 1962

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE
15 EAST 84TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, NEW YORK

MY NAME IS WILL MASLOW; I AM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. THE AJC, A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION IN EXISTENCE SINCE 1918, SEEKS, AMONG OTHER PURPOSES, TO COMBAT RACISM AND ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL PREJUDICE.

IN 1954, WE, ALONG WITH MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW-AMERICANS, HAILED THE EPOCHAL DECISION OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASES. WE WERE PARTICULARLY PROUD BECAUSE IN ITS HISTORIC FOOTNOTE 11 THE COURT CITED TWO AJC STUDIES ON THE HARMFUL PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF SEGREGATION. WE RECOGNIZED AT ONCE THAT THE COURT HAD NOT ONLY OUTLAWED SEGREGATION CREATED BY STATE STATUTE IN 17 SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES BUT HAD ALSO SIMULTANEOUSLY FORBIDDEN ANY SEGREGATION PRACTICES IN NORTHERN STATES CONSCIOUSLY CONTRIVED BY PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES. SPURRED BY THIS DECISION, WE BEGAN A STUDY OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN THE NORTH WHICH RESULTED IN THE PUBLICATION IN 1959 OF A REPORT ENTITLED "FROM COLOR BLIND TO COLOR CONSCIOUS" AND ONE IN 1961 ENTITLED "DE FACTO PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION."

IT IS A COMMON FALLACY THAT SCHOOL SEGREGATION IS ONLY A SOUTHERN PROBLEM. ALMOST HALF (48%) OF THE 18 MILLION NEGROES IN THIS COUNTRY NOW LIVE OUTSIDE THE 11 STATES OF THE CONFEDERACY. THE LARGEST CONCENTRATIONS OF NEGRO POPULATION ARE NOW FOUND IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS OF THE NORTH, AS THE FOLLOWING 1960 CENSUS FIGURES DEMONSTRATE (FIGURES ROUNDED OFF):

NUMBER OF NEGROES IN OUR LARGEST CITIES 1/

1.	NEW YORK CITY	1,087,000
2.	CHICAGO	812,000
3.	PHILADELPHIA	529,000
4.	DETROIT	482,000

1/ SOURCE: NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 15, 1961.

5.	WASHINGTON, D.C.	411,000
6.	LOS ANGELES	334,000
7.	BALTIMORE	326,000
8.	CLEVELAND	250,000
9.	NEW ORLEANS	233,000
10.	HOUSTON	215,000
11.	ST. LOUIS	214,000
12.	ATLANTA	186,000
13.	MEMPHIS	184,000
14.	DALLAS	129,000
15.	CINCINNATI	108,000
16.	PITTSBURGH	100,000

IT WILL BE OBSERVED THAT OUR FOUR LARGEST NORTHERN CITIES -NEW YORK, CHICAGO, PHILADELPHIA AND DETROIT - EACH CONTAINS A LARGER NEGRO POPULATION THAN ANY OF THE LARGEST SOUTHERN CITIES - NEW ORLEANS, HOUSTON, ATLANTA, MEMPHIS OR DALLAS.

NEGROES IN OUR NORTHERN METROPOLISES ARE HERDED TOGETHER IN BLACK GHETTOES.[2/] NEGROES IN THESE GHETTOES ATTEND THE SCHOOLS LOCATED IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS. THE RESULT IS THAT SUCH SCHOOLS HAVE A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO ENROLLMENT. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THESE SCHOOLS MAY BE SAID TO BE SEGREGATED, ALTHOUGH THE SEGREGATION IS DE FACTO,[3/] RATHER THAN STEMMING FROM GOVERNMENT POLICY. IN ADDITION, SOME LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS HAVE BY ONE DEVICE

2/ MCENTIRE, RESIDENCE AND RACE, 32-67 (1960); GRODZINS, METROPOLITAN SEGREGATION, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, OCTOBER 1957; REPORT OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS 1959, PP. 354-374.

3/ IN TAYLOR V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF NEW ROCHELLE, 191 F. SUPP. 181, 194, NOTE 12 (S.D. N.Y. 1961) THE COURT DEFINED "DE FACTO" SEGREGATION AS THAT "RESULTING FROM FORTUITOUS RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS" AND "DE JURE" SEGREGATION AS THAT "CREATED OR MAINTAINED BY OFFICIAL ACT, REGARDLESS OF ITS FORM."

OR ANOTHER CONTRIVED TO BRING ABOUT OR MAINTAIN A SEGREGATED SYSTEM. THESE DEVICES INCLUDE GERRYMANDERING, SELECTION OF SITES FOR NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS, TRANSFER POLICIES, DELIBERATE UNDER-UTILIZATION OR OVER-UTILIZATION OF CERTAIN SCHOOLS AND ARBITRARY ASSIGNMENT OF GRADES TO PARTICULAR SCHOOLS. 4/

THE FOLLOWING TABLE BASED ON OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL SOURCES LISTS THE NUMBER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN OUR LARGE NORTHERN CITIES:

NUMBER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN CITIES

CITY	NUMBER	% OF NEGROES IN EACH SCHOOL
NEW YORK	102 OUT OF 573	90 OR HIGHER 5/
CHICAGO	98 OUT OF 383	60 OR HIGHER 6/
PHILADELPHIA	38 OUT OF 271	99 OR HIGHER 7/
DETROIT	62 OUT OF 222	90 OR HIGHER 8/
LOS ANGELES	77 OUT OF 404	85 OR HIGHER 9/

4/ 1961 REPORT OF U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, VOL. 2, "EDUCATION," PP. 101-110; MASLOW, DE FACTO PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION, 6 VILLANOVA LAW REV. 353,360 (1961).

5/ BOARD OF EDUCATION, CENTRAL ZONING UNIT, "ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND PUBLIC ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION," JAN. 1962. PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN ARE CLASSIFIED WITH NEGROES FOR THIS PURPOSE.

6/ ESTIMATE OF THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE, FEB. 28, 1962, WHICH CLASSIFIES AS A "NEGRO" SCHOOL ANY SCHOOL IN AN AREA WHERE NEGROES CONSTITUTE 60% OR MORE OF THE POPULATION, THE ASSUMPTION BEING THAT WHITE PERSONS IN SUCH AREAS TEND TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO PAROCHIAL OR PRIVATE SCHOOLS. SEE TESTIMONY OF CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE SUBMITTED TO CHICAGO SCHOOL BUDGET HEARING, DEC. 19, 1961.

7/ PHILADELPHIA BD. OF EDUCATION, "FOR EVERY CHILD, THE STORY OF INTEGRATION IN PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS," OCT. 1960, PP. 1-2.

8/ REPORT OF CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, MAP, PAGE P6, N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 11, 1962, P. 58. THIS COMMITTEE WAS APPOINTED BY THE DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION.

9/ INCLUDES 34 MEXICAN-AMERICAN SCHOOLS. REPORT OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, P. 21, JAN. 1960. THIS REPORT WAS SUBMITTED TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS AT ITS CALIFORNIA PUBLIC HEARINGS.

NUMBER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN CITIES, CONT'D

CITY	NUMBER	% OF NEGROES IN EACH SCHOOL
CLEVELAND	40 OUT OF 130	60 OR HIGHER 10/
TOLEDO	9 OUT OF 57	50 OR HIGHER 11/
SAN FRANCISCO	7 OUT OF 101	60 OR HIGHER 12/
BOSTON	14 OUT OF 154	90 OR HIGHER 13/
INDIANAPOLIS	7 OUT OF 89	ALMOST 100 14/
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO	3 OUT OF 31	90 OR HIGHER 15/
JERSEY CITY	8 OUT OF 28	50 OR HIGHER 16/
KANSAS CITY, KANS.	7 OUT OF 38	100% 17/

IN BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA, THE SUPREME COURT CONCLUDED THAT COMPULSORY RACIAL SEGREGATION OF CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS "HAS A TENDENCY TO RETARD THE EDUCATIONAL AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO CHILDREN." DOES DE FACTO SEGREGATION HAVE A SIMILAR DETRIMENTAL EFFECT? THE NEW YORK

10/ ESTIMATE OF SIDNEY Z. VINCENT, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND.

11/ LETTER FROM TOLEDO BOARD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS, JAN. 7, 1960.

12/ INCLUDES TWO ASIAN SCHOOLS. ESTIMATE OF SAN FRANCISCO JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL, MARCH 20, 1962.

13/ UNOFFICIAL ESTIMATE, 1961.

14/ INDIANAPOLIS HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL, REPORT, P. 2, JUNE 20, 1959.

15/ MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS, REPORT, PP. 1-2 (1959).

16/ ACCORDING TO A STUDY OF THE LOCAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 10, 1962.

17/ ACCORDING TO THE LOCAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 20, 1962.

CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION CONCLUDED IN A FORMAL RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY ON DECEMBER 23, 1954:

> PUBLIC EDUCATION IN A RACIALLY HOMOGENEOUS SETTING IS SOCIALLY UNREALISTIC AND BLOCKS THE ATTAINMENT OF GOALS OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION, WHETHER THIS SEGREGATION OCCURS BY LAW OR BY FACT.

THE NEW YORK STATE BOARD OF REGENTS WHICH SUPERVISES ALL THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE STATE, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, CAME TO A SIMILAR CONCLUSION IN 1960. DECLARING THAT "SCHOOLS ENROLLING STUDENTS LARGELY OF HOMOGENEOUS ETHNIC ORIGIN MAY DAMAGE THE PERSONALITY OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN" AND "IMPAIR THE ABILITY TO LEARN," IT FOUND THAT SUCH SCHOOLS "BLOCK THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GOALS OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION."

SCHOOL BOARDS IN NORTHERN CITIES THUS HAD TWO ALTERNATIVES AFTER THE DECISION IN THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASES. THEY COULD, LIKE THE CHICAGO BOARD OF EDUCATION, HIDE BEHIND THE STRIKING PHRASE USED BY JUSTICE HARLAN IN PLESSY V. FERGUSON AND BE "COLOR-BLIND" (163 U.S. 537, 599 (1896)), REFUSING TO ASSUME ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR SCHOOL SEGREGATION ARISING FROM RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS. OR THEY COULD BE "COLOR-CONSCIOUS" RECOGNIZING WITH THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD THAT SUCH SEGREGATED SCHOOLS ARE "EDUCATIONALLY UNDESIRABLE." AS THE DETROIT NEWS EDITORIALIZED IN ITS COMMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE DETROIT COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES:

> THIS MEANS ABANDONMENT OF THE SCHOOLS' STUDIED NEUTRALITY ON RACE, THE EFFECT OF WHICH HAS BEEN TO BOLSTER DE FACTO SEGREGATION, IN FAVOR OF A POLICY WHICH ACCEPTS A RESPONSIBILITY TO FURTHER DESEGREGATION WHERE REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY OFFERS ITSELF. 18/

A DECLARATION OF POLICY IS, HOWEVER, ONLY THE FIRST STEP IN THE SUSTAINED EFFORT REQUIRED TO BREAK DOWN SEGREGATION IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OR AT LEAST TO PREVENT ITS FURTHER SPREAD. WHILE CONDITIONS OF COURSE VARY FROM CITY TO CITY, EXPERIENCE IN NEW YORK CITY AND ELSEWHERE INDICATES THAT

18/ DETROIT NEWS, MARCH 11, 1962.

THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL STEPS ARE NECESSARY:

1. RACIAL CENSUS

AN ETHNIC AND RACIAL CENSUS OF THE PUPIL ENROLLMENT SHOULD BE MADE. THIS SHOULD NOT BE DONE BY QUESTIONING THE CHILDREN BUT BY THE VISUAL OBSERVATION OF THE CLASSROOM TEACHER WHO WOULD FURNISH THE TOTAL FOR HER CLASS. (IN NO EVENT SHOULD A SCHOOL SYSTEM RECORD THE RACE OR RELIGION OF A PARTICULAR CHILD.) SUCH A CENSUS WAS CONDUCTED IN NEW YORK STATE BY DIRECTION OF THE STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION AND IN DETROIT BY THE LOCAL BOARD OF EDUCATION.

2. ZONING FOR INTEGRATION

IN DRAWING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LINES, WHICH NOW CUSTOMARILY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT TRAFFIC HAZARDS, DISTANCES FROM HOME TO SCHOOL, TOPOGRAPHICAL BARRIERS AND THE NECESSITY OF EQUALIZING SCHOOL CAPACITY, THE ZONING OFFICER SHOULD CONSIDER THE NECESSITY FOR ACHIEVING RACIAL INTEGRATION AS A CARDINAL FACTOR IN ZONING. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO REVIEW SUCH LINES TO ELIMINATE GERRYMANDERED SCHOOL DISTRICTS. SUCH GERRYMANDERING IS NOW OBVIOUSLY ILLEGAL AND HAS SO BEEN HELD BY THE COURTS.[19/]

3. SITE SELECTION

WHENEVER POSSIBLE, NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS SHOULD BE LOCATED NOT IN THE HEART OF BLACK GHETTOES BUT AT THEIR BORDERS OR IN MIXED NEIGHBORHOODS. SCHOOL BOARDS MUST ALSO ANTICIPATE POPULATION MOVEMENTS TO PREVENT NEW SCHOOLS FROM BECOMING ALL NEGRO OR ALL WHITE.

4. PERMISSIVE TRANSFERS

UNDER THE PLAN ADOPTED BY NEW YORK CITY IN 1960, CHILDREN IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS WERE GIVEN THE OPTION OF TRANSFERRING TO OTHER SCHOOLS IN THE BOROUGH WITH A MUCH LOWER NEGRO-PUERTO RICAN POPULATION

19/ CLEMONS V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF HILLSBORO, OHIO, 228 F. 2D 853 (6TH CIR. 1956), CERT. DENIED, 350 U.S. 1006 (1956); TAYLOR V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF NEW ROCHELLE, 294 F. 2D 36 (2D CIR. 1961), CERT. DENIED, 82 SUP. CT. 382 (1961).

AND WITH UNFILLED CLASSROOMS. CHILDREN EXERCISING THIS OPTION ARE PROVIDED FREE TRANSPORTATION TO THE RECEIVING SCHOOLS. THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION REPORTED RECENTLY THAT 4965 ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS WERE ATTENDING 127 SCHOOLS OUTSIDE THEIR HOME NEIGHBORHOOD UNDER THE OPEN ENROLLMENT PLAN.[20]

IT WILL BE NOTED THAT THE OPTION OF TRANSFERRING IS NOT GIVEN ONLY TO NEGRO OR PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN. ANY PUPIL OF A DESIGNATED "SENDING SCHOOL" IS ALLOWED TO TRANSFER. THIS PERMISSIVE TRANSFER POLICY WAS RECENTLY APPROVED BY FEDERAL JUDGE KAUFMAN AS THE FIRST STEP IN THE DESEGREGATION PLAN WHICH HE DIRECTED THE NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y. SCHOOL BOARD TO SUBMIT FOLLOWING LITIGATION IN WHICH HE HELD THE SCHOOL BOARD GUILTY OF CONTRIVING TO PERPETUATE SEGREGATION AT A SCHOOL IN THE TOWN WITH A NEGRO ENROLLMENT OF 94%. ON APPEAL, THE PERMISSIVE TRANSFER POLICY WAS APPROVED BY THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS AS A "MODERATE" BEGINNING.[21] AT PRESENT, THE ENROLLMENT AT LINCOLN SCHOOL, AS A RESULT OF THE OPTIONAL TRANSFERS OF 267 CHILDREN NOW CONSISTS OF 90% NEGROES.[22]

5. RECLASSIFYING SCHOOLS

PERHAPS THE MOST EFFECTIVE METHOD OF REDUCING OR EVEN OF ELIMINATING SEGREGATION IS THE SO-CALLED PRINCETON PLAN, NAMED FOR THE CITY IN NEW JERSEY IN WHICH IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED. UNDER THIS PLAN, WHERE THERE ARE TWO ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, NOT TOO FAR APART, ONE BEING PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND THE OTHER PREDOMINANTLY WHITE, ONE SCHOOL IS CLASSIFIED AS A KINDERGARTEN TO FOURTH GRADE SCHOOL AND THE OTHER AS A FIFTH TO EIGHTH GRADE SCHOOL. THIS RESHUFFLING OF CLASSES MAKES FOR COMPLETE INTEGRATION.

20/ BD. OF EDUCATION PRESS RELEASE, JAN. 8, 1962.

21/ TAYLOR V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF NEW ROCHELLE, 191 F. SUPP. 181, AFF'D, 294 F. 2D 36 (1961), CERT. DENIED, 82 SUP. CT. 382 (1961).

22/ N.Y.TIMES, DEC. 12, 1961.

A VARIANT OF THIS PLAN WAS RECENTLY DEVELOPED IN MORRISTOWN, N.J. THERE A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL IN THE CENTER OF TOWN WAS ABANDONED AND THE CHILDREN TRANSFERRED TO FOUR OTHER SCHOOLS IN THE CITY WITH PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ENROLLMENTS.[23] THE MORRISTOWN PLAN IS FEASIBLE, HOWEVER, ONLY WHEN THERE ARE "WHITE" SCHOOLS WITH EXCESS CAPACITY NOT TOO FAR FROM THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL.

WHERE THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN A SCHOOL SYSTEM IS HIGH, ALL OF THE MEASURES DESCRIBED ABOVE MAY BE INEFFECTIVE. IN NEW YORK CITY, IN 1960, THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF MANHATTAN WERE EITHER NEGRO OR PUERTO RICAN. IN THE CITY AS A WHOLE, 40% OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION WERE FROM THESE ETHNIC GROUPS.[24] BY JANUARY 1962, THE CITY-WIDE PERCENTAGE HAD INCREASED TO 44.8.[25] IN 1957, THERE WERE 64 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN WHICH THE NEGRO-PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT EXCEEDED 90%. BY JANUARY 1962, DESPITE NEW YORK CITY'S NEW PERMISSIVE TRANSFER POLICY, THE NUMBER OF SUCH SCHOOLS HAD INCREASED TO 102, CONSTITUTING 17.8% OF ALL THE CITY'S PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS,[26] AS A RESULT OF THE CONTINUED DROP IN WHITE ENROLLMENTS. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM HAS BEEN ABLE, HOWEVER, TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN WHICH THE "CONTINENTAL WHITE" POPULATION EXCEEDED 90% FROM 290 IN 1957 TO 215 IN JANUARY 1962.[27]

DESEGREGATION IS ONLY ONE PART OF A SCHOOL BOARD'S TASK. INDEED, WERE IT TO STOP AT DESEGREGATION, IT WOULD NOT PERFORM ITS CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY OF EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL ITS PUPILS. NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHIL-

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23/ NEW YORK TIMES, FEB. 21, 1962.

24/ NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION, TOWARDS GREATER OPPORTUNITY, A PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS DEALING WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION, JUNE 1960, P. 6, HEREAFTER CALLED THE THEOBALD REPORT.

25/ JAN. 1962 REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ZONING UNIT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION.

26/ IBID.

27/ IBID.

DREN, LIVING IN SLUMS, WITH LITTLE OR NO PARENTAL SUPERVISION, MOVING FREQUENTLY IN THE MIDDLE OF SCHOOL TERMS,[28] WITH POOR MOTIVATION AND LOW EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND OCCASIONALLY SPEAKING ENGLISH POORLY,[29] WILL REQUIRE MORE THAN ATTENDANCE AT A THEORETICALLY INTEGRATED SCHOOL TO OVERCOME SUCH HANDICAPS. PHYSICAL FACILITIES, EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL, SIZE OF CLASSES, OVERCROWDING, CALIBER AND EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM MUST ALSO BE EQUALIZED.

A DELIBERATE PROVISION OF INFERIOR FACILITIES FOR MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IS OBVIOUSLY A VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT EVEN WHERE THE SCHOOL BOARD IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR SEGREGATION. BUT WHERE ONE GROUP IN A SCHOOL SYSTEM IS MARKEDLY HANDICAPPED IN COMPARISON WITH OTHERS, THE PROVISION OF EQUAL FACILITIES FOR EACH MAY BE INEQUITABLE. "EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW," THE SUPREME COURT HAS TOLD US, "IS NOT ACHIEVED THROUGH INDISCRIMINATE IMPOSITION OF INEQUALITIES."[30] NEITHER IS IT ACHIEVED THROUGH THE MECHANICAL PROVISION OF EQUAL FACILITIES WHEN ONLY DISPROPORTIONS WILL REDRESS PRIOR INEQUALITIES AND CULTURAL DEPRIVATIONS. AS THE LOWER COURT STATED IN THE NEW ROCHELLE CASE: "THERE ARE INSTANCES WHERE IT IS NOT ONLY JUSTIFIED, BUT NECESSARY, TO PROVIDE FOR SUCH ALLEGEDLY 'UNEQUAL TREATMENT' IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE EQUALITY GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION." OR, AS THE NEW YORK CITY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS PUT IT IN EXPLAINING THE SPECIAL SERVICES REQUIRED BY "DIFFICULT" OR "SPECIAL SERVICE" SCHOOLS, "THE NATURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE OUGHT TO BE COW-

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28/ IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN MANHATTAN, THERE WERE 669 ADMISSIONS AND 456 DISCHARGES IN ONE SCHOOL YEAR OUT OF A TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION OF 1550; IN A BROOKLYN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, 610 ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES IN A SCHOOL POPULATION OF 1335; IN A BRONX SCHOOL 1077 ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES IN A STUDENT BODY OF 1450. PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, HOW DIFFICULT ARE THE DIFFICULT SCHOOLS?, P. 13 (1959). SEE ALSO THEOBALD REPORT, P. 43.

29/ ABOUT 80,000 CHILDREN IN THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM "DO NOT SPEAK THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, OR SPEAK IT WITH SUCH LITTLE COMPITENCE AS TO REQUIRE SPECIAL TRAINING IN THE USE OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE." STATEMENT BY MAX J. RUBIN, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION, PRESENTED TO THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON SCHOOL FINANCING, JAN. 19, 1962.

30/ SHELLEY V. KRAEMER, 334 U.S. 1, 22 (1948).

SISTENT WITH THE NEEDS OF THE CHILDREN.[31]

IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE THAT THE SIZE OF CLASSES IN THE SEGREGATED INFERIOR SCHOOLS IS NO LARGER THAN IN OTHER SCHOOLS; THEY MUST BE SMALLER TO COMPENSATE FOR RACIAL AND ETHNIC HANDICAPS. SIMILARLY, A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF REMEDIAL READING AND ARITHMETIC TEACHERS, GUIDANCE COUNSELORS AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL MUST BE DETAILED TO EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN. FINALLY, THERE MUST BE AN END TO THE PRACTICE UNDER WHICH THE WORST TEACHERS IN THE SYSTEM ARE ASSIGNED TO THE DIFFICULT SCHOOLS. EMPHASIS SHOULD BE ON THE NEEDS OF THE SCHOOLS RATHER THAN ON PREFERENCE OF TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS.

THE FACILITIES OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS ARE OFTEN FLAGRANTLY INFERIOR TO THOSE AVAILABLE AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS. USUALLY THIS INEQUALITY RESULTS FROM THE FACT THAT NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS TEND TO COINCIDE WITH OLD BLIGHTED SLUM DISTRICTS IN WHICH ARE LOCATED THE OLDEST SCHOOL BUILDINGS OF A CITY CONTAINING OBSOLETE SCHOOL FACILITIES. BUT THE INDIFFERENCE OF SCHOOL BOARDS AND THE FAILURE TO ADOPT CORRECTIVE OR AMELIORATIVE MEASURES OFTEN COMPOUND THE DISCRIMINATION. THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE CHARGED PUBLICLY IN FEBRUARY 1962[32] THAT

A. THE AVERAGE AGE OF NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN CHICAGO WAS 5 YEARS MORE THAN THAT OF "WHITE" SCHOOLS.

B. NEGRO SCHOOLS HAD STRIKINGLY FEWER LIBRARIES, LUNCHROOMS, HOME MECHANICS ROOMS AND OTHER NON-CLASSROOM FACILITIES.

C. OF 24,700 STUDENTS ON DOUBLE-SHIFT, 90% WERE NEGROES, ALTHOUGH THEY CONSTITUTE ONLY 43% OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION.

D. THE APPROPRIATION FOR EACH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD WAS 20% LESS IN NEGRO SCHOOLS THAN IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

THAT THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CHILDREN IN SEGREGATED SCHOOLS IS MARKEDLY BELOW THAT OF THEIR WHITE PEERS IS A MATTER OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE VERIFIED BY MANY

31/ THEOBALD REPORT, PP. 10-11.

32/ STATEMENT OF THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE SUBMITTED TO THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL PROBLEMS COMMISSION, FEB. 1, 1962.

STUDIES. AN INVESTIGATION IN 1955 BY THE PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK CITY AT THE REQUEST, AND WITH THE COOPERATION, OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION REVEALED THAT THE AVERAGE READING TEST SCORES OF NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN EIGHTH GRADE CHILDREN IN THE CITY'S PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WERE TWO YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS BELOW THOSE OF A SAMPLE OF EIGHTH GRADE CHILDREN IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS. THE COMPARABLE AVERAGE ARITHMETIC TEST SCORES SHOWED A DIFFERENTIAL OF TWO YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS.[33/] IN 1962, THE PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ESTIMATED THAT 171,000 CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM WERE "RETARDED TWO OR MORE YEARS IN READING."[34/] SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN AND OF ITSELF IS OBVIOUSLY NOT THE ONLY FACTOR RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS EDUCATIONAL RETARDATION[35/] BUT THAT IT PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE SEEMS CLEAR.

NEW YORK CITY IS BY NO MEANS ATYPICAL. A RECENT REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION BY DR. MARK SCHINNERER, ITS SPECIAL CONSULTANT, DECLARED:

> A 1960 PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDY OF 14 OF THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING NEW YORK, FOUND THAT APPROXIMATELY 1 OUT OF 3 OF THE PUPILS WAS SEVERELY CULTURALLY DEPRIVED. THE ESTIMATE FOR 1950 WAS THAT THE NUMBER HAD BEEN 1 IN 10. IT WAS ESTIMATED, FURTHER, THAT THE NUMBER WOULD BE 1 IN 2 BY 1970 IF A MASSIVE AND EFFECTIVE EFFORT WERE NOT MADE TO HALT AND REVERSE THE TREND.

THERE ARE INCREASING INDICATIONS THAT NORTHERN SCHOOL BOARDS OTHER THAN THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ARE BECOMING "COLOR-CONSCIOUS" AND BEGINNING TO ASSUME THEIR EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES. IN SAN FRANCISCO, THE BOARD

33/ PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, THE STATUS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION OF NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN IN NEW YORK CITY, OCT. 1955, P. 24.

34/ STATEMENT OF MAX J. RUBIN, SUPRA NOTE 29.

35/ SEE DEUTSCH, MINORITY GROUP AND CLASS STATUS AS RELATED TO SOCIAL AND PERSONALITY FACTORS IN SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT, SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, 1960.

OF EDUCATION RECENTLY DIRECTED ITS SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT TO FIND OUT HOW MANY OF ITS PUBLIC SCHOOLS WERE DE FACTO SEGREGATED AND TO RECOMMEND A CORRECTIVE PROGRAM.[35A] IN DETROIT, A CITIZEN'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE LOCAL BOARD OF EDUCATION COMPLETED A TWO YEAR STUDY AND SUBMITTED A 450 PAGE REPORT CONTAINING 150 RECOMMENDATIONS TO COPE WITH WIDESPREAD SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.[36]

LAST MONTH, MANY LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS IN NEW JERSEY BEGAN INDEPENDENTLY TO DEVELOP SOLUTIONS. IN MORRISTOWN, AS HAS BEEN NOTED (P. 8), A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL IN THE HEART OF A BLACK GHETTO WAS ABANDONED AND ITS PUPILS TRANSFERRED TO FOUR OTHER NEIGHBORING SCHOOLS WITH PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ENROLLMENTS.[37] IN JERSEY CITY, N.J., THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD, CONCEDING THE EXISTENCE OF DE FACTO SEGREGATION IN SOME OF ITS SCHOOLS, APPOINTED A TEN-MEMBER COMMITTEE, COMPRISED OF FIVE EDUCATORS AND FIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LOCAL NAACP "TO WORK OUT THE PROBLEM."[38] IN NEWARK, THE SCHOOL BOARD ADOPTED A PLAN, EFFECTIVE IN SEPTEMBER 1962, UNDER WHICH PUPILS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO TRANSFER TO SCHOOLS IN OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS WHICH HAVE ROOM FOR THEM. TRANSPORTATION WILL NOT BE FURNISHED, HOWEVER.[39] IN MONTCLAIR, A CITIZENS COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE SCHOOL BOARD RECOMMENDED A PUPIL REASSIGNMENT PLAN TO FURTHER INTEGRATION IN THREE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS.[40] IN PLAINFIELD, THE LOCAL SCHOOL RECOGNIZING A RACIAL IMBALANCE IN ITS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS HIRED FIVE EDUCATORS TO STUDY THE PROBLEM.[42]

IN STAMFORD, CONN., A CITIZENS ADVISORY GROUP APPOINTED BY THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD RECOMMENDED A REVISION OF SCHOOL DISTRICT LINES TO PREVENT A NEW HIGH SCHOOL FROM BECOMING ALL WHITE.[43]

35A/ SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, JAN. 24, 1962.
36/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 11, 1962.
37/ NEW YORK TIMES, FEB. 21, 1962.
38/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 10, 1962.
39/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 17, 1962.
40/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 15, 1962.
41/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 13, 1962.
42/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 22, 1962.
43/ REPORT OF THE CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE DISTRICTING OF THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, NEW YORK TIMES, DEC. 14, 1962.

WHERE SCHOOL BOARDS HAVE IGNORED LOCAL PROTESTS AGAINST EDUCATIONAL SEGREGATION OR HAVE BEEN SLOW IN ACTING, LITIGATION HAS ENSUED. LAW SUITS, PRINCIPALLY IN THE FEDERAL COURTS, CHARGING ILLEGAL SEGREGATION IN AMITYVILLE, N.Y.,[44] IN CENTREVILLE, ILL.,[45] IN CHICAGO,[46] DETROIT,[47] ENGLEWOOD, N.J.,[48] HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.,[49] MANHASSET, N.Y.,[50] NEWARK, N.J.,[51] ORANGE, N.J.,[52] PASADENA, CALIF.,[53] AND PHILADELPHIA[54] ARE NOW PENDING.

THE EFFORT TO RAISE THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF UNDER-PRIVILEGED NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN REQUIRES VAST SUMS OF MONEY. IN NEW YORK CITY, THE BOARD OF EDUCATION SPENT ABOUT $300,000 IN A THREE-YEAR PERIOD IN ONE SCHOOL ALONE (J.H.S. 43) IN AN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT WHICH DEMONSTRATED THAT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF SLUM CHILDREN COULD BE LIFTED SPECTACULARLY BY SATURATING THE SCHOOL WITH REMEDIAL TEACHERS, ATTENDANCE AND BEHAVIOR COUNSELORS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL.[55] BUT AS THE NEW YORK CITY SUPERINTENDENT HAS POINTED OUT TO HIS COMMITTEE, THERE ARE 200 SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK ENROLLING ABOUT

44/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 22, 1962.
45/ CHICAGO DEFENDER, OCTOBER 8, 1961.
46/ WEBB V. BD. OF EDUCATION, NO. C61, 1569, N.Y.TIMES, OCT. 1, 1961. A SECOND SUIT BY ANOTHER GROUP OF NEGRO PLAINTIFFS WAS FILED IN JANUARY 1962. N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 20, 1962.

47/ SHERILL SCHOOL PARENTS COMMITTEE V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF DETROIT, CIVIL ACTION NO. 22092 (E.D. MICH., 1962). DETROIT FREE PRESS, JAN. 23, 1962. AN EARLIER SUIT CHARGING SEGREGATION AT AN ALL-NEGRO SCHOOL WAS SETTLED IN FEDERAL COURT AFTER THE SCHOOL BOARD AGREED TO TRANSFER 42 WHITE STUDENTS TO THE SCHOOL. N.Y. TIMES, SEPT. 8, 1961.

48/ N.Y.TIMES, FEB. 6, 1962. THE SCHOOL BOARD IN APRIL 1961 HAD ENGAGED THREE PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANTS, INCLUDING DR. DAN DODSON, TO STUDY ITS ENROLLMENT PROBLEMS. THEIR REPORT IS DUE THIS MONTH.

49/ N.Y.TIMES, FEB. 21, 1962.
50/ N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 22, 1962.
51/ N.Y.TIMES, OCT. 3, 1961.
52/ N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 6, 1961.
53/ JACKSON V. PASADENA CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT, SUPERIOR COURT OF CALIFORNIA COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES. N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 20, 1962. A DEMURRER TO THE COMPLAINT WAS SUSTAINED ON SEPT. 27, 1961 AND AN APPEAL TAKEN.
54/ CHISHOLM V. BD. OF EDUCATION, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 29706 (E.D. PA.), N.Y. TIMES, JUNE 8, 1961.
55/ THEOBALD REPORT, P. 84.

200,000 Negro and Puerto Rican children that need this intensive program and from 50 to 60 million dollars will therefore be needed if New York City is to provide such children with equal educational opportunity. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has accordingly concluded that the "per pupil cost of $200 a year places this program beyond the reach of most school systems."[56/]

Apparently recognizing that the program is too expensive even for New York, the school officials of that city have now launched a modified version of the J.H.S. 43 experiment, at a cost of only $50 per pupil per year.[57/] This "Higher Horizons Program" is now operating in 63 elementary and secondary schools in New York City involving about 40,000 children. Federal, state and municipal funds totaling about $1,500,000 are invested in the program. The Board of Regents which supervises public and private education in New York State has urged the extension of this program to every city in the state but the state legislature appropriated only $200,000 for this purpose.[58/]

The 1961 report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights describes no less than 16 experimental programs conducted all over the country to improve the educational opportunities of minority group children. But their expansion to entire school systems will require immense sums which are not available to school boards desperately trying to replace antiquated buildings, reduce class size and hire new teachers with inadequate budgets. There is only one place from which such vast sums can be obtained and that is the Federal Government. The harmful combined effects of slum neighborhoods and school segregation can only be overcome by huge expenditures.

Precedents for such Federal assistance already exist. For example, Con-

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56/ United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1961 Report, Volume 2, "Education," p. 129.

57/ Id. at 131

58/ CTS Bulletin, Spring, 1961, published by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

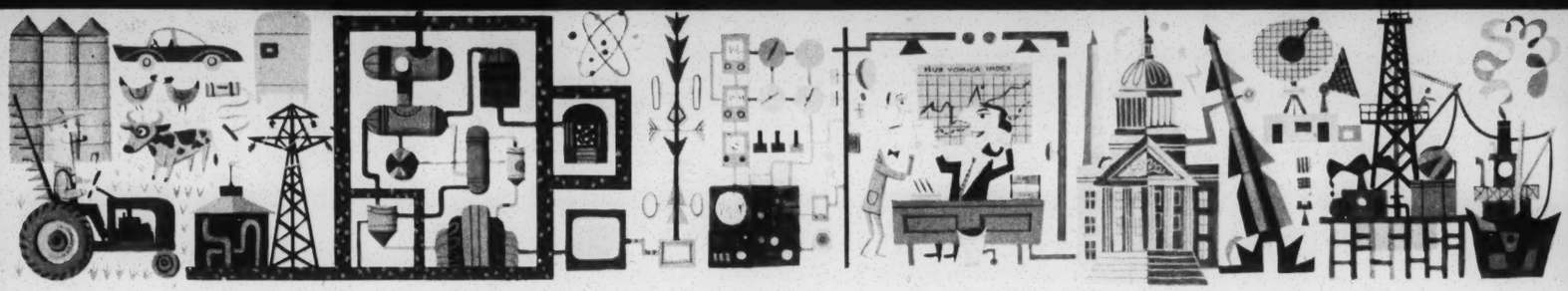
GRESS PROVIDED IN 1958 FOR A PROGRAM OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO STATE PLANS FOR GUIDANCE, COUNSELING AND TESTING OF SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN.[59/] UNDER THESE PROVISIONS, PAYMENTS ARE MADE TO THE VARIOUS STATES TO AID THEM IN PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO IDENTIFY STUDENTS WITH OUTSTANDING APTITUDE, TO ADVISE STUDENTS OF COURSES BEST SUITED TO THEIR ABILITY AND TO ENCOURAGE STUDENTS WITH OUTSTANDING ABILITY TO COMPLETE THEIR SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION AND TO TAKE THE COURSES NECESSARY FOR ADMISSION TO COLLEGE. A SIMILAR PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE LAUNCHED TO OVERCOME THE EDUCATIONAL RETARDATION RESULTING FROM SEGREGATION AND SLUM CONDITIONS.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM. THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION REQUIRED IN THE 1961 BILL THAT 10% OF ALL SUMS ALLOTTED TO ANY STATE SHOULD BE EARMARKED TO IMPROVE THE LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION FOR UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN. (S. 1021, SEC. 109). THE 1962 BILLS GO FURTHER. H.R. 10145, INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVE FRANK THOMPSON, JR., OF NEW JERSEY IS ENTITLED "IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF TEACHING IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS." SEC. 201 (A) OF THAT BILL AUTHORIZES THE APPROPRIATION OF $50,000,000 A YEAR FOR FIVE YEARS IN THE FORM OF GRANTS TO STATES "TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS." ONLY WHEN SUCH A BILL BECOMES LAW AND FEDERAL FUNDS BECOME AVAILABLE TO ASSIST MUNICIPAL SCHOOL BOARDS CAN THEY BEGIN TO EQUALIZE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL THE CHILDREN ENTRUSTED TO THEIR CARE.

WILL MASLOW

MARCH 27, 1962

59/ 20 U.S.C., SECS. 481-484.



FORTUNE

March 1962

The City and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

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The Negro Migration from South to North and from Country to City

One of the great population changes in modern history is depicted in the maps above, which show the Negro population of the U.S. by state and city of residence. Each dot represents 10,000 Negroes; major city concentrations are shown by clusters of dots. (A single dot is used in states like Nevada, which have fewer than 10,000 Negroes.)

As the maps reveal, Negroes are involved in two shifts: from South to North, and from country to city. Half a century ago, in 1910, eight out of ten U.S. Negroes resided in one or another of the eleven states of the Old Confederacy. Over 90 per cent of these Negroes, moreover, lived in rural areas. Negroes began moving to the North during World War I and continued to move during the 1920's, when restrictive legislation slowed down the flow of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. By 1940 the Negro population in the Old Confederacy had increased only 12 per cent, whereas in the same period the Negro population elsewhere in the U.S. had more than doubled, from 1,900,000 to four million. But the Old Confederacy still contained more than two-thirds of all U.S. Negroes.

The Negro migrations got under way again during World War II, and have continued since then. Between 1940 and 1960 the Negro population outside the Old Confederacy increased two and one-quarter times, going from nearly four million to over nine million—48 per cent of the total U.S. Negro population. In the eleven states of the Old Confederacy, by contrast, Negro population grew a scant 9 per cent. Most of the increase outside the South occurred in the central cities of the twelve largest U.S. metropolitan areas—New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco-Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, Baltimore—which now hold 31 per cent of all U.S. Negroes. In the last decade, however, Negro migration has diffused somewhat from big to smaller cities, such as Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, New Haven, Fort Wayne, San Diego.

Within the Old Confederacy, meanwhile, Negro population was shifting from country to city. The number of Negroes declined in the rural areas, as the proportion living in cities jumped from 21 per cent in 1940 (and 7 per cent in 1910) to 41 per cent in 1960. The Negro population of Dallas and Houston, for example, went up two and a half times, and rose 75 per cent in Atlanta and Miami.

"The approved way to talk about cities these days," Paul Ylvisaker of the Ford Foundation has observed, "is to speak solemnly, sadly, ominously, and fearfully about their problems. You don't rate as an expert on the city unless you foresee its doom." Doom is easy to foresee in the spreading slums, the increasing crime rates, the public disaffection of almost every large city. And yet the city can survive, as it has survived for a century and a half. Indeed, American cities today have a chance to achieve their greatest success and their greatest glory.

For this to happen, however, city planners and civic leaders will have to understand better than they now do what their cities' greatest problem is. It is not, as so many assume, to bring the wandering middle class back from the suburbs. The large city, as Jane Jacobs of *Architectural Forum* has put it, cannot import a middle class; it must manufacture its own. And, indeed, most of the huge middle class that dominates American life today was manufactured in the big-city slums of yesteryear. Cities always have had to create their own stable, cultivated citizenry out of whatever raw material lay at hand. For the American city during the past hundred and fifty years, the raw material was the stream of immigrants pouring in from Britain, Ireland, Germany, Norway, Russia, Italy, and a dozen other lands. The city needed these immigrants to build its streets and offices, to man its factories, service its homes and hotels and restaurants,

The City and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

and do all the dirty and menial jobs that older residents disdained. But the city did more than use its newcomers; it equipped them to take their place as fully participating members of U.S. society. Doing this—bringing people from society's backwaters into the mainstream of American life—has always been the principal business, and the principal glory, of the American city.

It isn't any longer; the city is in trouble today because it isn't dealing successfully with its newcomers. They are still pouring in—not from County Cork, or Bavaria, or Sicily, or Galicia, but from Jackson, Mississippi, and Memphis, Tennessee, and a host of towns and hamlets with names like Sunflower, Rolling Fork, and Dyersburg. The new immigrants are distinguished from the older residents not by religion or national origin, but by color. Between 1950 and 1960 the twelve largest U.S. cities lost over two million white residents; they gained nearly two million Negro residents.

It is the explosive growth of their Negro populations, in fact, that constitutes the large cities' principal problem and concern. When city officials talk about spreading slums, they are talking in the main about physical deterioration of the areas inhabited by Negroes. And when they talk about juvenile delinquency, or the burden of welfare payments, or any of a long list of city problems, officials are talking principally about the problems of Negro adjustment to city life. For the large city is not absorbing and "urbanizing" its new Negro residents rapidly enough; its slums are no longer acting as the incubator of a new middle class.

One reason for this failure is that city planners have been more interested in upgrading the value of the city's real estate than in upgrading the lives of the human beings who inhabit the real estate. They have tried to create middle-class neighborhoods by driving lower-class Negro residents out of the neighborhood being renewed, and bringing white middle-class residents in; Negroes bitterly refer to urban renewal as "Negro removal." (An estimated 80 per cent of the families relocated by urban-renewal projects have been Negro.) The effort is doomed to failure. Driving the Negroes out of one area merely creates a new and frequently worse slum somewhere else in the city.

The city can be saved only if it faces up to the fact that "the urban problem" is in large measure a Negro problem. But the Negro problem is more than just an urban problem; it is also the problem of all the U.S., rural or urban, North or South—though it is in the large northern cities that the solution is most likely. Speeding the Negro's integration into American life—helping the big-city Negroes move up into the great American middle class—is the largest and most urgent piece of public business facing the U.S. today.

It is also the most difficult. There is a tendency among

many well-intentioned Americans to underestimate this difficulty. Some people see the Negro problem as purely legal and social and assume that it will be solved automatically by desegregating schools, restaurants, bus terminals, and housing developments. Other people see it as purely economic, to be resolved by upgrading Negro jobs and incomes. And a good many Americans believe the problem would be solved if the Negroes would just decide to adopt white middle-class standards of behavior and white middle-class goals of economic success.

There are no cheap or easy answers to the Negro problem, however; it involves all these elements and a good many more besides. The problem's roots go back to slavery, whose impact is still being felt in the disorganization of the Negro family, and to the Negro's systematic exclusion from American society since slavery ended a century ago. These are sins for which all Americans are in some measure guilty and for which all Americans owe some act of atonement. Those who hesitate to act because of the magnitude of the problem should remember the stricture of Edmund Burke: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

But the triumph of "good" in this instance (as in most others) requires a lot more than good will. To solve the Negro problem will demand difficult and occasionally heroic decisions on the part of civic and political leaders, and changes in the behavior of Americans in every walk of life: teachers and students; trade-union leaders and members; employers and employees. This article—the sixth in FORTUNE's series on "The Public Business"—will document what is being done across the country, and what needs to be done, to speed the Negro's advance and thereby save the large city.

Filling the vacuum

The Negro has come to the big city because it needed his labor, especially after the cutting off of European immigration created a vacuum in northern labor markets. The Negro population outside the Deep South has increased fivefold since 1910; it has nearly tripled just since 1940. (See maps, pages 2 and 3 .) Part of this expansion, of course, has come from natural increase rather than migration; but it is the migration of Negroes in the childbearing ages that enabled the natural increase to occur outside the South.

Most of the Negroes moving to the North have crowded into the slums of the twelve largest cities, which today hold 60 per cent of the Negroes living outside the Deep South. Since 1940 the Negro population of New York City has increased nearly two and one-half times, to 1,100,000, or 14 per cent of the city's population. In Philadelphia, Negroes have doubled in number since 1940, to 529,000, or 26 per cent. The Negro population of Detroit has more than tripled, to nearly 500,000, or 29 per cent of the city's population. And the Negro population of Los Angeles County has jumped a phenomenal sixfold since 1940, from 75,000 to 464,000.

The Negroes, to be sure, are not the only disadvantaged peoples coming into the large cities. In New York the Puerto Rican population swelled from perhaps 100,000 in 1940 to over 700,000 in 1960. And Cincinnati, Baltimore, St. Louis, Columbus, Detroit, and Chicago, among others, receive a steady stream of impoverished white hillbillies from the southern Appalachian Mountains. These Appalachian whites—of the oldest and purest U.S. stock—have at least as much initial difficulty adjusting to the city as do the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. But the Puerto Ricans and Appalachian whites affect only a limited number of cities, usually in only a limited way. There are a good many other city problems besides the Negro problem, in short. But the Negro problem is what city planners and officials are really talking about when they refer to The City Problem.

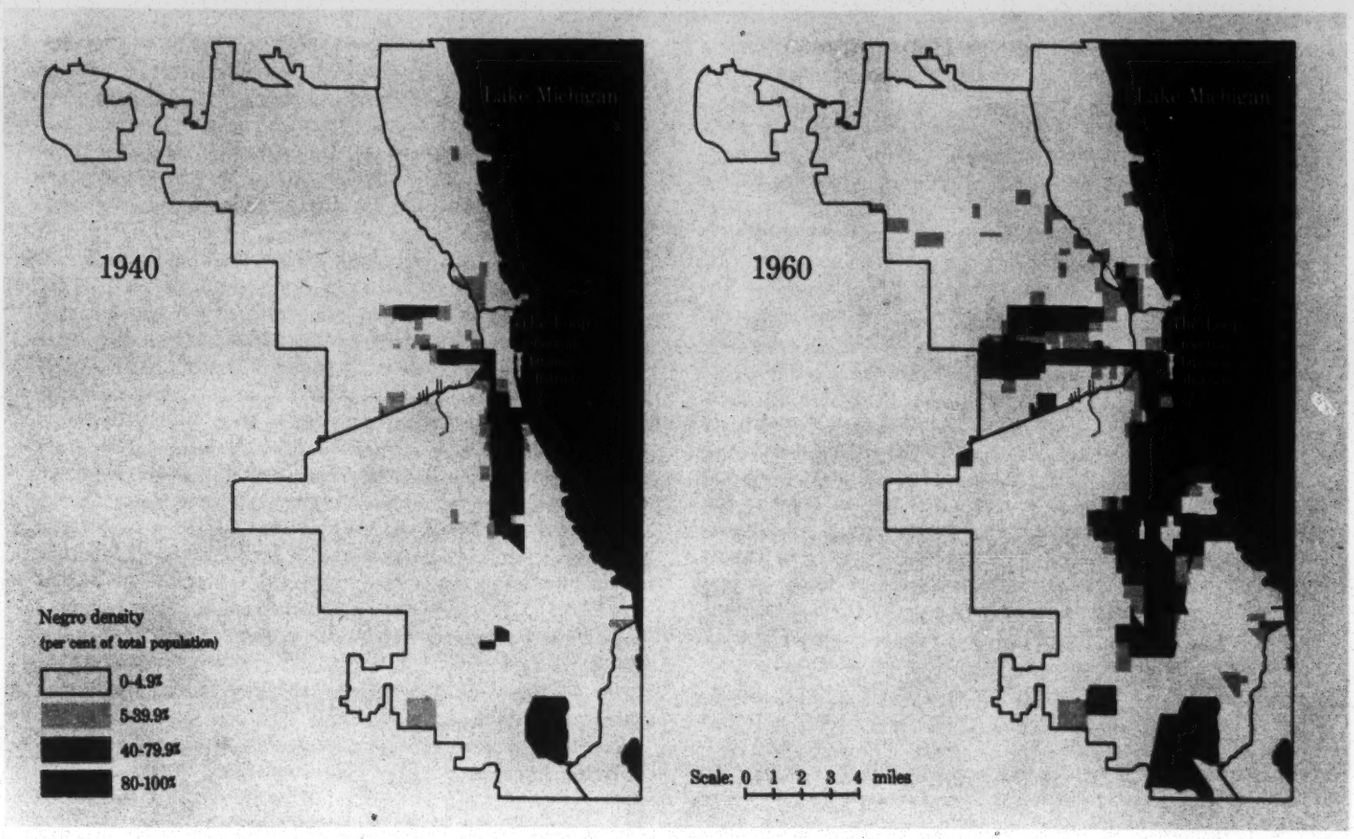
The crucial difference

Migration to the large city has always involved a heavy cost in family dislocation, pauperism, crime, delinquency, and urban blight. Immigrants bring with them housekeeping and other habits that clash with city standards; and the impersonality of city life tends to erode the social relationships that regulated behavior in "the old country." Hence the U.S. middle class has always had the sense of being engulfed by uncultivated newcomers, and has always been on the move. As early as the 1840's, for example, New York City's Fourth Ward—the district in which George Washington had lived when he was inaugurated President—had become a slum so overrun by violence that even the police dared not enter except in parties of six or more. And by the 1870's New Yorkers were already lamenting the exodus of men of "moderate income to the suburban towns." With its "middle classes in large part self-exiled, its laboring population being brutalized in the tenements, and its citizens of the highest class indifferent to the common weal," a journalist commented at the time, "New York has drifted from bad to worse and become the prey of professional thieves, ruffians, and political jugglers." Measured against the backdrop of history, therefore, the gangs and crime and squalor of today seem almost benign, and some historians'

The Changing Face of Chicago

Chicago has the second-largest Negro population of any city in the U.S.—813,000 at the 1960 census count, or three times as many as it had in 1940. Negroes now represent about 23 per cent of the city's total population. The pattern of change in Chicago typifies that of most northern cities which have had a large Negro influx. In 1940, when Chicago had only 277,700 Negroes (8 per cent of total population), the great bulk lived in a long, narrow ghetto south of the Loop, the city's central business district. There were very few Negroes (i.e., fewer than 5 per cent) in 814 of the city's 935 census tracts. The sixty-six tracts that were 80 per cent or more Negro contained 86 per cent of the city's total Negro population. Chicago has remained a highly segregated city, despite the enormous increase in Negro population. Census tracts with 80 per cent or more Negroes now contain 80 per cent of the city's Negro population (tracts with 40 to 80 per cent Negroes hold another 12 per cent), while tracts with fewer than 5 per cent Negroes hold 89 per cent of the city's white population. But now there are 152 tracts that are 80 to 100 per cent Negro, compared to sixty-six in 1940.

The growth in Negro residence has occurred largely by expanding the old Negro ghetto into the adjoining areas rather than by settling new areas. (See right-hand map.) The expansion of the Negro ghetto has produced some improvement in the quality of Negro housing, however; conditions that white middle-class people call "blight" to Negroes represent a great improvement in housing standards.



and sociologists have concluded that time and patience are almost all that's needed.

It will take more than that. The Negro is unlike the European immigrant in one crucial respect: he is colored. And that makes all the difference. The Irish, to be sure, faced job discrimination a century ago as severe as the Negro faces today. But the Irishman could lose his brogue; as soon as he was "Americanized," his problem was resolved. But the Negro cannot escape so easily. "All other slum dwellers, when the bank account permits it," James Baldwin has written, "can move out of the slum and vanish altogether from the eye of persecution." Not so the Negro.

There are other differences. The European peasant, no matter how depressed his position, had roots in a "whole society" with a stable culture and stable institutions and above all a stable family life. The Negro does not. Slavery made a stable family life (and a stable culture) impossible. Husbands could be sold away from wives, children from parents. Such family life as did exist centered almost entirely around the mother.

What slavery began, prejudice and discrimination have helped perpetuate. Family disorganization is endemic. Negro women frequently find it easier to get jobs—e.g., as domestics—than Negro men, thus making them the financial center of the family. The inability of Negro men to find jobs that confer status and dignity, together with the servility required of them in the South, have led Negro men to sexual promiscuity, drinking, and violence as means of asserting their masculinity. Embittered by their experience with men, Negro mothers seem to take more interest in their daughters' than in their sons' upbringing. Twice as many Negro girls as boys go to college. (Among white college students, the reverse is true.) And family disorganization is compounded by the overcrowding and dilapidation of Negro housing.

Hence the Negro, all too often, is trapped in a vicious circle from which he cannot extricate himself. Little in the Negro boy's environment is likely to give him any sense of aspiration or any direction; he has no male model to follow and little reason to assume that education offers a way out of the slum. His lack of education and aspiration, in turn, makes it virtually impossible for the Negro youth to find a job with dignity and status, even where discrimination is absent. All too often, therefore, he decides that there is no point to trying, and he loses the capacity to take advantage of such opportunities as do arise. In the jargon of the social worker, he "develops a self-defeating mode of living" that keeps him trapped in the slum forever.

To make matters worse, the gap is widening between Negro education and training, on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market, on the other. The Europeans immigrated during periods of rapidly expanding U.S. demand for unskilled labor; no great transfer of skill was needed to enable an Irish or Italian peasant to find a job on a construction gang. But in the U.S. today, the demand for unskilled labor is shrinking relative to the total labor force. Since 1947, employment of white-collar workers—executives, entrepreneurs, professional and scientific employees, clerks, and salesmen—has gone up 43 per cent, compared to only a 14 per cent gain in blue-collar and service-worker employment. By 1970 a substantial majority of workers will be in white-collar or highly skilled blue-collar jobs—in jobs that characteristically require real training and thought. Three out of

four nonfarm Negro male workers, however, are in unskilled or semiskilled occupations, compared to only one in three among white workers.

In this new world of specialized skills, Negroes have more and more trouble finding and holding jobs. The unemployment rate among Negro men is more than twice that among white men. In some cities as many as one Negro male in three is out of work. The problem is particularly acute among Negro youths; in one northern Negro slum area surveyed by Dr. James B. Conant, 70 per cent of the young men who had left school were out of work; in another the ratio was over 50 per cent.

The other side of Jordan

It would be a serious mistake to equate the Negro's apparent apathy and lack of motivation with a sense of contentment. It is a lot harder for today's Negro to bear his poverty and lack of status than it was for the European immigrant, who arrived at a time when the great majority of the population was poor. The Negro migration, by contrast, is occurring in an affluent society. Like the underdeveloped peoples everywhere, American Negroes have been fired by the revolution of rising expectations. In Harry Ashmore's phrase, Negroes have seen "the other side of Jordan"; they are in a hurry to cross. Among a good many Negroes, especially the college students involved in the sit-in movement, impatience with their rate of progress has conquered apathy and led to direct, disciplined, and frequently courageous action to improve the Negro position in American life. But among the great mass of working-class Negroes and a large part of the middle class, apathy exists side by side with a growing, festering resentment of their lot. These Negroes are more and more convinced that they should have a better life; they are less and less convinced that they themselves can do anything about it.

Impatience is greatest, perhaps, in the area of civil rights; the Supreme Court decision on school segregation raised expectations of a new era in race relations that has been painfully slow in coming. But Negroes are also impatient over their economic progress. During World War II and the early postwar boom, Negroes did make remarkable economic strides; the median income of urban Negro males shot up from less than 40 per cent of white income in 1939 to 60 per cent in 1952. Negroes have not been able to improve their relative position since 1952, however; the slowdown in the economy during the 1950's bore most heavily on the durable-goods industries, where many Negroes are employed. Thus the income of the average Negro male city dweller, which was 60 per cent of the average white income in 1952, had gone up only to 61 per cent by 1960. Outside the cities, average Negro income has actually declined since 1952.

As a result, impatience is turning into bitterness, anger, and hatred. The danger is not violence but something much deeper and harder to combat: a sense of permanent alienation from American society. Unless the Negro position improves very quickly, Negroes of whatever class may come to regard their separation from American society as permanent, and so consider themselves permanently outside the constraints and the allegiances of American society. The Negro district of every large city would come to constitute an American Casbah, with its own values and its own controls—and a deep hostility to the white community. In such a situation, communication between the races would become impossible. And life in the large city would become unbearable.

But the Negro advance depends on changes within the Negro community as well as within the white community. Understandably, Negroes have been reluctant to recognize this fact. They have assumed that an end to discriminatory practices will by itself solve the Negro problem. It will do nothing of the sort, although an end to discrimination certainly is a prerequisite to any solution. "If the color barrier could be eliminated overnight," Professor Eli Ginzberg of Columbia put the matter baldly in *The Negro Potential*, "that fact alone would not materially improve the position of the Negro."

The truth is that too many Negroes are unable—or unwilling—to compete in an integrated society. Because of the shortage of professional and technical personnel in industry and government, just about any qualified Negro can get a good job, but employers willing to hire Negroes have trouble finding Negroes to hire. Colleges and medical and professional schools eager to admit Negroes (and to give them scholarships) cannot find as many qualified Negroes as they are willing to admit; the National Scholarship and Service Fund for Negro Students reports that there are five times as many places available in northern colleges as there are Negroes to fill them. Nor have Negroes been taking advantage of the professional and business opportunities that the growth of the big-city Negro population has offered. The number of Negro physicians in the U.S. has been static for fifty years. As the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights sadly concluded, a principal reason for continued Negro poverty is "the lack of motivation on the part of many Negroes to improve their educational and occupational status."

The Negro community also lacks the sort of self-help institutions through which the European immigrants climbed out of their slums. Negroes, as Professor James Q. Wilson of Harvard put it in *Negro Politics*, are "the objects rather than the subjects of civic action. Things are often done for, or about, or to, or because of Negroes, but they are less frequently done *by* Negroes." There is no tradition of Negro philanthropy. Because the Negro has no indigenous culture to protect, the Negro community has not seen the same need to organize itself that European ethnic groups felt. The paucity of Negro self-help organizations may also be due to the tremendous growth of public assistance during the past quarter-century. The fact that help now comes from the city or state or federal government, sociologist Nathan Glazer suggests, has tended to channel "social energies" into the formulation of demands for new governmental programs rather than into the establishment and financing of voluntary organizations among Negroes.

The need for excellence

This institutional vacuum must be filled. For one thing, charitable and social-welfare programs organized, staffed, and supported by Negroes are likely to have a much greater impact on Negro behavior than programs administered by government or by private white agencies, both of which tend to be viewed with suspicion and hostility. Then, too, as Professor Ginzberg has been reminding Negro audiences, freedom is only the precondition for equality, not its equivalent. The more Negroes get what they want in terms of formal rights—voting, education, desegregation, etc.—the more responsibility they will have to assume for their own well-being.

This fact is now beginning to get its due. Perhaps the most important single factor making for solution of the Negro problem is the emergence of pride of race among Negroes. This new pride is the product of many factors: the Negro gains during World War II, the independence of the African nations, the courage and dignity shown by the sit-ins and Freedom Riders. Pride, to be sure, is always a two-edged

sword; among the Black Muslims it leads to hatred of everything white and to threats of anti-white violence. But overall, the new sense of pride is serving to raise the level of Negro aspirations and behavior; even the Black Muslims stress the importance of work, sobriety, chastity, and self-discipline.

A growing number of Negro leaders and spokesmen, moreover—particularly at the national level—are encouraging Negroes to assume more responsibility for their own fate. "All the intellectual arguments and sociological explanations in the world," the distinguished Negro journalist, Carl Rowan, now Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has written, "do not meet fully the need to do something about the fact that people are being killed and maimed, street gangs are spreading terror in big cities, young girls are bearing an increasing number of illegitimate children, and dope and gin mills are flourishing in our urban centers." Negro leaders must recognize, Rowan argues—and in fact, they are beginning to recognize—"that it is not enough to blame every Negro misdeed on segregation, or to pretend that integration will be a cure-all for every social problem in sight."

Significantly, Rowan's view is shared by the man who has given the most dramatic leadership in the fight against segregation and who, more than any other leader, has captured the imagination of the Negro rank and file, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. "We have become so involved in trying to wipe out the institution of segregation, which certainly is a major cause of social problems among Negroes," Dr. King says, "that we have neglected to push programs to raise the moral and cultural climate in our Negro neighborhoods." Negroes, in Dr. King's view, must learn to strive for excellence in every field of endeavor—"not excellence as a Negro doctor or lawyer or a Negro craftsman, but excellence per se." He is urging his Southern Christian Leadership Conference to emphasize what he calls "the constructive program" of raising Negro standards as much as the program of "creative protest"—i.e., the sit-ins.

The National Urban League, moreover, is shifting its emphasis from opening up new job opportunities to preparing Negroes for the job opportunities that are opening up. "It's one thing to eliminate barriers," Dr. Whitney Young Jr., the league's dynamic new executive director, observes, "and quite another to get a previously depressed people to take advantage of the new opportunities." Dr. Young believes that Negro family life must be stabilized if Negroes are to be able to take advantage of these opportunities, and he's looking for funds to finance an ambitious new program in which the league would recruit a number of settled, well-adjusted middle-class Negro families to "adopt" a newly settled family and facilitate their adjustment to urban life.

"More powerful than apathy"

There is reason to think that Negroes, even those living in the worst sort of slum, can be mobilized to help themselves. In many ways the most impressive experiment affecting the Negro anywhere in the U.S. is going on now in Chicago's Woodlawn area, an oblong slum running south of the University of Chicago campus and containing about 100,000 people, almost all Negro. Woodlawn's physical decomposition is more than matched by its social disorganization. It is the principal port of entry for Negroes coming to Chicago from the South, and so has had a large transient population. It also contains a flourishing traffic in gambling, narcotics, and prostitution. Woodlawn, in short, is a social chaos of the sort that social workers have always assumed can never produce a large, active organization.

It's producing one now. The guiding genius is a highly controversial Chicago sociologist and criminologist, Dr. Saul D. Alinsky, executive director of the Industrial Areas Foundation. (No one else in the city of Chicago, as two Woodlawn ministers have written, "is as detested or as loved, as cursed or blessed, as feared or respected.") Alinsky was one of the principal architects of Chicago's much-admired Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, which has turned a white slum area that had been the locale for Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* into one of the most desirable working-class neighborhoods in Chicago. Alinsky was asked by three Protestant ministers and a Catholic priest to organize Woodlawn; the project is being financed by grants from the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Presbyterian Church, and a private philanthropy, the Schwartzhaupt Foundation.

If Alinsky succeeds, it will be the first time a large, broadly representative organization will have come into existence in any Negro district in any large American city. Alinsky is trying to create an organization that, as one local leader puts it, "will be the most powerful thing in Woodlawn—more powerful than the political party . . . more powerful than the apathy that holds the community in its grasp." He eschews the usual appeals to homeowners' interests in conserving property values or to a general neighborhood spirit or civic pride—appeals, in his view, that apply only to middle-class neighborhoods. Alinsky, instead, uses the classical approach of trade-union organization. He appeals to the self-interest of the local residents and to their resentment and distrust of the outside world, and he develops a local, indigenous leadership.

"They're paying attention"

The issue that is principally animating Woodlawn now is the University of Chicago's proposal to annex a strip a block wide and a mile long adjacent to the campus. The Negro residents have no particular attachment to the strip in question, but they suspect that its annexation will be the prelude to bulldozing a large part of the area for middle and upper-income apartment houses. There is ample basis for their fears; urban-renewal projects have been going on for some time under university sponsorship in the Hyde Park–Kenwood district north of the university, designed in good measure to clear Negroes out. To force the university and city-planning officials to bargain with the Woodlawn residents, Alinsky is mobilizing the residents into a group called the Temporary Woodlawn Organization; he had 8,000 Woodlawn people enrolled in the T.W.O. within six months of the project's inception. The T.W.O. organized an impressive campaign to get the usually apathetic Woodlawn residents registered and voting; during the registration period last August, a caravan of forty-six buses took some 2,300 members down to City Hall to register.

What makes the Woodlawn experiment significant, however, is not what it is doing *for* its members but what it is doing *to* them. "The most important thing to me about the forty-six busloads of people who went to City Hall to register," Alinsky says, "was their own reaction. Many were weeping; others were saying, 'They're paying attention to us.' 'They're recognizing that we're people.' " What is crucial, in short, is not what the Woodlawn residents win, but the fact that *they* are winning it. This fact seems to make the Woodlawn members see themselves in a new light, as people of substance and worth. While Alinsky's methods create a sense of militancy that could be misused, they create a sense of responsibility as well, and this is their most important product so far.

The twenty-point drop

The Negro problem is not just the responsibility of the Negro community, of course; its resolution requires drastically changed policies by a variety of governmental agencies. The social institution that touches the Negro problem most directly is the public school, which since the 1890's has been the principal means by which newcomers to the city, or their offspring, have been able to move out of the slums. The public school offers the greatest opportunity to dissolve the cultural barrier that blocks the Negro's advance into the mainstream of American life.

The opportunity is being muffed. Admittedly the problems encountered in the Negro (or for that matter, the white) slum school are enough to discourage the best-intentioned. Children entering school are ill-prepared, poorly motivated, and badly behaved; teachers must spend inordinate amounts of time maintaining order, and they are occasionally in danger of physical harm. Because families move from tenement to tenement with great frequency, pupil turnover is incredibly high—more than 100 per cent in some New York slum schools; the standard quip has it that if a teacher is absent a week, she won't recognize her class when she returns. Under these conditions one might reasonably expect that cities would spend more per Negro pupil than they do per white pupil. The reverse is generally true; the schools in Negro slum areas are the most overcrowded, are manned with the least-experienced teachers, and have the highest ratio of students to teachers.

The results are predictably poor. Coming from semiliterate or illiterate backgrounds, which not only offer no incentive to learn but rather frequently regard the school as a hostile force, many children never learn to read properly. Their inability to read at grade level in turn makes them fall behind in every other subject, even vocational courses; for example, shop students can't learn carpentry if they can't read blueprints or calculate fractions of an inch. The result is that their learning ability itself becomes atrophied; I.Q. typically drops twenty points as the Negro child progresses through school. By junior or senior high, it is almost impossible to reach him or teach him; three out of five Negro youngsters drop out of school before completion—uneducated, seemingly uneducable, and virtually unemployable. And yet these children can be educated; New York City and St. Louis, in particular, as we shall see, have demonstrated the fact beyond doubt.

The question first is, what kind of education can they—and should they—be given? Unfortunately, the current discussion is being shaped by Dr. James B. Conant's recent *Slums and Suburbs*, which has been accepted blandly and uncritically by almost everyone concerned with the problem, Negro or white. Dr. Conant has performed a great public service in calling attention to the dimensions of the problem and to the need for immediate action. But he has prescribed the worst possible remedy: a great expansion of vocational education for Negro youth.

If Conant's advice were followed, it would doom the Negro permanently to the bottom rung on the economic ladder. "A generation or two ago," as Professor Eli Ginzberg put it in *The Negro Potential*, "a man with negligible formal education could become a skilled worker. Today, participation in the industrial process requires of the worker not only basic literacy but a fairly high level of ability to deal with words and figures." The worker must be able to follow written instructions, to read the bulletin board, to keep various kinds of records, to master considerable technical knowledge. And he must be able to learn new skills, for nobody knows what job skills will be needed ten years from now.

What the Negro child needs, in short, is the same kind of education the white child needs and is beginning to get: an education that teaches him how to learn, that gives him the intellectual discipline and depth of understanding that will enable him to meet new conditions as they arise. But it will take more than a return to the three R's to give Negro children this kind of education. To penetrate the environmental and cultural curtain that keeps the Negro child from learning, the school must take on a whole range of functions that lie outside its normal sphere.

A success story

The most spectacular demonstration of what can be done to raise the aspirations and performance of Negro slum children is occurring in St. Louis, in the "Banneker group"—twenty-three elementary schools enrolling 16,000 children, 95 per cent of them Negroes living in the city's worst slum. Dr. Samuel Shepard Jr., the assistant superintendent in charge of the Banneker district, decided to take action four years ago, when the city's high schools instituted a three-track system of ability grouping. Only 7 per cent of the Banneker graduates were able to make the top ability track; nearly half were put in the bottom track. In three years Dr. Shepard has been able to triple the proportion of Banneker graduates admitted to the first track, from 7 per cent to 21 per cent, and to cut the number going into the bottom group to 21 per cent. Last June, in fact, Shepard's eighth-graders actually exceeded the national norm in reading; three years before the Banneker eighth-graders had been a full year behind.

The results largely reflect the impact of Shepard's powerful personality and dedicated leadership. He has changed teachers' and principals' attitudes toward their students from one of condescension to one of sympathy and challenge. More important, he has changed the Negro community's attitude toward the school. He keeps up a steady fire of meetings and of assemblies, field trips, pep talks, contests, and posters, designed to inculcate a respect for learning. For the children, he sets up a very competitive athletic-like atmosphere, in which the kudos goes to "the achievers." For the parents, Shepard uses an extremely blunt approach. He shows them by slides, charts, and film strips exactly how poorly their children are doing and warns them that unless the children do better in school they'll be no better off than their parents. He explains that things *can* be different for children, he shows in great detail the relation between education and employment, pointing to specific jobs now open to Negroes in St. Louis for which no qualified Negroes can be found. He also explains at length how the school operates at each grade, what the parents should demand of their children, and how they can help. And through all of this he emphasizes reading as the key to academic—and vocational—success.

Shepard has achieved these results without the use of extra resources; the greatest strength of his program is the fact that it depends on the ordinary classroom teacher. But remedial-reading teachers, guidance counselors, psychologists, and social workers can also be used to good effect, as New York City has shown with its Demonstration Guidance Project and its Higher Horizons program. In the first year of the Higher Horizons program the city was able to cut third-graders' retardation in reading from six months to only one month. Under grants from the Ford Foundation's Great Cities School Improvement Project, other cities are experimenting with a variety of techniques. Detroit and Philadelphia, for example, are employing "school-community agents" in slum schools to try to break down parental sus-

picion and hostility and persuade parents of the importance of education.

The programs now in operation, however, affect only a minute fraction of the children needing special help. What must be done is to put these programs into effect on a mass scale. To do so will cost money, of course. But the cities will get the money back—and a lot more besides—in lower relief costs, decreased juvenile delinquency and crime, and increased income for its residents—not to mention a radical improvement in the whole quality of city life. "A community which made its schools rather than its central business district the tender object and physical center of its urban-renewal operations," Paul Ylvisaker recently suggested, "would be taking one of the noblest and shrewdest steps forward in the civic progress of this century."

The underdeveloped country

The city, in short, must exercise "positive discrimination" in favor of the Negro if it is to enable the mass of Negroes to compete with whites on equal terms. The U.S. must learn to look upon the Negro community as if it were an underdeveloped country.

One thing that must be done—by industry and labor, as well as by government—is to develop long-range programs to educate workers who are already out of school, and whose lack of education makes them particularly vulnerable to technological unemployment. Armour's experience in trying to retrain workers made idle by automation has shown clearly that crash programs can provide only limited help. Of the 170 employees who applied for retraining when the company closed its Oklahoma City meat-packing plant, for example, 110 could not be given any training because they lacked the minimum skills in reading and mathematics. (See Labor, FORTUNE, July, 1961.)

There must also be a broadening of job opportunities for Negroes. There has been a significant reduction in job discrimination against Negroes in recent years, largely because of government prodding, but Negroes still find it very difficult to obtain jobs in the skilled trades, where union prejudice is a big stumbling block, and in clerical and sales jobs. It isn't enough for employers to make jobs formally available to Negroes; as a result of generations of discrimination, Negroes tend to assume that prejudice exists even where it has ended. A special effort must be made, therefore, to publicize the new job openings; Negroes must be brought within the web of job gossip through active recruitment.

Meanwhile, cities must try to alleviate some of the disorganization of Negro family and community life. The city has a vast panoply of services designed to prevent, relieve, and cure problems of individual and family behavior and circumstance. But each service deals separately with the individuals involved, sometimes in bureaucratic competition with the others. As often as not, the Negro—or the white slum dweller, for that matter—sees the bewildering array of police, school, and welfare agencies as enemies to be played off one against another.

It is possible to close the distance between the individual and government, and to coordinate the activities of the agencies affecting him. Wayne Thompson, the young city manager of Oakland, California, has pulled together seven public agencies representing four levels of government into something called the Associated Agencies. Fortnightly meetings of the A.A. workers in each section of the city are held to coordinate their work. In dealing with one school marked by frequent violence, for example, the school superintendent allowed the police to seal off the school area and then clean out the guns and knives in the school lockers. The school, police, recreation, probation, and welfare workers then culled a list of troublemakers, letting each agency take responsibility for the children it already knew, or upon whom it had some particular claim. Out of 2,800 pupils, only fifty-four turned out to be real troublemakers; when the whole job had been finished, only two had to be moved out of school and into detention. Since the Associated Agencies program started in late 1957, Oakland has been relatively free of trouble. The city recently received a $2-million grant from the Ford Foundation to extend the program.

New York City is trying to accomplish somewhat the same thing through its Neighborhood Conservation Projects. The coordination is not as complete, and the emphasis is fairly heavy on conservation of real estate rather than of human beings. But several projects have gone beyond physical rehabilitation—e.g., in the Bloomingdale district on Manhattan's West Side. The projects, in a sense, are designed to create a modern-day (but honest) counterpart to the old Tammany district leader, who served a very important function for the European immigrant, in effect locating him in the city and providing a channel to its government.

The housing dilemma

More must also be done about Negro housing. Despite a remarkable improvement in the condition of Negro housing since the end of World War II, nearly half of all the houses and apartments occupied by Negroes are still classified as "dilapidated" or "deteriorating" in the census rolls, compared to only 15 per cent of white homes. And Negroes live under far more crowded conditions. While good housing doesn't guarantee good behavior, bad housing does contribute to family disorganization and hence to delinquency.

The deterioration and overcrowding of Negro housing are due in good measure to the poverty of Negroes as a group. A study of the Philadelphia housing market by Chester Rapkin and William Grigsby of the University of Pennsylvania, for example, disclosed that only about 5 per cent of all Negro households had incomes sufficient to buy houses costing $12,000 or more—about the minimum price at which private builders were able to erect houses in that city. But discrimination as well as income robs the Negro of freedom of choice. Housing, as the U.S. Civil Rights Commission puts it, with only slight exaggeration, is "the one commodity in the American market which is not freely available on equal terms to everyone that can afford to pay."

Because economic and social factors bar Negroes from the market for new construction—and because Negro population is growing at an explosive rate in most large cities—Negroes are constantly looking for homes in the older, less expensive areas of the city. This pressure is as unsettling for the white community as it is for the Negro, for it leads to unstable and rapidly changing neighborhoods. To most white persons, as Eunice Grier of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies puts it, "there is no such thing . . . as a stable and permanent integrated neighborhood." Hence, when Negro demand appears in a neighborhood, the community either resists Negro entry—sometimes with violence—or it abandons the neighborhood completely. The latter usually occurs in any case. As Negroes start moving in, the whites start moving out—some because of prejudice, others because they fear that if they remain they will rapidly become a minority. Integration, as Saul Alinsky sardonically observes, "is usually a term to describe the period of time that elapses between the appearance of the first Negro and the exit of the last white."

There is considerable evidence to suggest that whites *will*

live in integrated neighborhoods if they have some assurance that they will not be swamped. For that reason a number of housing experts now advocate the use of "benign quotas" as the best—or only—means of solving the Negro housing problem. New York City's Housing Authority, for example, is using a quota system to try to integrate its low and middle-income housing projects, with fair success.

But the benign quota is no panacea and will work only where there is some authority able to decide how many Negroes will be admitted, and to determine which Negroes will be admitted. The authority must be powerful enough to enforce compliance after the quota has been filled. Enforcing a quota, moreover, frequently involves a painful conflict between two laudable objectives—housing integration and an increased supply of housing for Negroes. In order to maintain the desired racial balance, a housing authority frequently has to turn down qualified Negroes in desperate need of housing in favor of whites whose need is far less acute.

It's doubtful, in short, whether any simple, dramatic approach can solve the Negro housing problem. So long as the great majority of Negroes have slum incomes, they are going to live in slums. In the long run, therefore, the only way to solve the problem of Negro housing is to solve the problem of Negro people—to raise the economic and social level of the Negro community.

The cost of delay

A new pride in self that is developing among Negroes is a powerful lever to raise Negro aspirations and achievements. The Negro's growing political activity is a powerful lever to force cities to face up to the problem; the Negro vote was decisive in last fall's mayoralty elections in Atlanta, Detroit, and New York.

And the U.S. economy itself should facilitate the Negro's advance during the 1960's. In a rapidly expanding economy employers will have to end job discrimination and upgrade unskilled and semiskilled Negro workers if they are to produce all their markets will demand. The training programs developed during World War II show what industry can do when the stakes are high enough. And with a shortage of skilled labor likely, unions will have far less incentive to restrict entry into the skilled occupations.

These trends will make solution of the Negro problem less difficult; but they will not solve it. If the Negroes are to take their proper place in U.S. society, millions of hard decisions will have to be taken by people of both races. And the longer the U.S. delays those decisions, the more painful this most urgent piece of public business will become. END

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

BIG CITIES GETTING MORE NON-WHITES

Those of Vote Age Make Up 17.6% in Top 25

By WILL LISSNER

Non-whites now account for 17.6 per cent of the voting-age population in the twenty-five largest cities, the Census Bureau has found.

In the 1960 census the bureau classified as non-whites Negroes, Indians, Orientals and 10 per cent of Puerto Ricans.

The classification is mainly Negro, however, as it contains only a relatively few members of the other races. Of the 18,871,831 Negroes in the United States, 6,025,193 live in the twenty-five largest cities and make up 19.7 per cent of the total population in those cities.

In only two of the five largest cities, the non-white, voting-age groups total less than 20 per cent of the population.

13.2% in New York

In New York this group constitutes 13.2 per cent of the total of citizen residents in the 21-and-over bracket. The Los Angeles figure is 15.4 per cent.

Of citizens qualified by age to vote in Chicago, 20.2 per cent are non-white. In Philadelphia the figure is 23.9 per cent and in Detroit 25.7 per cent.

In Baltimore, the sixth largest city, potential voters among non-whites amount to 30.5 per cent of the total.

Only seven of the largest cities have non-white, voting-age populations below 10 per cent.

Non-whites among citizens qualified by age to vote make up 15 per cent or more in sixteen of the largest cities, and 20 per cent or more in ten.

The Census Bureau's tabulation follows:

	Non-whites of Voting Age	P.C. of Total
New York	706,861	13.2
Chicago	471,290	20.2
Los Angeles	252,700	15.4
Philadelphia	313,551	23.9
Detroit	273,725	25.7
Baltimore	179,742	30.5
Houston	119,850	21.7
Cleveland	145,123	26.0
St. Louis	120,970	24.7
Milwaukee	32,401	6.9
San Francisco	80,702	15.2
Boston	39,823	8.6
Dallas	72,178	17.3
New Orleans	125,752	32.8
Pittsburgh	60,467	15.3
San Antonio	25,004	7.7
San Diego	23,950	7.0
Seattle	27,205	7.4
Buffalo	40,542	11.7
Cincinnati	63,544	19.8
Memphis	99,242	33.7
Denver	19,894	6.4
Atlanta*	113,813	34.5
Minneapolis	8,495	2.7
Indianapolis	56,472	19.0
Total, 25 cities	3,473,496	17.6
United States	10,975,332	10.1

*Voting age in Atlanta is 18, not 21 as in all other cities listed.

These figures indicate that the minority groups, and candidates from among them, will play a greater role in politics in the next few decades.

Moreover, the percentages may be expected to grow significantly in the next decade. Americans have been moving from the country to metropolitan areas. This is a world-wide movement. Negroes, who account for most non-whites, have been moving to the central cities.

Migration among Negroes in the South has accelerated. Of those who have remained in the region, many have moved from the country to the big city.

Hundreds of thousands of Negroes have moved from the South to Northeast, North Central and Western regions. Most of these are from the cities, but many are from rural areas of the South.

During the last decade the South lost 1,457,000 non-white residents by migration to the three northern regions. This is a net figure; additional losses were offset by a movement of non-whites into the region.

Should the South fail to attract non-white migrants, its losses will rise sharply, for the out-migration has accelerated in recent years.

The South's net losses show [illegible] net gains to the three regions in the Census Bureau's [illegible] Northeast had a gain of 541,000 non-whites, and [illegible] North Central region 558,000.

The West, which had a negligible non-white population up to the turn of the century, gained 332,000.

These movements have raised the spectre of declining populations for some Southern states, a situation that may seriously handicap their efforts to develop industrially.

The loss of non-whites by migration offset the natural increase in the non-white population in two states, Mississippi and Arkansas. As a result, Mississippi's non-white population declined by 70,000, that of Arkansas by 37,000.

The excess of non-white births over deaths was substantially offset by a loss by migration in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

Florida gained 182,000 non-whites by natural increase, 101,000 by migration.

APR 15 1962

Census Shows 612,574 Puerto Ricans in City

Rise to 7.9% of Population Is Less Than Was Expected—Move to Suburbs Noted

By PETER KIHSS

The city's Puerto Ricans numbered 612,574 in the 1960 census, it was announced yesterday. This indicated a population of 650,000 here now, far below earlier estimates.

The Puerto Rican Government's Migration Division had estimated the population at 720,000 as of Dec., 31, 1960.

Community leaders interpreted the census figures as showing that Puerto Ricans had fanned away from the city more than had been realized.

Census data analyzed and made public by Miss Florence E. Cuttrell of the Community Council of Greater New York showed that 7.9 per cent of the city's people in 1960 were either born in Puerto Rico or were of Puerto Rican parentage. This compared with 3.1 per cent in 1950.

The median family income—that is, half had more and half had less—was $3,811 in 1959, according to the new data. This compared with $6,091 for all the city's families.

The median age for Puerto Rican residents was 21.9 years, making them a far younger group than the median 35.1 years reported for all New Yorkers. The median education level was 7.6 years in school. There were 140,389 families.

Estimates Off

The City Planning Department last September estimated the Puerto Rican residents as of the April 1, 1960, census date at 677,000 out of a total city population of 7,781,984.

The earlier estimates started with the 1950 census report showing 246,306 Puerto Ricans here. Natural increase—births over deaths—was then added, along with estimates as to how many Puerto Rican migrants to the mainland stayed in the city.

Joseph Monserrat, chief of the Migration Division, said yesterday its estimate had included third-generation youngsters. The Puerto Rican Government, he said, keeps airport records of the initial migration movement, and has found the proportion bound for New York dropped from 95 per cent in 1948 to 80 per cent in 1951 and to less than 60 per cent now. Last year, 1,670 more persons went to Puerto Rico from the mainland than came north.

Puerto Ricans, Mr. Monserrat said, have been "a very mobile group." Movement into New Jersey and other suburbs, he said, had been "big." Another factor, he said, was that middle-class Puerto Ricans were moving out of the city.

Social Gain Seen

The census date showed that Manhattan's share of the Puerto Rican population was going down compared with other boroughs and that incomes of Puerto Ricans in other boroughs were higher. Mr. Monserrat regarded this as an indication that Puerto Ricans were "doing within one generation, one decade, what it took other migrations generations to do in terms of dispersal, income, buying of private homes."

While New Jersey data on Puerto Ricans are still unavailable, Miss Cuttrell said the 1960 census reported 629,430 Puerto Ricans in the city, Westchester, Rocklnad, Nassau and Suffolk Counties.

The Census Bureau provided its figures to Miss Cuttrell as the city's "census tract key person," representing the committee on Federal censuses for the city for the New York Area Chapter of the American Statistical Association. She is chief of the Community Council's bureau of statistical services.

The data, based on a 25 per cent sampling of places of birth, showed a rise of 366,268 Puerto Ricans here, or 149 per cent, above the 246,306 reported in 1950. Whereas 56 per cent of the city's Puerto Ricans lived in Manhattan in 1950, this proportion went down to 36.8 per cent in 1960.

Dispersal Noted

In Manhattan, Puerto Ricans made up 13.3 per cent of all residents; in the Bronx, 13.1; Brooklyn, 6.9; Queens, less than 1 per cent; Richmond, 1.1.

Median family incomes for Puerto Ricans ran highest in Queens, with $5,756 in 1959 as against $7,176 for all Queens families. For other boroughs, the comparison for Puerto Ricans as against others was as follows: Richmond, $5,136, against $6,836; Bronx, $4,108, against $5,830; Brooklyn, $3,868, against $5,816; Manhattan, $3,459, against $5,338.

There was no comparable family income figure for 1950, Miss Cuttrell said, but the census then reported individual incomes of $1,647 for Puerto Ricans 14 years old or older.

Second - generation Puerto Ricans made up 30 per cent of the total in 1960. The new data indicated 95.7 per cent of Puerto Ricans here were white, based on their statements to enumerators.

Puerto Rican Population in City

The following table shows the population of persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage for New York City, by borough, as of 1960:

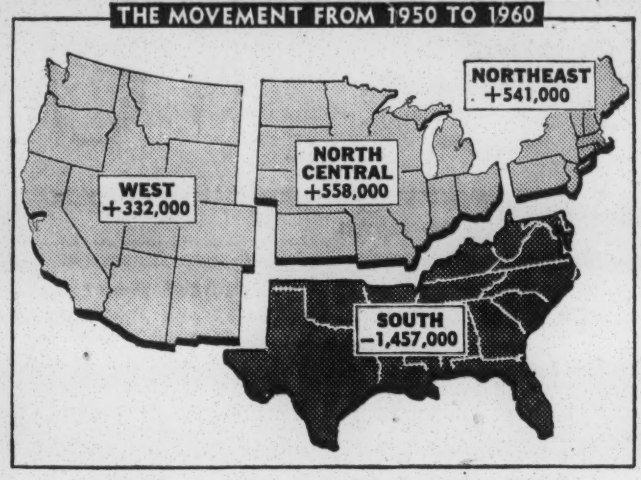
	All Classes	White	Non-White	Born in Puerto Rico	Puerto Rican Parentage	Per Cent of Total	Per Cent Increase Over 1950
Bronx	186,885	180,955	5,930	130,184	56,701	30.5	201.8
Brooklyn	180,114	174,547	5,567	126,223	53,891	29.4	346.9
Manhattan	225,639	213,233	12,406	161,371	64,268	36.8	62.9
Queens	17,432	16,570	862	10,508	6,924	2.9	260.5
Richmond	2,504	2,398	106	1,424	1,080	0.4	238.4
The city	612,574	587,703	24,871	429,710	182,864	100.0	148.7

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population, 1960. From unpublished data by census tracts, Tables P1 and P5.

N.Y. Times Apr. 20, 1962

NON-WHITE MIGRATION IN THE U. S.

THE MOVEMENT FROM 1950 TO 1960



LOSSES IN NON-WHITE POPULATION

	minus		minus		minus
Ala.	224,000	La.	92,000	S.C.	218,000
Alaska	1,000	Miss.	323,000	S.D.	5,000
Ariz.	10,000	Mont.	2,000	Tenn.	57,000
Ark.	150,000	N.M.	1,000	Tex.	27,000
Ga.	204,000	N.C.	207,000	Va.	70,000
Hawaii	52,000	N.D.	2,000	W. Va.	40,000
Ky.	15,000	Okla.	26,000	Wyo.	1,000

GAINS IN NON-WHITE POPULATION

	plus		plus		plus
Calif.	354,000	Kan.	5,000	N.J.	112,000
Colo.	15,000	Me.	2,000	N.Y.	282,000
Conn.	39,000	Md.	36,000	Ohio	133,000
Del.	6,000	Mass.	25,000	Ore.	6,000
D.C.	54,000	Mich.	127,000	Pa.	77,000
Fla.	101,000	Minn.	4,000	R.I.	2,000
Idaho	1,000	Mo.	28,000	Utah	1,000
Ill.	189,000	Neb.	4,000	Vt.	500
Ind.	45,000	Nev.	6,000	Wash.	18,000
Iowa	3,000	N.H.	1,000	Wis.	29,000

Payne in The Charlotte Observer

". . . and you can sit in the front all the way."

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

Although White Supremacists Now Abet It, the Flow North Has Been Going On for Many Years

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, April 28—A New Orleans Citizens Council leader this week proposed free transportation aboard a "freedom train north" for Negroes desirous of leaving the South and segregation. He may have bargained for more than that white supremacist organization can handle.

Estimates by the Bureau of the Census indicate that during the 1950-60 decade approximately 1,457,000 Negroes left the region without help from the councils. If migration has continued at least at that rate—the evidence is that it has increased—about 400 depart every day.

To provide transportation for them, the councils would have to charter a daily, eight-coach "freedom train." If the trains originated in New Orleans and ended the run in New York, the daily cost (including tax) would be a staggering $19,232. There would be no discount. A Southern Railway System official here said the fare was $43.71 plus $4.37 tax for one passenger or 400.

Bizarre Proposal

The New Orleans Council leader's bizarre proposal calls attention to a problem that many observers consider neither humorous nor lacking in significance. This is the depletion of a white and Negro labor pool that the South may need in the future if it is to achieve the continuous industrial growth for which it thirsts.

Census statistics show that thirteen Southern states experienced a drop in Negro population during 1950-60. The states are Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Louisiana, Virginia, Tennessee, West Virginia, Texas, Oklahoma and Kentucky.

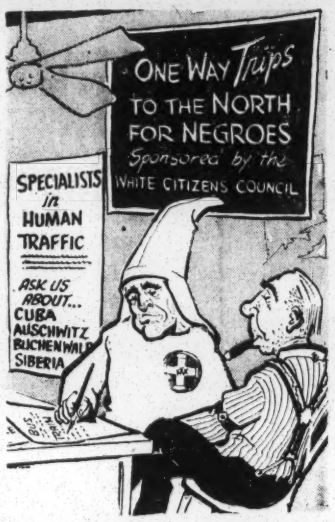
All but Louisiana, Virginia and Texas lost whites as well. The total outmigration for this race during the decade was 1,592,000, according to the Census Bureau. A fraction of this number went to Florida, the only Southern state showing a gain in both racial categories. But because of such special factors as the influx of persons from the North and Midwest into Florida, demographers do not consider it typical of the South.

Although more whites than Negroes are leaving, the outmigration rate of the latter is much higher because they represent a smaller fraction of the over-all population.

exodus of non-whites from the South (with the exception of Florida) represents a movement in search for social and political as well as economic opportunity. It cannot be explained by economic variables."

Southern leaders have deplored the loss of whites to other regions. But the departure of Negroes has been welcomed in some quarters. The wisdom of this attitude has been questioned by Dr. William H. Nicholls, professor of economics at Vanderbilt University.

In his book "Southern Tra-



Rosen in The Albany Times-Union

"Travel agents."

dition and Regional Progress," Dr. Nicholls says that because of the racial problem, "this heavy race selectivity of outmigration is by no means a wholly unfavorable factor. But it is probable that within the next generation some of the states of the Deep South are going to realize that they have taken too cavalier an attitude toward their loss of Negro population."

He and other students of the problem contend that the region must hold and train at least some of the migrating Negroes. Otherwise, it will face a labor shortage.

Lack of Jobs

That point has not yet been reached by any means. The South at present is, in effect, exporting its unemployment. Although it lacks technicians in many fields, there are not enough jobs in the semi-skilled and unskilled brackets. A downward trend has been noted in the textile industry, the largest single manufacturing employer.

However, if the region succeeds in its present campaign for new plants and expansions, the labor surplus will soon be absorbed. This likely would shut off most white migration automatically. But Negroes, particuarly those leaving primarily because of the racial problem, might continue to move out in large numbers.

A number of whites already have spoken out publicly against the Citizens Council proposal. Most have based their objections on humanitarian grounds. But it is conceivable that in the foreseeable future Southern leaders will conclude that even the unassisted migration of Negroes must be discouraged.

Although more whites than Negroes are leaving, the outmigration rate of the latter is much higher because they represent a smaller fraction of the over-all population.

Continued Loss

Projections based on current trends point to a continuation of this loss of human wealth. However, Dr. James M. Henderson, professor of economics at the University of Minnesota, has found in a study of the problem that the over-all outmigration rate very probably will decline.

The selective nature of this population shift increases its harmful effects. Surveys have shown that the migrants fall within the most productive age brackets and also tend to be more highly skilled and intelligent.

The mass movement out of the region began long before the Citizens Council came into existence. It is largely a result of farm depressions and the South's change from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

Between 1900 and 1920, the boll weevil's depredations drove thousands of workers off the cotton farms. Other workers were attracted to the cities by the expanded need for industrial labor. The agricultural depression of the late Nineteen Twenties and early Nineteen Thirties further reduced the farm population.

Fallow Lands

Today, submarginal farmlands that once provided a meager subsistence for the sharecropper lie fallow or have been converted to pasture or tree crops. Empty cabins and sometimes only a gaunt chimney of field stone mark the 'cropper's passing. On the more fertile land, farming has become an industry. The tractor has replaced the mule. Mechanization and other technological advances have cut the need for farm labor again and again.

The surplus workers have flocked to the burgeoning cities of the region. They have been joined by laborers displaced by more localized economic changes such as the mechanization of coal mining in the southern Appalachians. Some have followed the lure of higher wages and more plentiful jobs into the urban areas of the North, the Midwest and the West. This has been particularly true of Negroes.

In a report discussing Southern developments during the 1950-60 decade, Dr. Henderson notes that 67.6 per cent of the whites leaving the rural South settled in cities within the region. Only 7.5 per cent of the non-whites did so. Some authorities believe the primary reason is the greater difficulty encountered by Negroes in obtaining employment in Southern cities.

However, Dr. Henderson cites two other factors: "the mass

Atlanta

Central City.

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop	331,314	487,455	+47.1%
n-w	131,161	186,395	+42%
white	200,153	301,060	+50.4%

Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop.	340,483	529,733	+26.2%
n-w	34,673	45,524	+31.3%
white	305,810	484,209	+58.5%

Atlanta SMSA

	1950	1960
Total Pop.	671,797	1,017,188
% W	75.3	77.2
# W	505,963	785,269
% NW	24.7	22.8
# NW	165,834	231,919

Atlanta (Urban Place)

	1950	1960
Total Pop	331,314	487,455
% white	63.4 %	61.7 %
Nr. white	200,153	301,060
% NW	36.6 %	38.3 %
Nr. NW	131,161	186,395

Birmingham

Central City

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop	326,037	340,887	+4.6 %
n-w	130,089	135,332	+4 %
white	195,948	205,555	+4.9 %

Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop	232,891	293977	+26.2 %
n-w	78391	84331	+7.6 %
white	154500	209646	+35.7 %

Birmingham

SMSA

	1950	1960
Tot Pop	558928	634864
# NW	208480	219,663
% NW	37.3	34.6
# W	350448	415,201
% W	62.7	65.4

Urban Place

	1950	1960
Total Pop	326037	340887
# NW	130089	135,332
% NW	39.9	39.7
# W	195948	205,555
% NW	60.1	60.3

Dallas

Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% change
T. Pop.	180237	483917	+124%
NW	26264	27027	+2.9%
WH	154023	374890	+143.3%

Central City

	1950	1960	% change
T. Pop	434462	679684	56.4
NW	57349	131179	128%
WH	377113	548505	+45.4

	SMSA	Dallas
	1950	1960
Total Pop	614,799	1,083,601
# NW	83,613	158,206
% NW	13.6	14.6
# W	531,186	923,395
% W	86.4	85.4

	Dallas	Urban Places
	1950	1960
Total Pop	434,462	679,684
# NW	57,349	131,179
% NW	13.2	19.3
# W	377,113	548,505
% W	86.8	80.7

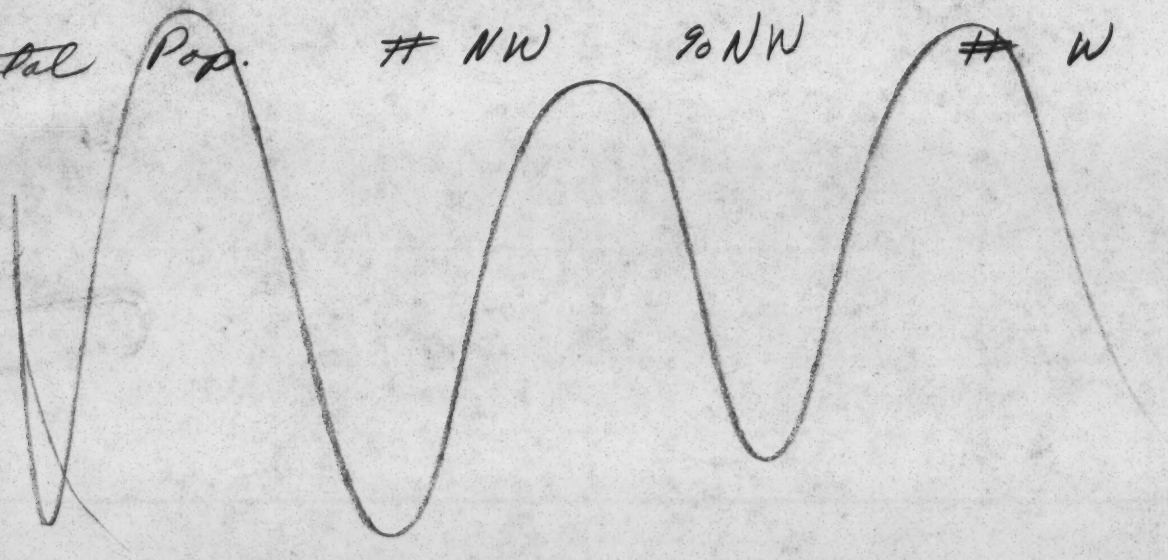
LMBA

1950

Total Pop. # NW % NW # W % W

D.

H.



Houston
Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% Change
T. Pop.	200538	304939	+52.1%
N.W	25063	32208	+28.6%
W	185485	272761	+47.0%

Central City

	1950	1960	% Change
Tot Pop.	596163	938219	+57.4%
N.W	125790	217667	+72.0%
W	470363	720522	+53.1%

Houston

Urban Places

	1950	1960
Tot Pop	596163	938219
# NW	125,790	217,667
% NW	21.1	23.2
# W	470,363	720522
% W	78.9	76.8

In a conference held at Raleigh at Shaw University

~~Sec~~ ~~today~~
~~a new organization~~ they

200 people met & formed ~~the~~
SNCC.

~~Oh Freedom Song we'll never~~
~~Christ the~~
~~Through all the meetings!~~

~~Oh Freedom Oh Freedom~~ - we'll never
~~Christ the~~
~~& thy meetings~~ full of love &
interracial harmony

Meeting followed after meeting in endless -

Houston SMSA

	1950	1960
Tot. Pop.	806 701	1243158
# NW	150,853	249,875
% NW	18.7	20.1
# W	655,848	993,283
% W	81.3	79.9

Memphis

	1950	1960
Central City		
change	25.6% increase	
urban ring	86,392	129,495
change	49.9% increase	
nw pop in Central City	147,312	184,581
change	32.1% increase	
nw pop in urban ring	~~[illegible]~~ 23,103	43,654
change	89% increase	
white pop in Central City	248,688	312,943
change	25.8% increase	
white pop in urban ring	~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ 63,290	85,841
change	35.6% increase	

Memphis (urban Place)

	1950	1960
total pop	396,000	497,524
% white	62.8%	62.9%
number white	248,688	312,943
% nonwhite	37.2%	37.1%
number nonwhite	147,312	184,581

Memphis (SMSA)

	1950	1960
total pop	482,392	627,019
% white	62.6%	63.6%
number white	311,978	398,784
% nonwhite	37.4%	36.4%
number nonwhite	170,415	228,235

Nashville

Central City

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop.	174,307	170,874	-2.0%
n-w	55,732	64,761	+16.2%
white	118,585	106,113	-10.5%

Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop.	147,451	228,869	+55.1%
n-w	8,620	11,990	+39.1%
white	138,821	216,879	+56.2%

Nashville (SMSA)

	1950	1960
total pop	321,758	399,743
% white	80%	80.8%
number white	257,406	322,992
% nonwhite	20%	19.2%
number nonwhite	64,352	76751

Nashville (urban place)

	1950	1960
total pop	174,307	170,874
% white	68.6%	62.1%
number white	118,585	106,113
% non white	31.4%	37.9%
number nonwhite	55,732	64,761.

Richmond

Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% Change
Tot Pop	99740	188536	+90.8%
Non-Wh	14253	13460	-5.9%
White	83487	175266	+109.7%

Central City

	1950	1960	% change
Total Pop	230310	219958	-4.5%
Non-Wh	73008	94382	29.3%
White	157302	125576	-25.3%

Richmond

SMSA

	1950	1960
Tot. Pop	328050	408494
# NW	87261	107842
% NW	26.6	26.4
# W	240789	300842
% W	73.4	73.6

Urban Places

	1950	1960
Total Pop	230310	219958
# NW	73008	94382
% NW	31.7	42.0
# W	157302	125576
% W	63.3	58.0

New Orleans

Central City

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop	570,445	627,525	+10%
n-w	192,542	234,694	+21.8%
white	377,903	392,831	+.4%

is this a decimal point?

Urban Ring

	1950	1960	% change
tot. pop	114,960	240955	+109.6%
n. white	8,282	14,535	+76.7%
white	106678	206,440	+93.5%

New Orleans SMSA

	1950	1960
total pop	685,405	868,480
% white	70.7%	69%
number white	484,581	599,271
% nonwhite	29.3%	31%
number nonwhite	200,824	269,229

New Orleans (urban place)

1950		1960
total pop	570,445	627,525
% white	68%	62.6%
number white	377,903	392,831
% non-white	32%	37.4%
number nonwhite	192,542	234,694

City	% change in central city (1950-60)			% change in urban surr (1950-1960)		
	Total pop	NW	White	Total pop.	NW	White
Atlanta	+47.1%	+42%	+50.4%	+26.2%	+31.3%	+58.5%
Birmingham	+4.6%	+4%	+4.9%	+26.2%	+7.6%	+25.7%
Dallas	+56.4%	+128%	+45%	+124%	+2.9%	+143.3%
Houston	+57.4%	+73.0%	+53.1%	+52.1%	+28.6%	+47.0%
Memphis	+25.6%	+32.1% [redacted]	+25.8%	+49.9% [redacted]	+89%	+35.6%
Nashville	-2.0%	+16.2%	-10.5%	+55.1%	+39.1%	+56.2%
New Orleans	+10%	+21.8%	+4%	+109.6%	+76.7%	+93.5%
Richmond	-4.5%	+29.3%	-25.3%	+90.8%	-5.9%	+109.7%

Exp P10

TRENDS IN INCOME AND EDUCATION BY COLOR AND VETERAN STATUS: 1939-59

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(Draft of chapter for an Office of Education volume, Essays in the Economics of Higher Education)

It is generally accepted, on more or less intuitive grounds, that income and schooling go together. Workers who have not gone beyond grammar school are seldom qualified to hold any but the most menial jobs; and those who aspire to professional or managerial work generally need at least four years of college training. In a society where one-third of the salesmen and one-fourth of the office clerks have gone to college, the man who is inadequately schooled would appear to stand little chance of achieving financial success.

Statistical studies of the relationship between income and schooling tend to support our inuitive feelings on this matter. Numerous studies, conducted under varying economic conditions, have shown that persons with more schooling tend to earn more money. Most cautious interpretations recognize that education is only one of many factors that determine income and that both income and education may be related to more fundamental traits like ability, drive, and imagination. On occasion, however, this relationship has been interpreted as cause and effect and the higher incomes of persons with more schooling have been attributed to education.[1/] The precise mechanism whereby this interaction is supposed to take place has not been described in detail, but the general impression is given that education somehow increases productivity and thereby income. This type of formulation was made 200

1/ Theodore W. Schultz, Education and Economic Growth. The University of Chicago, Paper No. 6002, April 20, 1960 (Mimeograph). p. 47.

years ago by Adam Smith in his famous comparison between an investment in education and in a machine;[2] and it appears, in similar form in current economic literature as well.[3] Very likely, this same formulation underlies much of the emphasis placed on education by minority groups despite their recognition that even if productivity and earnings potentials are increased, there may be little or no change in earnings received because of discrimination or other obstacles that impede the attainment of these potentials.

It is the intention of this paper to show that for some groups in the population, particularly nonwhites, increases in education have not been very closely associated with increases in income. During all years for which figures on income, education, and color are available, the correlation between income and education is much stronger for whites than for nonwhites. A national study conducted in 1956 showed that among nonwhite men between 25 and 44 years old--an age group which has benefited from recent advances in education and from the emancipation of negroes from southern farms, and one which also encompasses the period of peak earnings--elementary school graduates had about the same average income as high school graduates despite the four year difference in schooling. Moreover, during the past ten years, nonwhites have made far greater relative gains in education than whites, but income differentials between the two groups have remained more or less constant.

An analysis of income changes for veterans and nonveterans presents a similar picture with regard to the efficacy of education in raising income levels. Nearly 8 million veterans of the second world

2/ Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Everyman's Library, E. P. Dutton, 1910, I, pp. 88-9.
3/ Theodore W. Schultz, Capital Formation by Education, The University of Chicago, AER Paper No. 5807, February 4, 1960 (Mimeograph), p. 1.

war made use of education and training benefits provided under the G.I. Bill at a cost of about $14.5 billion dollars to the federal government. This training raised the educational level of veterans considerably above that of nonveterans and income differentials between the two groups increased progressively from zero in 1948 to a peak of 30 percent in 1955. Yet, and this is the important fact, veterans who did not use G.I. training had only slightly lower incomes than those who did, suggesting that factors other than education are responsible for the income differential between veterans and nonveterans.

The meaning of these figures is not easy to assess if we insist upon scientific standards of evidence and certainly the figures require more penetrating analysis than they have received to date. Other recent studies have observed the sluggish way in which nonwhite incomes have responded to increases in education and have either ignored them or treated them in a very cursory way.[4/] Nonwhites are virtually excluded from certain occupations and many who have completed college are concentrated in low-paid jobs. It is entirely possible and indeed likely that productivity potentials of nonwhites have been raised as prescribed by the theory that correlates increases in years of schooling with additions to human capital; but these potentials may have not materialized because of discrimination. There are, however, other factors that have a bearing on the situation and these relate to the precise meaning of the unit of analysis--a year of schooling--with which education is equated.

The available statistics used to measure returns to education are in terms of years of school completed. In view of obvious differences in the importance of a year of elementary school, high school, or

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4/ See for example, Gary S. Becker, "Underinvestment in College Education," American Economic Review Proceedings, May 1960, vol. 50, p. 348 and Edward F. Renshaw, "Estimating the Returns to Education," The Review of Economics and Statistics, vol. XLII, August 1960, p. 322.

college, these classifications by level of training are made in the basic data. Since they distinguish one year of schooling from another, they introduce a qualitative factor into the statistics. Beyond this distinction, no allowance is made for differences in the quality of training provided or received. Crude attempts that have been made, largely for purpose of historical comparison, to modify the concept in terms of school year equivalents based on days of schooling per year,[5] must be regarded as faltering first steps. Statistics which show that the average young Negro male is only about 1½ years behind the average young white in years of school completed, must present an erroneous impression of the educational gap between the two groups when account is taken of the fact most young Negroes have received their education in "separate but equal" southern schools which appear to place considerably more emphasis on "separateness" than they do on equality. Qualitative differences have tended to be ignored in measures of physical capital[5] and, except for minor attention, they are also being ignored in recent work on human capital. For broad overal analyses, it is perhaps essential to ignore the qualitative element, especially since it is incapable of accurate measurement. This logic seems much less applicable when attention is focused on relatively small subgroups in the population.

Another important limitation of the "years of school completed" concept is that no differentiation is made with respect to the benefits derived from exposure to a given amount of education. The concept has an entirely different meaning for a student who has done well in a school system with high standards and established bases for measuring achievement than it does for the poorly motivated student who has just

5/ Theodore W. Schultz, Education and Economic Growth, The University of Chicago, Paper No. 6002, April 20, 1960 (Mimeograph).
6/ Mary Jean Bowman, Human Capital: Concepts and Measures (Mimeograph), p. 4. This paper will be published in the forthcoming Festkript for Prof. Johan Akerman, Lund, Sweden.

managed to get by in a school system with low standards. Education, after all, is not synonymous with time spent in a school room. If as as result of cultural, social, or economic reasons nonwhite students tend to be concentrated near the bottom of their classes, they cannot expect to derive as much from a year of schooling as white students since there appears to be an association between scholastic achievement and occupational success.7/ There is some empirical basis for the judgment that problems relating to behavior, discipline, and lack of motivation occur disproportionately in Negro areas and this may well be part of the explanation for the poor correlation between income and education for nonwhite men.8/ The whole question of the relationship between income (or earnings) and IQ, performance on aptitude tests, standardized achievement tests, or other objective measures, has been inadequately explored despite the existence of much basic data on the subject. In view of the importance of education and the increasing share of our national income being devoted to that function, it is perhaps time to intensify the efforts devoted to the collation of school and army records with socio-economic data collected in household surveys for the purpose of measuring more precisely the economic importance of education to the individual when other relevant factors are taken into account.

7/ See, D. S. Bridgman, "Problems in Estimating the Monetary Value of College" and Dael Wolfle, "Economies and Educational Values," in Higher Education in the United States, Seymour E. Harris, editor; and Ernest Havemann and Patricia West, They Went to College, New York, 1952, p. 164.

8/ For a recent study see Calvin F. Schmid, Impact of Recent Negro Migration on Seattle Schools. Paper presented at International Population Conference, Vienna, 1959.

I. Annual Income and Education by Color: 1939-59

Migration and technological change during the past 20 years have altered the role of the nonwhite from a southern farm wage worker or sharecropper to a low-paid industrial worker. In 1940, about three-fourths of all nonwhites lived in the South where they were largely engaged in agricultural pursuits.[9] By 1950, the proportion residing in the South dropped to about two-thirds,[10] and at present, it is slightly more than half.[11] Although figures are not yet available, it is undoubtedly true that even in the South, nonwhites are now more concentrated in urban areas than ever before.

The figures on the occupational distribution of nonwhite males tell the story even more dramatically. Twenty years ago, four out of every ten employed nonwhite males in the United States worked either as laborers or sharecroppers on southern farms.[12] At present, less than two out of every ten nonwhites are employed in agriculture and about half of them work as either unskilled or semiskilled workers at nonfarm jobs.[13] The change in the occupational status of nonwhites has been accompanied by a marked rise in educational attainment, proportionately far greater than for whites. Among men in the 25 to 29 year age group--and these are the ones most likely to have benefited from recent advances in education--median years of school completed for nonwhites increased by about two-thirds, from 6.5 years in 1940 to 10.9 years at present (table 1). The increase for whites in the same

9/ U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Population--Preliminary Reports, Series PC-7, No. 2.
10/ Ibid.
11/ Data underlying various Current Population Reports, Series P-20.
12/ U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Population--Preliminary Reports, Series PC-7, No. 2.
13/ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, May 1960.

age group was only about one-fifth, from 10.5 years in 1940 to 12.5 years. In 1940, the average young nonwhite male was about 4 years behind the average white in his schooling. This gap has been narrowed to only 1½ years at present.

The most dramatic advances in schooling among nonwhites have come at the lower elementary grades. In 1940, one-third of the young nonwhite males had completed less than five years of school. This proportion has been reduced to only 8 percent and is largely responsible for the striking reduction in illiteracy among nonwhites during the past 20 years.[14/] Gains in education among nonwhites were by no means restricted to the lower grades. The proportion of high school graduates among young nonwhite men has risen fourfold from 10 percent to 40 percent and the proportion of college graduates has more than tripled since 1940.

14/ U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 99.

Table 1.--LEVEL OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY WHITE AND NONWHITE MALES: 1940-1959

Date, age, and color	Less than 5 years of elementary school	4 years of high school or more	4 years of college or more	Median school years completed
WHITE				
25 years and over				
March 1959.....	7.1	43.6	10.8	11.1
March 1957.....	7.9	41.1	10.1	10.7
April 1950.....	9.5	33.5	7.6	9.3
April 1940.....	11.8	23.8	5.8	8.7
25 to 29 years				
March 1959.....	2.6	65.9	15.7	12.5
April 1950.....	3.7	52.6	10.1	12.4
April 1940.....	3.9	38.6	7.5	10.5
NONWHITE				
25 years and over				
March 1959.....	28.1	18.8	3.6	7.6
March 1957.....	30.3	16.2	2.6	7.3
April 1950.....	35.3	12.0	2.0	6.4
April 1940.....	45.3	6.7	2.1	5.4
25 to 29 years				
March 1959.....	8.2	40.0	5.6	10.9
April 1950.....	18.8	20.4	2.3	8.4
April 1940.....	32.8	10.4	1.6	6.5

Source: Nonwhite data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 99, table 3. Figures for whites derived from data underlying the published table.

Despite the proportionately greater gains in education among nonwhites, especially during the past decade, earnings differentials between the two groups have not changed much (table 2). In 1950, the average wage or salary income for nonwhite workers was about three-fifths of that received by the whites ($1,800 as compared with $3,000). In 1959, this ratio was unchanged; the median for white workers was $4,900 as compared with $2,800 for nonwhites. Prior to 1950, there was a substantial reduction in earnings differentials between whites and nonwhites. This reduction, however, was not primarily attributable to changes in education but was rather closely related to war-induced factors including extreme shortages of unskilled labor and government regulations such as those of the War Labor Board designed to raise the incomes of lower paid workers.[15/]

15/ For a discussion of the narrowing of earnings differentials during the second world war see Herman P. Miller, "Changes in the Industrial Distribution of Wages in the United States, 1939-1949," Studies in Income and Wealth, Volume 23, Princeton University Press, 1958.

~~Table 2.~~ MEDIAN MONEY WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS WITH WAGE OR SALARY INCOME: 1939 TO 1959

Year	White	Nonwhite	~~Ratio of non-~~ nonwhite as % of white ~~white to white~~
1939.....	$1,112	$ 460	41
1950.....	2,982	1,828	61
1951.....	3,345	2,060	62
1952.....	3,507	2,038	58
1953.....	3,760	2,233	59
1954.....	3,754	2,131	57
1955.....	3,986	2,342	59
1956.....	4,260	2,396	56
1957.....	4,260	2,436	56
1958.....	4,569	2,652	58
1959.....	4,902	2,844	58

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957, and various issues of Current Population Reports, Series P-60.

Some of the basic statistics pertaining to the relationship between annual income and educational attainment for whites and nonwhites are presented in Table 3, which shows the variations in average(mean) annual income in 1939, 1949, and 1956 for men with different amounts of schooling.[16/] Similar data for 1959, based on the 1960 Census, will soon be available. The data are presented separately for three broad age groups, and for all men 25 years old and over, in order to permit an

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16/ For each year, the mean income was obtained as a summation of the product of the average income and the proportion of persons for each income level. Persons with no income were included in the lowest income level each year. For income levels below $5,000 in 1939, below $10,000 in 1949, and below $6,000 in 1956, the midpoint of each class interval was assumed to be the average. For 1939, $9,000 was used for the "$5,000 and over" interval; for 1949 $20,000 was used for the "$10,000 and over" interval; and for 1956, the averages for the "$6,000 to $10,000" and "$10,000 and over" intervals were fitted by the use of Pareto curves. See the note to table 3 for more details regarding the limitations of the data.

examination of the figures independent of changes in the age distribution of the population. Women have been excluded from the analysis; since a large proportion of them do not enter the labor market and many of those who do, are employed on a part-time basis only, the relationship between their income and education may be distorted. In contrast, practically all adult men are full-time workers and it can therefore be assumed that any advantages which may accrue from more schooling are reflected in their incomes.

Table 3.--MEAN INCOME FOR MALES 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, COLOR, AND AGE: 1939, 1949, AND 1956

~~(Preliminary estimates subject to revision)~~

Educational attainment and age	White			Nonwhite		
	1939 1/	1949 2/	1956 2/	1939 1/	1949 2/	1956 2/
TOTAL						
Elementary						
Total.....	$1,125	$2,540	$3,278	$ 566	$1,466	$2,078
Less than 8 years...	(3)	2,234	2,801	(3)	1,386	1,921
8 years.....	(3)	2,875	3,777	(3)	1,909	2,892
High School						
1 to 3 years.....	1,413	3,306	4,598	728	2,030	3,087
4 years.....	1,685	3,840	5,547	859	2,298	3,215
College						
1 to 3 years.....	1,964	4,501	6,477	948	2,413	(4)
4 years or more.....	2,646	6,260	8,622	1,208	3,177	(4)
25 TO 44 YEARS						
Elementary						
Total.....	1,058	2,618	3,699	555	1,569	2,431
Less than 8 years...	(3)	2,316	3,222	(3)	1,492	2,262
8 years.....	(3)	2,890	4,105	(3)	1,915	3,062
High School						
1 to 3 years.....	1,336	3,203	4,747	711	2,037	3,172
4 years.....	1,552	3,607	5,494	816	2,317	3,050
College						
1 to 3 years.....	1,850	4,159	6,328	903	2,413	(4)
4 years or more.....	2,411	5,512	7,868	1,163	3,032	(4)
45 to 64 YEARS						
Elementary						
Total.....	1,235	2,843	3,740	590	1,535	2,151
Less than 8 years...	(3)	2,537	3,267	(3)	1,458	2,027
8 years.....	(3)	3,185	4,184	(3)	2,027	(4)
High School						
1 to 3 years.....	1,718	3,712	4,833	814	2,137	(4)
4 years.....	2,245	4,709	6,101	1,039	2,365	(4)
College						
1 to 3 years.....	2,361	5,555	7,259	1,099	2,572	(4)
4 years or more.....	3,552	8,054	11,185	1,335	3,688	(4)
65 YEARS AND OVER						
Elementary						
Total.....	(3)	1,636	1,972	(3)	805	911
Less than 8 years...	(3)	1,457	1,800	(3)	765	862
8 years.....	(3)	1,911	2,257	(3)	1,248	(4)
High School						
1 to 3 years.....	(3)	2,421	2,590	(3)	1,206	(4)
4 years.....	(3)	3,157	3,385	(3)	1,549	(4)
College						
1 to 3 years.....	(3)	3,485	4,220 1/	(3)	1,559	(4)
4 years or more.....	(3)	5,439	6,010	(3)	2,451	(4)

(Footnotes, etc. for table 3.)

1/ Restricted to persons reporting $1 or more of wage or salary income and less than $50 of other income for native white and Negro males 25 to 64 years old only.
2/ Total money income.
3/ Not available.
4/ Base is less than 100 sample cases.

Source: Data for 1939 derived from 1940 Census of Population, Education: Educational Attainment by Economic Characteristics and Marital Status, tables 29 and 31.
Data for 1949 derived from 1950 Census of Population, Series P-E, No. 5-B, Education, tables 12 and 13.
Data for 1956 derived from the consumer income supplement to the March 1957 Current Population Survey.

Note regarding comparability of the figures: Neither the income concept nor the universe covered is directly comparable for all the years shown. The figures for 1956 are based on the Current Population Survey and represent the total money income of the civilian noninstitutional male population 25 years old and over. The 1949 figures are based on the 1950 Census and also represent the total money income of all males 25 years old and over, including a relatively small number of institutional inmates. The figures for 1939 are based on the 1940 Census and are restricted to males 25-64 years of age with $1 or more of wage or salary income and less than $50 of nonwage income. For this group, of course, the averages represent total money income; however, the universe has been restricted, because of the way in which the data were collected, to those persons who received only wage or salary income. Only about three-fifths of all men 25-64 years old in 1940 were in this category. The effects of this restriction cannot be measured, but it is undoubtedly more important than those cited for 1949 and 1956. It is also possible that this restriction affects college graduates more than persons with less schooling and for them tends to create an adverse selection since college graduates are more likely to have income other than earnings.

(End of note to table 3)

In the three years for which data are presented, there is a progressive increase for both whites and nonwhites in the average amount of annual income associated with each level of schooling. This increase, however, is typically greater for whites in both absolute and relative terms. Thus, for example, in 1949 the income differential between elementary school and high school graduates 25 to 44 years old was about $700 for whites and $400 for nonwhites (table 3). Relative to the average for each group, this differential amounted to 25 percent for the whites and 21 percent for the nonwhites. This same comparison made in 1956 shows no difference between the average incomes of nonwhite elementary school and high school graduates, but a 34 percent differential for the whites.

Because of the relatively small number of nonwhite college graduates, income data for this group are not available from the 1956 sample survey. The 1950 Census, however, shows an income difference of 53 percent between white high school and college graduates 25 to 44 years old, as compared with a 31 percent differential for nonwhites.

The figures in table 3 point to the general conclusion that the association between income and education is closer for whites than for nonwhites and that the association for nonwhites may have diminished somewhat in recent years. The data from the 1960 Census should shed considerable light on this matter.

II. Lifetime Income in Relation to Education and Color: 1939 and 1949

Estimates of lifetime income provide summary measures of the financial returns associated with education which cannot be readily obtained from the annual data presented above.[17] The estimates of lifetime income presented here are derived figures--one might say synthetic figures--based on variations in the payments to individuals in different age and education groups in 1939 and 1949, the only years for which the base data are available in sufficient detail to prepare estimates by color. The figures are, therefore, based on a cross-section of the population in 1939 and 1949 and not on life-cycle data which would trace a man's income from the time he starts to work until he retires.

There is some question whether life-cycle data would be more suitable for the present analysis; cross-section data have the advantage that they are free from the influence of variants such as periods of industrial depression or unusual activity with their changes in opportunities for employment, in wage rates, and in the cost of living.[18]

Standard life-table techniques were used in computing the figures shown in table 4. First, an estimate was made of the number of 100,000 white and Negro children born in 1939, and 1949 who would survive to each given year of age. These estimates were made from the appropriate life tables.[19] By way of illustration, it was estimated that out of 100,000 white infants born alive in 1949, about 96,000 would survive to

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17/ For additional information on estimation of lifetime income see Herman P. Miller, "Annual and Lifetime Income in Relation to Education: 1939-1959," American Economic Review, December 1960.

18/ W. S. Woytinsky, "Income Cycle in the Life of Families and Individuals," Social Security Bulletin, June 1943.

19/ U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Life Tables and Actuarial Tables, 1939-1941 and National Office of Vital Statistics, Vital Statistics--Special Reports, "United States Life Tables, 1949-51," Vol. 41, No. 1.

age 18, at which time they would enter the labor market. The basic problem consisted of estimating the life span of these 96,000 survivors and the amount of income they would receive during their lifetime. For this purpose, it was assumed that survival rates for men in each education group would be the same as for all white males in 1949. On this basis, it was estimated that these 96,000 men would live a total of nearly 5,000,000 man-years between age 18 and the time the last one died. It was further assumed that during each year of life, these men would receive an average income corresponding to that received by men in the same age group with the same amount of education. The averages used for this purpose were arithmetic means computed for detailed age groups, using procedures described in table 3.[20]

There are several cautions that should be considered before discussing the figures in table 4. First, the figures should not be interpreted as returns to education because they reflect the impact of many of the factors that influence the relationship between income and education. In addition, the figures are not exactly comparable from year to year due to changes in the income concept. The data for 1939 are for wages and salaries, whereas those for 1949 are for total income. Finally, the estimates reflect the economic conditions and other circumstances which existed in each year. The increase, for example, in the value of a college education for white males by about $140,000 between 1939 and 1949 reflects the increase in prices as well as changes in the underlying relationships.

~~(NOTE: INTERPRETATION OF TABLE 4 TO BE INSERTED WHEN FIGURES ARE AVAILABLE.)~~

20/ For age detail, see sources referred to in table 3.

Table 4.--LIFETIME INCOME BASED ON ARITHMETIC MEANS FOR MALES IN SELECTED AGE GROUPS, BY COLOR AND YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1939 AND 1949

(Thousands of dollars)

Years of school completed and age	White		Nonwhite	
	1939 a/	1949 b/	1939 a/	1949 b/
INCOME FROM AGE 18 TO DEATH				
Total, all years of school	(d)	$157	(d)	$ 69
Elementary: Total	(d)	120	(d)	62
Less than 8 years c/	(d)	107	(d)	59
8 years	(d)	135	(d)	82
High School: Total	(d)	171	(d)	88
1 to 3 years	(d)	160	(d)	83
4 years	(d)	188	(d)	95
College : Total	(d)	258	(d)	113
1 to 3 years	(d)	220	(d)	98
4 years or more	(d)	302	(d)	133
INCOME FROM AGE 25 TO DEATH				
Total, all years of school	(d)	147	(d)	63
Elementary: Total	(d)	111	(d)	56
Less than 8 years c/	(d)	99	(d)	53
8 years	(d)	125	(d)	75
High school: Total	(d)	160	(d)	80
1 to 3 years	(d)	150	(d)	76
4 years	(d)	178	(d)	87
College : Total	(d)	251	(d)	107
1 to 3 years	(d)	213	(d)	92
4 years or more	(d)	291	(d)	124
INCOME FROM AGE 18 TO 64				
Total, all years of school	56	139	21	64
Elementary: Total	43	107	19	57
Less than 8 years c/	(d)	95	(d)	54
8 years	(d)	119	(d)	74
High School: Total	65	148	27	79
1 to 3 years	58	140	25	76
4 years	74	162	31	85
College : Total	97	220	37	101
1 to 3 years	81	191	33	88
4 years or more	116	257	41	117
INCOME FROM AGE 25 TO 64				
Total, all years of school	52	129	19	57
Elementary: Total	40	97	17	51
Less than 8 years c/	(d)	87	(d)	48
8 years	(d)	109	(d)	67
High school: Total	62	137	25	71
High school 1 to 3 years	55	129	23	68
4 years	70	151	28	77
College: Total	93	212	34	94
1 to 3 years	77	183	30	82
4 years or more	110	245	38	108

a/ Restricted to persons reporting $1 or more of wage or salary income and less than $50 of other income for native whites and Negroes.
b/ Total money income, white and nonwhite
c/ Includes persons reporting no years of school completed, not shown separately.
d/ Not available.

III. Income and Education by Veteran Status: 1947-59

While the second world war was still in progress, the government instituted the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the GI bill) designed to assist veterans in reestablishing themselves in civilian life. A most important part of this program was the provision of government financed education intended to permanently improve the economic status of veterans. Nearly 8 million veterans of the second world war made use of the education and training benefits at a cost of $14.5 billion to the federal government. Over 2 million men received college and university training and an additional 3.5 million received free education below the college level at elementary and secondary schools, vocational and trade schools, technical institutions, and business schools[17] --the largest program ever undertaken by the federal government in providing financial aid to individuals in completing their education and training.

The impact of the GI bill on the educational attainment of veterans is shown in table 4. In 1947, when most of the former servicemen were in the initial phase of their training under the GI bill, veterans were already a more highly educated group than nonveterans. This was, of course, to be expected since many men were rejected for military service because they were of low intelligence. There was no difference in the proportions of younger veterans and nonveterans who had completed college; but, a larger proportion of the veterans had been exposed to some college training, even if they did not graduate. By 1952, this picture had changed considerably. The proportion of college graduates among younger veterans increased from 7 percent to 12 percent as compared with an increase from 6 percent to 9 percent for nonveterans.

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17 President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal, Staff Report No. IX, Pt. A, Washington, D. C., September 1956.

At the lower educational levels, the gains for veterans were equally striking.

Since older veterans did not make as much use of the education and training provisions of the GI bill as the younger veterans, their educational attainment did not change as much. The most significant change for the older veterans was a sharp drop in the proportion who quit school upon completion of the eighth grade and an increase in the proportion of high school graduates. Between 1947 and 1952 there was no change in the proportion of college graduates among older veterans.

Table 4.--PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED FOR MALE VETERANS AND NONVETERANS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, BY AGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1947 AND 1952

Years of school completed	Veterans of second world war				Nonveterans			
	25 to 34 years		35 to 44 years		25 to 34 years		35 to 44 years	
	1947	1952	1947	1952	1947	1952	1947	1952
Number (thousands).....	6,851	8,428	2,035	4,130	4,043	2,472	7,791	6,070
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Elementary: Total.....	24	20	37	27	40	43	48	41
Less than 5 years a/.....	3	2	4	2	9	14	8	8
5 to 8 years.....	21	18	33	25	31	29	40	33
High school: Total.....	58	56	40	49	45	39	37	44
1 to 3 years.....	24	22	18	20	21	17	19	20
4 years.....	34	34	22	29	24	22	18	24
College: Total.....	17	23	20	23	13	16	14	15
1 to 3 years.....	10	11	8	11	7	7	7	8
4 years or more.....	7	12	12	12	6	9	7	7
Not reported.....	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1

a/ Includes persons reporting no years of school completed, not shown separately.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 15, Educational Attainment of the Civilian Population: April 1947, table 3; and Series P-20, No. 45, School Enrollment, Educational Attainment and Illiteracy, October 1952, table 15.

The shifting patterns of educational attainment for veterans and nonveterans were accompanied by changes in income differentials (table 5). As we shall see later, however, the income changes do not appear to be attributable to education.

In 1947, younger veterans had somewhat lower incomes than nonveterans despite their greater educational attainment. Thus, any selective factors which may have produced higher incomes for veterans were not operative immediately after the war. The lower incomes of veterans at this time may have been due to several factors including the greater work experience of the nonveterans as a result of their civilian employment during the war and also the loss of civilian employment during 1947 by many veterans who went to school part time or who served in the armed forces during part of the year. By 1948, veterans and nonveterans had the same average incomes and in every year thereafter veterans received greater relative income gains, reaching a maximum differential of 30 percent in 1955. Because of the changing age composition of veterans in the 25 to 34 year age group during recent years, it is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between veterans and nonveterans in this age group since 1955.

A large proportion of the veterans who were 25 to 34 years old in 1947 have now moved into the 35 to 44 year age group. As a result, the income differential between veterans and nonveterans within this age group is now beginning to increase markedly. Until 1953, veterans who were 35 to 44 years old had only slightly higher incomes than nonveterans. By 1956, the differential increased to 15 percent and in 1959 it rose still further to 25 percent.

Table 5.--COMPARISON OF MEDIAN INCOMES OF MALE VETERANS AND NONVETERANS OF SECOND WORLD WAR, BY AGE AND EXTENT OF EMPLOYMENT: 1947-59

Year	Median total money income				Ration of veterans income to nonveterans	
	25 to 34 years		35 to 44 years			
	Veterans	Nonveterans	Veterans	Nonveterans	25 to 34 yrs.	35 to 44 yrs.
TOTAL						
1947	$2,401	$2,585	$2,689	$2,900	93	93
1948	2,734	2,692	3,045	3,046	102	100
1949	2,828	2,562	2,984	2,935	110	102
1950	3,058	2,626	3,291	3,234	116	102
1951	3,359	2,875	3,647	3,595	117	101
1952	3,631	3,065	3,834	3,602	118	106
1953	3,948	3,183	4,118	3,867	124	106
1954	3,978	3,073	4,227	3,818	129	111
1955	4,330	3,294	4,483	3,946	131	114
1956	4,675	3,712	4,853	4,220	126	115
1957	4,984	4,041	4,985	4,279	123	117
1958	5,010	4,171	5,225	4,306	120	121
1959	5,423	4,481	5,629	4,513	121	125
YEAR-ROUND FULL-TIME WORKERS						
1955						
Percent	81	72	81	78	--	--
Median income	$4,630	3,854	$4,679	$4,319	120	108
1956						
Percent	83	72 72	80	78	--	--
Median income	$4,944	$4,150	$5,122	$4,554	119	112
1957						
Percent	82	70	80	74	--	--
Median income	$5,321	$4,465	$5,321	$4,792	119	111
1958						
Percent	76	66	77	70	--	--
Median income	$5,453	$4,804	$5,609	$4,844	114	116
1959						
Percent	77	70	79	73	--	--
Median income	$5,798	$5,122	$6,000	$5,023	113	119

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, annual issues.

The close association between changes in education and income shown in the preceding tables suggests a possible causal relation between these variables. This view, however, is not supported by the facts available from a study made by the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, under the direction of General Omar Bradley, to ascertain among other things the role of the training and education provisions of the GI Bill in the economic readjustment of veterans of the second world war and the Korean conflict to civilian life.[18/] In this study it was found that in 1955, at a time when the income differential between young veterans and nonveterans was at a peak of 31 percent (see table 5), there was only a four percent differential between veterans who used GI training and those who did not. Specifically, the figures show that nondisabled veterans of World War II in the 25 to 34 year age group who used the GI training had median earnings of $4,400 in 1955 as compared with a median of $4,200 for those who did not receive such training.[19/] In other words, despite an insignificant income difference between veterans who used GI training and those who did not the average incomes of both groups of veterans were markedly higher than the average for nonveterans. These facts suggest that qualities associated with veteran status rather than education may be primarily responsible for the higher incomes of veterans.

18/ Ibid.
19/ Ibid, p. 126.

File: Poverty

Poverty Extensive in Rural South

Many Families Do Without Adequate Food or Shelter

By JOHN D. POMFRET
Special to The New York Times

SUMTER, S.C., March 1—Grim, unrelenting poverty is the ever-present intruder in Willie Hill's home.

It makes its presence felt in many ways.

It is the cold that sweeps in through the cracks around the window and door frames and makes it impossible to keep warm more than a yard away from the wood-burning stove.

It is the five rickety straight-backed chairs that are the only furniture in the living room.

It is the dirty concrete floor, the filthy clothes, the emaciation that has hollowed the Hills's faces, the hunted look in their eyes.

It is the squalid outdoor privy, the cheap yellow curtains that give the room a note of false and pathetic gaiety, the monotonous and inadequate diet of grits, greens and fatback.

Worst of all, it is the crushing burden that has robbed the Hills of any hope and ambition for themselves or their children and has limited their sense of the future to anything much beyond the next meal.

One of Thousands

The Hills are representative of thousands of families spread through the rural South whose plight is one of the main reasons for President Johnson's war on poverty.

The Government has put the poverty line at anything below $3,000 a year in family money income.

About 9.3 million families—more than 30 million people—fall below this line.

Nearly half of them live in the South and nearly half in rural areas, although less than a third of the nation's total population lives in the South and less than a third in rural areas.

Although the poverty of the Southern countryside is a formidable part of all the poverty in the nation, it seems to have attracted less attention than that in other sections. The Southern rural poor have been

The New York Times March 3, 1964
Sumter, S. C. (cross), area of rural poverty in South.

and his wife must care for him full time.

The Bass family lives in indescribable squalor in a two-room log cabin.

Until recently, when the Farmers Home Administration of the Department of Agriculture arranged for $1,000 worth of repairs on the house, the maximum grant for such purposes, there were gaping holes in the roof and openings between the logs through which the cold and rain blew.

They now have an outdoor pump, a new roof and asphalt siding. But indoors it is still dank and cold. A flickering fire in a stone fireplace is the only heat. Dirty clothes are scattered around the room. The family drinks from tin cans. There are four beds and a chair in the main room and no furniture in the other.

Built Home Herself

There is Mrs. Cora Lee Horton, a small, gentle widow of 55 with bright blue eyes who lives in Kershaw County with her daughter and the daughter of a distant relative. Their home is a three-room shack that Mrs. Horton built herself from scraps of lumber picked up around the neighborhood.

The family income is a welfare payment of $51 a month and the $1 a week that Mrs. Horton makes taking in washing.

Or there is Henry Robinson, who, at 52, is clinging to his tiny farm with the help of Government loans. When the bright yellow school bus stops in front of Mr. Robinson's house, it looks as though it is disgorging its entire load.He thinks he has 13 children, but cannot [illegible]

Negroes and Whites Alike Share Plight —U.S. Aid Sought

South is color blind. It happens that the Robinsons are Negroes and the Hill, Bass and Horton families white.

The county supervisors of the Farmers Home Administration are trying with their agency's program of loans and grants to raise the living standards of members of poor rural families.

They concede, however, that for many of the rural poor, and particularly the children, this will not be the answer.

They are convinced that poverty-stricken rural families must be helped to acquire the skills necessary to find jobs in the industrial plants that are springing up in the South Carolina countryside or elsewhere.

Education Called Answer

The fundamental answer, as they see it, is education; the fundamental evil, the lack of it.

State officials feel the same way. Two years ago, the State Commission for Technical Education began setting up centers where men and women could learn useful skills. There are now eight centers — all but one quietly integrated — turning out 800 trained workers every month.

The standards for admission are quite high, however, and the state realized that the program was not reaching the illiterate, hard-core poverty group.

So recently the state signed up for a $5.6 million Federal training program under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It hopes to train 14,000 workers in 18 months.

Still, persons familiar with South Carolina's problem acknowledge that there is a long way to go.

The state's school dropout rate is appalling. Only 49 per cent of the white students and 23 per cent of the Negroes finish high school.

No Grasp of Fundamental

This is the main reason that the state's draft rejection rate is the highest in the nation. [illegible]

and less than a third in rural areas.

Although the poverty of the Southern countryside is a formidable part of all the poverty in the nation, it seems to have attracted less attention than that in other sections. The Southern rural poor have been the forgotten poor.

Their condition has not been the result of a dramatic and readily identifiable upheaval like the mechanization of the coal mines that has brought destitution to large sections of the Appalachian region. Nor does their poverty have the concentrated impact of a big city slum.

The rural slum spreads in a large crescent from southern Virginia, sweeps along the coastal plain across Georgia and Alabama into the Mississippi Delta and the Ozarks.

"Poverty in the South is like a Texas river—a mile wide and a foot deep," says one Government official who helped plan the Administration's poverty program.

"We started out with the 'pockets of poverty' concept, but we quickly found that it doesn't apply. The problem in the rural South is what to do when poverty infects the entire polity."

Although the worst Southern poverty is not in the South Carolina countryside, the situation here is representative of the problems confronting the entire region.

Large Capital Needed

Profitable farming has become a large-scale enterprise requiring heavy investments of capital in land, fertilizer and machinery.

It is becoming ever more difficult for the small farmer to maintain a living from his few acres or the day laborer to find steady work.

Many of these men also lack the skills needed to get a job in industry, or they are too old or too unsure of themselves.

The result for thousands of men like Willie Hill has been an economic vise from which they are unable to squirm free.

Mr. Hill is a sharecropper and day laborer on a small cotton and tobacco farm in Sumter County. When he works, he is paid $3 a day.

But he works irregularly.

He does not know what his yearly income is. Those familiar with his situation doubt that even with a $40-a-month Social Security benefit that his wife's stepfather receives, it amounts to as much as $2,000 a year.

With this Mr. Hill tries to support himself, his wife, Emma, their four children, the son of Mr. Hill's sister, who died last year, and Mrs. Hill's 78-year-old stepfather.

The Hills are unable, in the local phrase, to "store up" anything.

What can happen under these circumstances is illustrated by the plight of Esau Bass.

Mr. Bass lives a few miles outside of Camden in adjoining Kershaw County.

He was a sharecropper until he was felled by a stroke five years ago. Now he is bedridden

Or there is Henry Robinson, who, at 52, is clinging to his tiny farm with the help of Government loans. When the bright yellow school bus stops in front of Mr. Robinson's house, it looks as though it is disgorging its entire load.He thinks he has 13 children, but seems to have lost count.

Statistically, Mr. Robinson may seem well off. His gross income was about $2,800 last year. But he estimates he had to spend about $1,000 of it for food, the rest to pay the expenses of running his farm.

The figures indicate that the plight of the average Negro family is much worse than that of the average white family. Negro family income is South Carolina averaged $1,626 in 1959 — the latest available figure. White family income averaged $4,142.

But poverty in the rural

cent of the white students and 23 per cent of the Negroes finish high school.

No Grasp of Fundamental

This is the main reason that the state's draft rejection rate is the highest in the nation. More than five in 10 fail to qualify. Among Negroes, who make up 35 per cent of the state's population, eight in 10 are rejected.

Visits to poor rural families indicate that it will take more than simply providing good schools and capable teachers to solve the problem. Many of these families seem to have no grasp of the necessity for education.

The Hills, again, are typical. One of their children quit school after the fifth grade, another after the eighth. The family's expectation is that all the children will stay on the land.

WHO ARE THE POOR ? ? ?

THERE ARE 47 MILLION FAMILIES IN THE U.S.A.

9.3 MILLION of these families or roughly 37 MILLION people, adults and children, earn less than $3,000 a year.

5 MILLION poverty-families live in cities

4.3 MILLION poverty-families live in the South

6 MILLION poverty-families have a head of the household with less than a 9th Grade education

2 MILLION poverty-families are non-white

2.3 MILLION poverty-families have a woman as family head

3.2 MILLION poverty families have a family head who is 65 or older

PRESIDENT JOHNSON CALLS FOR AN UNCONDITIONAL WAR ON POVERTY

In his State of the Union Message, January 8, 1964, President Johnson set forth a series of programs whose aim is "not only to relieve the symptoms of poverty but to cure it -- and above all prevent it." The President called for the following measures to launch the war against poverty:

depressed areas

We must launch a special effort in the chronically distressed areas of Appalachia.

We must expand our small but successful Area Redevelopment Program.

We must enact Youth Employment legislation to put jobless, aimless, hopeless youngsters to work on useful projects.

We must distribute more food to the needy through a broader Food Stamp Program.

We must create a National Service Corps to help the economically handicapped of our own country as the Peace Corps helps those abroad.

unemployment insurance

We must modernize our Unemployment Insurance and establish a high level Commission on Automation. If we have the brainpower to invent these machines, we have the brainpower to make certain they are a boon and not a bane to humanity.

minimum wage

We must extend the coverage of our Minimum Wage laws to more than 2 million workers now lacking this basic protection of purchasing power.

education

We must, by including special school aid funds as part of our Education program, improve the quality of teaching, training and counseling in our hardest-hit areas.

We must build more libraries in every area.

medical care

We must build more hospitals and nursing homes under the Hill-Burton Act--and train more nurses to staff them.

We must provide hospital insurance for our older citizens, financed by every worker and his employer under Social Security contributing no more than $1 a month during the employee's working career to protect him in his old age in a dignified manner, without cost to the Treasury, against the devastating burden of prolonged or repeated illness.

housing

We must, as part of a revised Housing and Urban Renewal program, give more help to those displaced by slum clearance, provide more housing for our poor and our elderly, and seek as our ultimate goal in our free enterprise system a decent home for every American family.

We must help obtain more modern mass transit within our communities as well as low-cost transportation between them.

tax reduction

Above all, we must release $11 billion of tax reduction into the private spending stream to create new jobs and new markets in every area.

This Administration here and now declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I ask this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort. It will not be a short or easy struggle--no single weapon or strategy will suffice--but we shall not rest until that war is won.

A CLOSER LOOK AT POVERTY IN AMERICA

Michael Harrington might well be credited with firing one of the first shots in the war against poverty which is only now turning into a national crusade. In his book "The Other America" Harrington said that there were between 40 and 50 million Americans -- about a fourth of the population -- now living in poverty. He called these people the "invisible poor" because most Americans are not aware of their existance.

Other students of the problem estimate that there are between 35 and 40 million persons in America today who are living on the ragged edge of the affluent society. Whether it is one-forth of the nation or one-fifth which is living in poverty is unimportant. The real challenge we face is to learn more about who these people are, what their problems are, and what can be done to help them. In order to join President Johnson's "unconditional war on poverty" we must understand the problem more fully.

The following article, reprinted from the Wall Street Journal, describes some of the economic and social problems of four groups of deprived Americans: urban Negroes, people who live in the Appalachian region, migrant farm workers and the aged. After you have read this article you will want to discuss some of the following questions --

- Do you think that most of these people can do very much to improve their chance of getting a job by themselves?
- Why do you think that the poorest fifth of the nation is getting poorer?
- Do you think that most of these people have had much education or have acquired job skills?
- What changes are taking place in our economy which makes it harder and harder for the unskilled and poorly educated to find jobs?
- What are some of the things which you think could be done to help the four groups of people discussed in this article?

FOCUS ON POVERTY

U. S. BEGINS TO TAKE CLOSER LOOK AT PLIGHT OF THE NATION'S POOR -- 1 IN 5 FAMILIES EARNS LESS THAN $3,000 YEARLY

Reprinted from Wall Street Journal
January 18, 1964

Who are these citizens of the "Other America"?

From New York's Harlem to California's fertile valleys, Wall Street Journal reporters have sought out citizens of the other America. They are a 35-year-old Negro mother of four who is being treated for a psychotic fear of rats at a Harlem clinic. They are a jobless east Kentucky coal miner who buries potatoes from his garden each fall and then digs them up to eat in winter when food is scarce. They are a migrant worker in California catching some sleep in a battered car before the predawn hiring starts for the next day's fruit picking.

The other America has somewhere between 20 million and 40 million inhabitants. The precise population depends on how you care to define poverty. If, as many private and Government analysts do, you call a family poor when their yearly income is below $3,000--the U.S. average is $7,140--then 36 million Americans are poor. That's about one out of five.

28% of income under $2,000 is paid out in taxes

The mounting concern over the other America reflects not so much its great size, however, as the fact it is somehow being left behind as the economy moves from record to new record. A recent study shows that since 1944 the share of total family income held by the poorest fifth of U. S. households actually has declined--to 4.7% from 4.9%. Another study reveals that the poor now pay more of their incomes for taxes than families earning five to seven times as much--largely because of steeply rising state and local levies not geared to income, such as sales taxes. The analysis shows that 28.3% of family incomes under $2,000 a year is paid out in taxes.

"The poor have a worse relative position in American society today than they did a decade and a half ago," concludes Michael Harrington, author of The Other America, a lengthy review of poverty in the U. S. "As technology has boomed, their share in prosperity has decreased; their participation in recession and misery has increased."

John Kenneth Galbraith, now professor of economics at Harvard after serving as ambassador to India, hammers at the same point: "If the head of a family is stranded deep on the Cumberland Plateau, or if he never went to school, or if he has no useful skill, or if his health is broken, or if he has succumbed as a youngster to a slum environment, or if opportunity is denied to him because he is a Negro, then he will be poor and his family will be poor, and that will be true no matter how opulent everyone else becomes."

Most people aren't aware of the extent of poverty

The American poor are seldom seen, many analysts say. They contend this invisibility has made it difficult to generate much public concern over poverty.

"The poor still inhabit the miserable housing in the central area (of cities), but they are increasingly isolated from contact with, or sight of, anybody else," Mr. Harrington states. "Many of the poor are the wrong age to be seen--a good number of them are 65 years of age or better, an even larger number are under 18....And finally, the poor are politically invisible...without lobbies of their own."

Poverty-stricken America has many faces--the slum-dwelling urban Negro, the unemployed Appalachian miner, the sun-beaten migrant worker who follows the harvest, the retired widower who scrapes by on $30 a week in Florida, the wine-stained American Indian who shuffles along Chicago's West Madison Street, the illiterate Mississippi farmer whose produce sales total about $1,200 a year. The breakdown that follows gives you a closer look at some of these faces.

Almost half of Negro families earn less than $3,000 a year

URBAN NEGROES. About 2 million of the nation's 4.2 million Negro families earn less than $3,000 a year, and roughly 1.2 million of these poor families are packed into city slums, both in the North and the South. The largest of these slums are in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and Washington.

The slums of New York--where 1.1 million of the nation's 19 million Negroes dwell--typify the world of the urban Negro. Some 15% of New York's Negroes are on relief. One in five Negro children is born out of wedlock. In one teeming district venereal disease cases number 2,143 for every 100,000 persons, compared with a city-wide average of 172 cases per 100,000. The city's Negro infant mortality rate is 40 per 1,000 births, double the rate among white New Yorkers. A New York Negro male's life expectancy is about 61 years, some six years less than that of his white counterpart.

About 400,000 of New York's Negroes live in Harlem, a ghetto in upper Manhattan. Many Harlem fathers leave their families to find work elsewhere or live with other women. Mothers, grandmothers and aunts dominate family life in Harlem. Often the number sleeping in a Harlem flat varies from day to day. Asked how many persons are currently in her apartment, a Harlem mother replies, "About seven."

2-room slum apartment in ghetto rents for $125 a month

Squalid housing abounds in Harlem. Hallways are dark and often smell of garbage. Paint is peeling off the walls. "It's like trying to inhabit a sore," says Joseph P. Lyford, a social researcher who has spent many months around the area. Yet such apartments rent for as much as $125 a month for two rooms, a charge the New York Welfare Department pays if the family is on relief.

Crime is part of Harlem's way of life--dope peddling, prostitution, armed robbery. Some 40% of the nation's narcotics addicts live in New York, authorities estimate, and many of these are found in the city's Negro slums. "You go into a bathroom, and on the floor is a syringe and bloody rags," Mr. Lyford says.

Poverty results in mental and physical illness

Harlem spawns mental as well as physical sickness. Dr. Elizabeth Davis, head of psychiatry at Harlem Hospital, tells of treating a Negro mother who suffers from a fear of shadows: "Her fear stems from being on constant watch for rats in her Harlem tenement; she regards every shadow as a vicious rat out to infect her and her children." Many of Dr. Davis' patients suffer from mental depression. "Bad schooling, bad housing and low income get to these people sooner or later," she says.

Are Harlem's Negroes up in arms, threatening uprisings? Not so you can notice it. Most Harlem Negroes seem politically apathetic. Possibly the many Protestant churches in the area offer some spiritual comfort. And Harlem's ubiquitous taverns may provide escape of a sort for some.

Massive program is needed to attack poverty

What's being done for Harlem's Negroes? The very poor get relief. Those out of work for a while collect unemployment compensation. Welfare agencies ease the plight of the destitute. A few Negroes are getting jobs through once exclusively white union locals. A Federal-city program was recently launched to guide jobless and poorly schooled city youths into skilled jobs.

But most Harlem leaders believe a massive program must be undertakes, involving huge amounts of public money. They note bitterly that the average income of a New York Negro family amounts to only 59% of that of a white New York household, down from 61% in 1950.

Appalachian mines employ 60% fewer workers than in 1950

Nearly a third of the 3.8 million families in Appalachia earn less than $3,000 a year. Their poverty chiefly reflects shriveling job opportunities in the nine-state region, which runs southwest from Pennsylvania into northern Alabama. Because of automation and declining demand for coal, Appalachia's mines, which produce 65% of the nation's soft coal, require some 60% fewer workers today than in 1950. And, since Appalachia's hilly farms can't compete with the big, mechanized ones to the West, agricultural employment in the area has also skidded--by more than 25% since 1950.

The attrition of jobs has caused an exodus of young persons. Consequently, nearly 10% of the area's population is over 65 years old, up from 7.4% in 1950. In the nation as a whole, the over-65 population also has risen, but not nearly so sharply. Reflecting the exodus, Appalachia's population is about unchanged since 1950, while the U. S. total has climbed some 20%.

Young persons leave this desolate, jobless area

As a result, the residents of many towns in Appalachia are often elderly persons living on Social Security, pensions or relief. Frequently young persons there have grown up in the towns, departed to find jobs in the Midwest or East, then been laid off and finally returned to live cheaply on unemployment checks from other areas.

Typically, a recent visitor to towns in eastern Kentucky recalls, one sees "unambitious persons who can look forward to sitting on the front porch waiting for welfare checks;

they are unskilled and largely illiterate." Many, he says, are without "shoes for their children's feet." They eat surplus food distributed by the Department of Agriculture--powdered milk, rice, beans, cheese. Because many have no refrigerators, they sometimes bury potatoes so they will keep until winter.

"These poverty-ridden people don't understand what's happening to them," claims Dan Jack Combs, a Pikeville, Ky., attorney long familiar with the plight of miners in the area. "They feel they're victims of circumstance and don't know what to do to change things; they feel trapped." But, he adds, "they are good people, good Christian folk for the most part." Their divorce and illegitimacy rates, he estimates are "immeasurably lower" than those in big urban areas.

Education is one of the answers to the problem

Food handouts are only one of the many doles on which the Appalachian poor depend. Other forms of assistance include aid to families of dependent children, old age and medical assistance and aid to the disabled and the destitute. Government records show 12% of U. S. public assistance recipients live in Appalachia, although the region contains only 8% of the nation's population.

Many observers feel, however, that education must be the ultimate solution to Appalachia's woes. They note that 11.6% of adults in the area have less than five years of schooling. In the rest of the U. S. only 8% have received so little education.

Average farm laborer's wage is $913 a year

About half of the 2 million farm laborers in the U. S. are migrant workers who follow the harvest from state to state. Some two-thirds of the migrants are U. S. citizens. The rest are nearly all Mexicans allowed to enter the country and work under the so-called bracero program, which was recently renewed for a year.

Almost all these workers are very poor. The total average wage of farm laborers in 1962 was only $1,164, and that figure includes earnings from odd jobs. For farm labor alone, the average was $913. Wage rates very widely from crop to crop, field to field and state to state. In one recent year Washington State farm workers averaged $1.25 hourly, while those in South Carolina earned only 47 cents an hour.

Migrants not protected by minimum wage or unemployment insurance

The Federal minimum wage law doesn't apply to migrants. And Social Security applies only if within a single year a migrant works 20 or more days on an hourly rate for one employer, or earns at least $150 from one employer. Actually, much of migrants' work is piece-rate, over short periods for many employers. Almost no migrants have unemployment insurance.

The typical migrant family travels in a battered car, jammed with its belongings. Consider the scene when such a family arrives at Stockton, Calif., at cherry and strawberry picking time in mid-summer. If the family hasn't enough money to rent a room, as is often the case, the members sleep out, or in the car if the weather is bad.

Early the next morning dozens of ancient, converted school buses pull into town. Crew bosses for farmers jump out and start chanting: "Cherries, cherries, dollar an' a dime

a bucket (about 16 quarts). Come on boys, cherries, dollar an' a dime." Or: "Strawberries, berries, 75 cents a box (a 14-pound crate), 75 cents a box. Let's go, berries."

Migrant workers need protection of minimum wage law

The migrants move up and down the crowded streets, listening. When they find a job, they climb aboard the bus. When it's full, it pulls off into the pre-dawn darkness for the farm. Soon the buses and most of the migrants are gone, dawn breaks and industrail workers begin coming to their jobs. There's almost no sign the weird labor market ever existed. The migrants' day starts early and ends early--about mid-afternoon--because by that time the heat becomes too intense.

What would help the domestic migrant worker? Among the solutions most often suggested: Ending the bracero program, extending the Federal minimum wage to farm work, making unemployment insurance for migrants mandatory.

25% of nation's poor are people over 65

Persons over 65 make up more than a quarter of the nation's poor, studies indicate. Because many of the aged poor live with relatives and have some savings, their predicament probably is not so dire as that of, say, a young urban Negro family earning less than $3,000 annually. But their lot certainly is far from satisfactory, observers say.

Take, for example, a bench-sitter in the St. Petersburg, Fla., Williams Park. He's a former Youngstown, Ohio, factory worker whose wife is dead and whose three children live in the North. At mid-morning, when the chill is off the air, he's had a breakfast of cereal and a cup of instant coffee at his rooming house room and is waiting to read the morning paper. He hopes someone will toss a paper in a nearby garbage can so he can recover it. But if this doesn't happen, he will round up a couple of cronies, and they will chip in to buy one for a dime. Then they will swap sections until each has read it through.

For lunch, one of the two meals he eats in a cafe, the retired Ohioan will drift to one of several low-budget cafes and order either a hot dog or a bowl of soup, which will cost 20 cents. In the afternoon, he may return to a park bench to chat and watch strollers, or perhaps visit a checker game at a nearby pier. Dinner at another low-budget cafe will consist of meat loaf, mixed peas and carrots, a roll with butter and coffee. It will cost 58 cents.

Aged poor barely subsist on $30 a week

He gets along on about $30 a week, $10 for food and a couple of movies at a downtown theater which offers second-run films at 50 cents, and $20 for his room and a bath down the hall. For a quick blood pressure checkup he occasionally stops at one of the machines in front of downtown drugstores that read your blood pressure for 25 cents.

The retired factory worker actually outspends his income slightly, but cash gifts from his offspring at Easter and on his birthday make ends meet. His Social Security check is $116 a month. Some elderly couples in St. Petersburg live together without benefit of marriage, since if they were wed their separate Social Security checks would be lumped together and their income reduced.

File: Poverty

THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

by Oscar Lewis

I want to take this opportunity to clear up some possible misunderstanding concerning the idea of a "culture of poverty." I would distinguish sharply between impoverishment and the culture of poverty. Not all people who are poor necessarily live in or develop a culture of poverty. For example, middle class people who become impoverished do not automatically become members of the culture of poverty, even though they may have to live in the slums for a while. Similarly, the Jews who lived in poverty in eastern Europe did not develop a culture of poverty because their tradition of literacy and their religion gave them a sense of identification with Jews all over the world. It gave them a sense of belonging to a community which was united by a common heritage and common religious beliefs.

In the introduction to The Children of Sanchez, I listed approximately fifty traits which constitute what I call the culture of poverty. Although poverty is only one of the many traits which, in my judgment, go together, I have used it to name the total system because I consider it terribly important. However, the other traits, and especially the psychological and ideological ones, are also important and I should like to elaborate on this a bit.

The Helpless and The Homeless

The people in the culture of poverty have a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belonging. They are like aliens in their own country, convinced that the existing institutions do not serve their interests and needs. Along with this feeling of powerlessness is a widespread feeling of inferiority, of personal unworthiness. This is true of the slum dwellers of Mexico City, who do not constitute a distinct ethnic or racial group and do not suffer from racial discrimination. In the United States the culture of poverty of the Negroes has the additional disadvantage of racial discrimination.

People with a culture of poverty have very little sense of history. They are a marginal people who know only their own troubles, their own local conditions, their own neighborhood, their own way of life. Usually, they have neither the knowledge, the vision nor the ideology to see the similarities between their problems and those of others like themselves elsewhere in the world. In other words, they are not class conscious, although they are very sensitive indeed to status distinctions. When the poor become class conscious or members of trade union organizations, or when they adopt an internationalist outlook on the world they are, in my view, no longer part of the culture of poverty although they may still be desperately poor.

Is It All Bad?

The idea of a culture of poverty that cuts across different societies enables us to see that many of the problems we think of as distinctively our own or

distinctively Negro problems (or that of any other special racial or ethnic group), also exist in countries where there are no ethnic groups involved. It also suggests that the elimination of physical poverty as such may not be enough to eliminate the culture of poverty which is a whole way of life. One can speak readily about wiping out poverty; but to wipe out a culture or sub-culture is quite a different matter, for it raises the basic question of our respect for cultural differences.

Middle class people, and this certainly includes most social scientists, tend to concentrate on the negative aspects of the culture of poverty; they tend to have negative feelings about traits such as an emphasis on the present and a neglect of the future, or on concrete as against abstract orientations. I do not intend to idealize or romanticize the culture of poverty. As someone has said, "It is easier to praise poverty than to live it." However, we must not overlook some of the positive aspects that may flow from these traits. Living immersed in the present may develop a capacity for spontaneity, for the enjoyment of the sensual, the indulgence of impulse, which is too often blunted in our middle class future-oriented man. Perhaps it is this reality of the moment that middle class existentialist writers are so desperately trying to recapture, but which the culture of poverty experiences as a natural, everyday phenomena. The frequent use of violence certainly provides a ready outlet for hostility, so that people in the culture of poverty suffer less from repression than does the middle class.

In this connection, I should also like to take exception to the trend in some studies to identify the lower class almost exclusively with vice, crime and juvenile delinquency, as if most poor people were thieves, beggars, ruffians, murderers or prostitutes. Certainly, in my own experience in Mexico, I found most of the poor decent, upright, courageous and lovable human beings. I believe it was the novelist Fielding who wrote, "The sufferings of the poor are indeed less observed than their misdeeds."

It is interesting that much the same ambivalence in the evaluation of the poor is reflected in proverbs and in literature. On the positive side, the following serve as typical:

"Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kirgdom of God." (Luke, 6:20).

"The poor are the proteges of the Gods." (Menander, The Lady of Leucas, c. 330 B.C.)

"It is life near the bone, where it is sweetest." (H. D. Thoreau, Walden, Ch. 18.)

"The poor man alone,
When he hears the poor moan
From a morsel a morsel will give."
(Thomas Holcraft, Gaffer Gray.)

"Yes! in the poor man's garden grow
Far more than herbs and flowers,
Kind thoughts, contentment, peace of mind,
And joy for weary hours."
(Mary Howitt, The Poor Man's Garden.)

"Poverty! Thous source of human art,
Thou great inspirer of the poet's song!"
(Edward Moore, Hymn to Poverty.)

"Few, save the poor, feel for the poor."
(Letitia Elizabeth Landon, The Poor.)

"Happier he, the peasant, far,
From the pangs of passion free,
That breathes the keen yet wholesome air
of ragged penury."
(Thomas Gray, Ode on The Pleasure Arising from Vicissitude.)

"O happy unown'd youths! Your limbs can bear
The scorching dog-star and the winter's air,
While the rich infant, nurs'd with care and pain,
Thirsts with each heat and coughs with every rain."
(John Gay. Trivia. Bk. II, I. 145.)

"My friends are poor but honest."
(All's Well That Ends Well, I, iii, 201.)

The following illustrate the negative elements in some of the stereotypes of poverty:

"All the days of the poor are evil."
(Babylonian Talmud, Kethubot, 110b.)

"He must have a great deal of godliness who can find any satisfaction in being poor." (Cervantes, Don Quixote, Pt. II, Ch. 44.)

"Poverty is no disgrace to a man, but is is confoundedly inconvenient."
(Sydney Smith, His Wit and Wisdom (1900), p. 89.)

"The resolutions of a poor man are weak." (Doolittle, Chinese Vocabulary II, 494 (1872.)

"What can a poor man do but love and pray?" (Hartley Coleridge, Sonnets--No.30.)

"If you've really been poor, you remain poor at heart all your life."
(W. Somerset Maugham, Introduction to Arnold Bennett, The Old Wives Tale, in Ten Novels.)

"The life of the poor is the curse of the heart." (Ecclestiasticus, 38:19.)

"There is no virtue that poverty destroyeth not." (John Florio. First Fruits, Fo. 32.)

"Poverty makes some humble, but more malignant." (Bulwer-Lytton. Eugence Aram. Bk. 1, Chapter 7.)

"The devil wipes his tail with the poor man's pride." (John Ray. English Proverbs, 21.)

"The poor, inur'd to drudgery and distress,
Act without aim, think little, and feel less,
And nowhere, but in feign'd Arcadian scenes,
Taste happiness, or know what pleasure means."
(William Cowper Hope I. 7.)

In short, some see the poor as virtuous, upright, serene, independent, honest, secure, kind, simple and happy, while others see them as evil, mean, violent, sordid and criminal.

Most people in the United States find it difficult to think of poverty as a stable, persistent, ever present phenomenon, because our expanding economy and the specially favorable circumstances of our histroy have led to an optimism which makes us think that poverty is transitory. As a matter of fact, the culture of poverty in the United States is indeed of relatively limited scope; but as Michael Harrington and others show, it is probably more widespread than has been generally recognized.

Poverty Here and Abroad

In considering what can be done about the culture of poverty, we must make a sharp distinction between those countries in which it involves a relatively small segment of the population, and those in which it constitutes a very large section. Obviously, the solutions will have to differ in these two areas. In the United States, the major solution proposed by planners and social workers for dealing with what are called "multiple problem families," the "undeserving poor," and the hard core of poverty," is slowly to raise their level of living and eventually incorporate them into the middle class. And, wherever possible, there is some reliance upon psychiatric treatment in an effort to imbue these "shiftless, lazy, unambitious people" with the higher middle class aspirations.

In the undeveloped countries, where great masses of people share in the culture of poverty, I doubt that social work solutions are feasible. Nor can psychiatrists begin to cope with the magnitude of the problem. They have all they can do to deal with the growing middle class.

In the United States, delinquency, vice and violence represent the major threats to the middle class from the culture of poverty. In our country there is not threat of revolution. In the less developed countries of the world, however, the people who live in the culture of poverty may one day become organized into political movements that seek fundamental revolutionary changes and that is one reason why their existence poses terribly urgent problems.

If my brief outline of the basic psychological aspects of the culture of poverty is essentially sound, then it may be more important to offer the poor of the world's countries a genuinely revolutionary ideology rather than the promise of material goods or a quick rise in the standards of living.

It is conceivable that some countries can eliminate the culture of poverty (at least in the early stages of their industrial revolution) without at first eliminating impoverishment, by changing the value systems and attitudes of the people so they no longer feel helpless and homeless--so they begin to feel that they are living in their own country, with their institutions, their government and their leadership.

HELEN BULLARD
Executive Secretary

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Phone MU 8-8493

April 17, 1962

Dear Pat,

This is the first time I've heard the phrase "disadvantaged people".

I thought there might be a column in it for you, but anyway I thought you would like to see it.

Regards,

Helen Bullard

Enclosure

Half Of Urban Folk Seen "Disadvantaged" By 1970

WASHINGTON—If things go on the way they have been, by 1970, half of the people who live in our large cities will be "disadvantaged Americans" — ignorant, incompetent, maladjusted charges on the community.

This is the conclusion of the Educational Policies Commission (E. P. C.), an agency formed jointly by the National Education Association and the American Associa- of School Administrators.

What schools can and should do to halt this trend is discussed in "Education and the Disadvantaged American," published by the Commission today. The "disadvantaged" are culturally deprived persons whose habits and customs place them at a "severe disadvantage" when they come in contact with modern life. Today large numbers of these persons are moving to the cities where their coming generates problems and leads to "decay."

The Commission identifies five main streams of the disadvantaged: Negroes from the rural South, hill whites from the "Appalachian uplands"; Puerto Ricans, Mexican - Americans, and reservation Indians. Changes in their original homes and the attraction of better opportunities elsewhere have produced a migration.

"In this migration the tragic inadequacy of old cultures for new needs continues to exact its toll," the report says. "In the cities as on the farms, jobs for the unskilled are decreasing . . . They have little of the understanding required to be wise consumers. Often they and their children reject schooling. Inferior and overpriced housing further handicaps (them) . . . Racial discrimination compounds the difficulties of many. Poverty and disease continue to plague them; delinquency and crime rates rise; and the society at large appears remote and uninterested."

The picture which the Commission draws of the impact of these persons on American cities raises the question whether urban America can solve the many problems it must face. "Ironically, the services designed to help them most—education, public health, police and fire protection, sanitation, and public welfare — often appear arbitrary and undesirable to the disad - vantaged."

"Thus, local government seems foreign to the disadvantaged. It is operated by persons with whom they have no sense of identity. Their past experience offers no explanation of its operation. They mistrust its purpose and look on it as essentially hostile or oppressive, and it sometimes is. The disadvantaged citizen tends to look on the police not as the protector of law and order but as an armed enemy."

American schools must find ways to deal with these people. The Commission points out that schooling suitable for middle-class children may not work with the children of the disadvantaged. "These children's experiences at home and on the streets," the report says, "do not prepare them for a school established for another kind of child. If the school reinforces the sense of personal insignificance and inadequacy that life may have already imposed on a disadvantaged child, he is likely to benefit little from schooling. If the school insists on programs or standards that he regards as unrelated to his life, or that doom him to an unending succession of failures, he is likely to leave at the first opportunity. The forces that cause pupils to drop out of school are especially strong among the disadvantaged."

Citing experiments which offer hope that the schools can meet this challenge — the Higher Horizons program in New York City and the Food fitness club "C

ence of environment.

Moreover, since "the educable person has a sense of self-respect," society must eliminate practices, such as racial discrimination, which give to many disadvantaged Americans "ample evidence that they do not enjoy the society's respect." In addition, such practices, by depriving children of needed models, "do not insulate cultures; they only prolong incompatibility."

DISCUSSING AFRICA TOUR — (Left to right) Dr. James S. Peters, II, Raymond G. Kitchener, district sales manager from KIM Royal Dutch Airlines, Hartford, Conn., and Dr. Absolom L. Vilakazi check the itinerary of the inter-racial and inter-cultural educations tour to West Africa this summer, which will be made under the sponsorship of KIM. The two Hartford educators will lead the tour, which encompasses 24 days of travel, sightseeing and area communications.

Carrollton

CARROLLTON, Ga. — Services were held at the First Baptist Church Sunday, Rev. R. L. Keels, pastor spoke at both services. Rally Day was also observed. Revs. R. L. Keels, Paul W. Robinson and Miss Exodean O'Neal of Helfin, Alabama, were dinner geusts of Mrs. Beatrice Ector. Rev. R. L Keels, Marvin Howard, Rev. Paul W. Robinson and Miss Exodean O'Neal visited with Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hendrix Sunday afternoon.

Mrs. Evelyn Howard visited her daughter, Miss Norrell Pinkard, at A & M College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama Sunday. Robert Hendrix, Marvin Howard and Rev. Kelly visited Jeff J. Long Sunday afternoon. The First Baptist Church will worship

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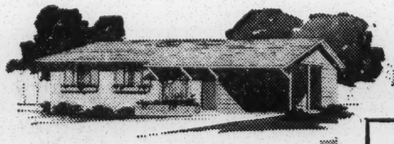

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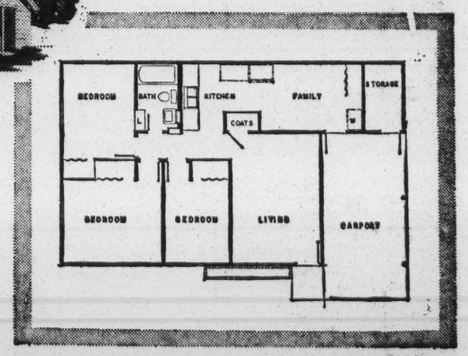

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ed child, he is likely to benefit little from schooling. If the school insists on programs or standards that he regards as unrelated to his life, or that doom him to an unending succession of failures, he is likely to leave at the first opportunity. The forces that cause pupils to drop out of school are especially strong among the disadvantaged."

Citing experiments which offer hope that the schools can meet this challenge — the Higher Horizons program in New York City and the Ford-financed "Gray Areas" programs in 40 of the nation's largest cities — the report goes on to specific recommendations.

Ability to read — basic to success in all education, and notbaly a weakness of school dropouts — must be stressed. "Reading materials and visual aids," the report goes on to say, "should take account of the backgrounds of the children who will use them. The texts and illustrations should not refer exclusively to the middle and upper classes."

Respect for the pupil is characteristic of all good teachers, the report says, but is particularly important for the teachers of the disadvantaged.

"The effective teacher of disadvantaged children," it adds, "is constantly aware of the circum - stances that affect his pupils. He has the understanding and sympathy that prevent him from being replied by deviations from his own standards. Instead of being struck by the shortcomings of his pupils, he is encouraged by their ability, despite these handicaps, to do as well as they do"

Elaborating on this point, the report says the education which prepares teachers to deal with these pupils should include observation in disadvantaged areas, along with insights into psychology, sociology, anthropology, the science of human development, and the influ-

3 Day Week Observed. Revs. R. L. Keels, Paul W. Robinson and Miss Exodean O'Neal of Helfin, Alabama, were dinner geusts of Mrs. Beatrice Ector. Rev. R. L Keels, Marvin Howard, Rev. Paul W. Robinson and Miss Exodean O'Neal visited with Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hendrix Sunday afternoon.

Mrs. Evelyn Howard visited her daughter, Miss Norrell Pinkard, at A & M College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama Sunday. Robert Hendrix, Marvin Howard and Rev. Kelly visited Jeff J. Long Sunday afternoon. The First Baptist Church will worship at First Baptist of Bowdon on Thursday night. Labon C. Ransy, Mmes. Elsie Mae Pyron and Inez Crowder worshipped at Pine Tucky Baptist Church Sunday afternoon.

The funeral of Mrs. Lucinda Stallings Long was held at Newnan Chapel Methodist Church Thursday. She was mother of Dewey Stallings, Mmes. Annie B. Cospy and Mary L. Treadwell, city and Mrs. Hattie Jones of Newnan; Mrs. Felicia Henry and Mrs. Lottie White, Philadelphia, Pa., Gene Stallings, Washington and Carl Stallings, Atlanta.

LIVE MEASLES VACCINE

WASHINGTON — (NNPA)—The safe and effective immunization of some 400 West African children with live measles vaccine has been reported by a National Institute of Health medical team which recently concluded a two - month pilot study in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta.

AWARDEED FELLOWSHIP

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Howard Hamilton Mackey, head of the Department of Architecture at Howard University, has been awarded will be given during the AIA convention in Dalals, Texas, in May.

Czechs open first section of Soviet oil pipeline.

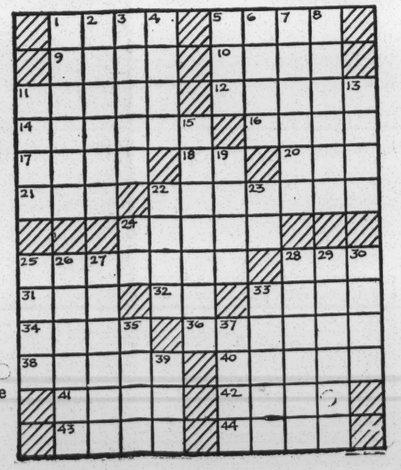
DAILY CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1. Cogitate
5. Worms, e.g.
9. Samoan port
10. French river
11. Pale
12. Unweave
14. Calls up (colloq.)
16. Tardy
17. Troubles
18. Toward
20. Scotch river
21. Glowing from heat
22. Straw hats (G.B.)
24. Thicket
25. Opinion
28. Barn invader
31. Openings (anat.)
32. Music note
33. Certain
34. Permits
36. Rolled, as a sail
38. Nimble
40. Raises
41. Elliptical
42. Leg joint
43. Tidings
44. Places

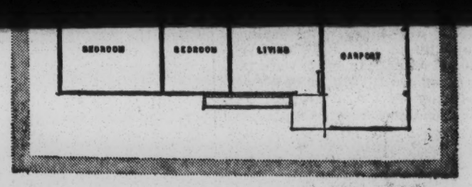
DOWN
1. Golf club
2. To countenance
3. Legal claims
4. Narrow
5. Neighbor (dial.)
6. Asian inland sea
7. Trespass
8. Seesaw
11. Armadillo
13. Dregs
15. A cork, e.g.
19. Malt kiln
22. Dutch settler of Africa
23. Tellurium (sym.)
24. Cubic centimeters (abbr.)
25. Soda flavoring
26. Western state
27. Indigenous
28. Contend against
29. Rugged mountain crests
30. Spreads grass to dry
33. Fisherman's net
35. Cabbage salad
37. B.P.O.E. members
39. City trains

SPARE SHOAT
TENOR CARGO
ARTY BANDED
ISE TARSI
RI NOSY NAW
SWANK BASE
STARS FALSE
EERY SENSE
ADD TEAK MY
RARER ABO
POOLED BULK
AROMA PUREE
TAMED AMASS

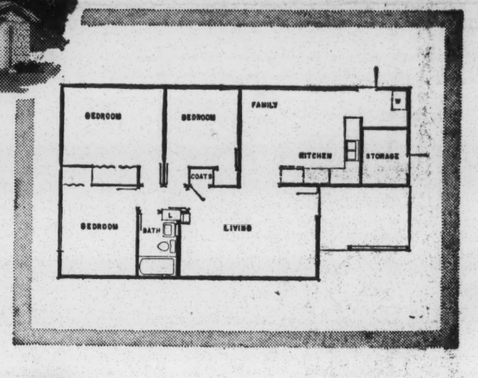
Yesterday's Answer



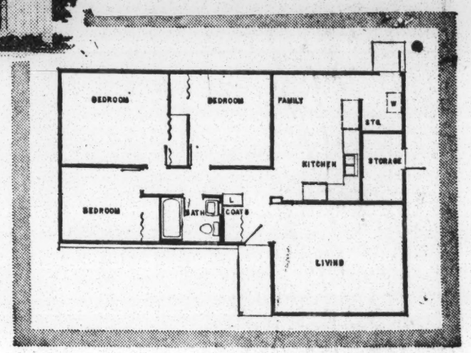
with a [illegible]-foot-square front window, spacious closets, outside storage, carport PLUS a front stoop.



The WESTERNAIRE makes you think of the wide, open spaces —gives you roominess at an economical price! It has three big bedrooms, large kitchen and family room, a formal living room that's over 18-feet long, laundry and storage area inside and a storage area outside . . . and there's a 12-foot-square entrance porch.



The CALIFORNIAN offers the beauty and spaciousness famous in the most expensive West Coast homes. The master bedroom is a huge 13'5" by 11', and the other two bedrooms are almost as large. There's an elegant formal living room, kitchen and family room, laundry and storage area inside and another big storage area outside.



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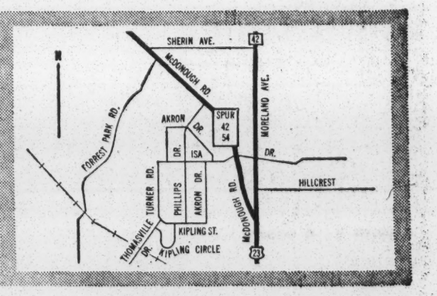

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WHO'S GOT THE ACTION?

Welfare Planning in the City

David R. Hunter
Ford Foundation

Keynote Address
Midwest Regional Conference
United Community Funds and Councils of America
Springfield, Illinois
February 24, 1963

WHO'S GOT THE ACTION?

WELFARE PLANNING IN THE CITY

It is very flattering and a great honor to be invited to deliver the keynote address at so august a gathering as this. It's also a nuisance and rather frightening, if one has any conscience at all about such things. I have sat through enough keynote addresses to know that one can get away with delivering himself of thirty minutes of pomposities, banalities, and platitudes, after which he will be applauded and politely sent on his way in a glow of self-satisfaction.

But this sort of thing really isn't fair. Time is too short to waste it thus. There are too many desperate problems facing us for us to do anything other than talk about them directly and openly in a meeting of this kind. There are too many issues dividing us for us to fail to take every opportunity to drag them out from under the rug. Too many of us spend our days keeping our necks safely in.. At this meeting, I take it, sticking them out is in order.

Therefore, in preparing for this speech I have tried to eschew the cavalier and the casual and sweated out what I really think about some of the issues and problems that crop up under the heading of Welfare Planning in the City. I find that I'm not sure what I think about some of them. Others I'm willing to take some pot shots at. This is done in all humility, with full recognition that I don't have all the answers any more than you do. But if we don't say some things out loud, we will never know whether or not we are wrong and we will never get them on the table for full examination and argument if need be.

This perhaps sounds more threatening than it is supposed to be. It's really not so bad. I merely wanted to establish an atmosphere conducive to shirt-sleeve discussion, to disavow any intention to be dogmatic, and to say that if any of the ideas which follow are offensive, they are not said in an offensive or arrogant spirit.

I have noticed lately a fair amount of exhortation being addressed to welfare councils. This has come from sources within or close to welfare councils. It is exhortation to look at the big picture; to help rebuild our cities; to come to grips with critical social welfare issues; to be courageous and unfettered by the accidents of history; to relate social planning to physical planning, local planning with area, state and national; to prepare comprehensive social plans; and so on.

Something must be generating this exhortation. Something must be eating somebody.

Perhaps it would help us to get a line on all this by looking at some of the big problems besetting the American city today and thinking a little bit about how welfare councils fit in.

But first, it may be worth reminding ourselves that welfare councils exist because social problems exist. This is the milieu that generated them. This is the touchstone against which they must currently be tested. Social agencies grew up to help people in various kinds of need. Councils of social agencies developed at a later stage in response to the obvious desirability of coordinating agency services, filling gaps, and avoiding overlap. Welfare councils, community planning councils, or united community services organizations are a still higher level of development, but always in response to and conditioned by social need and social problems.

Let's start with low income. There are two aspects of low income that make trouble for American society. One is the absolute fact of deprivation and its results in inhibiting human development of all kinds. The other is the insidious fact of relative deprivation, that is being relatively poor in an affluent society. We have both to an intolerable degree if we are serious about our ideals of equalitarianism, the open society, and opportunity for all.

Two simple data support this statement. In 1960, 20% of all American families had incomes of less than the equivalent of $4,000 for a family of four per year. That is poverty.

In 1959, the top one-tenth of the population had more income than the bottom five tenths. The bottom three-tenths had only 8.6% of the total income. The top three-tenths had 57.4%.

I don't believe the fact that poverty is a social and economic problem needs much arguing. Nor does the fact that its results are inimical to the purposes welfare councils are supposed to serve. It is a problem with which welfare councils should be concerned by their own definition of what they are. Poverty means human misery. It traps people in vicious circles from which it is very difficult to escape. The significance of "relative deprivation" is that this is one of the prime forces making for deviant behavior, another of the major concerns of welfare councils. A sense of deprivation and injustice has fertile soil to grow in where those who have less are surrounded at close proximity by those who have much. Feelings of unjust deprivation, of unfairly depressed status have much to do with generating troublesome behavior among the young.

That, very briefly, establishes the premise that low income and poverty in the absolute sense and in the sense of relative deprivation are problems of current and legitimate concern for welfare councils.

What can and should be done about it?

Poverty could be eliminated for ten billion dollars per year, 2% of the gross national product, less than 10% of tax revenues, 1/5 of the cost of national defense. That s a stark and dramatic statement and of course refers only to how much money it would take to abolish poverty if it were just distributed to all those below

the poverty line. Unfortunately the solution to the puzzle is a little more complicated than that. The question here is that while low income is one of the problems which gave rise to the development of welfare councils, how much can they really do about it?

Even if the answer was as simple as a dole, or a guaranteed minimum money income for everyone, this kind of thing is not for welfare councils. This is strictly government business, and while welfare councils are supposed to cooperate with government, they cannot be seen as a substitute for government without undermining some basic tenets of democracy.

But the answer to low income is not that simple. I am not going to be so foolhardy as to stand here and deliver myself of the ultimate formula for the abolition of poverty. However, I think it wouldn't be a waste of our time to examine some of the things the savants tell us are relevant, and see what the role of welfare councils might be.

A recent book on this subject said: "Education is the major determinant of income." Just like that. And it supported this with facts. Less education, less income. The corporation president who quit school in the eighth grade is getting to be a rare bird.

For education to have its effect on the low income still a part of the American scene, some big and difficult things will have to be done entailing painful and often costly decisions. Dr. Conant, for example, says that twice as much per pupil should be spent in slum schools as in the suburbs. Better ways of preparing non-college bound youth for the world of work and facilitating the transition from school to job are urgent. Better ways of helping children from culturally-deprived

backgrounds master the English language are a top priority. Without at least minimal language skill, you go nowhere. These are but a few of things in education which demand immediate and large scale action.

Who is going to make the decisions which will be most central to keeping more kids in school longer? Who is going to make the decision which will adjust curricula, methods of teaching, and teacher training better to meet the current requirements of all levels of our population? In the main it will be boards of education; state departments of education; local, state, and federal legislators; redevelopment agencies; and employment services. These are not the only sources of influence in this picture, but they are the holders of the main action.

Reverting to the subject of direct income maintenance as one strategy in tackling poverty, we see again the major responsibility in the public domain. Major decisions in this field cannot be left to welfare councils whether public agencies are participants or not. Nor can councils legitimately seek to take prime initiative here. They have an important role to play, but that role must be properly assessed in the light of the extent of the problem and the final responsibility of the public services involved to the electorate. In realistic terms what are the institutions aside from the labor market itself and private employers which will govern what sort of basic income maintenance policies our society will underwrite? Legislatures, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Agriculture, the Area Redevelopment Administration, the Department of Labor, and state and local counterparts of these.

One cannot talk about poverty or low income without talking about unemployment, under-employment, and under-compensated employment. We have a great deal of all three in this country. They all make their contribution to this subject and to the

broad subject of "social problems." What do people think about and do to reduce unemployment? They try to introduce policies and measures which will speed economic growth, to expand international markets, to stimulate domestic demand, to create new employment opportunities either directly or through new product development, to reduce arbitrary obstacles to equal employment opportunities for all, to use tax incentives for economic development ends, and to prepare young workers better for their entry into the labor market.

Who must do these things? Who, and only who can do these things? Business and labor leadership, the Council of Economic Advisers, the Treasury, the Department of State, the Department of Labor, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, the schools.

To make a difference in the position of people who find themselves among the poor, calls for complex and large scale action on the part of institutions, largely although not exclusively in the public sector, over which welfare councils do not have much influence or control.

Race is another festering city problem. The racial minorities in America contribute disproportionately to the social welfare problems with which welfare councils are concerned. Let us limit the discussion here to Negroes although many of the significant factors apply equally or nearly equally to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. The facts of the Negro's contribution to problems of dependency, health, crime, housing, educational failure, etc. don't need to be rehearsed. They are too well-known. I also don't think we need to take time here to argue against the view that inherent defects in the Negro character and culture are at fault.

Our task here is to examine some of the disrupting social situations to which the fact of race is a direct contributory factor, to explore possible

lines of action which might offer some hope of changing these situations, and then again to see "who's got the action."

The disproportionate contribution by Negroes to social problems will be cut down to size when the Negro is just another person, when Negro and white societies are truly integrated, when the Negro has equal opportunities to be bad and to be good along with the rest of us. He is excessively rich in opportunities and invitations to be bad now.

To move toward that goal, what are the requisite actions? Abolition of discriminatory practices in employment and housing; provision of employment opportunities that will enable men to fill the role of family head and supporter; compensatory education in the schools where Negro children are concentrated to make up for the years of minimal education they and their progenitors have had; conscious and consistent effort to seek the full participation of Negroes in the decision-making processes of the community - political, business, civic; the extension of business and housing credit on a non-discriminatory basis.

It has taken me just a minute or so to mention these things, but they are obviously profound and far-reaching, every one of them. They are the business of everyone, but they are also the business, or had better be, of some specific institutions. Chambers of Commerce and other business organizations should play a prominent role in breaking down barriers to employment and opening new opportunities. State and local fair employment practices committees; councils on human relations; boards of education; employment services; the mayors' and county supervisors' offices. On this subject some basic decisions have to be made in the hearts of men, but in the meantime there are some urgent decisions and actions to be taken by such as these institutions. The right kinds of decisions and actions will have the effect of reducing social welfare problems.

Welfare councils can take leadership initiative, serve as good examples, point to community deficiencies, demonstrate the effects of racial discrimination on welfare problems, and urge action on strategic community decision makers. To date not many welfare councils have demonstrated their capacity to exercise central and decisive influence in this important area of welfare problems, however.

There are two more welfare problem-producing phenomena I would like to mention before moving to some generalizations on the basis of all this. One is the sharpening class lines between inner-city and suburb and the other is juvenile delinquency.

A recent writer on the future of the American city pointed to the increasingly lower class character of the inner-city as compared to the predominantly middle class outer areas. He sees this as a trend which will continue unabated unless some regional planning is done to counteract it. His particular solution happens to be moderate-sized scattered population groupings, each with its own industry and commerce and interconnected with all the others by high-speed mass transportation. Whether or not you buy that approach, his conclusion about the deepening class gulf between inner-city and outer areas is undoubtedly true as a generalization. He speculated that in the coming years geographical color barriers will go down and that the new bigotry may be epitomized by the suburbanite's rhetorical question: "Would you want your daughter to marry a moron"?

A few data will demonstrate the position. In 1960 the median number of school years completed by residents of the city of Chicago was 10. In the six county regions of which Chicago is a part, the median was 10.9. In 1959 the medican income for Chicago city families was $6,738; for families in the six counties, $7,343. Unemployment in the city was 5.2% and 4% in the six counties.

Such a trend has profound implications for anybody planning for social welfare.

The dangers of deeper class cleavages sharpened by georgraphical location are all too obvious. The concentration of social problems and resultant social as well as money costs among the lower socio-economic groups within the city proper is already apparent. This is accompanied by the movement of industrial and commercial enterprises as well as individuals with higher incomes to the outlying areas leaving a reduced tax base behind for the city to tap to meet its rising responsibilities.

Social stratification is a complex and pervasive condition of human society that is hard to tackle and isn't going to change overnight. There are differing opinions about the nature of the beast, about its significance for good or ill, and about what you do about it either way. There are not very many people around today who believe that there will ever come a time when all men are equal in condition and talent. However, there are plenty of people around who think that attention to some of the aspects and effects of social stratification is overdue. Is it desirable to lure more middle class people back to the city and, if so, how? With better schools? Different kind of housing? More police protection? Although there are always going to be people with less money, less education, and fewer privileges than others, how do you take some of the sting out of this condition? The Romans tried to do it by bread and circuses. Is it possible to do it by assigning a higher social value to less skilled work than is now the case? Is it possible to make the channels to upward mobility more visible and more accessible than they now are? Is it possible to mix up the classes in a variety of ways such as residence, common endeavors of one sort or another, schooling together, etc. so that eventually some meaningful communication replaces the almost total silence of the present?

It is clear that social class is relevant to many social welfare problems. It is not so clear as to what should be done about it. At the very least

there is need to know more about it, and to recognize it as an element in many specific problem manifestations. I believe we are also challenged to do better about opening channels to higher status; about making these channels visible to lower status children and youth; about preparing them better to move upward in education and occupation.

One common characteristic of low status people which contributes to the generation of welfare problems is a sense of lack of control of their own destinies, a sense of isolation and alienation from the people who really run things. Many institutions can do something about this, at least to some degree, by consciously sharing control and decision-making with representatives of lower status groups. Welfare councils are not yet widely acclaimed for having moved very far in this direction.

The last ingredient in this big city stew is juvenile delinquency. Probably not many welfare council meetings go by without some mention of this troublesome phenomenon of the urban scene the world over. Here again is something that gets talked about and worried about as an entity in itself and yet its roots are as twisted and intertwined and camouflaged as those of any of the other problems we have touched on. However, the weight of the best evidence and thinking today seems to favor the idea that the bulk of juvenile delinquency is the product of the social and economic forces of the city. It happens with greatest frequency among those groups of the population who have least opportunity to achieve a self-respecting status in American society through legitimate means. It is one of the way-points in the vicious circle of low income, low education, low aspirations, low achievement, values at odds with the dominant values, and low self-esteem.

To make much of an impact on the problem of delinquency, some serious and large-scale measures will have to be taken. These will have to do with

improving the educational process for low income youth, expanding opportunities for employment and for legitimate social relationships, and reducing the isolation and alienation of youth from community institutions and agencies. This is a tall order and calls for heavy commitment on the part of local government departments, board of education, commerce and industry, as well as the voluntary agencies which have traditionally been concerned with the prevention of delinquency.

There are other pressing problems that could be expanded on here: the effects of increasing mechanization and automation in commerce and industry on the labor force; the continuing too rapid and widespread deterioration of housing; the failure of our judicial system to provide equal justice before the law for rich and poor alike.

As we look at this depressing array of city problems, we cannot but be impressed by how intricately they are all interwoven in the warp and woof of the fabric of the city. None of them is really isolable. They all are part of or manifestations of the system or interlocking series of systems that is the big city. You can't push one part of it without jiggling another. And you can't really fundamentally affect these systemic elements or manifestations without touching the system itself.

That is really the basic question I am raising here. Since the biggest, most urgent, most intransigent problems of the city are either integral elements of the system of the city or represent fall-out from its inefficient operation, what sort of structure is it necessary to have in order adequately to diagnose, prognosticate, formulate policy, and develop comprehensive integrated planning to bring about the changes required to cure and prevent these problems?

Another question corollary to this is: which social welfare problems are most susceptible to direct attack and which are more likely to be affected by

indirection; which problems can effectively be dealt with at their immediate level of expression and which by changing the generating milieu? An example of this is the problem of unwed motherhood among Negroes. Is an impact on this problem more likely to be made by working directly with the mothers and by placing the children or by making it economically more possible for Negro men to be self-supporting heads of families? Judgments of this kind are all-important in allocating limited community resources on a scale of priorities. A slightly different way of phrasing the question is. which welfare problems are best dealt with by focusing welfare services on them and which by working on the conditions that produce them?

It seems to me that it is against these questions that the structure, responsibilities, and functions of urban welfare councils must be examined today.

The solutions, or at least possibilities of improvement, for many problems which are identified as social welfare problems, lie outside of the organized welfare system itself, public or private. The switches that need to be pulled are often not found in the offices of the welfare agencies but elsewhere. Let's take an example of a banker who sits as a hard-working member of a welfare council. It is entirely possible that he would be doing more toward the solution of a number of welfare problems if he took a leadership role among his banking colleagues to get them to form a consortium to extend long-term,low-interest loans and technical assistance to young Negroes who wish to start independent small businesses; or to apply pressure and persuasion in the mortgage banking fraternity to the end that ethnicity per se no longer be a conditional factor in mortgage loans.

Or take the example of a trade union representative on a council. It is entirely possible that he would undermine more welfare problems if he devoted his

energy to opening up apprenticeship opportunities to young people, and particularly minority group youth, in those unions where the doors are now tightly closed.

Welfare councils are made up of powerful people. The non-professional people on councils wouldn't be there if they weren't powerful. Even though that is the case, however, there is a question as to whether or not the council in its present guise and location in the community is powerful enough to do what it usually says it wants to do. The power of the powerful people on the council is generally used to gain financial support for the council and the community agencies. It is not frequently enough used to influence the non-welfare parts of the system of the city which must be influenced if welfare problems are to be more than palliated.

Some of the most thoughtful people in this field have been saying recently that welfare councils should undertake to produce comprehensive social plans for the city. It is not clear to me whether this means the lay-out of social services over the next five, ten or twenty-five years, or this plus objectives to be sought in other social aspects of the city, such as what social class mix is desirable and how you get it; what racial mix; what land-use patterns in terms of nurturing the most viable and dynamic community relationships; or what public housing policy should be pursued in the light of our experience to date with high-rise housing projects.

Assuming that it is possible to make a "comprehensive social plan," (which I, personally, am not so sure of) is the welfare council the proper vehicle for this? A plan, after all, is more than a Utopian dream. Wherever it says that something shall be done, by the same token it says that something shall not be done. This implies that a plan is backed up by the power to impose sanctions and offer incentives. Does sufficient power of this kind reside in a welfare council and should it rightfully reside there? I don't think so.

When we are talking about influencing all of the interrelated parts of the system of the city, there seems to me to be little alternative to placing primary responsibility for this in local government itself. Anything other than this would be essentially undemocratic. Welfare councils, therefore, should not feel guilty when they have shied from considering themselves as the social planning mechanism for the city. I believe this is the correct posture. Any other posture would be presumptuous since councils are accountable to the people at large only to the degree that they impose accountability on themselves.

Does this mean that when it comes to social planning, councils should fold up their tents and steal away? Not at all. One of the precious features of the American scene is voluntarism and citizen engagement with community concerns. The welfare council epitomizes this.

In the broad social planning and social policy development that needs to be done in the city, the council has a key role to play. The trick is to see this role in proper perspective. The council should not attempt that which it should not do and that which it cannot adequately do because of its very nature. One thing it certainly can and should do is to exert leadership in getting local government, public institutions, political leaders, representatives of the economic determinants in the community, and voluntary agencies to tackle the social problems of the city, root and branch, in an integrated and comprehensive manner. The council can act as prodderm challenger, inspirer, and keeper of the vision. It can, if it will, rise above narrow constituencies and point out the true long-range interests of the community. Because of the commitment of powerful people to the council, it can directly, or indirectly through them to the groups they represent, call for changes in policies and practices outside the welfare system itself which produce welfare

problems. Because of its unofficial character, it can provide a platform, a channel for expression, and a vehicle for participation in decision-making for those to whom these channels are now largely inaccessible. And let us not forget that the job of coordination of welfare services is not of minor importance. Just because something beyond that is required to cope with the social problems of the big city, doesn't mean that that function itself is of less value.

Finally, I, for one, will be happier when the conversation around welfare councils is couched less in terms of "needs" and "services." Willy-nilly I think these words have become loaded with meanings which are inimical to the best possibilities of our coming to grips in a big way with the big problems facing us. When we speak of "needs" and "services," I think we get stuck in pity and compassion and noble impulses to do something for the downtrodden and dispossessed. I don't believe salvation lies this way. The greater challenge to all of us and specifically to welfare councils is to look at the social and economic and political structures and systems that produce the human wreckage either because they work too well or not well enough; to look at them unsentimentally, with facts and with theory; to analyze how they need to be changed; to assess realistically how they can be changed and by whom. When this is seen clearly, it is time for the sophisticated use of power to make things move. The council itself may have the power. If it has only the vision but not the power, it must ascertain who has the power, who's got the action, and then exploit its own resources to activate that power toward raising the levels of community welfare.

David R. Hunter
Midwest Regional Conference
United Community Funds and Councils of America
Springfield, Illinois ---- February 24, 1963.

Pat Waters
Secretary Reg Council

FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON (EST) March 16, 1964

NOTICE: There should be no premature release of this Message to the Congress, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this message until 12:00 noon March 16, 1964, which includes any and all references to any material in this message.

Pierre Salinger
Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

MESSAGE ON POVERTY

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

We are citizens of the richest and most fortunate nation in the history of the world.

One hundred and eighty years ago we were a small country struggling for survival on the margin of a hostile land.

Today we have established a civilization of free men which spans an entire continent.

With the growth of our country has come opportunity for our people -- opportunity to educate our children, to use our energies in productive work, to increase our leisure -- opportunity for almost every American to hope that through work and talent he could create a better life for himself and his family.

The path forward has not been an easy one.

But we have never lost sight of our goal: an America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capacities.

We have come a long way toward this goal.

We still have a long way to go.

The distance which remains is the measure of the great unfinished work of our society.

To finish that work I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective: total victory.

There are millions of Americans -- one fifth of our people -- who have not shared in the abundance which has been granted to most of us, and on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed.

What does this poverty mean to those who endure it?

It means a daily struggle to secure the necessities for even a meager existence. It means that the abundance, the comforts, the opportunities they see all around them are beyond their grasp.

more

Worst of all, it means hopelessness for the young.

The young man or woman who grows up without a decent education, in a broken home, in a hostile and squalid environment, in ill health or in the face of racial injustice -- that young man or woman is often trapped in a life of poverty.

He does not have the skills demanded by a complex society. He does not know how to acquire those skills. He faces a mounting sense of despair which drains initiative and ambition and energy.

Our tax cut will create millions of new jobs -- new exits from poverty.

But we must also strike down all the barriers which keep many from using those exits.

The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to make them dependent on the generosity of others.

It is a struggle to give people a chance.

It is an effort to allow them to develop and use their capacities, as we have been allowed to develop and use ours, so that they can share, as others share, in the promise of this nation.

We do this, first of all, because it is right that we should.

From the establishment of public education and land grant colleges through agricultural extension and encouragement to industry, we have pursued the goal of a nation with full and increasing opportunities for all its citizens.

The war on poverty is a further step in that pursuit.

We do it also because helping some will increase the prosperity of all.

Our fight against poverty will be an investment in the most valuable of our resources -- the skills and strength of our people.

And in the future, as in the past, this investment will return its cost many fold to our entire economy.

If we can raise the annual earnings of 10 million among the poor by only $1,000 we will have added 14 billion dollars a year to our national output. In addition we can make important reductions in public assistance payments which now cost us 4 billion dollars a year, and in the large costs of fighting crime and delinquency, disease and hunger.

This is only part of the story.

Our history has proved that each time we broaden the base of abundance, giving more people the chance to produce and consume, we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings and better income for all.

Giving new opportunity to those who have little will enrich the lives of all the rest.

Because it is right, because it is wise, and because, for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty, I submit, for the consideration of the Congress and the country, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Act does not merely expand old programs or improve what is already being done.

It charts a new course.

It strikes at the causes, not just the consequences of poverty.

It can be a milestone in our one-hundred eighty year search for a better life for our people.

This Act provides five basic opportunities.

It will give almost half a million underprivileged young Americans the opportunity to develop skills, continue education, and find useful work.

It will give every American community the opportunity to develop a comprehensive plan to fight its own poverty -- and help them to carry out their plans.

It will give dedicated Americans the opportunity to enlist as volunteers in the war against poverty.

It will give many workers and farmers the opportunity to break through particular barriers which bar their escape from poverty.

It will give the entire nation the opportunity for a concerted attack on poverty through the establishment, under my direction, of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a national headquarters for the war against poverty.

This is how we propose to create these opportunities.

First we will give high priority to helping young Americans who lack skills, who have not completed their education or who cannot complete it because they are too poor.

The years of high school and college age are the most critical stage of a young person's life. If they are not helped then,many will be condemned to a life of poverty which they, in turn, will pass on to their children.

I therefore recommend the creation of a Job Corps, a Work-Training Program, and a Work Study Program.

A new national Job Corps will build toward an enlistment of 100,000 young men. They will be drawn from those whose background, health and education make them least fit for useful work.

Those who volunteer will enter more than 100 Camps and Centers around the country.

Half of these young men will work, in the first year, on special conservation projects to give them education, useful work experience and to enrich the natural resources of the country.

Half of these young men will receive, in the first year, a blend of training, basic education and work experience in Job Training Centers.

These are not simply camps for the underprivileged. They are new educational institutions, comparable in innovation to the land grant colleges. Those who enter them will emerge better qualified to play a productive role in American society.

more

A new national Work-Training Program operated by the Department of Labor will provide work and training for 200,000 American men and women between the ages of 16 and 21. This will be developed through state and local governments and non-profit agencies.

Hundreds of thousands of young Americans badly need the experience, the income, and the sense of purpose which useful full or part-time work can bring. For them such work may mean the difference between finishing school or dropping out. Vital community activities from hospitals and playgrounds to libraries and settlement houses are suffering because there are not enough people to staff them.

We are simply bringing these needs together.

A new national Work-Study Program operated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will provide federal funds for part-time jobs for 140,000 young Americans who do not go to college because they cannot afford it.

There is no more senseless waste than the waste of the brainpower and skill of those who are kept from college by economic circumstance. Under this program they will, in a great American tradition, be able to work their way through school.

They and the country will be richer for it.

Second, through a new Community Action program we intend to strike at poverty at its source -- in the streets of our cities and on the farms of our countryside among the very young and the impoverished old.

This program asks men and women throughout the country to prepare long-range plans for the attack on poverty in their own local communities.

These are not plans prepared in Washington and imposed upon hundreds of different situations.

They are based on the fact that local citizens best understand their own problems, and know best how to deal with those problems.

These plans will be local plans striking at the many unfilled needs which underlie poverty in each community, not just one or two. Their components and emphasis will differ as needs differ.

These plans will be local plans calling upon all the resources available to the community -- federal and state, local and private, human and material.

And when these plans are approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the federal government will finance up to 90% of the additional cost for the first two years.

The most enduring strength of our nation is the huge reservoir of talent, initiative and leadership which exists at every level of our society.

Through the Community Action Program we call upon this, our greatest strength, to overcome our greatest weakness.

Third, I ask for the authority to recruit and train skilled volunteers for the war against poverty.

Thousands of Americans have volunteered to serve the needs of other lands.

Thousands more want the chance to serve the needs of their own land.

They should have that chance.

Among older people who have retired, as well as among the young, among women as well as men, there are many Americans who are ready to enlist in our war against poverty.

They have skills and dedication. They are badly needed.

If the State requests them, if the community needs and will use them, we will recruit and train them and give them the chance to serve.

Fourth, we intend to create new opportunities for certain hard-hit groups to break out of the pattern of poverty.

Through a new program of loans and guarantees we can provide incentives to those who will employ the unemployed.

Through programs of work and retraining for unemployed fathers and mothers we can help them support their families in dignity while preparing themselves for new work.

Through funds to purchase needed land, organize cooperatives, and create new and adequate family farms we can help those whose life on the land has been a struggle without hope.

Fifth, I do not intend that the war against poverty become a series of uncoordinated and unrelated efforts -- that it perish for lack of leadership and direction.

Therefore this bill creates, in the Executive Office of the President, a new Office of Economic Opportunity. Its Director will be my personal Chief of Staff for the War against poverty. I intend to appoint Sargent Shriver to this post.

He will be directly responsible for these new programs. He will work with and through existing agencies of the government.

This program -- the Economic Opportunity Act -- is the foundation of our war against poverty. But it does not stand alone.

For the past three years this government has advanced a number of new proposals which strike at important areas of need and distress.

I ask the Congress to extend those which are already in action, and to establish those which have already been proposed.

There are programs to help badly distressed areas such as the Area Redevelopment Act, and the legislation now being prepared to help Appalachia.

There are programs to help those without training find a place in today's complex society -- such as the Manpower Development Training Act and the Vocational Education Act for youth.

There are programs to protect those who are specially vulnerable to the ravages of poverty -- hospital insurance for the elderly, protection for migrant farm workers, a food stamp program for the needy, coverage for millions not now protected by a minimum wage, new and expanded unemployment benefits for men out of work, a Housing and Community Development bill for those seeking decent homes.

Finally there are programs which help the entire country, such as aid to education which, by raising the quality of schooling available to every American child, will give a new chance for knowledge to the children of the poor.

I ask immediate action on all these programs.

What you are being asked to consider is not a simple or an easy program. But poverty is not a simple or an easy enemy.

It cannot be driven from the land by a single attack on a single front. Were this so we would have conquered poverty long ago.

Nor can it be conquered by government alone.

For decades American labor and American business, private institutions and private individuals have been engaged in strengthening our economy and offering new opportunity to those in need.

We need their help, their support and their full participation.

Through this program we offer new incentives and new opportunities for cooperation, so that all the energy of our nation, not merely the efforts of government, can be brought to bear on our common enemy.

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Today, for the first time in our history, we have the power to strike away the barriers to full participation in our society. Having the power, we have the duty.

The Congress is charged by the Constitution to "provide ... for the general welfare of the United States." Our present abundance is a measure of its success in fulfilling that duty. Now Congress is being asked to extend that welfare to all our people.

The President of the United States is President of all the people in every section of the country. But this office also holds a special responsibility to the distressed and disinherited, the hungry and the hopeless of this abundant nation.

It is in pursuit of that special responsibility that I submit this Message to you today.

The new program I propose is within our means. Its cost of 970 million dollars is 1% of our national budget -- and every dollar I am requesting for this program is already included in the budget I sent to Congress in January.

But we cannot measure its importance by its cost.

For it charts an entirely new course of hope for our people.

We are fully aware that this program will not eliminate all the poverty in America in a few months or a few years. Poverty is deeply rooted and its causes are many.

But this program will show the way to new opportunities for millions of our fellow citizens.

It will provide a lever with which we can begin to open the door to our prosperity for those who have been kept outside.

It will also give us the chance to test our weapons, to try our energy and ideas and imagination for the many battles yet to come. As conditions change, and as experience illuminates our difficulties, we will be prepared to modify our strategy.

And this program is much more than a beginning.

Rather it is a commitment. It is a total commitment by this President, and this Congress, and this nation, to pursue victory over the most ancient of mankind's enemies.

On many historic occasions the President has requested from Congress the authority to move against forces which were endangering the well-being of our country.

This is such an occasion.

On similar occasions in the past we have often been called upon to wage war against foreign enemies which threatened our freedom. Today we are asked to declare war on a domestic enemy which threatens the strength of our nation and the welfare of our people.

If we now move forward against this enemy -- if we can bring to the challenges of peace the same determination and strength which has brought us victory in war -- then this day and this Congress will have won a secure and honorable place in the history of the nation, and the enduring gratitude of generations of Americans yet to come.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 16, 1964.

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CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

March 17, 1964

File under Poverty

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Attached is the list we discussed.

Also enclosed is the President's Message on "War on Poverty". I will send you a copy of the proposed legislation as soon as it comes in.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Gerald T. Horton
Administrative Assistant

jdr
Enclosures

MEMORANDUM JULY 3, 1961

TO: ROBERT F. KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES
THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION
THE CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION, JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM: WYATT TEE WALKER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

HENRY SCHWARZSCHILD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CONGREGATION SOLEL, GLENCOE, ILLINOIS

RE: INTERSTATE TRAVEL IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI, VIA COMMON CARRIER

PREFACE

THIS MEMORANDUM IS BEING FORWARDED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, ROBERT F. KENNEDY; THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION; AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT. IT CONTAINS A PERSONAL EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF AN INTERSTATE JOURNEY FROM ATLANTA, GEORGIA, TO JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, VIA GREYHOUND AND TRAILWAY BUS LINES. THIS MEMORANDUM CAN BE THOROUGHLY DOCUMENTED BY REPUTABLE ADULT CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PURPOSE OF MEMO

OUR PURPOSE FOR FILING THIS MEMORANDUM WITH THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DIVISIONS AND AGENCY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS TWOFOLD: FIRST, TO PROVIDE A FIRST HAND ACCOUNT OF WHAT A NEGRO PASSENGER CONFRONTS IN INTERSTATE TRAVEL AND/OR A GROUP TRAVELING AS AN INTERGRATED PARTY. IT IS INTERESTING THAT IN THE FACE OF THE 'PROVOCATIVE' NATURE OF A FREEDOM RIDE, THAT THE VIOLATIONS OF THE FEDERAL LAW GOVERNING INTERSTATE TRAVEL AND ICC REGULATIONS HAVE ALL BEEN ON THE PART OF THE RACIST OPPOSITION. NOT AT ANY POINT, EITHER IN PRACTICE OR OBJECTIVE, HAVE THE RIDERS SOUGHT TO EXERCISE ANY PRACTICE VIOLATIVE OF WHAT IS ALREADY STATUTORY AND SPELLED OUT IN PREVIOUS ICC REGULATIONS.

THE ADDENDUM THAT DESCRIBES GENERAL TREATMENT FOR INMATES AT THE HINDS COUNTY JAIL IS ABSOLUTELY FACTUAL. TO BE SURE, THE SHERIFF, THE JAILERS, ETC., MAINTAIN A POSTURE IN RACE RELATIONS FAR DIFFERENT FROM OURS, BUT OUR INSISTENCE IS THAT EVEN FELONS AND CRIMINALS (WHICH FREEDOM RIDERS ARE NOT) DESERVE HUMANE TREATMENT. THIRTEEN WOMEN IN ONE 13 X 15 CELL FOR FIVE MINUTES IS FIVE MINUTES TOO LONG! CERTAINLY, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS SOME MINIMUM CODE FOR PENAL INSTITUTIONS SO FAR AS SANITARY FACILITIES AND/OR CONDITIONS ARE CONCERNED. WE PRESUME THAT A CITIZEN'S JAILING ON A DUBIOUS CHARGE DOES NOT ABROGATE ALL OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE RESPECTFULLY REQUEST YOUR CAREFUL PERUSAL AND SINCERE CONCERN WITH A HOPE THAT IMMEDIATE STEPS BE TAKEN TO REMEDY THE INCONVENIENCE AND HARASSMENT OF INTERSTATE PASSENGERS OF COLOR AND THEIR WHITE COMPANIONS AND THE MALTREATMENT OF INMATES AT THE HINDS COUNTY JAIL, WHETHER THEY BE THERE AS A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE OR FOR A NORMAL STATUTORY PENALTY.

M E M O R A N D U M . . . . .

TRIP

A GROUP OF NINE TRAVELERS (FIVE MEN, FOUR OF THEM NEGROES, AND FOUR WOMEN, ONE OF THEM NEGRO,) LED BY THE REV. WYATT TEE WALKER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT, LEFT FROM ATLANTA, GEORGIA, GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL ON TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 1961, ON THE 12:30 P.M. BUS. IN THIS BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HARASSMENT WHICH THE GROUP ENCOUNTERED ON ITS TRIP, WE SHALL DISREGARD THE EXPERIENCES OF ORDINARY DISCOURTESY ON THE PART OF BUS DRIVERS AND OTHERS, EVEN THOUGH THIS LACK OF COURTESY WAS DOUBTLESSLY OCCASIONED BY THE PRESENCE OF A RACIALLY MIXED GROUP OF TRAVELERS.

IT IS HARDLY LIKELY, AND EVEN TOO MUCH TO EXPECT, THAT THE FORCES OF GOVERNMENT, WHETHER EXECUTIVE, JUDICIAL, LEGISLATIVE, OR ADMINISTRATIVE, WILL EFFECTIVELY PROTECT PASSENGERS FROM THE PROVERBIAL GRUFFNESS AND DISTEMPER OF THE AGENTS OF COMMON CARRIERS.

AS WE TOOK OUR SEATS IN THE BUS, THERE WAS NASTY MUTTERING FROM TWO MEN SITTING IN THE FORWARD SECTION. THE YOUNGER OF THE TWO MEN, SHORTLY AFTER OUR DEPARTURE, CAME TOWARD MR. WALKER AND MADE THREATS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE BY WORD AND GESTURE BECAUSE OF A SNAPSHOT MR. WALKER HAD TAKEN OF THE GROUP RIDING THE BUS. THIS GENTLEMAN GOT OFF THE BUS AT NEWNAN, GEORGIA, WHERE THE SMALL BUS STATION WAS CROWDED WITH POLICE AND SHERIFF'S CARS, SEVERAL UNIFORMED POLICEMEN, SOME WHO SEEMED LIKE TWO PLAINCLOTHESMEN, AND OTHER GUARANTORS OF ORDER. FROM NEWNAN ON, THIS BUS AND THE CONNECTING BUS FROM MONTGOMERY WAS AT ALMOST EVERY MOMENT FOLLOWED, SOMETIMES ALSO PRECEDED, BY ONE OR MORE POLICE OR SHERIFF'S OR STATE POLICE CARS.

NEWNAN

AT LAGRANGE, GEORGIA, THE LUNCH STOP, THE GROUP SAT AT THE LUNCH COUNTER IN THE BUS TERMINAL. MR. WALKER PURCHASED A PACK OF CIGARETTES, WHICH WAS THROWN AT HIM BY ONE OF THE WAITRESSES. THE WHITE MANAGERESS OF THE COUNTER REFUSED TO SERVE THE GROUP, BUT ORDERED A YOUNG NEGRO GIRL WHO WAS ALMOST PARALYZED WITH FEAR, TO DO SO. THE SCHEDULED 15 MINUTE STOP WAS CUT TO FIVE, AND THE GROUP WAS HUSTLED BACK TO THE BUS.

LAGRANGE

AS THE BUS CAME INTO THE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, GREYHOUND TERMINAL, WE COULD SEE FROM THE BUS APPEARANCE OF A CITY UNDER SIEGE. SCORES OF UNIFORMED POLICEMEN KEPT A CROWD, LATER ESTIMATED AT BETWEEN 300 AND 400 AWAY FROM THE STATION. POLICE AND SHERIFF'S CARS PACKED THE AREA. AS WE GOT OFF THE BUS, WE WANTED TO HAVE A BITE AT THE TERMINAL'S COFFEE SHOP, BUT

MONTGOMERY

WERE COURTEOUSLY BUT FIRMLY PREVENTED BY THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF POLICE OF MONTGOMERY, WHO INFORMED US THAT THE LUNCHROOM HAD RECEIVED A BOMB THREAT AND THAT HE HAD THEREFORE ORDERED THE LUNCHROOM CLOSED. WITH AN APPARENTLY HOSTILE MOB STARING AT US FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STREET, THE POLICE ESCORTED OUR GROUP A FEW YARDS AWAY TO THE OVERHANG OF A STORE TO WAIT FOR OUR TRANSPORTATION TO THE HOMES IN WHICH WE WERE TO REMAIN OVERNIGHT. SOME MEMBERS OF THE MOB WERE SEEN TO BE CARRYING LENGTHS OF LEAD PIPE. THE POLICE MADE NO EFFORT TO DISPERSE THE CROWD, THOUGH EVERYONE WAS KEPT ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE BUS STATION. ONE YOUNG LOCAL NEWSPAPERMAN SAID TO US THAT EVEN IF HE WERE TO GO ACROSS THE STREET TO THE MOB, HE WOULD BE BEATEN UP BY THEM. AFTER SOME DELAY, OWING TO POLICE BLOCKING ACCESS TO THE BUS TERMINAL AREA, WE WERE PICKED UP BY A FRIEND'S CAR. ONE OF THE GROUP HAD ACCIDENTALLY FORGOTTEN HIS SUITCASE AT THE BUS STATION. HIS ATTEMPT TO RETRIEVE HIS BAG WAS REFUSED, AND IT TOOK THE INTERVENTION OF MR. WALKER WITH THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF POLICE TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO GET THE SUITCASE.

THE NEXT MORNING, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21ST, THE GROUP WENT TO THE TRAILWAYS TERMINAL IN MONTGOMERY TO PURCHASE TICKETS FOR THE 11:30 A.M. BUS TO JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. HAVING PURCHASED OUR TICKETS, SOME OF THE GROUP SAT DOWN AT THE TERMINAL'S LUNCH COUNTER FOR A SNACK BEFORE DEPARTURE. THE EDERLY MANAGER, IN THE MOST INSULTING FASHION, DEMANDED INSPECTION OF EVERYONE'S INTERSTATE TICKETS, SAYING "BOY" TO THE NEGROES IN THE GROUP. HE TOLD OTHER CUSTOMERS NOT TO SIT DOWN AT HIS COUNTER UNTIL "THIS GROUP OF NIGGERS" WOULD GET OUT OF THE WAY. HE PERSONALLY REFUSED TO SERVE US, BUT INSTRUCTED A NEGRO COUNTERMAN TO DO SO.

AT THE DEPARTURE OF A BUS A FEW MOMENTS BEFORE OURS, WHICH WAS EVIDENTLY MISTAKEN FOR THE ONE OUR GROUP WAS RIDING THERE WERE LOUD REPORTS OF WHAT SEEMED LIKE TWO OR THREE GUNSHOTS, THOUGH THEY MAY HAVE BEEN MERELY FIRE-CRACKERS. THEY SENT THE POLICE SCURRYING, TO WHAT EFFECT IS NOT KNOWN TO THE WRITERS WHO WERE WAITING TO GET ON THEIR PROPER BUS.

SELMA

AT OUR ARRIVAL AT SELMA, ALABAMA, LUNCH STOP, THE USUAL HEAVY COMPLEMENT OF POLICE AND PLAINCLOTHESMEN MET THE BUS. WE WERE INFORMED THAT THE LUNCHROOM WAS CLOSED, AND THAT NO ONE COULD ENTER. AT THE MISSISSIPPI STATE LINE, THE FIRST OF A CONTINOUS SERIES OF POLICE CARS PICKED UP THE BUS AND ACCOMPANIED IT EVERY FOOT OF THE WAY TO JACKSON.

MERIDIAN

THE SCENE AT OUR ARRIVAL IN MERIDIAN, MISSISSIPPI, ALMOST DEFIES DESCRIPTION. IN ADDITION TO THE USUAL BEVY OF POLICE, SHERIFF'S CARS, AND STATE PATROL, OTHER SPECIAL EQUIPMENT WAS STRATEGICALLY PLACED THROUGHOUT THE BUS TERMINAL AREA. POLICE KEPT EVERYONE OUT OF THE BUS TERMINAL WHO DID NOT HAVE A TICKET FOR OUR BUS, AND THE PUBLIC WAS RESTRAINED BEHIND POLICE LINES AT A BLOCK'S DISTANCE IN EACH DIRECTION FROM THE TERMINAL. THREE UNIFORMED OFFICERS ENTERED THE BUS UPON ARRIVAL, AND INFORMED THE PASSENGERS THAT ONLY THOSE HOLDING TICKETS TO MERIDIAN MIGHT LEAVE THEIR SEATS AND THE BUS, THUS EFFECTIVELY PREVENTING OUR GROUP FROM LEAVING OR FROM HAVING LUNCH. IT WAS THEN ABOUT 3:30 P.M., THE LAST FOOD ANYONE HAD HAD WAS AT BREAKFAST AROUND 8 A.M. MR. SCHWARZSCHILD ASKED ONE OF THE OFFICERS WHETHER HE ALONE, WHITE AND INOFFENSIVE, MIGHT LEAVE THE BUS BRIEFLY TO BUY SANDWICHES FOR THE GROUP, NOT AS A DEMONSTRATION BUT AS A MATTER OF FILLING NEED FOR FOOD. THE REFUSAL WAS COURTEOUS BUT FIRM.

ABOUT SIX OR EIGHT PASSENGERS BOARDED THE BUS IN MERIDIAN. IT SO HAPPENED THAT OUR GROUP SAT AT ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE BUS, AND THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH SEATS IN FRONT OF US TO ACCOMMODATE ALL THE WHITE PASSENGERS. THOSE THAT COULD NOT BE SEATED IN THE SEATS TO OUR FRONT DEMONSTRATIVELY STOOD OR AS IN THE CASE OF ONE MIDDLE-AGED LADY, SAT PLUMB ON THE WHITE LINE AT THE EDGE OF THE STEPS LEADING TO THE DOOR, HER FEET IN THE STEP-WELL, SMACK UNDER A SIGN PROCLAIMING THAT ICC REGULATIONS REQUIRED PASSENGERS TO STAND IN BACK OF THE WHITE LINE. SEATS BEHIND US WERE EMPTY.

NEWTON

AT A STOP IN NEWTON, MISSISSIPPI, A BOY WITH A TRAY OF SANDWICHES AND SODAS BEGAN TO BOARD THE BUS TO OFFER HIS WARES FOR SALE IN WHAT WAS OBVIOUSLY A ROUTINE PROCEDURE. THE BUS DRIVER (BUS NO. T-2953) REFUSED HIM ADMITTANCE TO THE BUS. IT WAS 4:30 P.M. THE BUS GOT INTO JACKSON AT ABOUT 6 P.M. HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR A CHAIRITABLE PASSENGER, A NEGRO FROM HONOLULU WHO HAD VISITED HIS FAMILY IN MERIDIAN, AND WHO GAVE US SOME SANDWICHES AND CAKE WHICH HE HAD BROUGHT FOR HIS OWN NEEDS, WE WOULD NOT HAVE HAD A BITE TO EAT FROM 8 A.M. UNTIL PRISON BREAKFAST AT 6 A.M. THE NEXT MORNING, COURTESY OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF JACKSON.

JACKSON

AT THE ARRIVAL OF THE BUS IN JACKSON, WE SAW POLICE CARS AND MOTORCYCLES LINING THE APPROACH STREETS TO THE TERMINAL AND A PADDY-WAGON AWAITING US IN THE TAXI-LINE IN FRONT OF THE TERMINAL. AS WE LEFT THE BUS, WE WALKED INTO THE PRINCIPAL WAITING ROOM OF THE TERMINAL AND ATTEMPTED TO BUY CIGARETTES OR HAVE A LONG-DELAYED CUP OF COFFEE IN THE LUNCH ROOM, AND WERE SUMMARILY ARRESTED BY THE JACKSON POLICE.

THE BUS LINES SYSTEMATIC DISCOURTESIES AND REFUSAL TO LET PASSENGERS

HAVE ACCESS TO, LET ALONE BE SERVED MEALS ON THIS LONG INTERSTATE BUS TRIP, THE CONCESSIONARIES INSULTING BEHAVIOR, AND THE BUS DRIVER'S EVIDENT COLLUSION WITH POLICE FORCES TO MAKE OUR TRIP UNCOMFORTABLE, ARE AN OFFENSIVE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF PASSENGERS TO ENJOY A PEACEABLE JOURNEY AND OF THE CARRIER'S DUTY TO AFFORD THEIR CUSTOMERS REASONABLE COMFORT AND ON A LEVEL EQUAL TO THAT OF ALL PASSENGERS.

A D D E N D U M . . . . .

JAIL CONDITIONS

THE CONDITIONS THAT EXIST IN THE HINDS COUNTY JAIL POST JUNE 20TH, (THE DATE OF OUR ENTRY) RESEMBLES SOMETHING OUT OF THE MIDDLE AGES. FROM THE TIME MR. WALKER AND HIS WIFE WERE TRANSFERRED FROM THE JACKSON (MISS.) CITY JAIL, THE TREATMENT OF INMATES, PARTICULARLY THE FREEDOM RIDERS, EVERY CODE OF MINIMAL SANITATION AND PERSONAL HYGIENE WAS VIOLATED.

MR. WALKER'S CELL HOUSED EIGHT OTHER MEN. THERE WERE NO BEDS AT ALL. A BLANKET, MATTRESS COVER AND ANCIENT MATTRESS WERE PROVIDED UPON ENTERING THE 13 X 15 FOOT CELL. THIS WAS THE FIRST AND LAST PHYSICAL 'COMFORT' PROVIDED BY JAIL AUTHORITIES. FOR SEVEN DAYS, REPEATED REQUESTS WERE MADE FOR THE BAREST ESSENTIALS FOR PERSONAL CLEANLINESS. THIS WAS DONE VOCALLY AND IN WRITING. A MR. HUDDO MADE PROMISES; A MR. KELLY REMARKED THAT HE DIDN'T SEND FOR US AND DIDN'T GIVE A G____ D_____ IF WE NEVER GOT OUR THINGS.

THE SHOWER STALL WAS INOPERATIVE; THE OPEN COMMODE WAS AT HALF-EFFICIENCY; THE STENCH WAS ALMOST UNBEARABLE; WE BATHED AS BEST WE COULD, USING OUR POCKET HANDKERCHIEFS AS WASHCLOTHS. THERE IS NO NEED TO MENTION THE FOOD - FOR JAIL DIET IS ABOUT THE SAME ALL AROUND THE SOUTH.

MRS. WALKER REPORTS THAT ONE OF THE FEMALE PRISONERS WAS FORCED TO STRIP TO THE WAIST FOR 'FRISKING' BY MALE JAILERS. IN NEITHER JAIL WERE ANY MATRONS ON DUTY, IF EMPLOYED. THIS WAS A HUMILATION FOR FEMALE PRISONERS THAT SEEMED WHOLLY UNNECESSARY. THE SERVICING OF THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF THE JAILS FOR FEEDING, CLEANING, ETC., WAS ALWAYS DONE BY MALE 'TRUSTYS.'

UPON THE WALKERS' RELEASE, THEY DISCOVERED THAT $75.00 OF THEIR FUNDS HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM THEIR ENVELOPES CONTAINING 'VALUABLES' PREVIOUSLY SURRENDERED TO HINDS COUNTY AUTHORITIES. AS THEY REGISTERED THE LOSS OF FUNDS IN SHERIFF GILFOY'S OFFICE, MRS. WALKER DISCOVERED HER ONE-QUARTER CARAT WEDDING RING HAD ALSO BEEN REMOVED (ADJUDGED VALUE, $275.00.) BOTH OF THE WALKERS UPON TRANSFER INSISTED ON RECEIPTS FOR THEIR VALUABLES. THEY WERE DENIED AND BOTH REQUESTED THE PRIVILEGE TO RETAIN SAME IN LIEU OF NO RECEIPTING AS PRACTICED BY CITY AUTHORITIES. MR. HUDDO DEMANDED THEY DEPOSIT MANILA ENVELOPES IN A BOX SAYING, "THEY'LL BE ALL RIGHT." THIS FINANCIAL AND SENTIMENTAL LOSS CERTAINLY WARRANTS SOME REMEDY AND CAN ONLY BE DEEMED A DIRECT BY-PRODUCT OF A SYSTEM THAT IS ENTIRELY BAD.

IT MUST BE SAID IN ALL FAIRNESS TO THE JACKSON CITY POLICE, PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF CHIEF PIERCE AND HIS LIEUTENANTS, THAT DESPITE A SINCERE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, HE AND HIS MEN WERE EXTREMELY POLITE AND CORDIAL. THE TRANSFER TO THE HINDS COUNTY JAIL WAS ALMOST LIKE GOING TO ANOTHER WORLD.

IT IS OUR SINCERE OPINION THAT REGARDLESS OF THE CRIME COMMITTED, EVERY PRISONER, SHOULD BE TREATED AS A HUMAN BEING AND ACCORDED THE BARE ESSENTIALS TO MAINTAIN A MODICUM OF PERSONAL CLEANLINESS.

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Please guard against premature release

For release Monday, July 15, p.m.'s

Chicago, July 15--Public libraries all over the South, including the Deep South* states are being integrated quietly, without publicity, and have been since the 1920's, according to a nationwide study released here today by the American Library Association. Even so, it added, the pace of integration has picked up since the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision.

At least twenty-four percent of the Southern cities have integrated library systems, ranging from a high of 55 percent in Tennessee to a low of seven percent in Alabama as of June 15, the report indicated.

The 115-page report and appendices, Access to Public Libraries, is the Freedom of Access to Libraries Study developed by the Library Administration Division and the Committee on Intellectual Freedom, both of the American Library Association. It was undertaken by International Research Associates, Inc., of New York, acting under the direction of an ALA advisory committee. It was supported by contributions from: The H. W. Wilson Foundation, Inc.; The New World Foundation; The R. R. Bowker Company; The ALA; The Colorado Library Association; The Virginia Library Association; and Miss Dorothy Bendix, a member of the Association.

The report was prepared from responses received from 1,789 library systems, or 22 percent of the total of 8,176 library systems in the United States, and included information received through mail questionnaires and interviews conducted by experienced

(more)

*Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina

staff members sent to the South by the research firm. In addition, a study was made of previous surveys, reports, articles, and books dealing with library facilities and with the question of segregation.

Direct discrimination is confined to the 16 states of the South,* the study found, while "indirect discrimination" is found throughout the United States, but the forms of discrimination in regions other than the South have to do primarily with such aspects as the location and resources of the branch and bookmobile services rather than restrictions on the use of main libraries.

To study the relationship between four socio-economic characteristics** of a population and the location and resources of branch libraries, ten cities were examined -- six in the South: Memphis, New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, Jacksonville, and Washington, D. C.; and four in the non-South: New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Detroit. These were selected because of their large numbers of public library branches and high proportions of non-white residents.

It also pointed out that only San Francisco, of the ten large cities studied, "is immune from 'de facto' racial discrimination" in the location and resources of public library branches.

In discussing de facto segregation in the ten cities, the report states that: "In Philadelphia, a heavily white neighborhood is six times as likely to possess a branch library as is a predominantly non-white section. In Detroit, the non-Southern city containing the highest percentage of non-whites, twice as many branches are located in heavily white neighborhoods and these branches contain more than one-and-a-half times as many books as those in predominantly non-white areas," the report added.

(more)

*The United States census definition of the South plus Washington, D. C.
**Racial concentration, income, education, elementary school enrollment.

Add 2. Access to Libraries Study

Of these 10 big cities, according to the report, "the greatest racial inequality occurs in Birmingham (Ala.) and in Washington, D.C., where libraries in predominantly white neighborhoods exceed those in highly non-white areas by a ratio of more than three to one, and branches in heavily white areas have on the average twice as many volumes as those in predominantly non-white sections."

The report indicates that this "de facto" discrimination is not limited to these 10 cities but is found in all regions of the United States.

In commenting on the study's background, International Research Associates asserted:

"This research project is highly unusual insofar as it is self-audit by a professional group in the very delicate area of civil rights. The position of the American Library Association in this area has recently been emphasized by a revision of its Bill of Rights which proclaims that 'The rights of an individual to the use of a library should not be denied or abridged because of his race, national origins or political views....

"The primary goal of this study has been to broaden the understanding of limitations on the free and equal access of all persons to the resources and services of public libraries in the United States."

In commenting on the history of the progress of integration in libraries, the report pointed out:

"The '20's witnessed a great increase of Southern concern with all libraries and included the formation of the Southeastern Library Association in 1920 and the Southwestern Library Association in 1922. As the lagging position of the Southern library received national attention, the problem of Negro access was carefully considered for the first time.

(more)

Add 3. Access to Libraries Study

"Indicative of growing interest in Negro library service in the 1920's were an annual American Library Association 'Work with Negroes Round Table,' the establishment of the Hampton Library School for Negroes as well as studies of Negro access by the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library, the American Library Association, and the librarians of the Louisville, Ky., and Houston, Texas, public libraries."

It also points out that by 1926 already 45 Southern libraries were offering service to Negroes.

In city after city, the report shows, where schools are still segregated, the main public libraries are integrated. This includes such cities as: Mobile and Birmingham, Ala.; Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, La.; Augusta, Macon, and Albany, Ga.

In only five cities of the 21 in the Deep South with populations of 50,000 or over are libraries still to be integrated. Even Charleston, S. C., which has the highest perentage of non-white population, 51 percent, has an integrated main library.

However, only two of the school systems in those cities are integrated, New Orleans and Atlanta; 19 are still to be integrated.

The report also asserts that a sizable degree of library integration exists in every state in the South, contradicting the widespread belief that integration of libraries is not possible in the face of state segregation statutes and the deep seated opposition of the white population in the Deep South states.

"The rate of library integration has been increased by the widespread belief of many professional librarians that it is their job to provide service equally to all members of the public....Many librarians take the position that it is more in the interests of the library to integrate prior to the social disturbances that are occasioned by protest movements and law-suits than to wait for the inevitable change. In many segregated libraries, the librarian who holds either or both of these views is often

(more)

'constrained' in his actions by the contrary position held by members of the library board and/or city officials.

"The rate of library integration is also affected by the generally low priority accorded to it by the leaders of the Negro community, as compared to the fields of voting, housing, job opportunities, education, and other public facilities."

In many localities, according to the study, the integration of the main public library "was achieved with a minimum of disturbance. A survey in 1948 by a Birmingham librarian indicated a liberalization of attitudes toward segregation in general and with respect to libraries in particular. The growing liberal spirit is shown...in the position of one Southern white librarian who said: 'I have about come to the conclusion that it would be much better for all concerned if we removed segregation laws in libraries, universities and cultural institutions.'"

Despite this, the survey reports, implementation of integration frequently fails because: "The aggrieved class, the Negroes, frequently do not give library access as high a priority as other access problems. The result is that pressures and law suits are channeled in other directions and the libraries in these communities remain segregated."

It still is clear, however, that library integration is far in advance of the integration of certain other types of public facilities. In the South, as a whole, only nine percent of the librarians reported that their libraries are still segregated in the sense of not admitting Negroes to the main library.

In the study, a fully integrated library is one which has discontinued both "direct" and "indirect" discrimination. Direct discrimination is complete exclusion from using the library and indirect is when a library system's branches are located and the resources of these branches so differentiated in terms of quantity and quality that one group is more limited in its access to the library resources of the community than another.

(more)

Add 5. Access to Libraries Study

The study also found that Negroes are not the only class discriminated against, but there is a growing trend toward curtailing the services to students in public libraries. The most frequent reasons for restrictions concern limiting the number of books that may be borrowed and curtailing the use of the library as a study hall.

"Restrictions are placed on all grade levels, but primarily upon high school and elementary school students," the report states.

The increase in the school age population and the increased reliance by the educational system on the resources of the public libraries are responsible for this growing trend, according to the report.

"A consistent pattern of restrictions (to students) occurs in all regions of the country and in both rural and urban areas," the report says.

The report also studied the relationship between library service and the American Library Association minimum standards and indicates: "Expenditures per capita are well below the ALA minimum standards in all regions of the United States and with respect to all sizes of population served.

".... Regionally, the most striking finding is the difference in the degree to which the South meets the various minimum standards as compared to all of the other regions of the United States."

In expenditures, staffing, and collections, the South, as a region, was below the national average and was also the lowest of the four regions: West, North Central, North-Eastern, and South.

Members of the ALA advisory committee are: Chairman, Harold W. Tucker, chief librarian, Queens Borough Public Library, Jamaica, L.I., N. Y.; Mrs. Augusta Baker, coordinator, Children's Services, New York Public Library, N. Y.; Bernard R. Berelson, director, Communications Research Program, The Population Council, New York, N. Y.;

(more)

Add 6. Access to Libraries Study

Jean Crabtree, head librarian, Garden City Senior High School Library, Garden City, N. Y.; John Hall Jacobs, director of libraries, Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, Ga.; Richard H. Logsdon, director of libraries, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Archie L. McNeal, director of libraries, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.; Alphonse F. Trezza, executive secretary, Library Administration Division (ALA Headquarters Staff liaison).

Printed copies of the report will be available in early fall.

JN 26811

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

July 20, 1964

Dear Board Member:

The last weeks have brought new experiences to the Council. Different from last summer, when on June 11, 1963, the late president of the United States said, "I am, therefore asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public - hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores and similar establishments. This seems to me to be an elementary right..."

Many of you have asked us what we are finding around the state concerning compliance with the new law.

We are enclosing an account, town by town, of the places we have contacted. Our conclusions cannot be documented exactly at this early date, but it seems that compliance has been general in the larger cities. In towns where work has been done, work by civil rights organizations, work by local civic groups, work of the council itself...in these places there is the most compliance. In places where there have been no interracial activities, where there is no 'movement', there still seems to be the old untested patterns and the clearest echo "We ain't going to have no n-i-g-g-e-r-s in our movie". However, in many filling stations and road side stands, there is a sudden absence of discriminatory signs.

It seems at this point that the young Negro groups have been more eager to attend movies, bowling alleys than

they are restaurants or hotels and that many white people feel called upon to keep the Negro away. These young Negroes seemed in many places not to be testing for the sake of information but going to the movie because they wanted to see the show. In several places the pattern is to allow the Negro to be admitted and then see that he has a beating afterwards.

There are instances where whites are arrested but in many places where they are not. We see again the great need for better qualified and trained police. Organizations are speaking out for compliance but more need to speak.

We believe that much depends on the next few weeks. The young Negro needs help in testing. You as a board member can encourage courageous responsible action. The new Act is completely clear that there will be an end to the injustices of discrimination. Now it is time for each of us to get out of our arm chairs and help make this peaceful compliance a reality in Georgia.

Please report any experiences both of receiving service and being refused to our office.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Pauley

Mrs. Frances Pauley,
Executive Director

FP/es
Enclosure

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Compliance as reported to the Georgia Council on Human Relations
July 20, 1964

SAVANNAH:

Fine. Hotels, motels, restaurants including Morrison's and Krystal are open. City swimming pools opened July 3, with no difficulties. Bowling alleys are open.

BRUNSWICK:

Fine. Everything open that has been tested. Theaters are admitting Negroes.

MACON:

Fine. Hotels, motels, restaurants including S&S are open. Formerly irate manager of Demsey Hotel invited Negro guests on Sunday July 5. General climate seems unusually good.

COLUMBUS:

Fine. Hotels, motels, restaurants including Morrison's, S&S, Krystal are open. Negroes were welcomed by managers at several places. One County Commissioner told managers of two leading places he would leave if Negroes were served. Negroes were served. Kelley's Hamburger stand refused service at first but are now reported to be complying. Kirven's department store served Negroes in the tea room.

AUGUSTA:

Hotels, motels, restaurants are reported open. The city golf course has been turned into a "private" club, all whites allowed to play, no Negroes. A case has been made with Jack Ruffin as the lawyer. The greatest difficulties were reported at the hospital. Negroes were refused service in the cafeteria at Talmadge Memorial. Signs were put up in cafeteria after the bill passed.

ATLANTA:

Compliance is general with the exception of Heart of Atlanta Motel and Pickrick. These cases are being tried. Three whites arrested in melee at Lakewood Park when Negroes attempted to hear Wallace speak. Thomas Sikes, 20, 3511 Lacey Circle, Robert H. Wheeler, 31, Atlanta, and Walter E. Cleaper, Route 2, Austell.

ROME:

Restaurants, hotels, motels, lunch counters seemed to all have agreed to open, all have not been tested. Holiday Inn is

open. Mr. Holmes spent the night at the Hotel General Forrest. The bell captain took him to his room, and said, "I've waited 33 years for this moment, I've taken many whites up this elevator, but you're the first one of us".

The two (one Negro and one white) swimming pools closed. After a deal with the Negro leadership, the pools opened with an understanding of "no testing yet" from the Negroes. Police chief is keeping order. He dispersed a large group of white hoodlums who were starting to make trouble. A group of whites with Alabama license plate were seen waiting for Negroes at the movie.

CEDARTOWN:

Hotels and restaurants are open with the exception of Wayside Inn which is reportedly not open. Police Chief W. M. Moss is doing a good job of encouraging compliance. Negroes believe he will persuade the Wayside Inn to open. Police protection has been good through the testing period. Negroes have agreed not to go to the swimming pool at the present. They also have agreed to attempt attending schools only for classes not taught in Negro schools.

CARTERSVILLE:

There has been no organized testing here, however it seems there will be compliance. There is evidence that Negroes will stay away from likely trouble spots - swimming pools, bowling alleys and pool rooms. Negroes were harassed after leaving the bowling alley.

ROCKMART:

There has been no organized testing. Some places have complied. Signs have been removed.

GREENSBORO:

Very little testing. The movie was reported as a trouble spot.

MILLEDGEVILLE:

Hotels, motels are reported to be complying. The hospital continued to send Negroes to the rear entrance, police promised Negroes this would be changed. A NAACP petition for public school desegregation has been returned with an unofficial threat that promised Negro street improvement would not materialize.

SYLVANIA:

There is no evidence of any compliance or any testing.

WAYNESBORO:

There is no evidence of any compliance or any testing. Several instances of violence at service stations when Negroes have tried to use rest rooms (before passage of law). Mr. Mims at Standard was reported to have beaten Negro for walking toward the rest room. Mr. Northcutt at Esso also was reported to have used violence.

WASHINGTON:

The general climate is very bad. There is no evidence of compliance or testing. This town seems to need outside help for injunctions and law enforcement.

STATESBORO:

Hotels, motels, restaurants have agreed to comply (with one exception). No testing to our knowledge. One drug store counter was tested and is complying. Georgia Southern College is planning to desegregate this fall. They accepted a Negro this summer but she failed to arrive. Dorms are filled and local Negroes are afraid to house students.

THOMSON:

There was trouble on July 16th., when Negroes "forced their way" into theater. A curfew was established. Two drive-in restaurants refused service. No arrests.

DECATUR:

Compliance is general including eight swimming pools.

DEKALB COUNTY:

Compliance is general including swimming pools.

GAINESVILLE:

Difficulties with mob after Negroes entered pool room. The Chamber of Commerce has called for law and order. The city ordered a curfew.

EAST POINT:

Swimming pools were closed, one white and one Negro. Negroes and whites were arrested for fighting.

WINDER:

Negroes were turned back by a mob of whites when they attempted to enter a theater. A white mob waited until late at night and was not dispersed by police.

WARNER ROBINS:

Tested, complete compliance.

PERRY:

No compliance has been reported. Three places were tested, all refused service. Negroes were barred by state troopers at one. Doc Roughton, defeated sheriff is reported to have led a group to bar Negroes at another restaurant. Mob gathered at a third restaurant.

BARNESVILLE:

There is no report on hotels, motels or restaurants. There was trouble at the movie on July 9 and 10 when white mobs formed. Police did not disperse the crowd. Police chief requested the movie owner to close the movie. The owner wants to comply but is having difficulties with city officials and police. He ownes theaters in several towns.

COCHRAN:

In Cochran it was reported that city officials said "ain't no niggers going in our show".

GRIFFIN:

Things are going well, although there was some trouble at the movie. The theater was emptied because of bomb threat but reopened with Negroes present. Swimming pools are closed for "cooling off".

THOMASVILLE:

Theaters, hotels, motels, and restaurants are complying.

DUBLIN:

Limited testing - bowling alley open.

ALBANY:

Hotels, motels and restaurants have been tested and reported to be complying. Arrests were made at pool, which is now "private" 10 Negroes were convicted of "idling and loitering", each fined $102 or 30 days in jail. ARTIC BEAR Drive-in stand at Slappey Drive and Oglethorpe is reported to have refused service Sunday July 5, 1964 at 9:30 P.M. Reverend Wells was arrested after eating in white establishment. Moonshine was found by police in his car. It is suspected that this could have been a plant.

VALDOSTA:

The movie opened. Negroes were refused service at three restaurants.

AMERICUS:

The greatest violence has been reported from Americus. Where Zev Aleony and friends were beaten on Thursday night July 2 after eating. John Perdew, Bob Mantz and others were beaten on July 3 after being served. Police, firemen and extra police have sought to keep order by keeping Negroes away. White mobs were allowed to form at the movie on Sunday July 5. Negroes and white friends are given no protection. Restaurants serve anyone but people are later threatened or beaten. No white arrests have been made.

O'Callaghan Weighs Entry in House Race

Ald. Cook Decides Not to Run Against Savage or Weltner

Close to full slates of Republicans apparently will be qualified in both Fulton and DeKalb counties before the qualifying deadline Friday for the GOP primaries.

James O'Callaghan of Atlanta moved closer to a race for Congress Wednesday after Alderman Rodney Cook decided not to enter the contest.

"I am giving it a lot of consideration," O'Callaghan said. "I will have a decision well before the deadline." Asked if Sen. Barry Goldwater at the head of the ticket would help him, O'Callaghan said, "Yes, I really think he would."

COOK BOWS OUT

Cook announced he would not run in the primary against Dr. John Savage or against Rep. Charles Weltner in the general election.

Cook thanked his supporters, said he had given the race "most serious and thoughtful consideration" but, he said, "Problems still lie ahead for the city, and there is much unfinished business at hand."

"In view of that," Cook said, "It is my considered judgment that at this time I can best serve the community here rather than in Washington."

Meanwhile, Republican National Committeeman Roscoe Pickett planned to advise the DeKalb Republican Executive Committee and the advisory committee whether he will oppose Democratic candidate James Mackay in the Fourth District congressional race.

A full slate of DeKalb candidates could be announced at the meeting at 8:15 p.m. Thursday in Judge Oscar Mitchell's courtroom in the DeKalb Building.

Two Atlanta Republicans qualified for Fulton legislative posts.

S. Fletcher Thompson paid $500 qualifying fee to run against Democratic Sen. Charlie Brown, while Scott Walters qualified against Rep. Wilson Brooks.

Both said they are Goldwater supporters.

Ed S. Cook And Wife Injured

Five persons, including school board member Ed S. Cook and his wife, were injured in automobile crashes over Atlanta as a heavy rain deluged city streets Wednesday, police said.

Patrolman J. M. Webb said Mr. Cook and his wife, who reside at 836 Boulevard SE, were traveling north in the 2100 block of Macon Drive, SE, when a car headed south went out of control on a curve and skidded onto the left side of the road.

Mr. and Mrs. Cook were taken to South Fulton Hospital. Webb said Cook suffered lacerations and bruises and his wife had possible internal injuries.

SECOND DRIVER BOOKED

The driver of the second car, James Leland Adams, 24, of 1309 Cypress Drive, Forest Park, was charged with driving on the wrong side of the road, Webb related. He said Adams and a passenger, W. E. Burnett, 26, of 605 Pine Ridge Drive, escaped injury.

Two were injured when a station wagon they occupied hit an unpaved section of the North-South Freeway and struck an abutment of the Capitol Avenue bridge, Patrolman K. G. Young said.

Young said Charles DeWitt Coker, 27, of 131 Collingworth Terr., East Point, and C. A. Maynor, 32, of 2555 Lancaster Drive, East Point, were taken to South Fulton Hospital with severe facial lacerations and Maynor was admitted for observation.

FALLS FROM TRUCK

James L. Dukes, 29, of Columbus, fell from his van-type truck after it struck a pole on the Northeast Expressway near the Peachtree Road bridge, Patrolman P. F. Young said. The truck

3 Stills Destroyed In Lexington Raid

LEXINGTON, Ga. — Authorities reported the destruction Wednesday of a bootleg still complex with a weekly capacity of $20,000 worth of illegal liquor. Eight state revenue agents

Associated Press Wirephoto

GEORGIANS AND "THE GENERAL" AT FAIR
Gov. Carl E. Sanders and Miss Georgia, Vivian Davis

Can't Happen Here, Governor Believes

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Staff Writer

NEW YORK—Gov. Carl Sanders said here Wednesday he did not believe conditions exist in Atlanta and Georgia which would bring on such race riots as have occurred in Harlem.

Sanders said the reason for this—"a line of communication" between the white and Negro citizens—has existed in Georgia longer than in New York.

"We've been dealing with this problem longer than you have in New York," Sanders told a news conference. "We've arrived at a basis of understanding and solution without riots."

Sanders, here in connection with Georgia Day ceremonies at the World Fair, held an impromptu press conference for New York newsmen and discussed the Harlem riots, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Republican nominee Barry Goldwater and race relations in general.

He said he felt it was the right thing to do for the FBI to step in and investigate the violence in Harlem.

Sanders also said he did not followers to change the outcome of the race if they all switched to another candidate. He presumably had Sen. Goldwater in mind.

The governor again predicted President Lyndon Johnson would defeat Goldwater in the November election.

In a reference apparently to both the Harlem riots and Goldwater's "extremism" comment in his address to the GOP convention in San Francisco last week, Sanders declared as soon as people realize "extremism is not a virtue, the better off we'll all be."

RAIN POURED DOWN

The big Georgia delegation literally took the New York World's Fair by storm Wednesday—it poured down rain during the entire official ceremony for

They'll Never Eat There, Maddox Says

By ACHSAH POSEY

"They won't ever get any of that chicken," restaurant owner Lester Maddox said shortly before the decision enjoining him from discriminating against Negroes was handed down.

Maddox carried a copy of "The American Patriot," a one-issue magazine in which Alabama Gov. George Wallace's abortive presidential candidacy was announced, and a bright blue copy of the U.S. Constitution supplied moments earlier by his attorneys at his request.

As he waited Maddox read portions of the Declaration of Independence from the magazine and complained about "the government hiring white, black and half-breed lawyers to fight against me" and paying them with his tax money. William Alexander, the Atlanta Negro attorney representing the three Negro theological students who brought the suit against Maddox, stood behind him.

ADMIRE JUDGE'S HAIR

"I've always admired Judge Hooper's hair," Maddox commented suddenly. He himself is somewhat lacking in that area. "You know, he looks like a judge ought to look."

"Best head of hair in the United States," argued one of Maddox's attorneys, Sidney Schell, also somewhat short of the commodity.

"I used to wish that some day I'd have a beautiful head of silver hair," Maddox added. "Now I'd be happy to have just any kind."

LAWYER QUOTES

Schell declared that what Dr. Faust said in the German classic, after the devil gave him all knowledge, fairly well summed up his feelings about his study of the Civil Rights Act:

"'I sought for hidden treasure, genuine gold, but only hideous ashes forth I bore, so here I stand with all my lore, alas, poor fool, no wise than before,'" he recited from memory.

A bit later, after he recited another quotation, his colleague, William McRae, asked, "Shakespeare?"

"Milton."

Schell, who holds bachelors and master degrees in philosophy plus an LL.D., LLM and JD, four times unsuccessfully ran for mayor of East Point. McRae also has unsuccessfully sought political office.

Schell was a "grown man before I ever saw a Negro," having been born in Boise, Idaho, and grew up in Colorado, al-

archaeological expedition in the near future.

Maddox, meanwhile, declared, "If I lose everything (as a result of the court actions his stand on integration has brought) I'm not worried. Lyndon Johnson said he's going to eradicate poverty, didn't he?"

At one point Maddox, who also has been an unsuccessful political candidate, although running close races for lieutenant governor against Peter Zack Geer and against Ivan Allen Jr. for mayor of Atlanta, said he needed to hurry home to write his Saturday "Pickrick Says" ad.

He commented that Constitution publisher Ralph McGill told him once he had decided to keep running it "after much soul-searching." "You know what he means by soul searching" Maddox said, reaching his hand in his pocket as though to pull out a wad of bills.

An Associated Press photographer said, "Lester, every time you do that I flinch."

"Fastest gun in the South," Schell joked.

Russians Link 5 Seas with Canal System

MOSCOW (UPI) — The Soviet Union has completed construction of a canal system linking the five seas of Russia. Soviet newspapers hailed the project as an engineering marvel.

The final stretch of the network connects the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea along the Volga River and links up with a waterway runing to the White, Caspian and Azov seas. The system is 3,470 miles long.

Britain's 120,000 Postmen Ready For Full-Scale Strike Saturday

LONDON (UPI) — Leaders of Britain's 120,000 postmen called a full-scale national strike Wednesday for "an indefinite period" starting at midnight Saturday.

The new strike call followed a one-day walkout by postmen last Thursday and a continuing ban on overtime and "work-to-rule" slowdown which has piled up mail in post offices all over the country.

Union of Post Office Workers Chief Ron Smith said the total strike would continue until the postmen's wage claims were settled.

Maddox and Motel Lose in U.S. Court

Continued from Page 1

the same conditions as non-Negroes.

2. Failing or refusing to sell to or serve Negroes the same things on the same basis as others.

3. "Otherwise failing or refusing to make any of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages or accommodations available to Negroes as they are to all other races.

Although the injunctions are temporary, and the ultimate constitutionality of the act will be decided by the Supreme Couft in direct appeals from the three-judge district court decision here, the decisions are a landmark in the history of civil rights legislation.

An 1875 Public Accommodations Act, similar in intent and coverage to provisions of the 1964 law, but with much stiffer penal provisions, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1883.

That law was based on the 14th amendment, which the Supreme Court has repeatedly declared applies only to state actions and does not give Congress authority to interfere with discrimination by individuals.

In congressional hearings before the rights act was passed Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy contended it would stand up because the public accommodations sections were based on Congress's authority to regulate interstate commerce.

The court agreed with that assessment here Wednesday, declaring "Congress has the power to go this far. No question of freedom of association under the first amendment or involuntary serviture under the 13th amendment is involved."

Their decision states, "The inital determination of whether the challenged regulation is such 'appropriate means' is for Congress. Courts may not overturn such determination unless they conclude that under no reasonable theory could Congress find them 'appropriate to the attainment' of its power to regulate commerce."

"Thus it need not be decided whether the outlawing of racial discrimination by a hotel accepting transient guests may be justified on the ground that it is actually in the stream of commerce," the court declares, because Congress has the power to regulate "those intrastate activities which so affect interstate commerce."

"LITTLE DOUBT"

In his concurring opinion, Judge Hooper stated, "Little doubt should exist as to the power of Congress to legislate concerning such facilities along interstate highways."

His opinion added that "all restaurants reasonably accessible to interstate travelers are prohibited from discriminating against Negroes in the service of food."

He concurred fully in the injunction against Maddox, declaring, "That the Pickrick restaurant, located on an interstate highway, did in fact offer to serve interstate travelers and therefore a temporary injunction

Cobb Youth Bound Over In Lakewood Race Melee

A Cobb County youth was held under $100 bond Wednesday for Fulton Criminal Court on charges of assault and battery which

Terr., East Point, and C. A. Maynor, 32, of 2555 Lancaster Drive, East Point, were taken to South Fulton Hospital with severe facial lacerations and Maynor was admitted for observation.

FALLS FROM TRUCK

James L. Dukes, 29, of Columbus, fell from his van-type truck after it struck a pole on the Northeast Expressway near the Peachtree Road bridge, Patrolman P. F. Young said. The truck hit a divider 50 feet away and stopped.

Dukes was treated at Grady Hospital for a dislocated shoulder and bruises, Young said.

Young said a heavy blast of wind could have caused the light truck to veer out of control.

against Rep. Wilson Brooks.

Both said they are Goldwater supporters.

3 Stills Destroyed In Lexington Raid

LEXINGTON, Ga. — Authorities reported the destruction Wednesday of a bootleg still complex with a weekly capacity of $20,000 worth of illegal liquor. Eight state revenue agents joined Sheriff W. T. Howard in the raid on the 600-gallon per day operation here. The officers poured out 169 gallons of liquor and 15,000 gallons of mash. They said the plant had three stills of 1,500, 1,00, and 250-gallon capacity.

Sanders, here in connection with Georgia Day ceremonies at the World Fair, held an impromptu press conference for New York newsmen and discussed the Harlem riots, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Republican nominee Barry Goldwater and race relations in general.

He said he felt it was the right thing to do for the FBI to step in and investigate the violence in Harlem.

Sanders also said he did not believe there was "a tremendous amount of white backlash" because of the passage of the civil rights bill.

He added that Gov. Wallace, who announced Sunday he is withdrawing from the presidential race, would not have enough

both the Harlem riots and Goldwater's "extremism" comment in his address to the GOP convention in San Francisco last week, Sanders declared as soon as people realize "extremism is not a virtue, the better off we'll all be."

RAIN POURED DOWN

The big Georgia delegation literally took the New York World's Fair by storm Wednesday—it poured down rain during the entire official ceremony for Georgia Day.

As the band started playing and dignitaries sat in the grandstand, they looked out at nearly 1,000 empty seats and saw one lone person sitting in the rain under a blue umbrella on the last row in the rear.

He was Robert Whitlow, 10, of Cartersville, visiting the fair for the first day with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ancil Whitlow, and his sister, Annette.

Among a half dozen fair visitors standing beneath trees behind Robert were Charles and Anne Hammett and Lenwood Scott, all from Augusta.

'THAT'S MY GOVERNOR'

And singing lustily under the tree as the band played the national anthem was Mrs. Adeline Jones, a Negro and former Savannah resident who now lives in New Jersey. She was braving the weather without a raincoat to watch the Georgia Day festivities.

"That's my governor," she declared.

When Sanders started speaking, Mrs. Jones came down to the front row and stood and applauded everything the governor said. Two policemen finally went over and spoke to her and she sat down and held her applause until the end.

After learning she was from Georgia, Sanders sent her his regards.

New Violence Erupts in NY

Continued from Page 1

taunting police and urging the crowds to take action against them.

Earlier, in intermittent rain, a crowd of Negro teen-agers tried to overturn a sound truck operated by a civil rights group in the area which had been exhorting the Negroes to return to their homes.

Warning shots later were fired over the heads of the crowd.

In Manhattan, a jeering throng of 500 white teen-agers tossed eggs, stones and tin cans at about 200 Negro pickets outside police headquarters.

The crowd, comprised mostly of Negro teen-agers, jeered the NAACP officials, and police advised both groups to move on.

One bottle was thrown, but it struck no one.

In Brooklyn's Bushwick section several blocks to the north, scores of teen-agers walked the streets. Several bottles were thrown but they crashed harmlessly on the pavement.

Wagner coupled his plea for reason with a promise of swift justice for "hoodlums, rowdies and troublemakers." He pledged stepped-up efforts to improve slum conditions, add Negroes to the police force and review cases of alleged police brutality.

Even as the mayor spoke on television and radio, helmeted police patrolled Harlem and a predominantly Negro district of Brooklyn, where the riots have left one dead, more than 100 injured and dozens of stores smashed and looted.

Earlier, about 40 Brooklyn Negro leaders had promised to suspend public demonstrations for the duration of the crisis, and to man sound trucks to cruise the streets appealing to people to stay home at night.

Wagner, who cut short a European vacation to return to the city, looked tired and drawn.

He laid out a nine-point program which he said he had worked out "after intensive, prolonged and prayerful consideration.

"The nation and world have their eyes on New York," Wagner said. "I can't exaggerate what is at stake here."

Wagner said he had spoken Wednesday with President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had assured him that his assignment of the FBI to investigate any violations of federal law in the New York riots was "designed solely to assist, support and supplement what we were already doing."

The mayor promised cooperation with the FBI,

another quotation, his colleague, William McRae, asked, "Shakespeare?"

"Milton."

Schell, who holds bachelors and master degrees in philosophy plus an LL.D., LLM and JD, four times unsuccessfully ran for mayor of East Point. McRae also has unsuccessfully sought political office.

Schell was a "grown man before I ever saw a Negro," having been born in Boise, Idaho, and grew up in Colorado, although his parents were Georgians.

While he waited for the ruling, Schell talked of his antique doll collection, considered one of the finest in the South, and said he was taking up a new hobby—archaeology. He hopes to go to Yucatan on an

terway runing to the White, Caspian and Azov seas. The system is 3,470 miles long.

Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy contended it would stand up because the public accommoda-

concerning such facilities along interstate highways."

His opinion added that "all restaurants reasonably accessible to interstate travelers are prohibited from discriminating against Negroes in the service of food."

He concurred fully in the injunction against Maddox, declaring, "That the Pickrick restaurant, located on an interstate highway, did in fact offer to serve interstate travelers and therefore a temporary injunction should be issued against the corporation and against Lester G. Maddox, its president, who actively engineered the discrimination."

They contended that the food the restaurant bought was no longer in interstate commerce when Maddox bought it, even though it might have been at one time, and argued the restaurant and its policy could not adversely affect interstate commerce.

THE QUESTION

The question is whether Congress can reach racial discrimination to the same extent that it can reach other activities under the commerce clause," the court decided.

"There is nothing which we can find that would indicate that Congress would not apply the same standards it has applied in cases dealing with the regulation of prices, wages, hours, labor relations, or any other attempt by Congress to exercise the full extent of its powers under the commerce clause."

The court noted, however, that unlike the motel case, Congress did not declare that all restaurants were affected, but only those "that serve or offer to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves . . . has moved in commerce."

Ralph McGill

'To Cherish Little Things'

Continued from Page 1

ulations grow and so do our governments at the state and national level, so does business, and so do the bureaucracies of municipalities that must provide the services for such bigness.

This environment also is one that is more and more of machines and less of personalities. But all the wistful thinking that if somehow we were more moral and if government were less big and if populations were back at the village level, life would be sweet, lovely and clean for all of us is a most naive business. There is a certain pathos in it, but not much of reality. The sweet city of Zion will certainly not thereby be attained.

Cobb Youth Bound Over In Lakewood Race Melee

A Cobb County youth was held under $100 bond Wednesday for Fulton Criminal Court on charges of assault and battery which developed out of a racial melee July Fourth at Lakewood Park.

Municipal Judge Ed Brock assessed the bond against Walter E. Cleapor III, 18, of Rte. 2, Austell, following a lengthy hearing in Municipal Court.

Detective H. G. Mann told the court Cleapor struck him on the jaw, knocking him to his knees. Patrolman C. C. Sewell, who was standing behind Mann, said he saw Cleapor strike the detective and then moved in to assist with the arrest of Cleapor.

5 TELL OF BLOWS

Five witnesses told the court they saw Mann strike Cleapor for no apparent reason. A sixth said he did not see the blow but said he saw officers "pile on Cleapor like football players."

Brock said since there was a marked conflict of testimony he felt the case should be heard by a jury.

Mann testified a fist fight broke out in the park grandstand after several Negroes, accompanied by a white man, invaded an American Patriot rally. He said he went with Sgt. N. R. Clodfelter to escort a Negro and a white man from the grandstand.

Mann said he was the rear of the group which was escorting the two when Cleapor struck him. Under cross-examination by attorney G. Seals Aiken, Mann said he saw the youth as the blow was struck.

Sewell said he placed a billy club over Cleapor's head and used it to press down his arms while pulling him away. He said Cleapor kicked him before he was able to place handcuffs on one wrist.

James A. Brooks of 2134 Browns Mill Road SE said that when the Negroes appeared the "crowd exploded." He told the court he saw Mann "swing at Cleapor who was just standing there."

C. J. King of 1047 Moreland Ave. said he saw police "pile in on Cleapor like football players." King said the youth's clothing was "just about ripped off."

4 FROM ATHENS

Four others who drove together from Athens to attend the rally also said they saw Mann strike Cleapor first.

W. E. Cleapor Jr., father of the defendant, said he drove with him to Lakewood but was not with him at the time of the arrest.

"His shirt was in tatters and the seat was split out of his britches," the father said. "His mouth was bruised. We had chicken and dressing for supper that night and he couldn't eat any of it, his mouth was so sore."

Text of Motel Suit Ruling: 'Law Is Constitutional'

Continued from Page 18

other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence; . . .

"(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); . . . ."

In substance, this section of Title II declares the right of every person to full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services and facilities of any hotel or motel which provides lodging to transient guests if it contains more than five rooms for rent or hire. The section is a congressional ascertainment and declaration of the fact that such "an establishment affect(s) commerce within the meaning of this Title."

Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution provides: "Clause 1: The Congress shall have power . . . Clause 3: to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:" and Clause 18 "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers . . ."

In United States v. Darby, 312 U.S. 100, 118, the Supreme Court said:

"The power of Congress over interstate commerce is not confined to the regulation of commerce among the states. It extends to those activities intrastate which so affect interstate commerce or the exercise of the power of Congress over it as to make regulation of them appropriate means to the attainment of a legitimate end, the exercise of the grant of power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. See McCullough v. Maryland, 4 Wheat 316, 421."

Thus, it need not be decided whether the outlawing of racial discrimination by a hotel accepting transient guests may be justified on the ground that it is actually in the stream of commerce. The power of Congress, when that body seeks to occupy the full extent of its powers under the Constitution, "extends to those activities intrastate which so affect interstate commerce . . . as to make regulation of them appropriate means to . . . the exercise of the granted power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce." Of course, the initial determination of whether the challenged regulation is such "appropriate means" is for Congress. Courts may not overturn such determination unless they conclude that under no reasonable theory could Congress find them "appropriate to the attainment" of its power to regulate commerce.

This Court, as recently as July 10, 1964, in the case of Marriott Hotels of Atlanta, Inc. v. Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc., C.A. No. 8832, held that the operations of Heart of Atlanta Motel (1) are in the stream of commerce, and that, in any event, (2) such operations affect commerce so as to subject it to Congressional regulation under the Sherman Antitrust Act. It being undisputed that in the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress has seen fit to exercise its full power as granted it under the Constitution the scope of its operation in this field must, therefore, be taken to be at least as broad as that which it exercised in the adoption of the Sherman Act. Its scope is, therefore, also as broad as in the legislation affecting labor relations under the National Labor Relations Act. It is broader than that exercised by Congress in its regulation of wages and hours of services under the Wage and Hour laws.

In the specific field of hotel operations, the Supreme Court has ruled that the National Labor Relations Board could not lawfully follow a policy of refusing to take jurisdiction over unfair labor practices and other labor disputes in hotels and motels as a class. Hotels Employees Local No. 255 v. Leedom, 358 U.S. 99. Following that decision, the Court of Appeals of this judicial circuit in N.L.R.B. v. Citizens Hotel Co., 5 Cir., 313 F. 2d 708, overruled a contention by the Citizens Hotel Company, operator of the Texas Hotel in Fort Worth, Texas, that its operations did not fall within the constitutional reach of the National Labor Relations Act because it was not either engaged in commerce, nor did its operations affect commerce. In arriving at that decision the court referred to the Supreme Court's opinion in National Labor Relations Board v. Reliance Fuel Oil Corp., 371 U.S. 224. That case dealt with an attack by the local fuel oil corporation on the jurisdiction of the Labor Board because, while most of the products sold by Reliance had been acquired from Gulf Oil Corporation and had been delivered to it from without the state of New York, they nevertheless had been received and stored in the state before sales were made to Reliance. It was thus contended that Reliance was not engaged in commerce nor were its operations such as to affect commerce within the constitutional sense. The Supreme Court said:

"That activities such as those of Reliance affect commerce and are within the constitutional reach of Congress is beyond doubt. See e.g. Wickard v. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111."

The opinion also significantly quoted from the court's earlier decision in Polish Alliance v. Labor Board, 322 U.S. where, at page 648, it had said:

"Congress has explicitly regulated not merely transactions or goods in interstate commerce but activities which in isolation might be deemed to be merely local, but in the interlacings of business across state lines adversely affect such commerce."

It is clear that the attack by the complainant on the constitutionality of these sections of the Civil Rights Act must fail. It is equally clear that the United States is entitled to the injunction prayed for by it in its counterclaim. An injunction will issue in the following terms:

ORDER

The plaintiff, Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc., a corporation, its successors, officers, attorneys, agents and employees, together with all persons in active concert or participation with them, are hereby enjoined from:

(a) Refusing to accept Negroes as guests in the motel by reason of their race or color;

(b) Making any distinction whatever upon the basis of race or color in the availability of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages or accommodations offered or made available to the guests of the motel, or to the general public, within or upon any of the premises of the Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc.

So that the plaintiff may have an opportunity to prepare its record for appeal and, if so advised, seek a stay of this order, it is ORDERED that the foregoing injunction shall become effective twenty (20) days from the date hereof, on, to-wit, the 11th day of August, 1964.

This 22nd day of July, 1964.

S/ELBERT P. TUTTLE

Elbert P. Tuttle
United States Circuit Judge

S/FRANK A. HOOPER

Frank A. Hooper
United States District Judge

S/LEWIS R. MORGAN

Lewis R. Morgan
United States District Judge

Text of Verdict on Pickrick: 'Congress Can Deal with Bias'

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION
CIVIL ACTION NO. 9028
GEORGE WILLIS, JR., WOODROW T. LEWIS, and ALBERT L. DUNN,
Plaintiffs,
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, Attorney General,
Intervenor
vs.
THE PICKRICK RESTAURANT, a Corporation, and LESTER G. MADDOX,
Defendants

Before TUTTLE, Chief Judge, Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, and HOOPER and MORGAN, District Judges, Northern District of Georgia.

This suit was filed by the three named plaintiffs, all Negroes, for themselves and for the class consisting of all other Negroes, seeking an injunction restraining the defendants from violating the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in connection with their operation of a large restaurant in the City of Atlanta.

Attorney General

The United States was permitted to intervene as it is authorized to do under Section 204 of the Act, upon proper certification by the Attorney General. Its intervention was, by amendment, denominated a "complaint in intervention," and it asserted "This is a complaint filed by the United States under Section 206(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 after leave to intervene has been granted to the United States under Section 204(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Following its intervention, the Attorney General filed the certificates required under Section 206(b) (where the Attorney General initiates the action), to the effect that in the opinion of the Attorney General "the case is of general public importance." The Attorney General also filed a request for a three-judge court, which is also provided for under Section 206(b), where a proceeding is filed by the Attorney General. Treating the complaint in intervention of the United States in the same light as if the Attorney General had filed the suit initially, the undersigned Elbert P. Tuttle, Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, designated a three-judge court to hear and determine the case.

any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, etc., if it serves or offers to serve interstate travellers, or if a substantial portion of the foods it serves has moved in commerce.

As was the situation in the **Heart of Atlanta** case, here, too, the defendants admit that they are denying members of the Negro race the right to be served in their restaurant on account of race. Unlike the other case, however, the application of the Civil Rights Act to these defendants depends upon the resolution of issues of fact, for a restaurant is not brought within the definition of interstate commerce unless it meets one of the tests enumerated in subparagraph (c) of Section 201. These tests are in the alternative. Either it must serve or offer to serve interstate travellers, or a substantial portion of the food which it serves or other products which it sells must have moved in interstate commerce.

Thus, since each place of public accommodation conducts an entirely separate and distinct operation, the factual determination from which the Court must decide that it either is or it is not within the class described in the Act must be made on the circumstances of each case. The decision that is made here, therefore, must necessarily relate to these defendants only, and, by way of stare decisis, to such other places of public accommodations that are sufficiently similar in circumstances as to require the application of the same legal principles to them.

Slight Proof

(2) There is testimony from several witnesses who had made surveys for this specific purpose that on several separate occasions some two to three per cent of the automobiles on the restaurant's parking lot had out-of-state licenses.

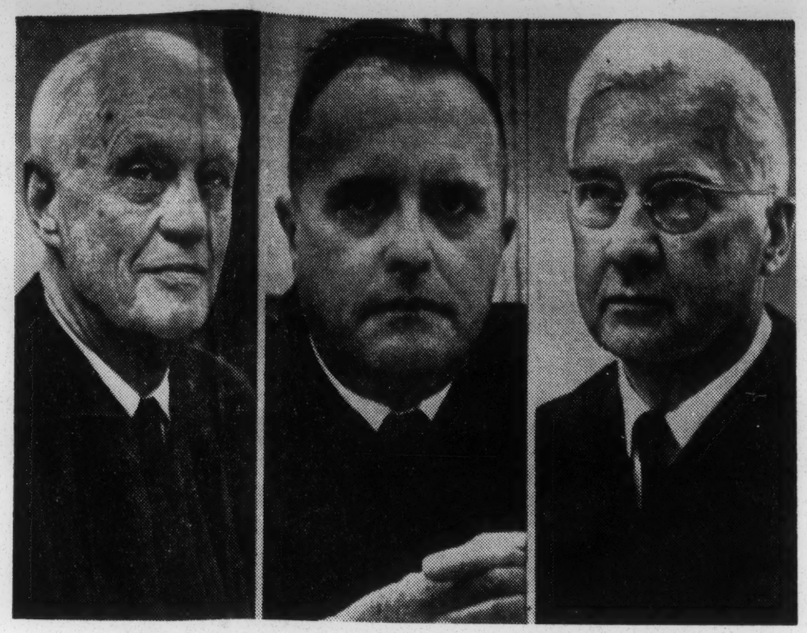
While the proof of actual service to interstate travellers was slight, (2) there was no doubt but that the defendants "offer (ed) service to interstate travellers. This was made apparent by the fact that witnesses testified that upon presenting themselves for service no inquiry was made as to their place of residence, but probably more importantly it was proved that the restaurant has several large signs on two important business route portions of federal highways, such signs being located several blocks from the

answer the principal contention of the defendants. The facts in the **Reliance Fuel Corporation** case are that the National Labor Relations Board sought to take jurisdiction in an alleged labor relations dispute by employees of Reliance Fuel Corporation. Jurisdiction of the Board was challenged on the ground that all of the fuel sold by Reliance had been purchased by it locally within the State of New York from Gulf Oil Corporation, and deliveries were made to Reliance from stocks stored in warehouses or tanks located within the state. Thus, it was contended that according to the classical argument prior to **National Labor Relations Board v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation,** 301 U.S. 1, the business of Reliance was "local," and its labor relations could not be subjected to congressional control. Elaborating the principle by which it decided that the Labor Board had jurisdiction, the Supreme Court said at 371 U.S. 226-227:

Framework

"The act establishes a framework within which the Board is to determine 'whether proscribed practices would in particular situations adversely affect commerce when judged by the full reach of the constitutional power of Congress. Whether or not (sic) practices may be deemed by Congress to affect interstate commerce is not to be determined by confining judgment to the quantitative effect of the activities immediately before the Board. Appropriate for judgment is the fact that the immediate situation is representative of many others throughout the country, the total incidence of which is left unchecked may well become far-reaching in its harm to commerce'. Polish Alliance v. Labor Board, 322 U.S. at 648. . . .

"That activities such as those of Reliance affect commerce and are within the constitutional reach of Congress is beyond doubt. See, e.g., Wickard v. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111. Through the National Labor Relations Act, '. . . Congress has explicitly regulated not merely transactions or goods in interstate commerce but activities which in isolation might be deemed to be merely local but in the interlacings of business across state lines adversely affect such commerce'. Polish Alli-



THREE-JUDGE PANEL THAT RULED IN LANDMARK CASES
L-R: Judges Elbert Tuttle, Lewis R. Morgan and Frank A. Hooper

in cases dealing with the regulation of prices, wages, hours, labor relations, or any other attempt by Congress to exercise the full extent of its powers under the commerce clause.

Under the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress can reach "only such action as may fairly be said to be that of the states," **Shelly v. Kraemer,** 334 U.S. 1, 13. Under the commerce clause, the power of Congress extends to all interstate activities and also "to those activities intrastate which so **affect** (underscoring supplied) commerce or the exercise of the power of Congress over it as to make regulation of them appropriate means to the attainment of a legitimate end. . . ." **United States v. Darby,** 312 U.S. 100, 118.

With respect to the merits of this case, we need only to apply the facts to the definition of a place of public accommodation contained in the Act. This follows from the proposition that this Court has only such jurisdiction as the Congress has given it, Article III, U.S. Constitution, and because Congress determines the extent to which commerce is to be controlled, Article I, Section 8, U.S. Constitution.

Congress has made the public accommodations section of the Act, as pertinent to this case, applicable to "any restaurant, cafeteria . . . or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises . . ." if its operations affect commerce. Title II, Section 201(b)(2) of the Act. It has further directed that such an establishment affects commerce if "it serves or offers to serve interstate travellers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves . . . has moved in commerce."

Limit of Case

It is clear that the definition includes the Pickrick Restaurant, a corporation.

This is the limit of this case. Congress had the power to go this far. No question of freedom of association under the First Amendment or involuntary servitude under the Thirteenth Amendment is involved.

It follows, therefore, that the defendants' attack on the constitutionality of the Act as applied to their operation must fail. An injunction will issue in the following terms:

ORDER

The defendants, their successors, officers, attorneys, agents and employees together with all persons in active concert or participation with them, are, until the further order of this Court, enjoined from:

(a) Refusing to admit Negroes to the premises of the Pickrick Restaurant upon the same basis and under the same conditions that non-Negro members of the general public are admitted to the restaurant;

(b) Failing or refusing to sell food or meals and to provide service to Negro patrons upon the same basis and in the same manner that food, meals and services are made available to patrons of other races;

(c) Otherwise failing or refusing to make any of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages or accommodations of the Pickrick Restaurant available to Negroes upon the same basis and under the same conditions that they are available to other races.

So that the defendants may have an opportunity to prepare their record for appeal and, if so advised, seek a stay of this order, it is ORDERED that the foregoing injunction shall become effective twenty (20) days from the date hereof, on, to-wit: the 11th day of August, 1964.

This the 22nd day of July, 1964.

S. ELBERT P. TUTTLE
Elbert P. Tuttle
United States Circuit Judge
S. FRANK A. HOOPER
Frank A. Hooper
United States District Judge
S. LEWIS R. MORGAN
Lewis R. Morgan
United States District Judge

Text of Decision On Suit by Motel

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION
CIVIL ACTION NO. 9017
HEART OF ATLANTA MOTEL, INC., a Georgia corporation,
Plaintiff,
—versus—
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and ROBERT F. KENNEDY as the Attorney General of the United States,
Defendant

This is a complaint filed by Heart of Atlanta Motel, a large downtown motel in the city of Atlanta, regularly catering to out of state guests, praying for a declaratory judgment and injunction to prevent the Attorney General of the United States from exercising powers granted to him under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C.A., Section 1971, as amended. The suit also attempts to obtain recovery from the United States for substantial damages alleged to result from a partial taking of the complainant's property without just compensation.

Conceding, as it does, that it is regularly engaged in renting sleeping accommodations to out of town guests, seventy - five percent of whom come from without the state of Georgia, and that it "has refused and intends to refuse to rent sleeping accommodations to persons desiring said accommodations, for several different reasons, one of which is based on the grounds of race, unless ordered by this Court to comply with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," the suit attacks the constitutionality of the public accommodations sections of the Civil Rights Act as applied to such a motel.

Since this is a suit seeking an injunction against the enforcement of a Federal statute on the alleged grounds that it is in violation of the United States Constitution, a three-judge court was convened as provided for in 28 U.S.C.A., Section 2282.

The Attorney General filed a counterclaim seeking, on behalf of the United States, a temporary and permanent injunction against future violation of the Civil Rights Act by the plaintiff. The case was set down for hearing, and after the introduction of oral testimony on behalf of the United States, the signing of stipulations between the parties, and oral statements made by counsel for the plaintiff in open court, it appeared that no factual issues remained. The parties also conceded in open court that the matter might be treated as a hearing on the petition for the final permanent injunction.

In the first place, the claim of the plaintiff for damages against the United States on the alleged ground of deprivation of property without just compensation alleges no grounds for relief, entirely aside from the question whether such alleged deprivation would be justified by reason of the power of Congress to enact this particular legislation. This is so, because such a claim for damages or recovery for value of property taken by the Federal Government must be asserted in the United States Court of Claims unless the amount sought is not in excess of $10,000. However, in the view we take of the law, such a suit is not maintainable in any event.

The real question presented by this complaint and counterclaim is whether Section 201(a), (b), (1) and (c) is constitutional.

"Sec. 201(a). All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin.

"(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action:

(1) Any inn, hotel, motel, or

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

Text of Judge Hooper's Concurring Opinion: 'The Pickrick Serves Interstate Travelers'

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR

operations of an establishment affect commerce" within the

published for Negro travelers which describes places which

and highways never traversed by interstate travelers, some of them located in the backwoods

to regulate commerce among the states, transactions in goods which have already moved in

court, which is also provided for under Section 206(b), where a proceeding is filed by the Attorney General. Treating the complaint in intervention of the United States in the same light as if the Attorney General had filed the suit initially, the undersigned Elbert P. Tuttle, Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, designated a three-judge court to hear and determine the case.

Companion Case

To a considerable extent this is a companion case to **Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. The United States of America and Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General,** C.A. No. 9017, decided this same day. While the cases were not joined for argument, the trial of this case commenced immediately following the hearing and argument in the **Heart of Atlanta Motel** case by the same three-judge court. All parties and the Court recognize that to a considerable degree similar questions of constitutional law were present in both cases.

The real question presented by this complaint and the Government's complaint on intervention is whether Section 201 (a)(b)(2) and (c)(2) is constitutional.

(1) "Section. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin.

"(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State caution:

(2) Any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station; . . .

"(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (2) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (2) of subsection (b), it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce; . . .

In substance, this section of Title II declares the right of every person to full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services and accommodations of

but that the defendants "offer (ed) service to interstate travellers. This was made apparent by the fact that witnesses testified that upon presenting themselves for service no inquiry was made as to their place of residence, but probably more importantly it was proved that the restaurant has several large signs on two important business route portions of federal highways, such signs being located several blocks from the place of business; moreover, the restaurant itself is situated on the main business route of U.S. 41, a federal interstate highway.

It is likewise clear beyond any question that a very substantial part of the dollar value of the food and other products served or sold by defendant restaurant originated outside the State of Georgia, and that it thus "has moved in commerce." It should be made plain that this substantial portion is a very substantial figure in annual volume. The restaurant has annual gross receipts from its operations of over $500,000 for the last year, and its purchases of food exceeded $250,000. It was stipulated that it has 61 employees regularly engaged in its operation.

Matter of Degree

The principal attack made on the constitutionality of the application of the Civil Rights Act to this restaurant is largely one of degree. It is contended that if Congress is to be permitted to bring within its regulatory power what has heretofore been known as a local business merely because its business is a dealing in products which have been shipped in interstate commerce, this would, in effect, abolish all distinctions between what is local and what is national in scope, and thus all would end up in the federal domain.

The plaintiffs and the United States contend that defendants offered to serve interstate travellers, together with the fact that it unquestionably does serve some interstate travellers is sufficient, if Congress so establishes the test, to bring it within the actual stream of commerce. If such is the law, and it may well be determined by the Supreme Court to be the law, then there would be no distinction between a large restaurant serving interstate travellers and a unit of the hotel or motel industry. However, we think we need not go so far in this case, especially on account of the relatively weak proof of actual service to the travelling public, in view of the other test.

We are of the opinion that the Supreme Court's decision in the case of **National Labor Relations Board** v. **Reliance Fuel Corp.,** 371 U.S. 224, and the judgment of the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit, a Court whose judgments are binding on this Court, in **National Labor Relations Board** v. **Citizens Hotel Company,** 5 Cir., 313 F. 2d 708, completely

merce and are within the constitutional reach of Congress is beyond doubt. See, e.g., Wickard v. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111. Through the National Labor Relations Act, '. . . Congress has explicitly regulated not merely transactions or goods in interstate commerce but activities which in isolation might be deemed to be merely local but in the interlacings of business across state lines adversely affect such commerce'. Polish Alliance v. Labor Board, 322 U.S. at 648."

Similarly, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit decided in **National Labor Relations Board** v. **Benton & Company,** 5 Cir., 313 F. 2d 629, that a small Florida corporation engaged in strictly local activities of dredging shells to be sold for local construction purposes was an employer within the purview of the National Labor Relations Act solely because in its operation of dredging it consumed something in excess of $50,000 per year of petroleum products, which were shipped from outside the State of Florida to the local suppliers, who then sold these products to Benton.

There remains only the question whether, if Congress now has, as we recognize it has, the power to extend regulatory control over labor policies of otherwise local businesses because, in their operations, they either utilize or buy and sell substantial quantities of products that have been in interstate commerce, we can say that it is irrational for Congress to conclude, as it has done in adopting this law, that the prevention of racial discrimination in such otherwise local businesses, is also within its regulatory power because of the effect of such practices on interstate commerce. In applying provisions adopted by Congress under the prohibition laws, the Supreme Court, in **Everards Breweries** v. **Day,** 265 U.S. 545, said:

"It is likewise well settled that where the means adopted by Congress are not prohibited and are calculated to effect the object entrusted to it, this Court may not inquire into the degree of their necessity. . . ."

Valid Regulation

Moreover, this Court has previously sustained the Interstate Commerce Commission's order prohibiting the use by interstate carriers of segregated terminals or vehicles (even if the segregation was solely with respect to local passengers) as a valid regulation of interstate commerce. **Georgia** v. **United States,** 201 F. Suppl. 813, No. Dist. of Ga., aff'd. 371 U.S. 9.

The question here is whether Congress can reach racial discrimination to the same extent that it can reach other activities under the commerce clause. There is nothing which we can find that would indicate that Congress would not apply the same standards it has applied

lic accommodations section of the Act, as pertinent to this case, applicable to "any res-

Court, enjoined from:

(a) Refusing to admit Negroes to the premises of the

S. LEWIS R. MORGAN
Lewis R. Morgan
United States District Judge

counterclaim seeking, on behalf of the United States, a temporary and permanent injunc-

(1) Any inn, hotel, motel, or

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

Text of Judge Hooper's Concurring Opinion: 'The Pickrick Serves Interstate Travelers'

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

ATLANTA DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION, NO. 9028

GEORGE WILLIS, JR.,
WOODROW T. LEWIS and
ALBERT L. DUNN,
Plaintiffs,

vs

THE PICKRICK, a Corporation,
and LESTER G. MADDOX,
Defendants

OPINION

HOOPER, District Judge.
Specially Concurring.

It must be kept in mind that the instant case while raising serious constitutional questions is now before this Court only for purposes of a temporary injunction. As the evidence shows without dispute that defendant, The Pickrick, a Corporation, through its president Lester G. Maddox, did, pursuant to a deliberate policy, refuse to serve several Negroes at the restaurant in question, and since defendants offered no testimony at this hearing this Court must decide (1) whether the restaurant in question comes within the purview of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and if so, (2) whether Congress had the power under the Interstate Commerce Clause of the United States Constitution to require this particular restaurant to serve all proposed guests without discrimination as to race or color.

The courts will not lightly declare Acts of Congress unconstitutional, particularly on the hearing of a temporary injunction which is tried almost immediately after the filing of the complaint, and without adequate opportunity for a careful study. The Courts should construe the statute in question if possible, in a manner that will render it constitutional and not otherwise, and will not impute to Congress the intent to violate the Constitution unless that intent is manifest from the language of the Act.

Covered by Law

(1) The so-called "Public Accommodations" section of the Act is contained in Sec. 201 of Title II, which expressly covers among other establishments, "any restaurant, etc., selling food for consumption on the premises." It provides that "the operations of an establishment affect commerce" within the meaning of Title II if "it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers, or a substantial portion of the food which it serves . . . has moved in commerce."

In the instant case it appears that defendants come within the above provisions for they did in fact "offer to serve interstate travelers." The restaurant is located on U.S. Highway 41, a well-traveled street through the City of Atlanta, and defendants have erected on the highway a sign directing all travelers to the restaurant. These facts would show a particular invitation to travelers, more specific than the general invitation which all restaurants hold out to the public for customers. There is some evidence that a relatively small numbers of cars were found on defendants' premises bearing out of the state license tags, and I agree with the majority opinion that this evidence is weak as going to support the contention that interstate travelers frequented the restaurant. The offer to serve them, however, is clear, and it would be unthinkable that no interstate travelers did patronize defendants' restaurant as it has an attractive appearance and ample parking facilities on the interstate highway.

Majority Opinion

(2) The majority opinion rules in effect that segregation in this particular restaurant affects commerce because of the fact that "a substantial portion of the food which it serves . . . has moved in commerce." On that point I am not prepared to express an official opinion for reasons now to be stated.

As to the effect on commerce by reason of the unwillingness of restaurants along interstate highways to serve the Negro race much evidence was adduced before the Congressional Committees. Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., testified that Negroes, traveling from Washington, D.C., to Florida (and between other points) "would have an extremely slender choice in attempting to find overnight accommodations in hotels and motels serving white travelers along the same routes." He stated they needed a guidebook published for Negro travelers which describes places which will serve Negroes. Evidence was adduced to the effect that a Negro traveling from Washington, D.C., to Miami, a distance of 1,125 miles, would be unable for an **average** of 141 miles to find reasonable sleeping accommodations. On a trip from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, a distance of 1,217 miles, this average would be 174 miles. Of course, this means that there were many intervals of much greater distance than the above averages and anyone can imagine the plight of a Negro with his family attempting to make such a journey without adequate facilities for food, rest rooms, and sleeping accommodations along the way. Therefore, little doubt should exist as to the power of Congress to legislate concerning such facilities along interstate highways (where interstate travel may be presumed to exist, or even on throughways over which interstate traffic may pass). If, however, the language of Title II is given a literal interpretation wherein there is brought within its provisions all restaurants as to which "a substantial portion of the food which it serves . . . has moved in commerce" this Court can almost take judicial cognizance of the fact that it will cover all restaurants in this state. The able Assistant Attorneys General of the United States have presented this case with clarity, ability and tact, and have filed with the Court an excellent brief of some 50 pages which greatly assists this Court. The brief cites inter alia the case of **Mabee vs. White Plains Publishing Company,** 327 U.S., 178, applying the Fair Labor Standards Act to a newspaper whose circulation was about 9,000 copies, only, 45 or about ½ of one per cent, were mailed out of state (see P. 14 of brief). Practically every restaurant buys and sells a considerable amount of food products which "have moved in commerce," including coffee, sugar, condiments, tea, canned goods, citrus fruits (in most states), vegetables, and in many states all grain products, including cereals, also cigars, cigarettes, candies, etc. There are many restaurants on roads and highways never traversed by interstate travelers, some of them located in the backwoods and on dirt roads, but still a substantial portion of their food has moved in interstate commerce.

New Cases

In the immediate future all of the district judges in this country will be met with cases raising difficult questions of interpretation as to this Act. Our courts face a solemn duty to properly interpret and enforce the statute so as to carry out its lawful purposes. At the same time the courts should bear in mind that they are deciding only one case at a time and not by way of obiter and generalization tend to confuse rather than to clarify the legal questions involved.

Counsel for defendants have just filed a brief with the Court, citing a number of cases and quoting the following language from **National Labor Relations Board v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation,** 301 U.S. 37, to-wit:

"The scope of the power of Congress over interstate commerce may not be so extended as to embrace effects upon interstate commerce so indirect and remote that to embrace them would effectually obliterate the distinction between what is national and what is local and create a completely centralized government."

In other cases the United States Supreme Court has pointed out that the question whether

" . . . the conduct of an enterprise affects commerce among the States is a matter of practical judgment, not to be determined by abstract motions." See **Polish Alliances vs. Labor Board,** 322 U.S. 643.

Congress may,

"by appropriate legislation regulate intrastate activities where they have a substantial effect on interstate commerce." **United States vs. Darby,** 312 U.S., 100, at p. 119.

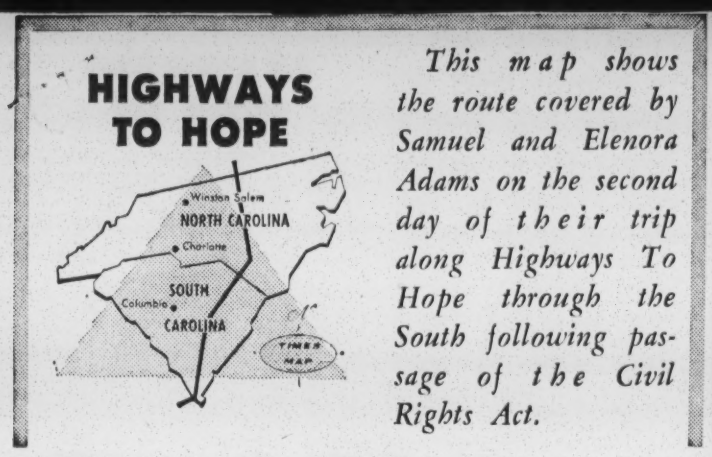
First Such Case

The brief filed by defense counsel contains this language: "This is the first time, insofar as counsel for defendants can ascertain, that any statute passed by Congress has used, as a basis to support its power to regulate commerce among the states, transactions in goods which have already moved in interstate commerce, never again to enter into it."

Counsel for the Government insist, however, that while certain individual restaurants might not otherwise conduct a business affecting commerce, that the aggregate of their total business might do so. That is an approved principle of law, as pointed out in a case involving agriculture, ruling that a farmer with eleven acres of land planted in wheat for his own consumption does affect the flow of wheat in commerce when taken in the aggregate with all other small farmers in a state. No evidence has been adduced in this case, nor do I personally know whether or not the aggregate effect of many restaurants in Georgia (not located on interstate highways) refusing to serve Negroes will increase or decrease the aggregate amount of food products shipped into the state. As far as I know that question was not explored by the Congress and it was not explored in the trial of this case, and it remains an open question.

Summary

By way of summary of this hastily drawn concurrence let it be said concerning restaurants, it is my present opinion that all restaurants reasonably accessible to interstate travelers are prohibited from discriminating against Negroes in the service of food, but in order to extend such prohibition to all restaurants where a substantial portion of the food which it serves has moved in commerce there must be some showing that the discrimination does in fact affect commerce. Furthermore, that restaurants off of the main avenues of travel which are only in a general way [illegible] the public cannot be [illegible] offering "to serve interstate travelers" within the [illegible] of the Act, but that [illegible] restaurant located [illegible] interstate highways [illegible] offer to serve interstate travelers, and therefore a temporary injunction should be issued against the corporation and against Lester G. Maddox, its president, who personally engineered the discrimination.



This map shows the route covered by Samuel and Elenora Adams on the second day of their trip along Highways To Hope through the South following passage of the Civil Rights Act.

Road Of Hope Dotted By Ruts In Carolinas

Nation complying with rights law, 11-A.

(Times staff writer Samuel Adams and his wife, Elenora, drove 4,300 miles through the South last month to report first hand on the Negro's lot four months after passage of the Civil Rights Act. This is the second in their series of reports. It covers their tour through North and South Carolina.)

By SAMUEL ADAMS
Of The Times Staff

It was dusk as we drove across the Savannah River which marks the Georgia-South Carolina border. Soon we would need a place to sleep, and while we were on U.S. 17, cities in this area are small and we worried.

OUR FIRST STOP WAS AT RIDGELAND where the service station attendant was busy pumping gasoline. As I entered the rest room through the station office, a teen-age boy yelled to the attendant: "That colored man is using the rest room."

I honestly had not noticed a "White Only" sign. We left without speaking to the attendant and drove on to Waterboro, South Carolina, about 70 miles north of Savannah and 50 miles west of Charleston, South Carolina.

Our car was in full view of the office as we pulled up to Lane's Motel in Waterboro.

BEFORE I OPENED THE DOOR of the car a man stepped out of the office, walked briskly over to the car and peered in.

"Gee, only two of you? . . . I'm waiting for a big family. Only thing I got left is family units with four beds."

I indicated that we might take his large unit and asked what the price was.

"Twenty-eight," he replied, adding, "I'd better wait for a big family. There are some more motels right up the road."

AT EL RANCHO MOTEL, the vacancy sign was up. It was not far up the street from Lane's. The clerk greeted me with a refrain like the one I had heard at Lane's. His vacancies were for bigger families than mine. He told me there were many more motels further up the road, as he pointed to a map on the wall.

The woman whom we encountered at Travelers Motel a

(Please see HOPE'S HIGHWAY, 6-A)

SAMUEL ADAMS

ELENORA ADAMS

. . . travel hope's highways.

Road Of Hope Dotted By Ruts In Carolinas

FROM 1-A

few blocks away said she had only a family suite available. After I suggested that I might take it for $16 a night, the rate she had quoted, she said a new wing had been completed and the owner might permit me to stay there. He rented us a unit for $12.

The woman had said the wing had not been opened to guests, but others were housed there.

YOU WON'T HAVE ANY TROUBLE here. We are law-abiding people," the owner explained in an Eastern accent. "Where are you people from?"

The following morning as we were leaving, a Negro maid spotted us and ran to another room to point us out to another maid. We left them gazing and talking excitedly.

For breakfast we stopped at Green's Restaurant in St. George, South Carolina. The menu I got turned out to have different prices from the one my wife got. Eggs costing 50 cents on hers cost $1 on mine. A special item advertised on signs outside and on the road for 85 cents was listed for $1.70 on my menu. We both were charged the higher prices.

WE WERE SEATED NEAR A FRONT window eating when a middle-aged couple with Pennsylvania license plates on the car drove up, but backed out and pulled away after the woman pointed to us.

Mrs. Green, a woman in her 50s, saw them leave, and whispered to her husband, a gaunt wrinkled man.

Before we finished eating, he walked from around the counter and said:

"Y'all see what integration's doing to us."

"No, do you mind telling us?" I asked.

"DIDN'T YOU SEE THAT CAR DRIVE away," his accent was thickly southern. "And they were northern people too."

He didn't sound angry, so I kept him talking. "That's funny," I said, "northerners and southerners eat in restaurants where Negroes are served in the North."

"We're here to serve the public . . . your dollar is as good as anybody's. It's not us management what's squawk-

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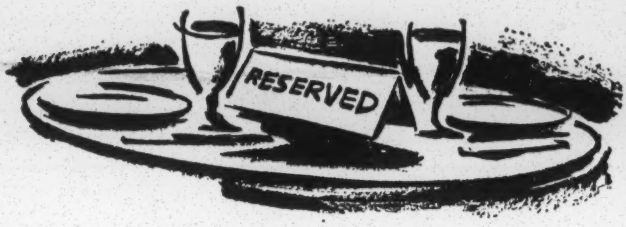


ing, it's the public. When they are in the North they accept it. Down here, they won't. It looks like they throw a rock and —."

He made a sweeping motion simulating tossing a rock and hiding his hand under the counter.

"I BELIEVE 90 PER CENT of the local people will accept it. But it's the northern politicians," he added.

Mrs. Green said desegregation would have come much easier if the politicians in Washington "hadn't made such a big to-do about it."

We left thinking we had paid enough to compensate for what the northern couple would have spent had they come in.

WE STOPPED JUST SOUTH OF Santee to talk with a group of cotton pickers and were introduced later to the Negro owner of the farm, Ralph Hilliard. He and his brother, John, both prosperous farmers, drove up in a late model pickup truck.

"A few years ago, the Negroes in Santee were blind, but now they see."

He was referring to desegregation efforts and voters registration. He talked of one Negro during an earlier election being afraid to put a sticker on his car when a Orangeburg Negro was running for public office.

"I SIGNED A PETITION IN 1955 for Negro children to attend school with whites, and after that I couldn't get credit to harvest my crops," said John.

This was our third day on the road. We had lunch at Fayetteville, South Carolina, at Shamrock Diner. Our presence didn't seem to please the waiter, but there was no unpleasantness.

We switched routes at Fayetteville from U.S. 301 to a state route which took us through Sanford, Chapel Hill and Yanceyville near the North Carolina-Virginia border.

Our last North Carolina coffee break was at Sanford where we stopped at Be Bee's Diner. We found rest rooms available in Chapel Hill and other towns.

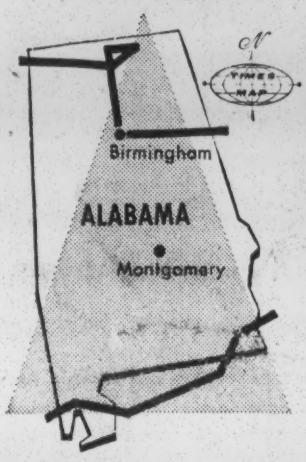
Our general impression was that most South Carolina business men are swallowing the public accommodations law. They don't like it. But they seemed ready to live with it in a law-abiding manner.

Tomorrow: Virginia, Kentucky, West Virginia and Tennessee

St. Petersburg Times, Wednesday, Nov. 11, 1964

HIGHWAYS TO HOPE

This map shows the route covered by Samuel and Elenora Adams on the Alabama part of their trip along Highways To Hope through the South following passage of the Civil Rights Act.



Signs Of Change Going Up Slowly Throughout Alabama

(Times staff writer Samuel Adams and his wife, Elenora, spent 15 days driving 4,300 miles through the South last month. Their assignment: See if a Negro's lot is any better four months after passage of the Civil Rights Act. This is the fourth in their series of reports. It covers the sovereign state of Alabama.)

By SAMUEL ADAMS
Of The Times Staff

A tourist driving into Alabama on almost any major highway is likely to see first a huge billboard. A Confederate flag is draped across the far right side and a picture of Gov. George Wallace dominates the remainder.

IF YOU'RE A NEGRO, you'll probably spot another sign a few miles up the road. This one reads: "Whites Only."

Both signs greeted me and my wife, Elenora, as we drove into Alabama on our 15-day, 4,300-mile tour of the South to report on civil rights progress.

But there was still another sign, beside a vast U.S. highway construction project: "Your Tax Dollars at Work," it read.

AND EVEN IN TIGHTLY-SEGREGATED ALABAMA there were sure signs of change.

At Miller's Standard Service in Oxford, Elenora and I were away from the car using the rest rooms. One, which we did not use, was marked "colored."

One of the station's two attendants had his head under our hood and did not see Elenora return to the car.

"We got to put those signs up. They're in the wrong rest rooms," he yelled to his co-worker.

HE LOOKED EMBARRASSED when he discovered Elenora was in the car, but he went on with his work and was polite in accepting his money.

Vulcan's fair weather light atop a nearby mountain was aglow as we arrived in the Magic City. The changes in Birmingham were obvious. Changes yet to be made were equally obvious. Many service stations provide three rest rooms, one

(Please see SIGNS, Page 13-A)

Signs Of Change Going Up Slowly

FROM 1-A

for "colored." Some larger hotels and motels accept Negroes, but with obvious reluctance.

Huntsville is an oasis in northern Alabama. Spearheaded by a white native of rigidly segregated Gadsden, AHAC (the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors) is moving economic mountains that have barred Negro employment in the missile and space industry.

AN IMPACTED AREA WITH SHARP growing pains, Huntsville hopes to attract talented Negro scientists. And AHAC leaders have borrowed from St. Petersburg's Continuing Academic-Cultural Enrichment Program (CACEP) to upgrade educational and cultural achievements of local Negroes.

But we had non-racial troubles in Huntsville. While eating filet mignon at King's Inn Restaurant, I somehow got a sharp object lodged in my throat. I waited three and a half hours in an integrated emergency room at the city's lone hospital for a specialist to treat me.

Florence and the Tri-Cities (Muscle Shoals, Tuscumbia and Sheffield) benefit economically from the Tennessee Valley Authority's soil research and electric generating plants but maintain a taste for states rights. We stopped in Tuscumbia en route to northern Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

IT WAS ON OUR RETURN to Florida that we visited Mobile and Dothan. Along the Gulf Coast tourist route through cities dependent on tourist trade, the dollar spoke. But it didn't speak very loudly for a couple of Negroes seeking to spend money in Mobile and other Alabama cities.

Elenora and I managed to find overnight accommodations in Mobile on the 13th night of our tour, but not without difficulty.

A Negro voter education leader furnished us with a list of 64 different hotels, motels and eating places that had served Negroes since passage of the Civil Rights Law in July. He said we had a wide choice of places to spend the night, but he was wrong.

SHERATON BATTLE HOUSE HAD been accepting Negroes prior to the rights law, but we had been told to try first at the Admiral Semmes Motel. It had no vacancies. The Admiral Semmes Hotel, across the street, wondered how long I would stay, and finally decided it too had no vacancy.

The host at TraveLodge Motel said he had only large family accommodations. He permitted me to use a pay telephone to see if I could find more satisfactory quarters.

WHILE I WAS LOOKING up numbers of other motels, Elenora noticed that the TraveLodge clerk was making suspicious-looking calls at the switchboard. She came in from the car and stood nearby, whereupon he stopped dialing.

While standing there, she noticed a printed message pasted at eye-level on the clerk's cage. It read:

"SIGN OF THE TIMES. Numerous restaurant and motel establishments are displaying these signs in prominent places to fight the civil rights bill that was forced upon us. Every penny of Negro trade forced on this establishment will be donated to the White Citizens Council. If you want Negroes in the next door flat, vote Democrat."

Town House Motel reserved us a room by telephone without knowing we were Negroes. We were rented a unit adjacent to the heating-cooling system and an elevator shaft where squeaky and grinding noises awakened us at intervals during the night.

THE NEXT MORNING, a porter confided: "I don't see why you got 231 when there were other rooms available. We get complaints about that room all the time."

The following night in Dothan, Alabama, the matronly clerk at the Houston Hotel was polite in refusing to register us. "It's Peanut Festival time," she said. She helped me telephone a Negro motel, but we hit the road for Albany, Georgia, where we spent the night.

Tomorrow: Arkansas and Louisiana

★ ★ ★

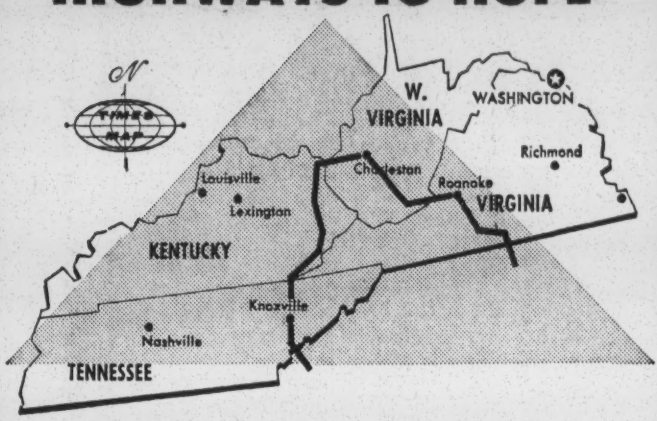
Other Newspapers Publishing Series

A number of other newspapers throughout the United States are publishing or plan to publish soon Samuel Adams' series on his trip through the South.

The newspapers include the New York Herald-Tribune, the Denver Post, the Rochester, N.Y., Times-Union and Democrat & Chronicle, the Chicago Daily News, Dayton Daily News, Washington Post and Miami Herald.

rg Times, Tuesday, November 10, 1964

HIGHWAYS TO HOPE



Highways To Hope: The Third Day

Scenic Trip Yields Warmth, But Color Barrier Cumbersome

(For 15 days, Times staff writer Samuel Adams and his wife, Elenora, drove through the South, traveling as middle class tourists to learn whether historic color bars had been lowered with passage of the Civil Rights Act. They covered more than 4,000 miles and 11 states. This is the third in their series of reports. It records their experiences in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia.)

BY SAMUEL ADAMS
Of The Times Staff

We took the slow, scenic route through Virginia and the mountain border states. Our road wound its leisurely way through the Blue Ridge, Smoky, Cumberland and great Alegheny Mountains, some of America's most spectacularly beautiful country.

The once violent city of Danville, Virginia, was quiet during the past summer, but segregation still is the way of life for many businessmen.

WHEN WE STOPPED at C & E Grill in Danville, neither Elenora nor I knew we were entering a honky tonk. She froze as we walked into the crowded noisy bar. The juke box was blaring a hillbilly tune. Four men near the one empty table were playing table shuffleboard. The long bar was full of beer drinkers, all white. It was about 6 p.m. Friday, and the patrons were spending as if this was their last pay day.

Fresh in Elenora's memory was the Danville violence of some months earlier. The driver of the bus on which she rode to Washington for the Freedom March had been arrested here, and a policeman had boarded the bus to warn that no singing of Freedom Songs would be allowed while they were driving through Danville.

We decided against ordering anything other than coffee. While we were waiting, a burly shuffleboard player leaned over to say something. We thought we were in for trouble.

(Please See RACIAL, Page 2-A)

—Staff Photo

Reporter Samuel Adams Was Admitted To This State Park In Kentucky

Racial Barriers Cumbersome

FROM 1-A

"Can I rest my beer glass on your table?" he asked politely.

WE WERE GLAD HE ASKED. It made us feel better.

At Hotel Leland, we were told, "The Bears are in town and we are loaded."

We telephoned the Hotel Danville and were told they had a room for us, but three college students going to Martinsville for the weekend encouraged us to drive to Roanoke, much closer to the mountains. We had introduced ourselves to the trio after noticing that one of them wore a sweater indicating membership in my college fraternity.

Elenora thought the accommodations at Roanoke's Downtowner Motel were the best of our entire trip.

WE GOT AN EARLY START the next day. We spent sometime in Blacksburg, Virginia, driving through the campus of Virginia Tech University, and stopping at Pembroke, Virginia, for breakfast at Hagy's Farm Restaurant.

Hagy and his wife, both in their early 30s, were warm and genuinely glad to serve us. He said he probably is the only person in that limestone and textile community who has two college degrees but chooses to be a short order cook.

The drive through the mountains made Elenora slightly carsick, so from Princeton, West Virginia, we took the West Virginia Turnpike, which was straigter and less hilly.

The St. Louis Cardinals and the New York Yankees were scheduled to play that day, so I pulled a Princeton service station attendant and the driver of a Kwick Kafe Vending Machine truck into baseball talk.

"I HOPE ST. LOUIS TEARS 'em up. I can't stand a damn Yankee. I don't care if he plays football, baseball or sells shoes," the driver said with real emotion.

We made the drive to Charleston in record time, checked into the Holiday Inn, and then drove to West Virginia State College at Institute, West Virginia, where I earned my first college degree.

The former all-Negro college was desegregated following the Supreme Court school decision of 1954. Now 70 per cent of the students are white, and the college has won recognition as a laboratory for human relations. We remained over the weekend to see this in action.

THEN WE DROVE TO HUNTINGTON where we were refused service at the White Pantry, a small downtown restaurant. As I walked into Whit Pantry, the door was locked and a small man was stationed est me sneered at me and th whites then came over to me an

"Am I too early for lunch?"

"Sorry, no colored. We don moved quickly toward the back

Some other Huntington eating establishments now call themselves private clubs, we learned, but most businesses have no racial barriers.

OUR RECORD OF ACCEPTANCE and rejection in every state we visited was kept intact in Kentucky.

Unlike Florida, we were admitted to a Kentucky State Park (Jenny Wilder Park). And we were able to buy lunch at a formerly all white restaurant in Louisa, Kentucky.

On the other hand, we were denied service at a Harlan drive-in cafe and at two Middlesboro hotels.

The embarrassed waitress, told by the manager to get us out of Jay's Drive-In at the intersection of U.S. 119 and U.S. 421, said, "We don't serve colored in here."

It appeared that if we had ordered — and remained — in our car we would have been served before our turn and dismissed.

The clerk at the Cumberland Hotel told me: "We don't have a thing for you. This here is a club."

At Middlesboro Hotel, the clerk made a special telephone call to report he had a Negro couple. He offered ante-room type service. Instead of accepting, we drove on to Knoxville, Tennessee, where we were housed at Gaither-Dogan Motel, a new Negro motel owned by the brother of Florida A&M football Coach Jake Gaither.

At Spike's Simple Simon Restaurant on U.S. 129, some 20 miles south of Knoxville, we were met at the door and ushered to a rear dining room. The folding doors were not closed, but we were kept separated from other noontime diners.

A COFFEE STOP LATER AT ANDREWS, Tennessee, provided a warm and friendly welcome at Scotty's, a small restaurant. The friendly "come back when you all are traveling this way" was repeated at a Western Auto Store where we went to buy batteries for our radio.

Our reception in Memphis was mixed. Memphis generally is cited as the most progressive city in the region. Negroes are well organized, but it seemed obvious that desegregation is not as general as reported elsewhere.

While a good many business firms now are open to all ces, there are many holdouts and some have become "pri te clubs."

Tomorrow: Alabama.

St. Petersburg Times, Thursday, Nov. 12, 1964

HIGHWAYS TO HOPE

New Orleans: Oasis For Negroes In Louisiana

(For 15 days Times staff writer Samuel Adams and his wife, Elenora, drove through 12 southern states, reporting on compliance with Civil Rights Act four months after its approval. Arkansas and Louisiana still have a long way to go, and this fifth article in their series of reports tells how far.)

By SAMUEL ADAMS
Of The Times Staff

Negroes have their place in Arkansas. But it's not in "White Only" restaurants, hotels or rest rooms.

Even so, a Negro tourist probably encounters less trouble in Arkansas than in much of Louisiana.

A WARM OCTOBER SUN made driving a pleasure as we headed across the Mississippi river into Arkansas from Memphis, Tennessee.

Acres of white cotton bolls popping from sear brown plants provided our only view.

At West Memphis, Arkansas, we created quite a stir but no trouble at a restaurant where we stopped for coffee. We were served without incident.

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WE WERE ALLOWED TO USE REST rooms marked "White Only" at Forest City and Mariana, Arkansas.

On the outskirts of West Helena, a town of about 12,000, a sign called for the election of John Kasper as president of the United States. Kasper gained some renown a decade ago when he helped fan racial violence at Clinton, Tennessee.

We were careful to stay well within the posted speed limit as we rolled through hilly Helena. We crossed the Mississippi again en route south to Jackson, Mississippi, on a swing which would bring us back into Louisiana from Vicksburg, Mississippi.

FOR A NEGRO TOURIST IN THE SOUTH, if he has money, New Orleans is an oasis. We lived fabulously in that wonderful city, and raised some eyebrows in the process.

We slept until 10 o'clock at the Hilton Motor Hotel. We had breakfast at world famous Brennan's. We dined royally at Antoine's. We shopped in the French Quarter.

WHAT IS JUST A SPECIAL TREAT for the typical white tourist in New Orleans was a fabulous wonderland for us.

Our visit to Brennan's stopped traffic. A male host met us in the foyer to ask what we wanted. As several other couples waited behind us, the host picked up a telephone and said in French, "J'ai deux Noirs (I have two Negroes). He then sent us upstairs where for most of our meal we had a private room all to ourselves. The service was special and Elenora asked for the recipe for the Eggs Nouvelle Orleans we both consumed.

Four hours later, we caught Antoine's by surprise by directly entering the dining area from the street. Four young waiters were seated near the kitchen entrance. No one came to greet us and it was obvious they did not know what to do. They all looked toward a middle aged man in the cashier's booth for their cue.

HE TOO HESITATED, THEN MADE A decision as we gravitated toward the left side of the room where I was about to seat Elenora.

Motioning for one of the waiters to seat us, he pointed to a table at the right near where they were sitting. That table was littered with dirty dishes left by another party. We stood uncomfortably at the table as the bus boy removed the dishes and changed the table cloth.

WE WERE EATING TOO EARLY FOR Elenora. She wasted good food but enjoyed going through the motions. By 8 p.m. we'd be in a more segregated area and she would be wishing for the food. But there were no "doggie bags" in which to carry it out.

New Orleans provides a sharp contrast to other areas of Louisiana. We had stopped a day or so earlier in Monroe, a city of about 60,000, of which some 15,000 are Negroes. Just inside the city limits we pulled into the Siesta Boat Dock Drive-In and went inside for a carry-out order.

The woman behind the counter and a man who appeared to be an owner seemed embarrassed by the loud remarks of one of the three white men in the place.

"THAT'S A KOREAN GAL WITH THAT NIGGER," he said referring to us. "If she ain't a Korean, I'm a nigger," he added.

"Will you answer this one question for me?" he turned

(Please See NEW ORLEANS, Page 7-A)

—Staff Photo

Welcome Well Water

Mrs. Elenora Adams draws a bucket of water from well on farm of Charlie and Irma Lee Tanner, elderly Negro couple who live near Jonesville, La. Although the Adams were a little leery of drinking from the well, they drank enough to wash down aspirins. Both had headaches from being refused service at restaurants all Sunday morning.

New Orleans: An Oasis In Deep South Louisiana

FROM 1-A

to my wife, who made an elaborate pretense of ignoring him.

"I know damn well you're a Korean," he said.

We left the drive-in quickly and drove to the nearby Holiday Inn where we had advance reservation.

THE YOUNG WOMAN BEHIND THE counter furrowed her brow and examined a card file where she finally found our reservation.

"The reservation's here, all right, but we didn't know you was colored when we took it," she said. "I could give you a room here but it wouldn't be safe. For your safety and mine, I shouldn't."

Altogether we had more than 3,000 miles behind us at this point and until now I had turned on my heel when confronted with evasiveness or rejection. But we had no alternative. On our proposed route, I knew of no place we could stay within hundreds of miles.

"IF I AM NOT SAFE IN MY MOTEL ROOM, I don't know where I will be safe," I told her. "Don't worry about us. My wife is sleepy and I promised—"

"But I wouldn't like to have it on my conscience," she interrupted. "It's for your safety."

Becoming more serious, I said: "You forget, this is America where we have freedom from fear. If it eases your conscience, let me say this — I'll be safer here than on the highway driving sleepily. That way I might kill myself and somebody else. We'll take our chances in the room."

She went to the telephone and contacted someone who identified himself as Arthur Grant. He asked to speak to me

Becoming more serious, I said: "You forget, this is America where we have freedom from fear. If it eases your conscience, let me say this — I'll be safer here than on the highway driving sleepily. That way I might kill myself and somebody else. We'll take our chances in the room."

She went to the telephone and contacted someone who identified himself as Arthur Grant. He asked to speak to me over the house telephone.

"THERE MUST BE SOME MISTAKE," Grant said. "We don't have any rooms available."

"The woman at the desk said she has rooms," I countered. "She is registering a woman and a child right now and they don't have reservations."

"Well, I'm looking out for you," Grant added. "The police would come and put you in jail."

"THE POLICE WON'T EVEN KNOW I'm here unless you tell them," I retorted.

Finally he offered to pay my bill if I would go to another motel.

"I'm top dog here and they're shooting at me," he said.

"Who are THEY," I asked.

"The mayor doesn't like this desegregation mess," he said as he ended the conversation. That was that. No room.

AS WE STARTED OUR CAR TO LEAVE, two Negro porters gave us directions to a honky-tonk Negro drive-in with seven motel units. We spent more than an hour finding the place. It was noisy and small. But it was clean and adequate. The food was superb.

Sunday morning dawned bright and clear. We left early.

There would be no early church for us that morning, we agreed. By church time, we would be farther into the heart of Louisiana, perhaps at Grayson, Tullos or Jena.

We had plans to buy coffee and breakfast before reaching Natchez on our circular swing through Louisiana, but we met rebuff after rebuff. Elenora became depressed, and I developed a splitting headache for want of food.

I TRIED PLACE AFTER PLACE. Once, when I reached for the handle of a restaurant door at a truck stop near Tollos a loud voice startled me, "Upps!! Upps!! Hold it!" A chubby man from the service station area was approaching and people inside were watching.

Excitedly, he told me, "You will have to come 'round the back."

Then in a pleasanter mood, he led me, stepping over car jacks and tires as we moved around the south side of the building.

I followed him into a small storeroom where there were several freezers, a table and a door opening into the kitchen, but no windows.

"HE WANTS COFFEE," the man yelled into the kitchen door and began removing extraneous objects from the table.

I left, ostensibly to pick up Elenora, and we drove away as he straightened the place for us.

At Jena, "White Only" signs gave a quick indication that there would be little service available for Negroes there. We drove on, my head aching so fiercely that Elenora took over the wheel.

Not far from Jonesville, we saw a Negro couple sitting on the front porch of a roadside bungalow.

Charlie and Irma Lee Tanner greeted us warmly, at first thinking we were their daughter and son-in-law who earlier this year left the farm for California.

I HESITATED ABOUT DRINKING the water she offered, although the well was located a good distance from their outhouse. I took only enough to swallow the aspirins she handed me.

The Tanners' supply of bottled gas was gone, so she made coffee in a wood stove used as a heater. I drank two cups without cream or sugar. There was none in the house.

MRS. TANNER SAID, "Yestiddy, there was two spiders. One swung down here and the other one there."

She pointed to the rafter of the porch, adding, "I wouldn't knock 'em down, 'cause I knew it was a sign I'd have company, and I wanted to see who it was. It was brown spiders."

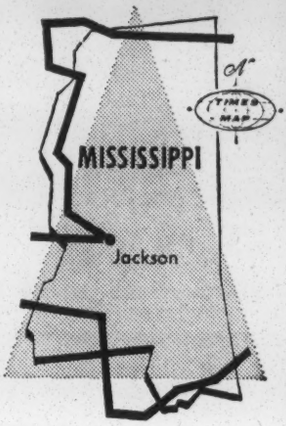
"That's sho the truth," Tanner said. "Brown skin company. Y'all sho look nice."

(Tomorrow: Mississippi)

St. Petersburg Times, Friday, November 13, 1964

HIGHWAYS TO HOPE

This map shows the route covered by Samuel and Elenora Adams on the Mississippi part of their trip along Highways To Hope through the South following passage of the Civil Rights Act.



In Mississippi, 'They Do Their Dirt At Night'

(Times staff writer Samuel Adams and his wife, Elenora, drove 4,300 miles through 12 southern states last month to report on civil rights progress. They found little progress, and considerable danger, in Mississippi. This is the sixth in their series of reports.)

By SAMUEL ADAMS
Of The Times Staff

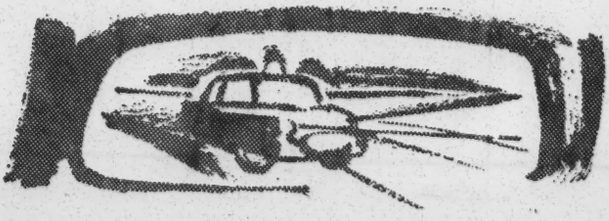
A police car drove slowly down the street, stopped, turned around and headed back toward us in the dusty, midday sunlight.

"No need to fear anybody now," explained Mrs. Aaron Henry, our hostess. "They do their dirt at night."

WE WERE SITTING IN THE FOURTH STREET DRUG Store in Clarksdale, Mississippi. A ragged rectangular hole in the ceiling over our heads had been ripped by an explosion a few weeks earlier.

The store is owned by Dr. Aaron Henry, head of Mississippi's Freedom Democratic Party and president of the State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This was the second time police had passed the store since our arrival. The officers peered into the store as the car



crept past. Mrs. Henry and a woman working with her had told us that visitors with out-of-town license tags often are arrested after they leave.

MRS. HENRY AND A WOMAN EMPLOYE at the drug store sat rattling off a list of "don'ts" to two neophyte Negroes in Mississippi:

- **DON'T travel on the highway after dark.**
- **DON'T use white rest rooms at a certain oil station, for the attendant would have police follow and arrest us further down the road on some traffic charge.**

'They Do Their Dirt At Night'

FROM 1-A

behind me. We stopped at a gasoline station, and he made a U-turn and drove past the other side of the station.

EARLY SATURDAY, we took Mrs. Henry's advice. We mailed the motel key rather than returning it — one of several precautions taken to avoid being followed. We headed our compact car south into the cradle of the racist White Citizens Council — Sunflower County, home of James Eastland and of Fannie Lou Hamer, the rotund Negro whose story of her arrest and flogging for registering to vote shook the National Democratic convention in Atlantic City.

I stopped to photograph a trio of cotton pickers harnessed in bags six feet long. It was then we discovered the car that had been trailing us was being driven by a policeman. We were between Parchman State Prison and Drew, Mississippi. The unmarked police car kept moving.

At Drew, the police car was waiting. We stopped at a gasoline station as he pulled out and headed into town.

NO REST ROOMS WERE OPEN TO us at most places we stopped. It was no better in Ruleville and in Tallahatchie County.

At a large Gulf station in Greenwood, the rest rooms were locked and the attendant said he didn't have the key. At other stations, the rest rooms were "Out of Order," or "Not for y'all."

Denials of rest room use caused Elenora to become ill before we reached Jackson. Yazoo had offered no relief. An American oil attendant there simply said, "No." At Jackson, we stopped at a large Sinclair station with four rest rooms — two for both races.

Jackson also offers some limited restaurant and motel service, according to Negro businesswoman Mrs. Thelma Sanders, whose home was bombed earlier this year.

WHILE WE WERE DOWNTOWN LOOKING for a place to eat, the white storekeeper at Winnie's Corset Shop, seeing we were lost, volunteered the suggestion that we eat at Morrison's, "right up the street."

She said:

"Some of the crazy people might get up and go out. But it won't matter. I have been there, and they do serve Negroes."

It was mid-afternoon and we found Morrison's closed, a common practice between lunch and dinner. We ate at a Negro restaurant.

The first time we had tried to use a white restaurant in Mississippi was at Corinth. This was before we reached the Henry's home in Clarksdale.

IT WAS AT PICCADILLY DRIVE-IN RESTAURANT and two red-faced men were seated at a semi-circular bar. I perched on a stool, ordered coffee and asked for change to buy a newspaper.

The waitress gave me change and went to the kitchen, from where a man emerged and snorted. "Whatcha want?"

"YOU —", he stormed back into the kitchen without completing his remark.

The waitress came back to the serving area and stood mute for seconds trying to compose herself. Looking down at a glass she held, she said, "We ain't 'loud to serve you at the counter."

The man who had gone into the kitchen came around the outside from the rear of the building, got a look at my car and walked back into the serving area as I was leaving by another door.

UP TO THIS POINT OUR EXPERIENCES in Mississippi had indicated no hope. Now, suddenly, we found tiny islands of hope in Jackson, the state capital. A pleasant white woman

crept past. Mrs. Henry and a woman working with her had told us that visitors with out-of-town license tags often are arrested after they leave.

MRS. HENRY AND A WOMAN EMPLOYE at the drug store sat rattling off a list of "don'ts" to two neophyte Negroes in Mississippi:

✓ DON'T travel on the highway after dark.

✓ DON'T use white rest rooms at a certain oil station, for the attendant would have police follow and arrest us further down the road on some traffic charge.

✓ DON'T be out in Clarksdale after the midnight curfew hour if you are a Negro or a "freedom" worker.

✓ DON'T get arrested on a traffic charge or our car would be impounded, I would be jailed, and my wife left on the street without transportation.

Spurning Mrs. Henry's offer to house us, we went to Holiday Inn. We circled to keep from being followed. But a short time later we were back at Mrs. Henry's, and we slept that night in the Henry home under the shotgun protection of the Rev. Willie Goodlow, who had guard duty that night.

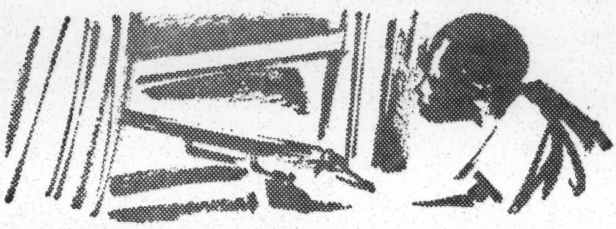
We accepted Mrs. Henry's hospitality after being permitted to register at the Holiday Inn.

EVEN AS I HAD STARTED to register a slightly-built, dark-haired man had pointed out our car to a burly individual wearing a plaid shirt. They had talked briefly in full view of my wife, and she was frightened.

The matronly desk clerk gave me a registration card after a lengthy telephone conversation with someone about me. The telephone rang again before I finished registering.

The clerk said, apparently to someone on an extension: "Yes, I've got to take him. That's what the boss said."

BACK AT THE CAR, Elenora told me we were being watched from a window over the club lounge by a man and a woman. I drove to Room 31 with my lights off, making it more difficult for them to see my tag or car from their lighted



room. I backed in, obscuring my license tag against a low hedge. The car was left loaded and facing out.

The room was next to the end of a wing, at the rear of the complex a stone's throw from a road. A fence about three-feet high separated the motel property and the public roadway.

SOON AFTER WE WERE SETTLED IN THE ROOM, the click of leather heels on the paved walk claimed our full attention. The sound stopped at our door. I opened the door and faked conversation with my wife: "Are you sure we have everything you want out of the car?"

Outside was a Negro restaurant porter writing on a pad and trying to appear interested in something other than our car or room. He left, but we heard the similar sounds of heels clicking our way 15 minutes later. We suspected he was getting our car tag number.

Just as Elenora was beginning to feel more secure, she discovered an inside door leading to the room adjacent to ours. It was locked from the other side. I tried but couldn't lock it from our's.

"THAT DOES IT. It's better to be a live coward than a dead hero. Please take me back to Mrs. Henry's and let's accept the room she offered us," said my wife pleadingly.

On the way out, I went into the motel office for my receipt and told the clerk we thought we'd look for a restaurant away from the motel.

Seconds after we left, Elenora told me a policeman was

(Please See THEY DO, Page 6-A)

minute for [illegible] glass she held, she said, "We ain't 'loud to serve you at the counter."

The man who had gone into the kitchen came around the outside from the rear of the building, got a look at my car and walked back into the serving area as I was leaving by another door.

UP TO THIS POINT OUR EXPERIENCES in Mississippi had indicated no hope. Now, suddenly, we found tiny islands of hope in Jackson, the state capital. A pleasant white woman volunteered to send us to a white cafeteria and we learned later that Negroes also are served at one other white restaurant.

The sun was setting when we reached Vicksburg's Holiday Inn.

"I'm sorry. We got tours coming in," the woman said, rejecting me.

We suspected there actually was room at the inn and telephoned back after driving two miles.

"I AM ABOUT 30 MILES AWAY," said Elenora, telling a little white lie. "Can you house us when we get there?"

"Sure we can," was the reply.

She neglected to say we were Negroes.

We also telephoned Vicksburg's Magnolia Motel and were offered a room. The offer was withdrawn and we were referred to a Negro hotel when they learned our racial identity.

We spent the night in Louisiana, and it was the next afternoon when we returned to Mississippi at Natchez.

Some Natchez service stations offered a "colored" rest room while others refused us altogether.

Where U.S. 98 splits off from U.S. 84 west of Budef, we ordered gasoline from a slightly built white boy who directed me to the rear of the station. I went in a door marked "Men." The boy, aged about 17, met me coming out.

"DIDN'T I TELL YOU THE nigger room was round back?" he said.

I smiled as if I didn't hear, and asked a question of my own.

Summit, McComb and Magnolia are three unyielding segregationist strongholds famous for violence against Negroes. They are in a cluster midway between Jackson and New Orleans, Louisiana. Nearby is Philadelphia, where three civil rights workers were murdered this summer.

Also nearby is the murky Pearl River, like the Tallahatchie, famous as a watery grave of Negroes who "forget their place."

We found the McComb Freedom House where COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) conducts Negro voter education and other civil rights activities. It had a gaping bomb hole big enough to drive a truck through.

TO MISLEAD THE POLICE CAR which trailed us, we stopped a few doors down the street and drove to Freedom House after the officers left.

It was late Sunday afternoon and Freedom House was buzzing. A citizenship class was being carried on in the back. Two college students who were to share nightwatch duty Sunday night were asleep in a front bedroom.

A late-arriving doctor-nurse team from New York drove up just as a search team was being organized to look for them. They go into jails, examine civil rights workers and, in effect, say to law enforcement authorities: "This prisoner is now in good shape. We will be back. If he is injured, you will have to answer for it."

WE WERE TOLD, "Nothing in McComb is desegregated." The rights workers said unless we were prepared to submit to arrest, search and seizure we should not attempt to use public accommodations in Southeast Mississippi.

We asked to use their pay telephone and were warned to talk in coded language because "the telephone is bugged." Handwritten lettering on the instrument read, "This telephone is STILL bugged."

I picked up the receiver and after a few clicks got my party in St. Petersburg.

Our carefully planned departure for New Orleans brought no unpleasantness.

We finally obtained service without regard for race in Mississippi while en route from New Orleans back to Florida. In the Gulf Coast resort town of Biloxi, Mississippi, we used rest rooms which had no racial markings. Many Biloxi service stations, however, have segregated rest rooms.

Tomorrow: Some conclusions

St. Petersburg Times, Saturday, Nov. 14, 1964

Fear Rides With Negroes In The South -- But Hope Is Lighting Dark Roads

(Times staff writer Samuel Adams and his wife Elenora drove 4,300 miles through 12 southern states for a first hand report on civil rights progress four months after passage of the Civil Rights Act. This concludes the Adams' seven-part report and sums up their feelings about the South in the autumn of 1964.)

By SAMUEL ADAMS
Of The Times Staff

Fear rides with Negroes who drive through the South. We were frightened — my wife Elenora and I — as we drove for 15 days through 12 southern states.

I have lived with fear so long I am hardly aware it's there. But Elenora couldn't hide her fears as we drove north from St. Petersburg in late October on our 4,300 mile journey.

THERE IS FAR LESS REASON for a Negro to be afraid now. Yet fear remains, and some of our northern friends refuse to drive through the South to visit us.

Take Warren Fowler, a Negro, an electrical contractor and city commissioner of Pontiac, Mich. He and his family want badly to come to St. Petersburg for a vacation. But they fear every gasoline stop, every restaurant, every motel.

The slaying last summer of Washington, D.C. educator and Army colonel Lemuel Penn as he and two other Negroes drove through Georgia en route home made most Negroes more fearful.

ACTUALLY, FEAR OF SLIPPING "out of a nigger's place" and meeting violence dominated Negro thinking long before the Penn murder.

Time was when the wrong license plate, especially one from up North, or a car too new or too long would mean automatic arrest for Negroes driving through southern communities. Pistol whipping was the vogue for teaching Negroes in custody how to say "sir" and "mister."

PAST EXPERIENCES GAVE us reason to worry.

I was asleep five years ago when my wife drove into a Jackson, Ga., service station and my daughter used the rest room marked "Ladies." Fear cleared my eyes of sleep instantly when I discovered the gasoline station operator waving a pistol in my face because Carol had forgotten her place.

Our assignment was to report, but inevitably we were involved in testing compliance with the new civil rights law. Just as inevitably we drew some rather general conclusions about the South:

- **There is increasingly less reason for Negro tourists to fear for their safety.**
- **Operators of public accommodations are beginning to**

(Please See FEAR RIDES, 7-A)

Fear Rides With Negroes In The South -- But Hope Is Lighting Dark Roads

FROM 1-A

treat the Negro dollar with greater respect.

As a result, Negro frustration is less likely to build to violence.

The Civil Rights Act has given the Negro new status. Now he has codified federal law, not merely an interpretation of the Constitution, which says he has a right to equal use of public accommodations.

The meager power of the Negro — sometimes penniless and voteless — was pitted in past years against the overwhelming force of the white power structure.

MAYOR ALLEN THOMPSON OF JACKSON, Miss., minced no words last year in communicating this fact of life to Negroes. "We've (the whites have) got the guns, we've got the force."

The white man also had the law, but not any more in law-abiding states of the South. Federal laws for civil rights are controvening an array of state laws that formerly regulated businesses and men, and limited racial interaction.

Many of these laws are still on the books of some southern states. But they probably won't stand up under court test. They prohibit service to Negroes in certain places where whites are served, require employers to have separate Negro-white rest rooms, and, among other things, subject Negroes to arrest on trespassing charges in public accommodations.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT HAS shifted the arena of confrontation from the street to the court rooms. It was with this coded legal security that we sought service at businesses which previously had never served Negroes.

Even with the law on our side, we were apprehensive in states where there was a record of violence against Negroes.

Knowing that Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana were among states we were to visit, several of our friends offered to lend us weapons for protecting ourselves in the event of trouble.

I turned them down. I was an expert shot during my Army hitch, but I've never owned a gun. My father has sold hundreds of weapons but never had one for his own use.

Elenora was not completely convinced by my argument that weapons can only breed trouble. She had listened to one of her white friends and was all set to accept a tear gas pistol recommended for women to explode in the faces of would-be attackers.

I VETOED THIS. The fact that we carried nothing made Elenora all the more frightened.

On several occasions we encountered what could have become serious trouble. But we completed the trip without violence or major incident, a feat which probably would not have been possible six months ago.

THAT'S THE BIG STORY — CHANGE: The increasing use of apologetic evasion rather than open defiance and increasing tolerance of black faces in places where none have been seen before — except as servants.

Who, for example, would have guessed a year ago that a white man in a Danville, Va., honky tonk would politely

THAT'S THE BIG STORY — CHANGE: The increasing use of apologetic evasion rather than open defiance and increasing tolerance of black faces in places where none have been seen before — except as servants.

Who, for example, would have guessed a year ago that a white man in a Danville, Va., honky tonk would politely ask a Negro couple if he could put his beer glass on their table while he played shuffleboard. Or who'd have thought a Jackson, Miss., storekeeper would volunteer to send a lost Negro couple to a white cafeteria.

We do not mean to suggest that Mississippi has made great strides toward Negro civil rights. Any change in this direction indeed has been minute.

IT STILL IS A BRUTAL STATE — hardly a member of the union — where church burnings, bombings and murders are commonplace. It is the state where, according to Tuskegee Institute reports, 539 lynchings and untold other violence took place during the 81 years between 1882 and 1963.

The South we saw was contradictory. Indeed it was many Souths. Acceptance and defiance — tolerance and intolerance — sometimes existed a few feet apart. But geographical patterns developed.

IF WE WERE TO LIST THE STATES we visited on a scale, rating them on the basis of progress toward equal rights for all, Mississippi, as might be expected, would be at the bottom. But a bit of Mississippi can be found beyond the state's borders.

I've heard racists "prove" they are not anti-Negro by saying, "some of my best friends are Negroes." Likewise some of my best friends are Mississippians. A difference lies in the fact they are not in the Mississippi atmosphere, which would have blocked or stifled the growth of our friendship.

THE PLACEMENT OF STATES on our civil rights scale would tend to coincide with the atmosphere created by state politicians. Where governors are defiant, where courts excuse whites for crimes against Negroes and burn Negroes for major crimes against whites, and where widespread poverty makes Negro economic independence a threat to white supremacy, we found more defiance of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

Rating the states from 0 to 100, the latter signifying greatest progress, this is how we saw the 12 states we toured:

West Virginia	**100**
North Carolina	**85**
Kentucky	**80**
Florida	**70**
Tennessee	**68**
Virginia	**60**
Georgia	**50**
South Carolina	**42**
Arkansas	**30**
Louisiana	**20**
Alabama	**15**
Mississippi	**3**

Looking back, we're glad we made the trip. Elenora wouldn't want to do it the same way again, but a year from now or two years from now it probably would be genuine fun for both of us.

RACIAL PREJUDICE ISN'T GOING TO EVAPORATE because Congress passed a law. It will be many, many years before a Negro driving through the South can forget his fear.

But the Negro has hope now. The law is important to him. And steadily increasing acceptance of the law throughout the South can only ease tensions. Frustrations Negroes encounter daily in their drive to enter the mainstream of American life are less likely now to erupt into violence. The future is brighter. For some, at least, hope has replaced hopelessness.

(Last Of A Series)

BIRMINGHAM . . . NO. 1

City Ready to Close Parks

By FRED POWLEDGE
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Dec. 29—This city will start closing most of its parks next week, but not without serious opposition from some segments of the population that have lain dormant for years in the city's racial struggles.

The city government, faced with a choice between court-enforced desegregation and no parks at all, has chosen no parks.

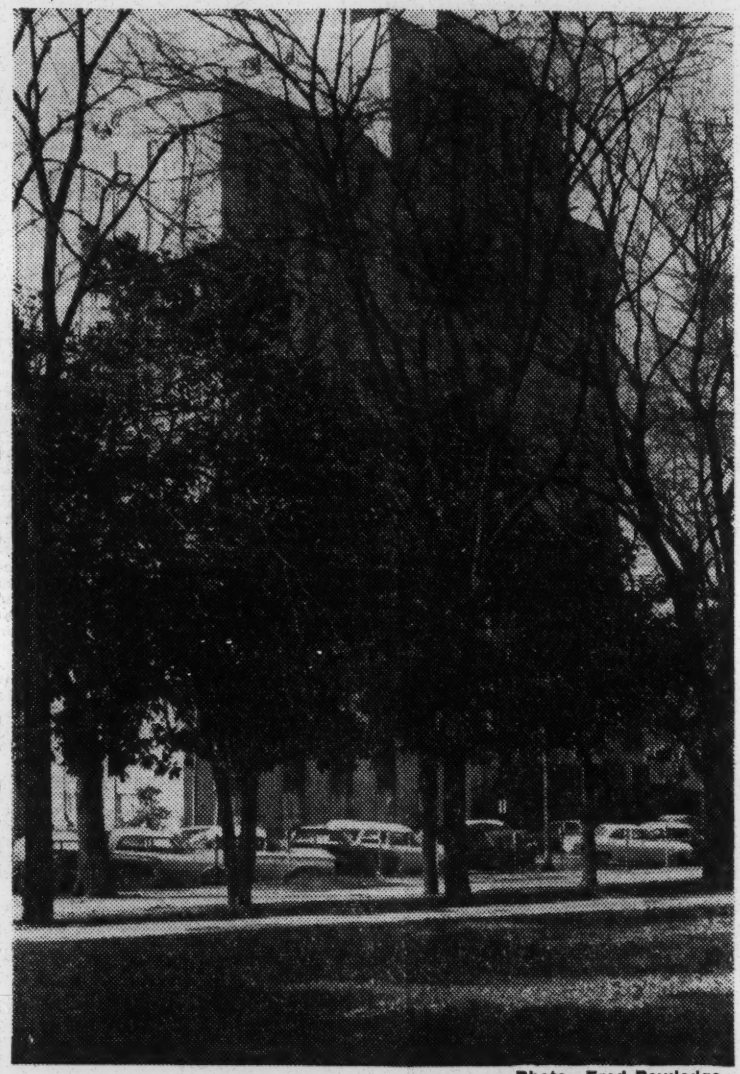
Public parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf courses and community centers—in all, more than 100 recreation areas—are scheduled to be closed by Jan. 15, the date set by federal court for complying with a desegregation order.

First in a Series

* * *

A HANDFUL will remain open. They include Legion Field, the football stadium; the zoo, Vulcan Park, and Woodrow Wilson Park. Authorities explain that most of these are "stand-up" or "walk-through" places where vertical integration is less likely to cause concern.

The reasoning behind the parks decision is simple: Mayor Arthur Hanes and his two fellow commissioners, Eugene (Bull) Connor and J. T. (Jabo) Waggoner, feel that the citizens of Birmingham want the parks closed. Mr. Hanes was a segregationist when he ran for mayor last spring, and he views his election as a mandate from the people.



Photo—Fred Powledge

ONE OF PARKS THAT WILL REMAIN OPEN
Birmingham City Hall Rises in Brackground

Mr. Connor's feelings about desegregation have been known for some time. He doesn't believe in it.

* * *

BUT PRESSURE is starting to mount in this city. Various groups which never before have taken public issue with the city government have started to question the proposed closing and, in the process, have been questioning the political wisdom of Messrs. Hanes, Connor and Waggoner.

The united front against desegregation, which has so long been an apparent characteristic of Birmingham's white citizens, is beginning to show some signs of crumbling.

* * *

IT CRUMBLED loudly this week when the city parks and recreation board refused to go along with Mayor Hanes in a move to close the park grounds completely, as well as the park facilities. And proponents of open parks were overjoyed Friday to find, in their Birmingham Post Heralds, a strong editorial titled "Hold On to the Parks." The editorial referred to recent reports that the parks might be sold to private organizations. It said, in part:

"Unless citizens of Birmingham want to lose their parks forever, they should organize now to oppose any and every move on the part of the city commission to

Turn to Page 6, Column 2

BIRMINGHAM PARKS TO CLOSE

Continued From Page 1

dispose of park property. . . . The day will come when the current park problem is no more, and cursed will be any who in the meantime might betray the public interest by agreeing to the sale of park property."

It was perhaps the strongest editorial stand taken in this city so far on the parks problem.

* * *

MAYOR HANES suffered a direct setback, in the opinion of many, when he asked the parks board Thursday to put "no trespassing" signs around the parks.

The board, which had previously agreed to close the park facilities—swings and slides and the like—starting Jan. 2, balked at the mayor's plan. His motion was not seconded.

"In effect, you've kept the parks open for integration," said Mayor Hanes. "I just want you to realize what you've done. Four members of this board have voted for integration, and one has voted against it."

"You're wrong," replied a member of the board.

* * *

WHILE THERE are few informed sources here who doubt that the parks will in fact be closed, there are several who feel that some good will come from the closing. The shock value of parks with "no trespassing" signs may, in the words of one young businessman, "snap some of us into the Twentieth Century."

The pressure for keeping the parks open has not centralized itself into a unified park lobby. Several Birmingham citizens who favor open parks have said that definite leadership — and here they mean open-parks leadership —has been lacking all along in the fields of communications, government, the church, labor, politics and in the Negro community itself. Some of them feel the closing of the parks is going to force that leadership into rapid development.

* * *

NOT ONLY the parks will be affected. The federal court order —and the city's reaction to it— have brought on the cancellation of a number of events which contribute to the city's cultural life.

The Symphony of Fashions, a money-raising function of the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, will not be held this year. The federal order desegregated the city auditorium, but the city has adopted a policy of keeping the hall segregated through "selective" sale of tickets.

The Boston Pops Orchestra was scheduled to play Birmingham this season, but its contract has been canceled. The Pops concert was also a money-raising project of the city symphony. Officials of the symphony, while somewhat disappointed over the two cancellations, say they hope to present a season of music in Birmingham anyway.

* * *

THE FUTURE of the legitimate theater in Birmingham is in doubt, due to a decision by Actors' Equity not to play before segregated audiences after next spring. Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus was to play here Feb. 14-18 at the auditorium, but the city has canceled the contract.

The Metropolitan Opera is not expected to come to Birmingham during the spring, either, but this is reportedly for economic, and not racial, reasons.

And there will be no more wrestling matches in the auditorium after Jan. 8. Promoters hope to use a National Guard armory and to limit their ticket sales to white persons.

This brings on grumbling from wrestling, circus, music, fashion, and golf fans, but the grumbling is as nothing when compared to the spate of resolutions—against closing the parks—which have been issuing from civic organizations in recent days.

* * *

DESPITE THE resolutions, though, the city commission has stood firm against any sign of retreat from its position that the parks must be closed.

For Mayor Hanes, a retreat would be cooperation with forces at loose in the world which would destroy the fabric of America. "I say now is the time to draw the line," he said recently, "in a fight to preserve the principles on which this country was founded."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Mayor Hanes and the Commission.

Birmingham . . . No. 2

'...Must Earn Acceptance'

By FRED POWLEDGE
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Dec. 30 — The Birmingham City Commission, which made the decision to close the city's parks rather than accept a desegregation order, is a three-man group dedicated to continued segregation.

Mayor Arthur Hanes, the commission's president, is in charge of parks, airports, and general city services.

J. T. (Jabo) Waggoner is the commission member in charge of public works and improvements. Eugene (Bull) Connor, known widely as the city's police commissioner, is in charge of public safety and education. He is considered a likely candidate for governor.

* * *

MR. CONNOR refused to talk with an Atlanta Journal reporter about the parks situation recently, saying "I ain't giving no statements to any papers except the Birmingham papers." Mr. Waggoner said a recent rain has "literally flooded my office with telephone calls," and he didn't have time to talk.

Mayor Hanes showed no hesitancy to discuss the racial situation.

The 45-year-old mayor, a former football coach, PT boat skipper and FBI man, was elected by a good-sized margin last spring in a runoff primary. He feels his election—over a candidate whose public statements identified him as less of a park-closing enthusiast — was the mandate of a city to keep segregation intact, federal order or no federal order.

* * *

IF DESEGREGATION were to come to the parks, he said, Birmingham would be one step closer to submitting to the will of a minority. Mayor Hanes put it this way:

"We'll have more trouble and create a worse image if those parks are open. This is what the press around the world is waiting for — something to happen. They're sitting around waiting, like a bunch of vultures.

Photo—Fred Powledge
ART HANES
Birmingham Mayor

"The real issue isn't integration. The main thing is the overriding principle of people's rights to determine something for themselves. It is the idea of the Communitsts to destroy every tradition and symbol that this country has ever stood for.

"I feel that men should progress by their own ability and gain by their own effort and not by the passage of laws. If they (the Negroes) merit acceptance, it will be given naturally, just as night follows day.

* * *

"I WILL NEVER negotiate with Communist Negroes, Negro radical groups. . . . They have nothing to negotiate with. Their attitude seems to be 'What's ours is ours and what's yours we'll negotiate for.' I don't subscribe to that theory and therefore will not negotiate with them.

"The Negroes in Birmingham have always been treated with kindness, generosity, and warmth. But with their pres-

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PARKS

Continued From Page 1

ent attitude this could change. . . .

"The overriding thing is not integration, but centralization of authority in Washington. If this trend continues, next they'll tell us which churches to go to, where to work, what to do. . . . I say now is the time to draw the line in a fight to preserve the principles on which this country was founded."

* * *

MR. HANES FEELS he has the support of the majority of the citizens of Birmingham, a city of about 113,000 Negroes and 228,000 whites whose elected officials have decided to close its parks. Until recently, there has indeed been only the most feeble opposition to his, and the commission's, decision. But people and organizations are starting to mumble, and some of the mumbles are growing into phrases, and some of the phrases are growing into chants.

NEXT IN THE JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION: The open-park people.

House of Hits—Open 2:15 P.M.

BIRMINGHAM . . . NO. 3

Meeting the Challenge

By FRED POWLEDGE
Journal-Constitution Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Dec. 30—A few weeks ago, when the city government's decision to close the parks became general knowledge, the prevailing public attitude was silence.

Today there is a definite chant in Birmingham. The people are considering, suggesting, and in some cases demanding that their parks should be kept open.

* * *

IT IS TRUE that most of the pressure for open parks comes from the suburban settlements of Vestavia, Homewood, and Mountain Brook, and these places lie outside the city limits, and therefore Mayor Arthur Hanes is justified when he says their complaints bear little relation to the city's internal functions.

But the people on the other side of the mountains point out that the city's wealth, a large part of its culture, and campaign expenses at election time come in great quantity from the suburbs.

Photo—Fred Powledge

NEGRO YOUTHS IN BIRMINGHAM PARK
Doubtful of Playground's Future, Playing Stick Ball

To their arguments are added the recent statements by business, church, and political leaders and subleaders who have started to take up the chant. In increasing numbers they are speaking out, they are passing resolutions, and they are bringing pressure to bear at City Hall.

The City Parks and Recreation Board this week turned down Mayor Hanes' request for out-and-out closing of the parks, preferring instead to close the park facilities. What this will mean after next Tuesday, when the facilities are officially scheduled to be closed, is not yet certain.

* * *

THESE ARE some of the public statements and actions that have confronted the city com-

Turn to Page 11A, Column 1

MEETING CHALLENGE

Continued From Page 1

mission since it decided to close the parks:

The Ministers Association of Greater Birmingham warned against "the sinful situation that might well bring a day of tragic darkness to our beloved city," and it asked members to take to their pulpits with sermons supporting open parks.

Several civic organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham's Committee of 100, the Young Men's Business Club, and the Downtown Improvement Association, have indicated their desire to keep the parks open.

The Woman's Club of Birmingham passed a resolution saying "it will be a step backwards to destroy what we have built."

Fourteen Episcopal ministers, in a letter to the city commission, said "We affirm the rights of individuals to decide whether or not to use public facilities, but we wish to point out the folly of destroying all public recreational, educational and cultural facilities simply because some of our citizens prefer not to use them."

* * *

THE MINISTER of the Woodlawn Methodist Church, Rev. John Rutland, published a church bulletin this week which said, in part:

"Jesus Christ came into the world and lived and died to save all men. He taught us to love one another as brothers and sisters. Can faithful followers of Jesus Christ shut their ears to the cries of the needy? Why should we be so afraid of one another? If Christ is our saviour, surely we can be friends with each other."

One of the members of the Rev. Mr. Rutland's church is Eugene (Bull) Connor, one of the city's three commissioners and a nationally known foe of desegregation.

* * *

THE NEWSPAPERS have joined the ranks of the protesters, although some critics of the Fourth Estate here say the papers' decision came rather late in the game.

The Birmingham Post-Herald, in an editorial Saturday, discusses current legal troubles over bus station desegregation and the parks, and says:

"It is hindsight, of course, but none the less regrettable that the time we had was not used to better advantage in trying to solve the problem which now confronts us. But there will be other and more difficult problems to come, and we cannot force them to go away by merely refusing to face them until we are rudely jerked to attention by federal court order."

The Birmingham News has been publishing milder editorials, but ones which make pretty much the same point. That newspaper has commented several times in recent days on the effect of park closings on industry.

Letters to the editors have been published in large numbers, and the authors of those which have been printed seem almost evenly divided over the park issue.

* * *

PRO-PARK PEOPLE questioned recently in Birmingham appear to be concerned with two other matters which have not been generally touched upon in public statements and debate. One of them is the impact of the park case on public schools; another is the impact of the case on Birmingham's industrial relations with Atlanta.

On the latter, these people say further racial and political disputes in Birmingham can only lead to more industry and financial interests' going to Atlanta. Quiet meetings are known to have taken place among the city's business community on just this subject.

These people are also worried that the park matter — and the way in which it is handled — is bound to form the pattern for an inevitable school desegregation controversy. Their reasoning is this: "If we close the parks and keep them closed, wouldn't we be more likely to close the schools, too? And if we keep the parks open somehow, wouldn't that mean we would want to keep the schools open?"

* * *

ONE OF THESE people is Charles Morgan Jr., a 31-year-old attorney who is a former campaigner for the man Mayor Hanes defeated last spring and a man who, in the context of modern-day Birmingham, may easily be described as a liberal.

"Prior to this time," he said the other day, "most of us here in this community have not been sufficiently cognizant of the fact that sooner or later a federal court order would come with respect to parks, schools and other public facilities.

"Anyone in Birmingham who does not now recognize the inevitability of some such federal court decisions has his head in the sand.

* * *

"WE HERE HAVE not seen many of the television programs bearing on this subject which have shown in other sections of the country. The attitude of many who think such programs should have been, and in the future should be, shown is based principally on the fact that they feel that we should have a picture in our city of what the rest of the country is saying about us.

"I do not believe that the cutting off of such programs has been beneficial to our community, nor do I believe that the lack of leadership on both sides on this question has been advantageous.

"But these days are over, and it's doubtful that they will ever return again. Each of us is—and, I believe, sincerely—examining his heart and mind with respect to the customs and traditions of segregation, in which the overwhelming majority of the people believe, and we're asking how high a price we are willing to pay.

"It is in this context that the problem will be resolved, one way or another."

END OF SERIES.

ANOTHER FIRST IN GEORGIA - The Georgia Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights held a meeting August 12 at the Dinkler Hotel. One Newsman wrote "When 600 Georgians, representing more than 110 communities and including 38 Mayors, 25 Police Chiefs and Sheriffs, City Attorneys, 150 employers, 44 hospital administrators turn out voluntarily to hear details of a Civil Rights Act, I regard the event as a "man bites dog" incident of considerable note." Your director feels that when political leaders and business men and civil rights workers sit down to think together there is great hope for the future of our state. Now one hears on every side "How can we do this job?" Now is the time for each Council member to be of real service to his community.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia

Telephone: 523-1581

YOU ALL ARE WELCOME.....

Laws and customs change from day to day, sometimes from hour to hour. There are degrees of "segregation" and "desegregation" -- "segregated" may mean no Negroes or it may mean Negroes and whites segregated within the same facility. It is customary to make changes in racial policies without public announcement, which is at times necessary and desirable.

This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of October, 1963, to the best of our knowledge.

EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood and Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie Street
Stouffeur's, Downstairs in the Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (also Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies
Sears-Roebuck
H. L. Green
Kress
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's
Walgreen's
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's
Johnny Reb's
Crossroads
Seven Steers (downtown)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S & W
Mamma Mia
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Foods at Luckie Street, Marietta Street and Pryor Street
Town House

Most Hotels and motels will arrange private interracial parties.

HOTELS

Peachtree Manor Hotel
Hilton Inn
Air Host Inn

Other hotels will accept Negro convention delegates up to ?% the total number of delegates

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Neighborhood Movies: Gordon, Emory, Lenox Square, Cherokee, Hilan, Plaza, Atlantic, Techwood
Downtown Movies: Pocket, Academy (including Shakespeare Festival), Loew's, Fox, Rialto, Roxy, Rhodes, and Peachtree Art
Drive-Ins: Bolton, Fulton Blvd., Glenwood, Peachtree, Piedmont, Scott, South Expressway, Steward, Thunderbird, and Starlight
Stone Mountain: all facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library - all branches
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All facilities owned and operated by City of Atlanta
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital x-ray and technical schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta;;of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Democracic Forum of Fulton County and DeKalb Democrats
Republican organizations of DeKalb County and Fulton County
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

HOSPITALS

Of the 16 hospitals in operation in the Atlanta area listed as members of the Georgia Hospital Association, 10 do not admit Negroes as patients. Grady and Aidmore provide segregated services. DeKalb General, South Fulton, and Kennestone provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. St. Joseph's is an integrated hospital.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists; most others open to visitors, but policies vary with individyal churches.

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and THE ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service

YOU ALL ARE WELCOME.....

CUSTOMS CHANGE FROM DAY TO DAY. A PLACE THAT IS SEGREGATED TODAY MAY BE DESEGREGATED TOMORROW, AND IN SOME VERY FEW INSTANCES PLACES THAT HAD SERVED INTERRACIAL GROUPS LATER DECLINED TO DO SO. THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL MAKES AN EFFORT TO KEEP UP TO DATE, ACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT PROGRESS OF DESEGREGATION IN THE COMMUNITY. WE WOULD WELCOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. SO FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, THE FOLLOWING IS CORRECT AS OF THE END OF JUNE, 1962.

EATING PLACES

YWCA CAFETERIA, EDGEWOOD AND IVY
STOUFFEUR'S, DOWNSTAIRS IN THE MERCHANDISE MART
TOP O'THE MART (ALSO STOUFFEUR'S)
RICH'S MAGNOLIA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES IN ALL STORES
DAVISON'S TEA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES.
GRANT'S
JACOB'S PHARMACIES
SEARS ROEBUCK
H. L. GREEN
KRESS
MCCRORY'S
LANE'S DRUG STORES
THE COACH AND SIX RESTAURANT

FRANKLIN SIMON'S
Woolworth's
Newberry's

INTERRACIAL GROUPS MAY ARRANGE PRIVATE MEETINGS, ETC., AT THE ATLANTA BILTMORE, DINKLER PLAZA, DINGO HO, MAMMY'S SHANTY, AND EMORY UNIVERSITY FOOD CENTER.

PEACHTREE MANOR HOTEL
AMERICANA MOTEL

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

ATLANTA ART GALLERIES
ATLANTA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA CONCERTS
ACTORS EQUITY PRODUCTION
THEATER UNDER THE STARS (AT CHASTAIN PARK)
ATLANTA CITY GOLF COURSES
ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY - ALL BRANCHES
DECATUR-DEKALB LIBRARY
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
QUAKER HOUSE
POCKET THEATER
ACADEMY THEATER (SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL)
LOEW'S GRAND THEATER
FOX THEATER
RIALTO THEATER
ROXY THEATER
RHODES THEATER
PEACHTREE ART
Fine Arts

ALL ATLANTA CITY FACILITIES OR FUNCTIONS WITH EXCEPTION OF SWIMMING POOLS.

EVENTS AT COLLEGE CAMPUSES THROUGHOUT TH E GREATER ATLANTA COMMUNITY:

ORGANIZATIONS:

ACTIVE VOTERS
ATLANTA ASSOCIATION FOR GIFTED CHILDREN
ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS (OF ATLANTA, OF DEKALB COUNTY)
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC FORUM OF FULTON COUNTY AND DEKALB DEMOCRATS
REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS OF DEKALB COUNTY AND FULTON COUNTY

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES (HAVE ACCEPTED OR INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM ALL)

CERTAIN ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
GEORGIA TECH
GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY
AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE (BEGINNING 1963-64 SESSION)
THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS
TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOL
Columbia Theological Seminary

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JUNE, 1962

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING ACT (MDTA) PROGRAM

Mr. Larry Robinson, Georgia State Employment Coordinator for the Atlanta area, Manpower Development Training Program, reports the following training programs now in progress (enrollment closed):

1. DeKalb Technical & Vocational--auto mechanics 7; body and fender repair 8
2. Carver Vocational--auto mechanics helper 8; hotel and restaurant cooks 19

Plans are being completed for a hospital workers training program with an expected enrollment of 110. There are no programs open for applications at the moment, but those eligible for or interested in the MDTA training (unemployed or underemployed) should register with one of the Georgia State Employment Service areas in the office. Fourteen recently completed training as electrical draftsman and are now employed with average earnings of $94 a week.

EDUCATION

Atlanta School Statistics (compiled from reports included in October, 1963, agenda of Atlanta Board of Education):

1. From October 1962 to October 1963, in 6 all-Negro high schools, enrollment increased to 1536 (also 160 increase at Carver primarily Negro). In 17 white high schools (total of 141 Negro transfer students in 10 of these) enrollment increased 517.

2. All of the 17 elementary schools with more than 1000 enrollment are Negro.

3. Of the 9 with double sessions, 8 are Negro, all but 61 of the 5684 students on double sessions are in Negro schools.

4. Dropouts: 1,000 in the 7 Negro schools; 1200 in 17 "white" schools.

5. Dr. Letson reports that only 6 additional teachers were employed by the system to handle a total enrollment increase of 3053; if last year's pupil ratio had been maintained, it would have been necessary to employ 114 additional teachers.

The Westminster Schools: Recent announcements of admission tests for Wesminster in the daily press prompted inquiries about racial policies. Dr. William Pressly, President, said that there is a committee of the trustees working on the matter, but the school does not now accept applications from Negro students. It does adminster tests for admission to other schools and colleges to Negro as well as white students at its testing center.

Atlanta

PROGRESS: Within the last month, the following Negroes have been appointed by policy-making bodies: Dr. P. Q. Yancey, by Mayor Allen to the Fulton County Health Board; Mrs. Grace Hamilton, by Mayor Allen to the Atlanta Fund Appeals Board; Mr. C. R. Yates by the Fulton County Commissioners to the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Desegregated Hotels and Motels:

*Air Host Inn
*Hilton Inn
*Peachtree Manor

Atlanta Americana
Atlantan Hotel
Dinkler-Plaza
Riveria

Howard Johnson's (south, N.E., & N.W.)
Holiday Inn
Marriott Inn (under construction)
**Atlanta Cabana
***Biltmore
***Piedmont

*Desegregated for sometime
**Kings Inn, operates independently in Cabana, still segregated. Dobbs and Toddle Houses have been opened following demonstrations and negotiations.
***Use of facilities by Negroes restricted to registered guests; we know of no other restrictions.

Restaurants

Council members in interracial groups have patronized eating places which are desegregated and have visited some uncertain ones, in the hope of establishing a policy of desegregation. If you are interested in participating in this project, contact the Council office.

****

Senator Leroy Johnson has prepared a Bill to introduce in the Georgia Legislature amending the Charter of the City of Atlanta to permit passage of a public accommodations Ordinance, which the City Attorney has ruled is not now possible. He lacks enough signatures of Fulton and DeKalb legislators to get it introduced. Some legislators want reactions of the Aldermen before they decide.

****

The Atlanta Police Department announced arrests will no longer be made on trespass charge unless proprietor is willing to swear out a warrant.

EXPECTED PARTICIPANTS

QUAIL ROOST
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
AUGUST 6, 1965

Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council

Leslie Dunbar, Field Foundation, Southern Regional Council

John Ehle, Ford Foundation

George Esser, North Carolina Fund

Norman Francis, Xavier University, New Orleans

Carl Holman, U.S. Civil Rights Commission

David Hunter, Stern Family Fund

Vernon Jordan, Southern Regional Council

Donald Mathews, University of North Carolina

Richard Neustadt, Harvard University

Michael O'Keefe, Louisiana State Senate

James Prothro, University of North Carolina

Russell Sugarmon, attorney, Memphis

John Wheeler, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Southern Regional Council, etc., etc., etc.

Paul Ylvisaker, Ford Foundation

6

August 6, 1965

QUAIL ROOST QUESTIONS

SUBJECT: "Increasing the competence of Negroes to participate in the political process in the south."

ASSUMPTIONS:

1. opportunities for such participation are expanding
2. "political process" includes:
   - a) mechanics of registration and voting
   - b) opening channels of communication among the determining elements of the social, political and economic systems in the community
   - c) negotiation among contending forces
3. know-how in these areas is in short supply

party participation
office seeking

QUESTIONS:

1. Is there enough substantive content that can be usefully transmitted through seminars, internships and other pedagogical techniques to make such an exercise worthwhile? (Contrary thought: you can pick up political and negotiating know-how only by osmosis, genetics and experience.)

QUESTIONS (CONTINUED)

2. Should the focus be exclusively on the south or primarily on the south or nationwide?

3. Should the "students" be only Negroes?

4. What kinds of people should the participants be? College students? "Youngish" Negro leaders? People already in "politics"?

5. How should participants be selected?

6. What would the form be? Seminars, internships, field practice, combination of these?

7. Should the institute or institutes take place in just one city which would serve as a good "field laboratory" or should there be several in several cities?

8. How long? Three weeks, three months, one week? Or, should there be a series of "institutes" of varying duration depending on the participants (e.g. a lawyer couldn't spend as much time all at once as a college student could).

QUESTIONS (CONTINUED)

9. Should one or more universities run the institute? Southern, northern, Negro, white, combination thereof?

10. What universities would be most competent to undertake the task?

11. Should there be any formal relationship of the institute with civil rights organizations?

12. How would non-partisanship be preserved?

13. (This question to be discussed only if time allows). Should a foundation financed program of southern summer internships for white and Negro college students be developed? Placements to be in state government, city government, CAP programs, etc.

PRODUCING PROGRAMS FOR THE

TOWERS

OF THE WORLD

Protestant Radio & Television Center, Inc., 1727 Clifton Rd., N.E., Atlanta 6, Ga.

APRIL 1962

Ready to roll in the service of the church . . .

This VT mobile unit is one of the most complete rolling television recording facilities in America.

THIS VIDEO TAPE MOBILE UNIT
IS A PART OF THE

RUSSELL VIDEO STUDIO

at

THE PROTESTANT RADIO & TV CENTER
Atlanta, Georgia

Possible with the assistance of

HARLOW M. RUSSELL
Boothbay Harbor, Maine

PRODUCING PROGRAMS FOR THE

TOWERS

OF THE WORLD

Protestant Radio & Television Center, Inc., 1727 Clifton Rd., N.E., Atlanta 6, Ga.

June, 1962

A Day of Two Launchings

FEBRUARY 20, 1962

On February 20, 1962, our communication capability reduced the Earth to a 94-minute greeting from the edge of space. John Glenn's three-orbit look at four sunsets in less than five hours capped a decade of planning and research.

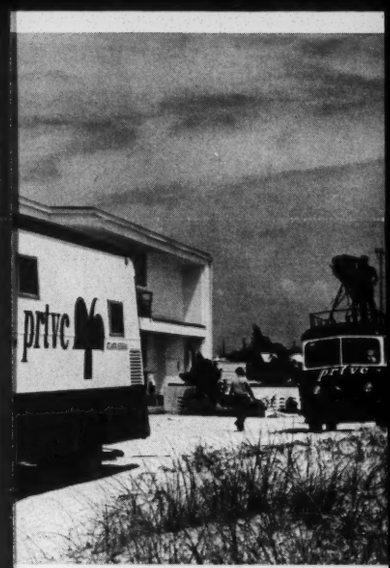
As Friendship 7 rolled, pitched and yawed its way into history, in Atlanta the Board of Trustees of the PRTVC capped a decade of effort with the announcement its initial million dollar goal had been achieved. In the spirit of those who realize Glenn's accomplishments are merely a beginning, the Board immediately began the countdown on a new campaign.

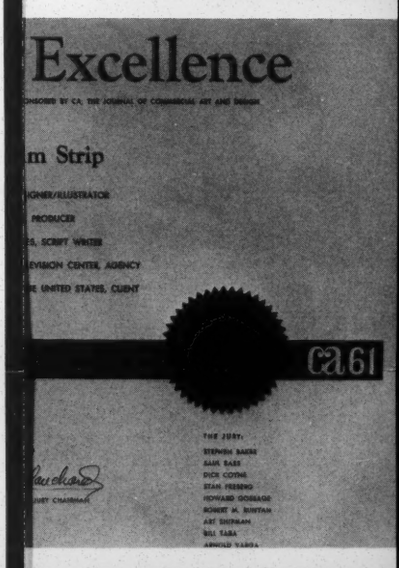
Astronaut Glenn found political and language barriers were no hindrance. His heartbeat, radioed from the racing capsule, became a universal symbol . . . a vivid demonstration of the scope and power of modern communication.

PRTVC found denominational and theological barriers were no hindrance. The Center's facilities have been used by many—a vivid demonstration of the scope and power of God's message . . . and of progress through mass communication.

Progress began with the PRTVC breaking ground for its permanent facilities May 26, 1953. Already recognized as the capital spot of the world for the production and distribution of non-commercial religious programs, it is striving for a comparable ministry for world-wide television. It is unique in its organization and operations.

A solid foundation must be assured **now**. A good heritage bespeaks a good future only as we remain alert to our opportunities. Organizationally, the PRTVC has been brought to a high place of usefulness. It must not let its equipment become obsolete. The cause it represents and the churches it serves demand that its growing needs be met.



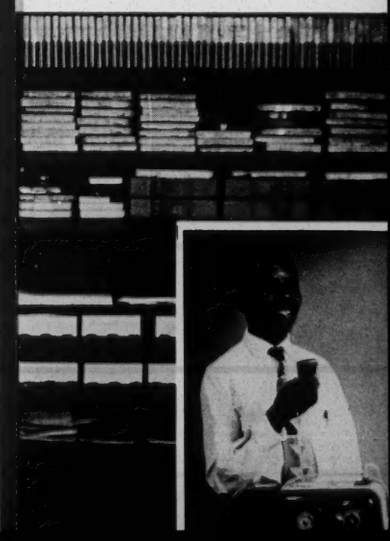


$250,000---by May 26, 1963

To meet the Center's urgent expansion and up-dating needs, the Trustees have authorized a campaign for $250,000 to be completed May 26, 1963, the tenth anniversary of our first step in building the permanent operational Center. Unsolicited and voluntary contributions will be doubly appreciated in that the Staff and close friends must do double duty in seeking these funds while operating the Center at the highest peak of efficiency.

This invitation

to help is for all concerned that radio and television be used for a greater good. The Center has been built by those willing to do an "extra" or an "over and above" in their regular giving. The Center has no "built in" constituency as has a college with an alumni or a church with its regular members.



PRODUCING PROGRAMS FOR THE

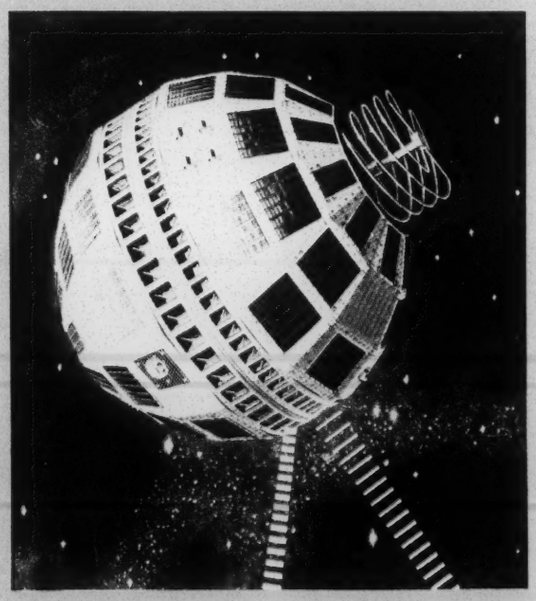
TOWERS

OF THE WORLD

Protestant Radio & Television Center, Inc., 1727 Clifton Rd., N.E., Atlanta 6, Ga.

NOVEMBER 1962

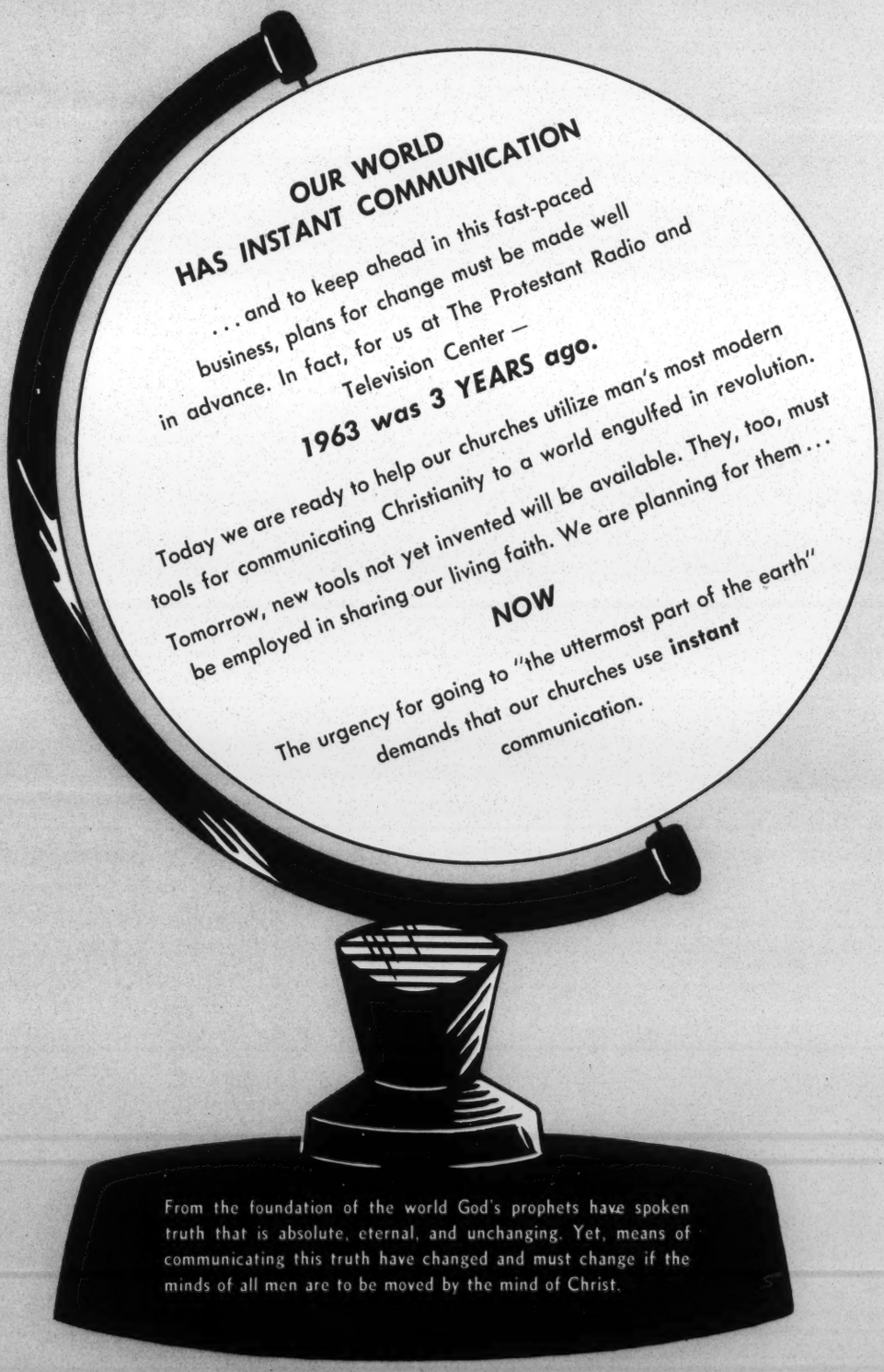
A RAM'S HORN FOR HIS GENERATION



A SATELLITE FOR OURS

Protestant Radio & Television Center, Inc., 1727 Clifton Rd., N.E., Atlanta 6, Ga.

MAY, 1963



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Progress in finding ways for proclaiming Christ must never stop. The Protestant Radio and Television Center is designed to link our churches and our faith to the . . . . .

ELECTRONIC ERA

MELROSE 4-3324

The PROTESTANT RADIO AND TELEVISION CENTER, INC.

1727 CLIFTON ROAD, NORTHEAST ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

WILLIAM R. CANNON
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD

ERNEST J. ARNOLD
PRESIDENT-TREASURER

Mr. Pat Watters
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.
Forsyth Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Relative to our telephone conversation we are forwarding several folders giving some pertinent information on The Protestant Radio and Television Center. This will give you some background and when we have an occasion which we think would be particularly newsworthy I will give you a call.

We are sending to the Atlanta churches who are members of this group a letter advising them to mention the Center in their bulletin and make some remarks from the pulpit if they so desire. In this way we are hoping to appraise the members of the Atlanta metropolitan churches of the work we are doing for the churches.

Hoping that at your convenience you will let me show you through the Center, I am

With kindest regards,

Herbert M. Ponder

Herbert M. Ponder
Assistant to the President

hmp/jvo
Encls
July 18, 1963

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

In evaluating the decision just handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court on recitation of the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading in the public schools, you may find of interest the attached fact sheet of background information on these two cases.

BEFORE THE U.S. SUPREME COURT:
Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools

A Fact Sheet

Presently before the U.S. Supreme Court are two cases involving religious practices in the nation's schools. It is expected that before adjournment (June), the Court will rule on the constitutionality of recitations of the Lord's Prayer and reading of the Bible as religious exercises in public schools.

It is inevitable that the issues posed in these cases will attract nationwide attention. The recent Court decision declaring unconstitutional the New York State Regents' Prayer (June 1962) was the topic of headline treatment for weeks after it was handed down. Unfortunately, in many instances the reactions reflected a lack of information and historical perspective. Insufficient knowledge of the core of the case—the religion clauses of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, with their twin guarantees of religious liberty and separation of church and state—led to widespread misunderstanding of the decision, its intent and import.

Since the Court's current deliberations are addressed to the same general issue, opinion leaders in the mass media and elsewhere can render a significant public service by presenting the facts which well-informed citizens need to bear in mind. The purpose of this digest is briefly to present such background material.

Much of the debate on the Regents' Prayer decision and the two pending cases has been predicated on two assumptions that bear scrutiny: (1) that challenges to prayer and Bible reading in the public schools are unprecedented in American history; and (2) that these exercises are customary in the vast majority of public schools.

The following review of the facts shows: (1) that the question of prayers and Bible reading is not new; and (2) that daily prayer recitations and Bible reading are widespread in particular regions, but not throughout the nation as a whole.

1. A Long-Standing Question

The general question—does religion belong in public schools?—has been raised and resolved in various ways throughout the nation since the mid-19th century, when the public schools were in their infancy.

—Bible reading was challenged as early as 1854 when Catholic parents objected to use of the King James (Protestant) rather than the Douay (Catholic) Bible in the public schools of Maine.
—Between 1872 and 1905, Catholic parents in seven other states instituted actions on similar grounds.
—In later years, Jewish parents joined with Catholics in questioning use of the King James Bible in the public schools.

Until the current cases, the U.S. Supreme Court had never reviewed the question. Numerous and often contradictory rulings by state courts constituted the highest official word on Bible reading in the public schools until 1959, when a Federal Court in Pennsylvania deemed the practice unconstitutional.

Here are two state decisions, diametrically opposed:

> The law knows no distinction between the Christian and the Pagan, the Protestant and the Catholic. All are citizens. . . . The school, like the Government, is secular and not religious in its purposes. The truths of the Bible are the truths of religion, which do not come within the province of the public schools.
>
> —*People ex rel. Ring* v. *Board of Education,* Illinois, 1910

> It would require a strained and unreasonable construction to find anything in the ordinance which interfered with the natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience. The mere listening to the reading of an extract from the Bible and a brief prayer at the opening of school exercises would seem far remote from such interference.
>
> —*Wilkerson* v. *City of Rome,* Georgia, 1921

These contradictory decisions reflect the divergence in opinion which has long existed.

2. State Laws and School Practices Differ from Region to Region

Some 26 states, principally in the East and South, *require* or *permit* Bible reading, and often the Lord's Prayer, by law or regulation.[1] Ten states, most of them in the West, *forbid* such activities in the public schools.[2]

A recent survey polled school superintendents in a sample of some 4,000 communities on the extent of religious influence in their schools.[3] As the following replies indicate, religious exercises are conducted rarely in public schools in the West, while most schools in the South and East open with either a prayer or the reading of a Biblical passage.

Question: **Are homeroom devotional services[4] held in the schools of your system?**

United States as a Whole

Yes: 50.24% No: 49.76%

By Sections of the Country

	West	Midwest	South	East
Yes:	8.62%	25.95%	88.69%	80.16%
No:	91.38%	74.05%	11.32%	19.83%

Question: **Is Bible reading conducted in the schools of your system?**

United States as a Whole

Yes: 41.74% No: 58.26%

By Sections of the Country

	West	Midwest	South	East
Yes:	11.03%	18.26%	76.84%	67.56%
No:	88.97%	81.74%	23.16%	32.44%

Thus the present-day framework against which the Supreme Court cases must be viewed is far from clear-cut. It is marked by sharply divergent public-school policies and practices throughout the country.

THE CASES BEFORE THE COURT

The Supreme Court is considering two similar cases. Both question the constitutionality of Bible reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer as part of opening exercises in the public schools. In neither case is Bible reading limited to passages of the Old Testament. The lower courts have arrived at conflicting decisions. In Maryland (*Murray* v. *Curlett*), the state Court of Appeals upheld the propriety of these practices. In Pennsylvania (*Abington Township* v. *Schempp*), a Federal Court found Bible reading, with or without recitation of the Lord's Prayer, unconstitutional under the First Amendment.

1. Murray v. Curlett

William J. Murray III, a student attending Woodbourne Junior High School in Baltimore, and his mother, who describe themselves as atheists, are challenging the constitutionality of a regulation of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore, adopted in 1905:

---

[1] *Required* in the District of Columbia and the following 11 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

Permitted in 15 states: Colorado, Hawaii, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma and Texas.

[2] Alaska, Arizona, California, Illinois, Louisiana, Nebraska, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

[3] Richard B. Dierenfield, associate professor of education, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, *Religion in American Public Schools,* Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1962.

[4] "Homeroom devotional services" most often include prayers and Bible reading, sometimes accompanied by short devotional talks and the singing of religious hymns.

> **Opening Exercises. Each school, either collectively or in classes, shall be opened by the reading, without comment, of a chapter in the Holy Bible and/or the use of the Lord's Prayer. The Douay version may be used by those pupils who prefer it. . . .**

After the Murrays questioned these practices, the Board amended its regulation by adding the following proviso:

> **Any child shall be excused from participating in the opening exercises or from attending the opening exercises upon written request of his parent or guardian.**

The Murrays contend that the regulation, even as amended, violates their freedom of religion and the principle of separation of church and state. They lost their case in the lower courts. The Court of Appeals of Maryland concurred, in a 4-3 decision, judging that the daily opening exercises of the Baltimore City public schools violated no constitutional rights. The plaintiffs' appeal is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

2. Abington Township v. Schempp

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lewis Schempp, who are Unitarians and parents of three children attending the public schools in Abington Township, Pennsylvania, have asserted that the Federal Constitution is violated by a Pennsylvania law which requires:

> **At least ten verses from the Holy Bible shall be read, or caused to be read, without comment, at the opening of each public school on each school day, by the teacher in charge. If any school teacher, whose duty it shall be to read the Holy Bible, or cause it to be read, shall fail or omit to do so, said school teacher shall, upon charges preferred for such failure of omission, and proof of the same, before the board of school directors of the school district, be discharged.**

A three-judge Federal Court unanimously found the Pennsylvania statute unconstitutional under the First Amendment. The judges rejected the contention that the Bible was being used principally as a work of art or for its literary or historical significance. The Holy Bible, they said, regardless of the version being read, is "a religious document devoted primarily to bringing man in touch with God."

> **The daily reading of the Bible, buttressed with the authority of the State and, more importantly to children, with the authority of their teachers, can hardly do less than inculcate or promote the inculcation of various religious doctrines in childish minds. Thus, the practice required by the statute amounts to religious instruction or a promotion of religious education. It makes no difference that the religious "truths" inculcated may vary from one child to another. It also makes no difference that a sense of religion may not be instilled.**

The state legislature then amended the law as follows:

> **At least ten verses from the Holy Bible shall be read, without comment, at the opening of each public school on each school day. Any child shall be excused from such Bible reading, or attending such Bible reading, upon the written request of his parent or guardian.**

After a new hearing, the three-judge court again unanimously declared the law unconstitutional. The school board's appeal is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Single Question to Be Decided

These cases do not question the propriety or constitutionality of using the Bible as a source or reference work in the teaching of such subjects as literature, history, art appreciation or social studies which may be part of the regular school curriculum.

The basic question presented is this: Are readings from the Holy Bible and recitation of the Lord's Prayer, conducted by school authorities as part of the opening daily exercises in the public schools, essentially religious services, thus constituting an "establishment of religion" in violation of the U.S. Constitution?

This issue cannot be discussed knowledgeably without going back to its deep-rooted sources in American history.

THE ROOTS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The guarantees of full religious liberty governing our country today developed slowly and painfully.

1. From Persecution to Toleration

Many of our early colonists came to America in search of freedom from England's governmentally ordained and supported church. But during the century and a half before the American Revolution, most of the Colonies adopted the familiar Old World concept of an established church supported by public funds and legal enforcement of orthodoxy.

—In early Virginia and New England, punishments for heresy were severe. Absence from church services was considered a serious civil offense. Only gradually did the practice of inflicting harsh penalties on dissenters fall into disrepute.

—As late as 1776, at least eight of the 13 colonies had a government-established church—either Anglican or Congregational.

—Although a few early crusaders for freedom of conscience, notably Roger Williams and William Penn, welcomed dissenters and separated church and state in their Colonies, it was not until after the Revolution that the movement toward religious freedom for all, including minority religious groups and non-believers, made significant headway.

2. Church-State Separation Enters the Constitution

Even before the drafting of the Bill of Rights, there was mounting conviction among the Founding Fathers that a union of church and state endangered not only individual freedom, but the institutions of religion and government as well. European experience had proved to the leaders of the American Revolution that in every marriage of religion and government, one partner dominated to the detriment of the other. Where the state was all-powerful, the churches became the agent of government, and religious dissent became synonymous with disloyalty. Where the church dominated, civil authority was used to enforce particular beliefs, and political criticism became synonymous with heresy.

Leaders in the drive to write the separation principle into law were James Madison and Thomas Jefferson:

> **We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society; and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance.**
> —James Madison, *A Memorial and Remonstrance on the Religious Rights of Man,* 1778.

The first major step in the development of church-state separation was the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, drafted by Jefferson and enacted in 1786:

> **. . . no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, nor shall . . . suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.**

Finally came the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, written by Madison and adopted as part of the Bill of Rights (1791):

> **Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . .**

These few words are known as the religion clauses of the First Amendment. The first ten words—called the establishment clause — build, in the words of Jefferson, "a wall of separation between church and state."[5] The last six words — called the free exercise clause—assure the right to hold religious beliefs, to worship at will, and to educate one's own children in the faith of one's choice.

It is the first clause—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion"—that is being interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court in the two current cases.

[5]Letter to the Danbury Baptists, 1802.

THE SUPREME COURT DEFINES "SEPARATION"

For a century and a half, the Supreme Court was rarely called upon to interpret the religion clauses of the First Amendment. It was not until 1940 that the Court had occasion to hold those clauses binding on the states as well as the Federal Government under the 14th Amendment.

Since 1947, there has been a steady flow of cases. Within 15 years, the Supreme Court spoke out on the establishment clause six times. Two decisions were outside the field of education.[6] Four dealt with the separation principle as it applies to religion and education:

1. The Court Defines Establishment (Everson v. Board of Education)

In 1947, in a 5-4 decision, the Court held that New Jersey could provide free bus transportation to children attending private — including church-related — schools. Free bus rides to parochial schools were viewed as a service to the child, not to the religious institution, and hence were judged not in violation of the separation principle. In interpreting that principle, the Court, speaking through Justice Hugo Black, laid down the following list of specific prohibitions:

> **Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to church or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups or vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and state."**

2. The Court Reiterates the Definition (McCollum v. Board of Education)

In 1948, the *Everson* definition of the establishment clause was the Court's frame of reference for declaring unconstitutional the released-time program of religious education held on public-school premises in Champaign, Illinois.

3. The Court Carves an Exception (Zorach v. Clauson)

In 1952, in a 6-3 decision, the Court upheld the constitutionality of New York's released-time program, which involved religious education off public-school premises. This decision caused some confusion and encouraged some religious leaders to reassert that the First Amendment does not bar non-preferential aid to religion.

The majority opinion, written by Justice William O. Douglas, did say, "We follow the *McCollum* case." But it also said, "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." As a caution, the ruling stressed that public authorities may not "undertake religious instruction nor blend secular and sectarian instruction."

4. The Court Clarifies (Engel v. Vitale)

In 1962, in a 6-1 decision, the Court reaffirmed once again the far-reaching 1947 interpretation of the separation principle, holding that the required recital of an official prayer[7] in New York public schools was unconstitutional. Justice Black, again speaking for the majority, declared:

> **[The establishment clause] stands as an expression of principle on the part of the Founders of our Constitution that religion is**

---

[6]It is unconstitutional to require belief in God as a condition to holding public office (*Torcaso* v. *Watkins*, 1961). Sunday closing laws do not constitute an establishment of religion (*McGowan* v. *Maryland*, 1961).

[7]"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

too personal, too sacred, too holy, to permit its "unhallowed perversion" by a civil magistrate.

. . . each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.

Significance of the Regents' Prayer Decision

Public opinion is divided as to precisely what prayers and religious references are banned—or permitted—by the Court's ruling in *Engel* v. *Vitale.* Disagreement ranges from one extreme to another.

The Narrow Interpretation: That the 1962 decision rules out of the public schools *only* state-composed prayers.

This view overlooks the broad compass of Justice Black's majority opinion. Seemingly the Court had more in mind than prayers written by state officials, since it cautioned expressly against *any* prescribed prayers:

> **The first amendment was added to the Constitution to stand as a guarantee that neither the power nor the prestige of the Federal Government would be used to control, support or influence the kinds of prayer the American people can say . . .**
>
> **. . . government in this country, be it state or federal, is without power to prescribe by law the particular form of prayer which is to be used as an official prayer in carrying out any program of governmentally sponsored religious activity.**

The Broad Interpretation: That the decision is a sweeping ban against all references to a Supreme Being in public life.

This does not take into consideration a footnote clearly to the contrary in Justice Black's ruling:

> **There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that school children and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance.**

A careful reading of the decision suggests: The Court's actual intent lies somewhere between these two extremes. The Regents' Prayer decision does more than merely forbid state-composed prayers in the schools—and does less than rule out all references to God from public life.

ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON

Those in favor of the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading as part of public-school exercises generally argue that these practices (1) enrich young people spiritually and strengthen their moral values; and (2) do not violate the establishment clause, being neither sectarian nor compulsory.

Those in opposition reason that these exercises (1) breach the wall of separation between church and state by officially imposing a sectarian "religion" on public-school children; and (2) violate sound educational and religious principles, with both public education and religion suffering as a result.

The following rundown presents the principal arguments on each side.

For Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools

- The Founding Fathers did not intend to exclude all religious content from civic life. To ban recitation of the Lord's Prayer and reading of the Bible is to deny children the right to share in their country's spiritual heritage.
- A brief prayer or reading from the Bible at the start of the school day gives an uplifting tone to all school activities and strengthens traditional moral and religious values.
- Bible reading familiarizes children with lessons which the Bible alone is capable of imparting with authority.

- It is not enough to study the Bible as part of the world's great literature. It should be used for continued spiritual inspiration as the mainspring of faith, the base upon which our great Western religions were founded.
- Even if some youngsters do not understand the selected excerpts, they serve as a minimal symbolic recognition of the place of religion in our culture.
- The Lord's Prayer expresses a devotion shared by all who believe in one God.
- Since the Bible is read without comment, and pupils are given a choice of the King James or Douay version, the simple reading of a passage is not a sectarian exercise.
- Since students may be excused for reasons of conscience, religious freedom is preserved.
- Prayers and Bible reading reflect the religious commitment of the majority of Americans. Religious freedom is infringed when a minority persuades the Court to rule religion out of the public schools.
- Government is not required to be hostile to religion, but to be neutral among the various beliefs that Americans profess.

Against Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools

- Any prayer is an act of devotion, a basic avowal of faith. The Bible is recognized as the Word of God by those who sponsor its use in the schools. The requirement that a passage be read "without comment" is acknowledgment of the religious nature of the work. Thus the opening exercises are clearly religious.
- Devotional exercises in the public schools blend the secular and religious, constituting an aid to religion banned by the establishment clause.
- When state agencies place their stamp of approval on particular religious exercises, these exercises are given special status.
- Majority rule cannot impose a state-sanctioned religion in public education; under the establishment clause, no orthodoxy may ever gain preference over unorthodoxy.
- The Lord's Prayer, so named because it was set forth by Jesus as a prayer for his followers, is a sectarian, Christian prayer.
- The necessary choice of which Bible to use as the school text reopens a historic conflict: Catholics have objected to the King James version; Jews have objected to passages of the New Testament; nonbelievers have objected to any version of the Bible being presented as the Word of God.
- The Bible should have a place in the school curriculum. Just as young people become acquainted with sacred music or religious art, so they should study the Bible in the context of literature and history. This is, however, quite different from using the Bible for religious stimulation.
- It is pedagogically unsound to read passages from the Scriptures which are not understood by many children, since explanatory comment is forbidden.
- When, for reasons of conscience, a school child is excused from participating in the prayer or reading, the situation is psychologically damaging. If he absents himself, he is branded as "different"; thus the public school, ideally a unifying force, is cast into a divisive role. If he remains despite his personal convictions, the school is then guilty of encouraging hypocrisy.
- A desire to keep religious practices out of the schools should not be equated with hostility to religion. The aim of separating the two institutions is to strengthen and enrich both.
- Laws and school directives that make prayer recitation and Bible reading part of classroom routine do not foster sincere devotion. By requiring participation in "public-school" or "least-common-denominator" religious exercises, the schools encourage surface piety rather than true religious commitment and inner response. Religion flourishes best when nurtured by the church and the home, free of official coercion.

Whatever the outcome of the Court's deliberations may be in the present cases, the forthcoming ruling will mark yet another effort to clarify American church-state relationships—for the greater benefit of religion and democracy.

The goal, for the Court as for all Americans, was summarized in 1960 by President John F. Kennedy:

> **I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish . . . where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials . . . where religious intolerance will someday end—where all men and all churches are treated as equal—where every man has the right to attend or not to attend the church of his choice.**

The problem of religion in education is a vital national concern. Like many other problems, it can be best met by a thoughtful citizenry armed with facts and an understanding of the basic issues at stake.

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is a pioneer human-relations organization dedicated to combating bigotry, safeguarding the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing those rights for all people of all religions and ancestries.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS • 165 E. 56 ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

The Committee raises the funds for its diversified human-relations program at home and abroad through its nationwide Appeal for Human Relations

Second printing,
April 1963

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Number 21655

L. J. O'CALLAGHAN, et al., as members of the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta,

Plaintiffs in Error,

- against -

CARLA C. AIKENS, a minor
by A. T. AIKENS, n/b/f,

Defendant in Error.

BRIEF OF THE ATLANTA CHAPTER OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; EXECUTIVE BOARD, GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES; SOUTHEASTERN REGION OF ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF GEORGIA; THE BISHOP AND THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ATLANTA; AND ATLANTA JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL.

AS AMICI CURIAE

MORRIS B. ABRAM
HERMAN HEYMAN
CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
JAMES MACKAY
SAMUEL L. EPLAN
LANIER RANDALL
EDWIN L. STERNE
CHARLES W. BERGMAN
JUSTIN J. FINGER
Attorneys for Amici Curiae

Before Scotus

Regents Prayer = NY = Non-sec. prayer...

Schempp Case = Pa = Statute on Bible reading...

Caseamended = Excuse as in Ga —

Scotus sent back for another look

Ruled unconst. again

appealed now —

Ga: Reading req. by law...

can be excused from listening...

News Release From:

Executive Board,
Georgia Council of Churches
Executive Committee,
United Church Women of Georgia
Atlanta Jewish Community Council
The Bishop and The Standing Committee
of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta
Atlanta Chapter,
American Jewish Committee
Southeastern Regional Board of the
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Six organizations today filed a joint brief in the Georgia Supreme Court attacking the use of public funds to support private sectarian education. The brief was signed by the Executive Board, Georgia Council of Churches, Executive Committee, United Church Women of Georgia, Atlanta Jewish Community Council, The Bishop and the Standing Committee of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta, the Atlanta Chapter, American Jewish Committee, and the Southeastern Regional Board of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The brief is believed to be the first such cooperative action in Georgia by the organizations involved.

Signers of the friend of the court brief said they share a common commitment to "separation of church and state in the interests of both," and to a belief in religious liberty for all. They stated their organizations are composed of members who have a positive attitude toward the role of religion in modern society and devoutly worship God.

The brief supported the position being taken by the Atlanta Board of Education in Aikens v. O'Callaghan, the first test case arising under the

Georgia tuition grant law. The Board is seeking reversal of a decision in the Fulton Superior Court awarding Carla Aikens a grant of tax-raised funds to attend the Arlington Schools, a private institution.

While there are numerous issues in the case, the six local organizations stated they confined the brief to the relationship of church and state.

The tuition grant law, passed in 1961 and amended in 1962, limits educational grants "for the purpose of attending a private, non-sectarian school." The Christian and Jewish groups argue that both the Federal and State Constitutions prohibit the use of tuition grants in a religiously oriented and sectarian school, such as Arlington.

Among the precedents cited in the brief is the case of Bennett v. City of La Grange, decided in 1922. In that case the Georgia Supreme Court held unconstitutional the payment of money by the City Government of La Grange to the Salvation Army for welfare work. The Salvation Army, the court pointed out, teaches "Christian truth" and is therefore sectarian.

Arlington's promotion brochure states that it is: "An educational institution where Christian faith and living are reflected in policy, practices, and persons." The school also gives courses in Sacred Studies and Bible and teaches the divinity of Jesus. In the opinion of the filing organizations, such a curriculum makes Arlington as sectarian as the Salvation Army, and therefore ineligible for public funds. The brief cites another decision of the Georgia Supreme Court which held that the City of Savannah could not grant funds to a Catholic hospital.

In the present case, the evidence shows that the money requested by

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SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Number 21655

L.J. O'CALLAHAN, et al., as members of the
Board of Education of the City of Atlanta,

Plaintiffs in Error,

- against -

CARLA C. AIKENS, a minor
by A. T. AIKENS, n/b/f,

Defendant in Error.

BRIEF OF THE ATLANTA CHAPTER OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; EXECUTIVE BOARD, GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES; SOUTHEASTERN REGION OF ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF GEORGIA; THE BISHOP AND THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ATLANTA; AND ATLANTA JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL

AS AMICI CURIAE

INTEREST OF THE AMICI

This case places in issue the constitutionality, under both state and Federal constitutions, of using tax-raised funds appropriated for the operation of the public schools to support private schools which teach from a religious and sectarian viewpoint. We deem it appropriate,

at this point, to state that the membership of the organizations which appear herein as amici, and which are described briefly in the Appendix, consists of large numbers of people who have a positive attitude toward the role of religion in modern society and devoutly worship God. But the constituency of the amici also wholeheartedly support the public policy of our state and Federal constitutions which requires separation of church and state in the interest of both. This policy rests upon the premise "that both religion and government can best work to achieve their lofty aims if each is left free from the other within its respective sphere." McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203, 212 (1948). This policy also is the firmest safeguard of religious freedom for all.

One of the oldest and gravest threats to the independence of both the church and the state is the use of public funds to aid religious institutions. The importance of this issue to the American public is highlighted by the current debate over the use of federal funds to subsidize parochial schools.

It is for these reasons that the amici view with deep concern the decision of the trial judge in the Fulton Superior Court which would authorize the use of tax-raised funds to support the Arlington Schools, a sectarian institution. The decision, if upheld, would create a dangerous precedent which could be used to weaken or destroy the American tradition of separation of church and state which has been characterized by Bryce in The American Commonwealth as perhaps "the most salient...of all the differences between the Old World and the New." (2nd Ed., 1908, at 643).

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

The Legislature of Georgia in 1961 enacted the Education Grants Act (Georgia Laws, 1961, pp35-38). This statute declares that every school child, in lieu of attending the public school, shall be entitled to receive a grant of public funds "to be expended for the purpose of attending a non-sectarian private school." The statute was enacted to provide a means by which a child who was unwilling to attend a desegregated public school in his district could obtain state financial assistance to enable him to attend a private nonsectarian school of his choice.

The Plaintiff, Carla C. Aikens, a student of the Arlington Schools in Atlanta, petitioned the Superior Court for a writ of mandamus directing the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta to pay over to her the amount of public funds called for by the statute to help finance her education in that school. The Board of Education resisted the demand on a number of grounds. This brief deals only with one of those grounds--that involving the use of public funds to aid the Plaintiff to obtain an education in the Arlington Schools which is a religious and sectarian institution.

During the trial evidence was taken on the nature of the Arlington Schools, its purpose, policies, curriculum and teaching practices. At the conclusion of the trial, the trial judge ruled in favor of the Plaintiff and issued the writ. In his order, giving the reasons for his determination, he held that Arlington Schools is a nonsectarian school. An appeal was taken by the Board of Education from that order. The amici herein take issue with that part of the determination of the trial judge that the Arlington Schools is nonsectarian and the bases used by him to arrive at that conclusion.

The amici realize that other important issues are raised on this appeal by the Plaintiffs in Error, but having a particular interest in the doctrine of the separation of Church and State, they, therefore, limit their discussion to this issue.

ARGUMENT

I. USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS IN AID OR SUPPORT OF RELIGIOUS AND SECTARIAN SCHOOLS VIOLATES BOTH FEDERAL AND STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

A. THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution provides, in part, as follows:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof...

This provision against action by Congress has been held equally applicable to action by the states or any of their political subdivisions, including public school boards. Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296 (1940); Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105 (1943); McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).

The meaning of the Establishment of Religion Clause has been spelled out by the United States Supreme Court in Everson v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 1 (1947), as follows:

> The "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance.

> No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect a "wall of separation between Church and State." Id., at 15-16.

There was no disagreement between the majority and minority opinions in Everson concerning that meaning. The U.S. Supreme Court noted such agreement in McCollum v. Board of Education, supra, at 211, and in Torcaso v. Watkins, 367, U.S. 488, 493 (1961). This interpretation of the Establishment Clause was reaffirmed in McGowan v. Maryland, 366 U.S. 420, 443 (1961) and in Torcaso, supra, at 492-3.

By the frequent reassertion of this broad interpretation of the Establishment Clause, the United States Supreme Court has rejected all efforts, such as by the Supreme Court of Maryland in Torcaso, to narrow or restrict the meaning of that clause.

One form of government action expressly prohibited in the above interpretation of the Establishment Clause in Everson, McCollum, McGowan and Torcaso, is the use of tax-raised funds "to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion." Also in Zorach v. Clauson, 343 U.S, 306 (1952) where the U.S. Supreme Court "followed the McCollum case" (Id., at 315) the Court's opinion expressly stated that "government may not finance religious groups..." Id, at 314.

This view of the sweep of the First Amendment is traceable directly to Madison's "Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments" which he promulgated in 1785 against a bill in Virginia for an assessment for the

support of "Teachers of the Christian religion." In one of the fifteen arguments advanced by Madison against the assessment bill, he said:

> Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other Religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other Sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever? II Madison, 183-191, cited by Rutledge in Everson, supra, at 63, 65-66.

In the Virginia statute establishing religious freedom, which was enacted following the defeat of the Assessment Bill, it was stated that "To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical" 12 Laws of Va. 80 (Hening 1823).

Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1961) defines "Religion" as "One of the systems of faith and worship". In its discussion of synonyms the Dictionary defines "Religion" as "a general term esp. applicable to the great revelations and the larger subdivisions among their believers (the Christian religion) (the Roman Catholic or Methodist religion)." Id., at 1918.

Clearly, then, judicial decision, history and tradition, and generally accepted usage support the conclusion that the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment was intended to prohibit use of public funds to aid any religious institution including one governed in its policies and practices by the Christian faith.

The use of public funds to aid institutions governed in their policies and practices by the Christian faith would force adherents of the non-Christian faiths to contribute through taxation to the support of religious

institutions whose tenets they disapprove. This is one of the very evils that the First Amendment was designed to avoid. 1/

Under the First Amendment public aid to any religious institution is prohibited. The ban is not limited to denominations or divisions within the major religious faiths. Such an interpretation would, in effect, prefer the larger religious groups over smaller groups which regard their particular tenets as sufficiently different to justify their setting themselves up as separate denominations within the larger group. Such a limited interpretation of the prohibition of the First Amendment would pervert its intent. It would tend to perpetuate orthodoxy and discourage dissent. As Mr. Justice Jackson stated eloquently in West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319, U.S. 624 (1943):

> If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us. Id, at 642.

No authority would appear to be needed to establish that the use of public funds to provide operating expenses for a religious institution or school would be aid prohibited under the First Amendment. One of the prime sources of operating funds for private schools is tuition payments. The Supreme Court of Vermont had no difficulty in holding that the state could not use its public funds to provide tuition payments on behalf of children attending Catholic parochial schools. Swart v. South Burlington Town School District, 167, A. 2d (Vt.) 514 (1961). The Vermont Court ruled that the use of tax-

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1. "The most serious infringement upon religious liberty before our Federal Bill of Rights was adopted was the use of tax-raised funds for religious purposes." Pfeffer, Leo, "Some Current Issues in Church and State", 13 Western Reserve Law Review 18 (Dec., 1961).

raised funds to pay tuition was public support to the private school in the performance of its educational function, which was "inseparate" from its religious function. It thus distinguished tuition payments from payments for bus transportation of children to and from religious schools, which was the form of aid in issue in the Everson case. In Everson, the United States Supreme Court upheld a New Jersey statute providing for reimbursement of parents for the transportation costs of sending their children to parochial schools. The majority opinion considered the transportation of children to and from the school as a form of "government service" to protect children against highway hazards, similar to "ordinary police and fire protection" and separate and distinct from the religious function of the school. While the Court recognized that the school might secure some indirect benefit from the public financing of such service, as indeed it does from police and fire protection, it did not regard such remote benefits as running afoul of the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Thus, the Court based its decision on the theory that the aid provided by the state was for the benefit of the child and not of the religious school. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court emphasized that the New Jersey statute "approaches the verge" of the state's power to provide for the safety of its children. It expressly stated that New Jersey could not "contribute tax-raised funds to the support of an institution which teaches the tenets and faith of any church." Everson v. Board of Education, supra, at 16-17.

That the "child benefit theory" of Everson cannot be extended beyond

public financing of transportation to and from parochial schools [2] was recently emphasized in Dickman v. School District No. 62C, 366 P. 2d 533 (Oregon, 1961), where the state Supreme Court said:

> The difficulty with this theory is, however, that unless it is qualified in some way it can be used to justify the expenditure of public funds for every educational purpose, because all educational aids are of benefit to the pupil. Id, at 539-40.

The Oregon Court saw a more meaningful line of demarcation between permitted and forbidden aid in the distinction between public benefits conferred upon religious institutions to aid them in their religious functions and public benefits which such institutions enjoy in common with all other community institutions. [3] "The benefits of police and fire protection, sewage disposal, and other community financed services accrue to churches, not as religious organizations but as owners of property in the community." Id, at 543.

Predicated upon this distinction, the Supreme Court of Oregon struck down a state statute which required the public school boards to provide free text books for children attending the parochial schools. The Court held that the statute violated Article I, Section 5 of the Oregon Constitution which, like Article I, Secrion I, Paragraph XIV, of the Georgia Constitution, prohibits use of state funds for the benefit of religious institutions.

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2. Several state supreme courts, since the Everson decision, rejected the theory that free transportation to religious schools could be justified as a benefit to the child. Visser v. Nooksack, Valley School District, 33 Wash. 2d 699; 207 P. 2d 198 (1949); McVey v. Hawkins, 364 Mo. 44; 258 S.W. 2d 927 (1953); Matthews v. Quinton, 362 P. 2d (Alaska, 1961); app. dismissed, February 19, 1962, 30 USLW 3256.

3. See also, Rosenfield, Harry N., "Separation of Church and State in the Public Schools", 22 U. of Pitts. Law Review 561, 580 (Mar. 1961).

B. THE GEORGIA CONSTITUTION

At least 46 of the state constitutions prohibit the appropriation of public funds to schools controlled by religious organizations. 50 Yale Law Journal 917 (1941). See, also, 60 Harvard Law Review 793, 794, (1947). Many of these state constitutional limitations are more specific than the language of the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The highest state courts in a number of jurisdictions have interpreted their state constitutions as imposing stricter limitations on the use of public funds than those imposed by the First Amendment as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court.

Thus, in 1949 the Washington Supreme Court, in interpreting that State's constitution, said:

> ...we must, in light of the clear provisions of our state constitution and our decisions thereunder, respectfully disagree with those portions of the Everson majority opinion which might be construed, in the abstract, as stating that transportation, furnished at public expense, to children attending religious schools, is not in support of such schools. While the degree of support necessary to constitute an establishment of religion under the First Amendment to the Federal constitution is foreclosed from consideration by reason of the decision in the Everson case, supra, we are constrained to hold that the Washington constitution although based upon the same precepts, is a clear denial of the rights herein asserted by appellants. Visser v. Nooksack Valley School District, supra. 2/

Similarly, the Supreme Court of Missouri, also subsequent to the Everson decision, rejected the child benefit theory and ruled that transportation of parochial school children on public school buses violated the state constitution. McVey v. Hawkins, supra. 2/

Alaska, as recently as last year, followed the above mentioned state courts, as well as pre-Everson decisions of Delaware, Oklahoma and

Kentucky, 4/ when it held that the transportation of school children to non-public schools at public expense, would violate the Alaska constitution. Matthews v. Quinton, supra. 2/

From its very inception as a state, Georgia's constitution contained strict requirements of separation of state and church. The constitution of 1777 provided that "All persons whatever shall have the free exercise of their religion; provided it be not repugnant to the peace and safety of the State; and shall not, unless by consent, support any teacher or teachers except those of their own profession." The next constitution, adopted in 1789, contained the following clause: "All persons shall have the free exercise of religion, without being obliged to contribute to the support of any religious profession but their own."

The constitution of 1798 contained the following section to guarantee separation of church and state in Georgia:

> Sec. 10. No person within this State shall, upon any pretense, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping God in a manner agreeable to his own conscience, nor be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall he ever be obliged to pay tiths, taxes, or any other rate, for the building or repairing any place of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister of ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or hath voluntarily engaged to do. No one religious society shall ever be established in this State, in preference to another, nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.

The strong tradition of separation in Georgia finds expression in the present constitution which contains three paragraphs dealing with religious freedom and non-establishment.

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4. State ex rel. Traub v. Brown, 36 Del. 181; 172 Atl. 835 (1934); Gurney v. Ferguson, 190 Okla. 254, 122 P. 2d. 1002 (1941); Sherrard v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 294 Ky. 469; 171 S.W. 2d. 963 (1942).

These paragraphs were taken from the constitution of 1877 and appear in Article I, Section I of the constitution of 1945. They read as follows:

> Paragraph XII. All men have the natural and inalienable right to worship God, each according to the dictates of his own conscience, and no human authority should in any case control or interfere with such right of conscience. (Sec. 2-112, Book I, Ann. Code of Ga.).
>
> Paragraph XIII. No inhabitant of this State shall be molested in person or property, or prohibited from holding any public office or trust, on account of his religious opinions; but the right of liberty of conscience shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State. (Sec. 2-113, op. cit.)
>
> Paragraph XIV. No money shall ever be taken from the public treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect, or denomination of religionists, or of any sectarian institution. (Sec. 2-114, op. cit.)

We turn to a discussion of Paragraph XIV, which must be the basis for the decision in this case. We note that this prohibition on establishment is much more specific than in the First Amendment of the Federal constitution.

First, public funds may not be used "directly or indirectly" to aid religious groups or institutions. The prohibition on the indirect use of public funds to aid religious groups indicates that Georgia belongs with that group of states which prohibits the use of public funds to pay for the transportation of children to and from parochial schools, since such subsidy is at the very least an "indirect" benefit to the school. Everson v. Board of Education, supra, at 18. The Attorney General of Georgia has so held in an opinion dated April 4, 1947, subsequent to the Everson decision.

Secondly, the terms "church, sect, or denomination of religionists" describe in the broadest language the groups barred from receiving public

benefits. The juxtaposition of the word "sect" with "church" and "denomination of religionists" make it clear that "sect" and "sectarian" appearing in the same sentence are used in their broad meaning. This broad meaning of "sectarian" describes "the activities of the followers of one faith as related to those of adherents of another". 76 Corpus Juris Secundum 739.

It was this broad definition of "sectarian" that the Supreme Courts of California and North Dakota referred to in interpreting their constitutions' prohibitions on the use of public funds for sectarian purposes or institutions. Evans v. Selma Union High School District of Fresno Co., 193 Cal. 54; 222 P. 610 (1924); Gerhardt v. Heid, 66 N.D. 444; 267 N.W. 127 (1936).

This broad definition of the adjective "sectarian" was adopted by this Court in its opinion in Bennett v. City of LaGrange, 153 Ga. 428 (1922). There, after asking whether the Salvation Army was a "sectarian institution", this Court proceeded to define the term "religious sect" in its broad sense as meaning a group which subscribes to "a common system of faith". Id., at 433. Based on such broad definition of the terms "sect" and "sectarian" it held the Salvation Army to be sectarian in that

> ...it preaches the gospel of Christ, and undertakes to disseminate Christian truth, in all probability the peculiar doctrines and tenets of some branch of Protestantism, in preference to Catholicism, the doctrines of the Jewish religion, Mohammedanism, and the various other religions of the world. The fact that it undertakes to disseminate Christian truth, which many people believe to be the highest and holiest form of religion, does not render it unsectarian. Id., at 433-434.

The Bennett case was followed by this Court in Richter v. Mayor and Alderman of Savannah, 160 Ga. 178 (1925) where a contribution of public funds to a Roman Catholic hospital was held unconstitutional.

The trial judge relies primarily upon language found in the majority opinion of Wilkerson v. City of Rome, 152 Ga. 762. The Wilkerson case involved the constitutionality of an ordinance of the City of Rome which provided for the reading in the public schools of the city of an extract from the King James' version of the Bible without comment and the giving of a brief prayer at the opening of school exercises. State courts have differed in the conclusions reached on this subject. 5/ The opinion in the Wilkerson case must be read in the light of the issue with which it dealt. This is made clear when this case is compared with Bennett v. City of LaGrange, supra, which was decided by a court composed of the same justices only three months after the decision in the Wilkerson case. There is a substantial difference between the reading of a brief passage from the Bible without comment and the furnishing of tuition for attendance at a religious and sectarian school. In the next subdivision of this brief we refer to the evidence which clearly establishes that the Arlington school is such a sectarian institution. We quote again from Bennett v. City of LaGrange, supra, where the court points out "The fact that it undertakes to disseminate Christian truth, which many people believe to be the highest and holiest form of religion, does not render it unsectarian."

---

5. The highest courts of a number of states have differed in public school Bible reading cases arising under their constitutions. See the following cases cited in the lower court's Order: Hackett v. Brooksville Graded School District, 120 Ky. 608; 87 S.W. 792 (1905); People ex rel. Vollmer v. Stanley, 81 Colo. 276; 255 Pac. 601 (1927); Donahoe v. Richard, 38 Me. 379 (1854). But see, People ex rel. Ring v. Board of Education, 245 Ill. 334; 92 N.E. 251 (1910); Herold v. Parish Board of School Directors, 136 La. 1034, 60 So. 116 (1915); State ex. rel. Weiss v. District Board, 76 Wisc. 177; 44 N.W. 967 (1890); Clithero v. Showwalter, 159 Wash. 519; 293 Pac. 1000 (1930). The most recent decision is that of the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, Schempp v. School District of Abington Township, 201 F. Supp. 815, Feb. 5, 1962, which held Bible reading in the public schools violative of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.

II. THE ARLINGTON SCHOOLS IS A RELIGIOUS AND A SECTARIAN INSTITUTION.

The Arlington Schools described its character, policies and objectives in a brochure entitled "General Information - Philosophy" which had as its obvious purpose to inform the general public of the nature of the institution. Defendants' Exhibit 3, Record, Page 559. This brochure was prepared and published before the start of the controversy which gave rise to this action. One section of that brochure is addressed to "Parents and Patrons". It lists for their "information", "the Educational Mission of the Arlington School" under roman numerals "I" and "II". The purposes listed under "I" may be described as of a purely secular nature. Given equal rank, under "II" is the following:

> II. To serve our state and nation as an educational institution where Christian faith and living are without apology reflected in policy, practices and persons.

This is a very clear statement that the objective of the Arlington Schools is, in addition to teaching regular secular subjects, to teach and inculcate "Christian faith and living".

By this statement, the school authorities identify the institution as religious and sectarian. Since the statement says forthrightly that the school's policy, practices and persons are governed by "Christian faith and living", which is distinct from non-Christian faiths, the school is sectarian. By the same standards, a school holding itself out as governed by "Jewish faith and living" would be a religious and sectarian institution and non-Jewish children--even though not expressly excluded--would not be expected to be found among the students, just as no non-Christian

children are among the students of the Arlington Schools. (Record, page 244.)

The religious and sectarian character of the Arlington Schools is also disclosed by the testimony of Reverend Walter Miller Crowe, Commander Charles Edward Owens, Jr., and Reverend Albert Elliott Simmons, all of whom were witnesses for the Plaintiff, whose veracity the Plaintiff thus vouched for.

A. THE TESTIMONY OF THE REVEREND MR. CROWE

Q. I will ask you if you know whether or not religious instructions are taught, or offered and taught in the Arlington Schools?

A. Yes, sir, religious instruction is given in the Arlington Schools. (Record, p. 179.)

Q. Is it your understanding that those instructions are in the Christian faith, as it is commonly known and administered?

A. Yes, sir, that is my understanding. (Record, p. 180.)

A. It is my understanding that religious teaching is a part of the regular curriculum of the school. (Record, p. 181.)

Q. Reverend Mr. Crowe, now, you say that you gained the impression that the school instructed its students in the Christian faith?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you mean by the Christian faith?

A. I mean those things that relate to the Judaic-Christian tradition, as it would generally be held by Christians of any kind regardless of their particular denominational affiliations. (Record, pp. 186-87.)

B. THE TESTIMONY OF HEADMASTER OWENS

Q. Commander, would you not say, that this is a Christian educational institution?

A. Without apology.

Q. The religious studies given tend towards teaching the Christian faith, not by Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, and so forth, but Christianity as was more or less defined by Reverend Mr. Crowe on the stand?

A. Yes, sir, within the framework of strictly the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Q. As I understand your testimony, you do not try to mold the mind of this child in the direction of any particular branch of Christianity, as say, Baptist, Methodist, but generally towards the idea of Christianity?

A. That is true, sir.

Q. We are speaking of Christianity there as being that rule of life or living that molds itself after Jesus Christ?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, pp. 196-97.)

Q. Many parents patronize your school so that their children may be properly indoctrinated in the Christian faith?

A. Mr. Latimer, I think, yes, that we would have probably a goodly number of parents that attend our school, have their children attend our school because of the purpose that we do and we are teaching from the Christian point of view, yes. (Record, p. 198.)

Q. ...It is true, is it not, that you do hold yourself out as an educational institution where Christian faith and living are without apology reflected in policy, practices, and persons, and that is so stated in your brochure for Arlington Schools?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I believe, if I am correct, that you made a statement to the effect that your children were indoctrinated in the Christian beliefs?

A. The term, indoctrinated, I may take exception to - - Christian beliefs are presented to them, that precept.

Q. Theology is taught, there are instructions in theological subjects offered at The Arlington Schools?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, pp. 225-26.)

Q. You do have a theologian on your Board of Directors?

A. We have an ordained minister. (Record, p. 223.)

Q. He is a voting member of that Board of Directors?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, p. 223.)

Q. Is it not true, Commander Owens, that your school teaches that Christianity - - not denominational, now, I am not referring to Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, but just Christianity - - as defined as being that branch of religion which professes faith in Jesus Christ as the son of God is taught in The Arlington Schools as a way of life?

A. That is true, sir. (Record, p. 227.)

Q. I'll ask you, if The Arlington Schools has religious instructions or any religious instruction in that institution?

A. The courses that are taught in the Bible and the Sacred Studies courses, yes.

Q. The answer, then, would be, yes?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, p. 228.)

Q. (By the Court): What do you mean when you say that Arlington Schools teach religion?

A. I am accepting the definition that religion pertains to the teaching of the Bible, sir; and if religion means teaching the Bible, we are teaching religion, sir.

Q. Mr. Latimer, asked you, if Arlington Schools taught religion; you said, as the Court understood, that it did. The Court wants to know what you mean by that answer.

A. I mean that we teach the Bible and Christianity. (Record, p. 229.)

Q. When you say The Arlington Schools practices religion, what do you mean by that?

A. Judge Pye, if I may venture an opinion, my personal opinion and philosophy: Christianity, being a way of life, I don't think it can be taught pedagogically, as we teach English or algebra. I think it has to be lived, and we attempt to provide a Christian environment for the children in which they can see these precepts and tenets of Christianity in practice, that is, through the life of the school and through the individuals with whom they come in contact. (Record, p. 230.)

Q. The question by the Court, as I recall, was if you prefer one religion above another; and your answer was, no. How do you reconcile that with the fact that in your brochure to your parents, under Roman numeral II, you say this: "To serve our state and nation as an educational institution where Christian faith and living are without apology reflected in policy, practices and persons." Now, does that not imply that you prefer Christianity over another religion?

A. I think we have made the statement, sir, that we are teaching from a Christian point of view. May I elaborate, Mr. Latimer?

Q. Yes, sir.

A. As a man who is interested in children, from the standpoint of teaching, my personal belief is that you can not teach from a neutral point of view. You are either teaching from a Christian or an atheistic point of view. And from this standpoint, sir, we are a Christian school, yes.

Q. Christianity is a religion?

A. Yes, sir, it is a religion.

Q. We all believe that Christianity is a religion, I think?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The Court asked you, what do you mean by, that your school teaches religion; as I recall, your answer was: We teach the Bible and Christianity.

A. I was trying to make a point there that when you refer to religion, I wanted to, as a matter of record, it is not a particular religion, religion per se.

Q. Not a particular denomination?

A. Yes, sir - - thank you.

Q. But, we are all agreed, I understand, that you do teach Christianity?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, pp. 234-35.)

Q. Commander Owens, with reference to the reading from the Bible without interpretation, it is true, isn't it, that the whole principle of your school and its philosophy and its way of living is Christianity, or Christian, is it not?

A. Christian oriented.

Q. And is it true that the very fountainhead of Christianity is Jesus Christ?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, pp. 396-97.)

Q. And that your teachings do impart to the students that Christ was the Son of God?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that Christ and the Holy Ghost and God are the Holy Trinity and one and the same?

A. We do not teach the Trinity, sir.

(THE COURT): Now, do you teach anything about the Holy Ghost at all?

A. No, sir. (Record, p. 397.)

C. THE TESTIMONY OF THE REVEREND MR. SIMMONS

Q. What general topic subjects were taught last year in your classes?

A. Last year, I came into the school to fulfill a position of a teacher, that was ill, and I took up the study of a book that they had, which was an outline course on the life of Jesus using the Bible as the textbook, the Gospels as a textbook, and this outline course as a guide of study. (Record, p. 239.)

Q. So, whether the child is getting religious instruction through history or through Sacred Studies, they are still getting the precepts and the principles of Christianity?

A. Yes, sir. (Record, p. 255.)

Q. Do you attempt to influence your students to think that a person believing in any part of the Christian faith, any denomination of the Christian faith, is a better person than a believer of the Jewish faith?

A. As I understand the question, you asked me concerning denominations, whether one denomination is better than another. I think I teach and feel and the whole matter of life is that the Christian faith is more complete, or better, than the Jewish faith, but denominations do not enter in. (Record, p. 263.)

Q. In your particular instruction do you ever attempt, to impress on your students that one religious idea should be preferred over other religious ideas?

A. I think, by implication, I teach that the Christian ideas are to be preferred.

Q. Do you teach that the Roman Catholic ideas are preferable over the ideas of the Church of God, for instance, in religious matters?

A. No, sir. (Record, p. 264.)

The testimony also established that children attending the first through

the seventh grades received forty-five minutes instruction each week in Bible Studies. The children in the eighth through eleventh grades received a like amount of instruction in Sacred Studies which was given by Reverend Simmons. (Record, p. 193.) This type of instruction in religion is completely different from the reading, without comment, of one or two short passages from the Bible which was the basis for litigation in the many cases cited in footnote 5, supra. Obviously, then, a forty-five minute course devoted to "Bible Studies" or "Sacred Studies" involves instruction in the Holy Scriptures and is bound to include comment, interpretation and explanation.

The court below placed heavy reliance on the admitted fact that Arlington is not subject to the control of any external religious society. This can hardly be considered controlling in light of the descriptive language of the brochure as to the policy and practices of the school and the heavy religious content of the curriculum as described by the Arlington witnesses.

Also in light of the brochure and the testimony, it is surprising to find in the Order of the Court below the statement that "the contention that Arlington School is sectarian does not rest upon the slightest foundation of evidence." Implicit in the court's Order is the assumption that Arlington is non-sectarian. This is based upon the court's equation of Christianity with morality. Its questioning of witnesses Crowe, Owens and Simmons clearly reflects this interpretation.

There is no doubt that Christianity has made a major contribution to

western civilization's concepts of morality, as has Judiasm. However, it is error to equate Christianity with morality. In addition to teaching certain moral precepts, Christianity is a system of faith based on revelation and belief in the divinity of Christ. It is, therefore, a system of faith or religion separate and distinct from religions which are not predicated upon belief in the divinity of Christ, e.g., Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Taoism, Shintoism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism. See, Wilkerson v. City of Rome, supra, at 769, and Torcaso v. Watkins, supra, at footnote 11.

This Court has recognized that an institution predicated upon the Gospel of Christ and disseminating "Christian truth" is a sectarian institution. "The fact that it undertakes to disseminate Christian truth, which many people believe to be the highest and holiest form of religion, does not render it unsectarian." Bennett v. City of LaGrange, supra, at 433-4.

The United States Supreme Court also has recognized that no single religion has won such general acceptance as to be possible of classification as "nonsectarian". "The Fathers of the Constitution were not unaware... of the lack of any one religious creed on which all men would agree... The First Amendment does not select any one group of any one type of religion for preferred treatment." U.S. v. Ballard, 322 U.S. 78, 87 (1944).

The lower court concedes that Arlington teaches what the court calls "General tolerant Christianity." This, it held, is non-sectarian because

they do not teach Christianity with a denominational emphasis. In other words, there is no specifically Baptist or Presbyterian content which could make the instruction objectionable to any of the major Protestant denominations. Sectarian, then, is mistakenly equated with denominational.

It is also clear that the kind of common denominator Protestanism taught at Arlington would not be acceptable religious instruction for Catholics, Jews, Moslems, etc. Catholics, in their parochial schools, teach Christianity but from a Catholic viewpoint. Jewish day schools do not teach Christianity at all. They teach Judaism. Therefore, under the logic of the lower court's ruling, it would be unlawful for Catholics and Jews attending their own schools to collect tuition grants, while Protestants could receive them for religious instruction. And it is only "general, tolerant Christianity" which is non-sectarian according to that ruling. "General, tolerant Judaism" presumably would be called sectarian, which it is, but no more so than "general, tolerant Christianity". The conclusion seems inescapable that one faith is being preferred over all others by the construction given the Statute by the trial judge.

III. THE PUBLIC FUNDS HERE IN ISSUE ARE INTENDED TO PAY THE EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES OF PLAINTIFF BELOW FOR ATTENDANCE AT THE ARLINGTON SCHOOLS AND THE ORDER OF THE SUPERIOR COURT AUTHORIZES SUCH USE.

According to the Education Grants Act of 1961 (Georgia Laws, 1961, pp. 35-38) every child between the ages of six and nineteen, who has not been graduated from high school, in lieu of attending the public schools, is entitled to receive from the local board of education a grant of funds

"to be expended for the purpose of attending a nonsectarian private school." Sec. 2.

The stipulations of counsel at the beginning of the trial in the Superior Court included the following: Plaintiff below, Carla C. Aikens, "was enrolled in Arlington Schools on April 9, 1959" and "is now in attendance on the sixth grade at Arlington Schools." "Plaintiff's father intends to use the tuition grant sought by her petition, if obtained, to attend Arlington Schools in Atlanta."

The Superior Court's Order, entered on January 23, 1962, from which this appeal is taken, directs the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta "to deliver to Mr. A. T. Aikens, father and next friend of Carla C. Aikens, for her use and benefit, the pro-rata share of said Carla C. Aikens of the school funds of the City of Atlanta, Georgia, for the school year 1961-1962 commencing July 1, 1961, and enduring through June 30, 1962, <u>which funds are to be used and expended for the purpose of Carla C. Aikens attending The Arlington Schools or some other non-sectarian school during said school year</u>." (Record, pp. 168-69; emphasis added.)

The Court in its Order, said that the funds awarded to the Plaintiff below could be used "for any legitimate purpose incident to attending" the school in question and that "legitimate items include... books, supplies, extra clothing, needed board and similar items, as well as any tuition which might be required." (Record, pp. 119, 153.)

Thus, it is clear that if the Superior Court decision is affirmed, public funds raised through taxation would or could be used to support the education of Carla C. Aikens in Arlington Schools which, as we have shown supra, is a religious and sectarian school. Notwithstanding the language

in the Order permitting the funds to be used in some private school other than Arlington Schools, the stipulations of counsel leave no doubt that the public funds would be used to finance Carla's attendance at Arlington Schools, as expressly authorized by the Order.

Since Arlington Schools is a religious and sectarian institution, the Order violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution, and Article I, Section I, Paragraph XIV, of the Georgia constitution which prohibits the use of public funds "directly or indirectly, in aid of any... sectarian institution."

Despite the constitutional ban on indirect as well as direct aid, the court below gave considerable weight to the fact that the Plaintiff below would be a conduit for the public funds on their way to the sectarian institution. This was clearly error. As the Supreme Court of Vermont said in a recent case involving the use of public funds for payment of tuition at a sectarian school, a measure "must be tested by its operation and effect rather than by its form." Swart v. South Burlington Town School District, supra.

In an effort to vest responsibility for the proper use of the public funds sought by the petition in the Plaintiff below, rather than in the Defendants below, a public body, the trial judge pointed out that under Section 5 of the Act approved March 15, 1961, (Georgia Laws, 1961, Pages 2417 et. seq.) any parent "who uses or permits to be used any grants hereunder made for purpose other than for education in the manner applied for, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punished as provided by law." The Order fails to take into consideration that the very purpose of the Plaintiff

below in instituting this action was to get court authorization for the use of public funds to help enable Carla C. Aikens to attend the Arlington Schools. If the Order granting such authorization stands and Carla or her father, pursuant to such Order, use the public funds as they indicated in their petition that such funds would be used, to finance Carla's further education at the Arlington Schools, such conduct would be sanctioned by the court and no one could possibly be charged with a crime.

Quite apart from the obvious inapplicability of Section 5 to the facts in this case, the members of the Board of Education of Atlanta, as public officials, are sworn to uphold the Federal and State constitutions. If it appears to them in their official capacity that public funds under their jurisdiction will be used in a manner or for a purpose which violates either or both of those constitutions, it is their duty to withhold such funds.

The court below found comfort in the fact that not only the Arlington Schools but also Carla Aikens might benefit from any grant made under the Education Grants Act of 1961. The court embraced the child benefit theory, which was discussed in Point I, supra. As was shown there, this theory was the basis for the 5 to 4 decision in Everson v. Board of Education, supra, which was limited to the use of public funds for transportation of children to and from parochial schools and which was characterized by the majority as approaching the "verge of that [constitutional] power." Id., at 16. As was also shown supra, this child benefit theory was rejected, even with respect to bus transportation, by a number of state supreme court decisions since the Everson case. Yet, the trial court would extend this child benefit theory to the use of public funds to pay costs of private

sectarian education including tuition. This, in the face of the provision of the Georgia constitution banning both direct and indirect aid to sectarian institutions. Article I, Section I, Paragraph XIV.

CONCLUSION

The Education Grants Act of 1961 does not and cannot authorize the use of public funds to aid the Arlington Schools, a religious and sectarian institution, and hence the Order appealed from should be reversed.

Respectfully submitted

1504 Healey Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Attorneys for Atlanta Chapter of American Jewish Committee

Masonic Temple Building
Decatur, Georgia

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Attorney for Executive Board, Georgia Council of Churches

William-Oliver Building
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_____

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Trust Company of Georgia Bldg.
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_____

Attorney for the Bishop and the Standing Committee of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta

First National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

_____

Attorney for Atlanta Jewish Community Council

Amici Curiae

APPENDIX

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, was incorporated as a national body in 1911. Its Charter states:

> The objects of this corporation shall be, to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto...

It has long been among the fundamental tenets of the American Jewish Committee that the welfare and security of minority religious groups in the United States depend upon the preservation of Constitutional guarantees for all. The Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee seeks to implement its purposes and objectives in the area of Atlanta, Georgia.

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

The Georgia Council of Churches was organized in 1952. Nine Protestant denominations joined together cooperately so as to provide an instrument through which the member units could speak and act together in interest and responsibility in matters affecting spiritual, moral and social conditions. The Council undertakes to mobilize resources for justice, peace, religious liberty, matters of church and state; to encourage study, projects and programs to develop information on crucial issues and to present any consensus of viewpoint to the proper state officials upon approval by the Executive Board; to provide a clearing house for diversified community and denominational efforts.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

B'nai B'rith, founded in 1843, is the oldest civic service organization of American Jews, which represents a membership of more than 350,000 men and women and their families. The Anti-Defamation League was organized in 1913 as a section of the parent organization to advance goodwill and proper understanding between Americans and translate into greater effectiveness the ideals of American democracy. It is therefore, dedicated to the protection of freedom of religion and combatting religious discrimination.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF GEORGIA

There are councils of church women in every state and in 2,300 communities who work together through their denominations, through local councils of church women, councils of churches and with like-minded groups on the community of problems and issues of mutual concern. In the work of the department of Christian Social Relations of United Church Women of Georgia we undertake concerted action to meet concrete human needs in our state and communities. Informed by study we carry on projects of social service and projects for social change, including legislation. Civil liberties and effective citizenship are both items of our concern. The areas of concern are for children, the aging, women and family life.

ATLANTA JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL

The Atlanta Jewish Community Council was established in 1945. It is composed of delegates from 45 affiliated adult membership organizations and 8 constituent organizations in the field of Jewish community service engaged

in philanthropic, educational and cultural activities. Its major purposes are to coordinate, to promote and to advance these activities. It also deals with matters of general concern to the Jewish community and to promote its general welfare. It helps in promoting mutual understanding with all groups in the community.

Religion

SOUTHEAST CONVENTION: Alabama; Florida; Georgia; Kentucky; South Carolina; Tennessee

Explanation of Schedules & Reference Marks, Page B14

Conference Directory, Pages B7–11

Cities or Towns	Org.	Names	Ord. Cld.	Members Total	Members Ab.	Admitted C.	Admitted Total	Total Removed	Average Attendance	Church School Enrollment	Young People's Organizations Enrollment	Our Christian World Mission Apportionment Regular Conf.	Regular Natl. Boards	Special C.H.E.F.	Total	Other Gifts Cong. Chr.	Other Gifts Non Cong. Chr.	Local Finances Home Expenses	Value Church Property to the Nearest Thousand
SCHEDULE I △																			
Alabama																			
★ 1 Alexander City, Hunt	1945	yA. C. Pemberton, *Lic.*	'60	61	0	2	3	0	40	38	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	480	*28
★ 2 Andalusia, Antioch	1873	J. W. Walters	'56–'60	57	8	—	6	5	50	77	20	79	26	84	189	15	0	4,223	*32
★ 3 " 1st	1943	E. H. Temple, Jr., *Lic.*	'61	117	55	8	b30	4	—	78	10	121	40	0	161	46	0	5,933	*35
★ 4 Birmingham, Pilgrim	1903	C. W. Baldwin, *i*	'41–'57	258	24	11	34	21	147	168	24	1,032	354	350	1,736	863	65	20,746	*300
★ 5 Brantley, Indian Creek	1919	yE. H. Henby, *L. O.*	'61–'61	16	4	1	1	3	—	18	—	8	2	0	10	0	0	510	*6
★ 6 " Liberty	1887	yE. H. Henby, *L. O.*	'61–'61	17	—	0	1	0	—	24	—	18	6	0	24	0	108	906	4
★ 7 Caddo, 1st	1903	E. T. Shelton	'52–'55	59	—	1	1	0	80	90	15	81	27	25	133	0	0	1,938	15
★ 8 Clio, New Hope	1891			43	18	1	1	0	25	35	—	233	77	0	310	15	10	1,142	5
★ 9 Dadeville, Elder	1895	W. Robinson, *Lic.*	'61	56	11	1	2	3	—	60	18	67	22	47	136	5	0	936	27
★ 10 East Tallassee, Cong. Chr.	1890	H. C. Henderson, *i*	'57–'60	84	2	10	16	b72	80	101	52	368	123	0	491	58	33	7,890	*87
★ 11 Garden City, Cong. Chr.	1918	W. Bostick, *Lic.*	'60	34	3	2	6	0	—	31	—	157	53	0	210	26	25	1,540	*12
★ 12 Hackleburg, Fairview	1891	R. R. Aderholt, *Lic.*	'60	28	9	0	0	0	40	36	—	45	15	0	60	0	0	360	5
★ 13 Headland, Blackwood	1894	y		132	43	10	14	5	60	100	20	244	81	98	423	58	0	2,140	*9
★ 14 Huntsville, United	1900	W. R. Berry, *i*	'55–'61	15	2	0	15	0	26	42	—	164	55	0	219	0	57	10,411	0
★ 15 LaFayette, Pleasant Grove	1886	yE. S. Fetner	'58–'61	52	—	2	3	b36	—	58	—	135	45	100	280	0	0	1,958	25
★ 16 Lanett, Cong. Chr.	1896	J. D. Schofield, *i*	'40–'57	420	80	13	17	13	170	177	19	1,822	2,241	667	4,730	1,148	192	12,807	*162
★ 17 Langdale, Cong. Chr.	1930	G. W. Stowe, Jr., *i*	'61–'61	257	101	4	12	17	120	180	29	1,301	498	300	2,099	340	0	6,776	*53
★ 18 Midland City, Chr. Hill	1893	y		16	5	1	1	0	—	—	—	36	12	0	48	0	0	310	2
★ 19 Montgomery	1961	W. M. Fulmer, *Lic.*	'61	23	0	1	23	0	25	22	—	39	13	0	52	0	0	1,012	0
★ 20 Mt. Creek, Union	1891	G. G. Norris, *L. O.*	'61–'58	73	17	5	10	0	50	73	—	52	18	0	70	0	332	2,082	14
★ 21 Phenix City, 1st	1920	W. D. Noles, *Lic.*	'59	113	12	1	6	6	—	104	42	30	10	0	40	175	0	6,122	*90
★ 22 " Russell Woods	1957	W. A. Blankenhorn, *i*	'61–'60	97	8	3	7	0	65	66	31	81	48	15	144	8	0	5,794	9
★ 23 Roanoke, Antioch	1869	y		80	28	0	5	6	—	27	11	113	38	0	151	0	0	2,768	17
★ 24 " Bethany	1896	yE. G. Clark, *Lic.*	'57	51	—	1	1	1	—	51	—	37	13	0	50	0	0	947	10
★ 25 " 1st	1923	yO. E. Sheppard	'39–'51	52	—	—	—	b23	—	50	—	270	90	133	493	55	0	1,560	9
★ 26 " Forest Home	1893	y		54	22	0	0	3	40	58	—	60	26	0	86	0	0	1,285	8
★ 27 " Lowell	1900	R. H. Lasseter	'52–'60	221	50	2	2	b9	88	139	18	262	88	100	450	199	0	6,724	*64
★ 28 " New Hope	1850	yO. E. Sheppard	'39–'55	56	—	0	0	0	50	35	—	90	30	100	220	0	0	1,773	7
★ 29 Shawmut, Todd	1950	A. C. Nelson, *i*	'30–'59	84	3	9	16	3	—	84	22	61	21	0	82	88	74	2,547	*42
★ 30 Steele, Mt. Lebanon	1905	H. Barnes	'60–'59	54	0	2	2	3	55	60	25	0	0	0	0	17	0	925	10
★ 31 Steppeville, Mt. Grove	1891	I. R. Whitley	'60–'60	90	17	4	10	1	35	32	10	23	8	0	31	0	0	1,827	*13
★ 32 Tallassee, Mt. Olive	1890	J. W. Wilder, *Lic.*	'61	95	15	9	12	3	60	56	26	64	21	0	85	5	0	4,420	*20

△ **Schedule I.** Congregational Christian Churches: part of the U. C. C.
b Revision of roll

Cities or Towns	Org.	Names	Ord. Cld.	Members Total	Members Ab.	Admitted C.	Admitted Total	Total Removed	Average Attendance	Church School Enrollment	Young People's Organizations Enrollment	Our Christian World Mission Apportionment Regular Conf.	Regular Natl. Boards	Special C.H.E.F.	Total	Other Gifts Cong. Chr.	Other Gifts Non Cong. Chr.	Local Finances Home Expenses	Value Church Property to the Nearest Thousand
★ 33 Wadley, Beulah	1890	yJ. W. Roberts	'57–'54	43	0	0	0	1	—	38	—	0	0	0	0	7	0	942	5
★ 34 " Cong. Chr.	1911	A. R. VanCleave	'32–'52	58	12	5	9	9	40	52	—	407	148	164	719	230	20	1,435	10
★ 35 Wedowee, Noon Day	1898	yxG. R. Walker	'43–'59	88	36	1	1	2	—	37	—	90	30	0	120	0	0	1,054	5
Florida																			
★ 36 Bonifay, New Effort	1888	yI. J. Robinson, *Lic.*	'59	30	0	0	0	0	35	40	16	124	41	52	217	0	0	660	7
★ 37 Crestview, Dorcas	1892			‖81	—				—	65	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,500	*10
Georgia																			
★ 38 Ambrose, Chr.	1915	yR. N. Overstreet	'58–'60	43	—	1	1	0	—	30	—	7	3	0	10	0	0	1,200	*10
★ 39 Atlanta, Center	1888	J. T. McAdams	'59–'57	56	13	—	—	5	24	40	—	135	45	0	180	5	150	3,398	25
★ 40 " Central	1882	F. A. Meyer, *i*	'29–'62	698	231	8	12	45	—	192	61	3,696	1,292	600	5,588	796	410	33,025	425
★ 41 Barnesville, Fredonia	1852	J. K. Harris, *Lic.*	'60	103	0	2	5	3	65	45	15	397	132	50	579	125	0	4,601	*33
★ 42 Braselton, Macedonia	1888	H. C. Weaver	'48–'61	57	—	4	6	1	—	50	—	34	12	25	71	0	0	1,076	12
★ 43 Columbus, 1st	1903	P. Doherty	'38–'60	117	5	4	5	0	60	93	12	225	75	0	300	100	0	7,743	*31
★ 44 " United	1909	W. S. Wood	'53–'52	293	—	15	51	25	50	100	6	180	60	0	240	0	75	4,872	*115
★ 45 Demorest, Union	1892	E. G. Nichols	'28–'59	44	7	0	1	7	30	14	—	373	287	0	660	81	74	2,159	*100
★ 46 Douglas, 1st	1950	G. E. Turner, *Lic.*	'60	‖79	—				—	26	—	22	8	0	30	0	7	2,500	*35
★ 47 Gaillard, Pleasant Hill	1883	H. E. Williams, *Lic.*	'59	45	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	27	9	0	36	0	0	1,119	4
★ 48 LaGrange, Hillside	1921	R. L. Chatham	'52–'47	137	0	7	11	4	100	100	30	24	8	0	32	197	0	5,426	50
★ 49 " United	1903	L. F. Carmack	'60–'61	245	58	1	8	10	—	133	27	1,010	336	451	1,797	539	48	7,420	*83
★ 50 Meansville, Cong. Chr.	1854	T. Isbell	'36–'54	21	4	0	1	b13	—	16	—	82	28	13	123	0	0	1,035	8
★ 51 Oxford, Sardis	1888	*H. J. Morrow, Cong. Meth.*	'61	‖53	—				—	74	10	90	30	0	120	0	0	1,762	8
★ 52 Pearson, Union Hill	1892	R. W. Hendrix	'58–'57	‖89	—				—	24	6	156	52	100	308	0	0	2,400	*18
★ 53 Pine Mountain, Oak Grove	1899	W. M. McCullars	'57–'58	120	32	6	8	8	80	55	12	345	115	75	535	125	0	5,906	*33
★ 54 Richland, 1st	1901	G. S. Hunt	'28–'61	‖36	—				—	33	—	67	23	0	90	5	0	2,034	*30
★ 55 Waycross, Williams Chap.	1933	R. D. Worley	'50–'61	147	67	6	13	30	—	115	25	11	4	0	15	49	20	4,902	*41
★ 56 West Point, Bethel	1948	*W. A. Hodnett, Lay.*	'61	57	—	1	5	b9	—	44	—	53	30	0	83	0	0	1,404	12
★ 57 Woodbury, Jones Chap.	1850	W. W. Elder	'15–'52	150	18	5	8	8	72	101	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,312	6
Kentucky																			
★ 58 Corbin, Pilgrim	1886	*R. A. Boone, Meth.*	'61	35	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	0	0	0	0	5	0	2,200	50
★ 59 Evarts, 1st	1892	Carolyn P. Welch, *i*	'44–'58	83	25	0	2	2	—	50	14	472	157	150	779	100	189	5,948	*100
South Carolina																			
★ 60 Charleston, Circular	1681	W. R. Barnhart	'30–'58	240	24	9	12	12	—	125	10	774	277	0	1,051	15	0	15,450	200
Tennessee																			
★ 61 Chattanooga, Pilgrim	1914	A. Slater	'32–'44	331	28	5	22	13	156	177	21	3,003	1,001	1,000	5,004	837	319	29,613	*241
★ 62 Crossville, 1st	1888	{ H. W. Freer { A. Nightingale, *P.em.*	'34–'57 '13	91	—	2	7	5	—	67	11	444	148	150	742	0	0	9,597	62

b Revision of roll

CHURCHES		MINISTERS		MEMBERS		Admitted		Total Removed	Average Attendance	Church School Enrollment	Young People's Organizations Enrollment	OUR CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION				OTHER GIFTS		Local Finances	
												Apportionment							
												Regular		Special	Total			Home Expenses	Value Church Property to the Nearest Thousand
Cities or Towns	Org.	Names	Ord. Cld.	Total	Ab.	C.	Total					Conf.	Natl. Boards	C.H.E.F.		Cong. Chr.	Non Cong. Chr.		
★ 63 Daisy, 1st	1925	yW. H. Shelton	'61–'60	87	—	2	6	1	—	111	10	194	65	0	259	62	125	6,416	*67
★ 64 Deer Lodge, Cong. Chr.	1887	yAnnie R. Campbell	'42–'60	16	—	1	1	0	—	109	26	92	31	75	198	18	0	2,311	5
★ 65 Glen Mary, Cong. Chr.	1885	yAnnie R. Campbell	'42–'60	17	4	1	1	0	—	18	—	75	25	50	150	6	0	1,592	2
★ 66 Knoxville, 1st	1956	A. R. Meserve	'33–'57	269	25	13	30	12	155	171	50	225	75	0	300	0	0	34,476	300
★ 67 Nashville, Brookmeade	1953	C. C. Flannery, *i*	'36–'56	120	20	5	19	12	—	140	33	525	175	0	700	46	150	13,500	*95
★ 68 Pleasant Hill, Com.	1885	∫ F. R. Snavely, *i*	'47–'59	109	25	—	6	4	69	53	15	770	340	300	1,410	110	0	5,560	*75
		\ P. R. Reynolds, *P.em.*	'18																
★ 69 Robbins, Barton Chap.	1885	yAnnie R. Campbell	'42–'60	32	7	0	0	0	—	37	40	62	26	0	88	5	0	1,748	*25
★ 70 Soddy, 1st	1863	yW. H. Shelton	'61–'60	‖57	—				—	80	—	75	25	0	100	5	0	4,467	*10
Gifts — church undesignated:												904	982	24	1,910	0	0		
Totals (Schedule I):				**7,242**	**1,178**	**208**	**508**	**478**	**72**	**4,875**	**862**	**22,263**	**10,196**	**5,298**	**37,757**	**6,589**	**2,483**	**355,500**	**3,468**
SCHEDULE II ◇																			
Alabama																			
★ 71 Alexander City, Antioch	1852	yA. C. Pemberton, *Lic.*	'58	25	0	3	4	0	28	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	221	4
★ 72 Arley, Robertson's Chap.	1900	yC. H. Wright	'60–'60	‖26	—				—	38	—	23	8	0	31	0	0	404	3
★ 73 Cragford, Mt. Carmel	1891			‖32	—				—	41	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	665	1
★ 74 Daviston, McGuire's Chap.	1890			‖57	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	205	2
75 Delta, Wesley's Chap.	1806			‖63	—				—	18	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	560	3
★ 76 Five Points, State Line	1852	yE. S. Fetner	'58–'58	61	26	2	4	5	35	36	—	0	0	0	0	40	100	1,035	5
★ 77 Haleyville, Union Grove	1891	R. L. Shelton	'46–'61	32	10	1	5	3	38	56	22	68	22	0	90	0	175	1,815	*14
★ 78 Houston, Liberty Hill	1879	yC. H. Wright	'60–'60	‖10	—				—	10	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	177	2
★ 79 Lineville, Dingler's Chap.	1911			‖47	—				—	34	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	460	4
★ 80 " New Harmony	1888			31	0	0	0	*b*1	0	0	0	22	8	0	30	30	0	307	2
★ 81 " Shady Grove	1913			‖31	—				—	14	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	173	2
★ 82 " Spring Hill	1916			‖50	—				—	45	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	283	2
★ 83 Moulton, Jones Chap.	1896	yR. M. Waugh	'51–'57	‖36	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	337	3
84 Pisgah	1920	(Inactive)		‖20	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	5
★ 85 Roanoke, Rock Stand	1908	yJ. W. Roberts	'57–'55	101	—	—	2	*b*22	—	93	—	75	25	0	100	100	0	1,900	10
86 Seman, Balm of Gilead	1896	(Inactive)		‖25	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	—
87 Thorsby, United	1905	(Inactive)		‖40	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	10	0	—	27
★ 88 Town Creek, Old Liberty	1891	yR. M. Waugh	'51–'54	39	20	6	6	3	20	20	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	300	3
★ 89 Wadley, Corinth	1893	yJ. W. Roberts	'57–'55	78	—	—	—	*b*30	—	40	—	37	13	50	100	0	0	693	5
★ 90 Wedowee, Caver's Grove	1924	yxG. R. Walker	'43–'59	47	22	0	0	1	—	30	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	750	5
Georgia																			
★ 91 Bowman, Liberty	1878	yR. H. Abbott	'52–'59	57	—	—	1	4	—	43	15	36	12	0	48	0	0	785	2
★ 92 Crest, Hebron	1889	B. A. Manley, *Lic.*	'57	55	—	2	5	0	—	48	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,760	5
★ 93 Doerun, Poplar Arbor	1910	*G. Vinson, Bapt.*	'62	10	1	0	0	*b*32	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	820	7

◇ **Schedule II.** Congregational Christian Churches which have not voted, or which have voted to abstain from voting at the time of submitting the Conference Report
b Revision of roll

CHURCHES		MINISTERS		MEMBERS		Admitted		Total Removed	Average Attendance	Church School Enrollment	Young People's Organizations Enrollment	OUR CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION				OTHER GIFTS		Local Finances	
												Apportionment							
												Regular		Special	Total			Home Expenses	Value Church Property to the Nearest Thousand
Cities or Towns	Org.	Names	Ord. Cld.	Total	Ab.	C.	Total					Conf.	Natl. Boards	C.H.E.F.		Cong. Chr.	Non Cong. Chr.		
★ 94 *a*Enigma, Chr.	1908	O. L. Culpepper	'59–'61	63	20	0	0	9	—	52	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,047	*20
★ 95 *a*Hampton, Co. Line	1888	yR. J. Barnes	'57–'56	63	—	1	1	2	—	60	—	45	15	0	60	0	0	2,170	10
96 Meansville, Liberty		(Inactive)		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	—
★ 97 Richland, *b*	1837	yR. J. Barnes	'57–'58	61	31	2	2	9	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	576	4
★ 98 Tifton, Vanceville	1913	yR. H. Abbott	'52–'57	‖78	—				—	54	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,000	10
Kentucky																			
★ 99 Stearns, Com.	1918	*R. D. Matthews, Meth.*	'61	27	—	—	—	—	16	15	—	0	0	0	0	5	0	2,669	25
Totals (Schedule II):				**1,265**	**130**	**17**	**30**	**121**	**19**	**769**	**97**	**306**	**103**	**50**	**459**	**185**	**275**	**24,112**	**185**
SCHEDULE III ⊙																			
Alabama																			
100 Andalusia, Coldwater	1923			‖34	—				—	23	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	475	5
101 " New Home	1894	xM. O. Worley	'41–'60	‖25	—				—	10	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	432	3
★102 Ashland, Bethel	1892	yB. C. Spivey, *Lic.*	'60	45	—	0	0	6	—	32	—	0	0	0	0	34	0	1,350	16
★103 Eclectic, Watson's Chap.	1892			58	22	1	2	1	40	30	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	611	15
★104 Goodwater, Oak Hill	1880			‖34	—				—	19	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	575	5
★105 Lanett, Huguley	1944	*T. L. Williams, Ev. Chr.*	'62	‖129	—				—	80	—	75	25	0	100	0	0	5,012	*49
★106 Roanoke, Mt. Zion	1893	yE. G. Clark, *Lic.*	'57	57	0	2	3	0	40	49	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,767	19
★107 " Rock Spring	1884	yB. C. Spivey, *Lic.*	'60	37	0	0	6	0	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	439	3
★108 Seman, Com.	1933	A. Nelson, *L. O.*	'61–'58	44	0	5	7	1	—	25	—	18	7	0	25	30	0	700	4
Florida																			
109 Baker, Good Hope	1922			84	30	0	0	0	40	72	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	*17
★110 " Pyron Chap.	1897	yI. J. Robinson, *Lic.*	'60	67	16	3	3	*d*0	48	67	—	37	13	50	100	0	0	1,066	10
111 Florala, Cluster Springs	1956	(Inactive)		24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	5
Georgia																			
★112 Baxley, Friendship	1876	T. E. Beach	'58–'56	104	27	6	8	*d*6	60	61	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,280	8
★113 Bristol, Antioch	1808	yR. N. Overstreet	'58–'61	72	30	0	0	0	60	59	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	600	3
★114 Buford, Duncan's Creek	1885	C. V. Rary, *L. O.*	'61–'60	100	—	8	11	4	—	111	—	35	12	0	47	4	0	1,872	30
★115 Doerun, New Light	1904	xW. C. Carpenter, *L. O.*	'24–'57	‖18	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	320	2
116 Tifton, 1st	1952	(Inactive)		‖51	—				—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	40
Totals (Schedule III):				**983**	**125**	**25**	**40**	**18**	**24**	**638**	**34**	**165**	**57**	**50**	**272**	**68**	**0**	**16,499**	**234**

⊙ **Schedule III.** Congregational Christian Churches which have voted not to be part of the U. C. C. at the time of submitting the Conference Report
a Voted to abstain *b* Providence Chap. *d* Revision of roll

PAST GENERATIONS . . .

have used the best communication tools available to call others to a sense of obligation to God and man.

See . . .

TODAY . . .

to use the modern tools of electronic communication we have

Christ . . . teaching the multitudes by word of mouth

Paul . . .travelling impatiently by slow boats, to relay Christ's message

Luther . . . using the printing press to release Paul's letters.

Now we have electronic communications—the quickest way "to the uttermost part of the earth."

by *radio* we hear the heart beat of an astronaut circling the earth at 17,000 miles an hour . . .

by *television*, with Telstar, a billion people across oceans see the same picture simultaneously . . .

Typical of the electronic wonders of our modern world is

Video Tape

On this magnetic tape we record sound and picture electronically and instantaneously. This is the finished product for the television screen, with no other processing necessary. The tape can be duplicated. When we have no further need for a particular production, we simply erase the tape and use it again.

By way of understandable comparison — in approximately five years' time with video tape we have made more progress in the science of visual communications than was made in the transportation world during the time from the ox cart to the jet plane.

In the past, economics have dictated limited use of television by our churches.

Now, to share our faith we can move rapidly into a worldwide television ministry because we have video tape facilities and other modern tools of communication at:

THE PROTESTANT RADIO AND TELEVISION CENTER, INC.

A unique non-profit organization now producing and distributing Christian programs for our churches for release over radio and television stations throughout the world.

To keep the Center abreast of every electronic advancement and assure the ultimate in all modern communication facilities, we are asking a thousand people to give $100.00 or more to establish

THE PATRONS FUND

a living endowment for the Center's capital improvements. Annual renewal invitations will be extended, but Charter membership does not commit one beyond the initial gift.

The Center's effectiveness has been proven. Its financial solidarity must be established. Toward this goal we ask you to become a Patron of

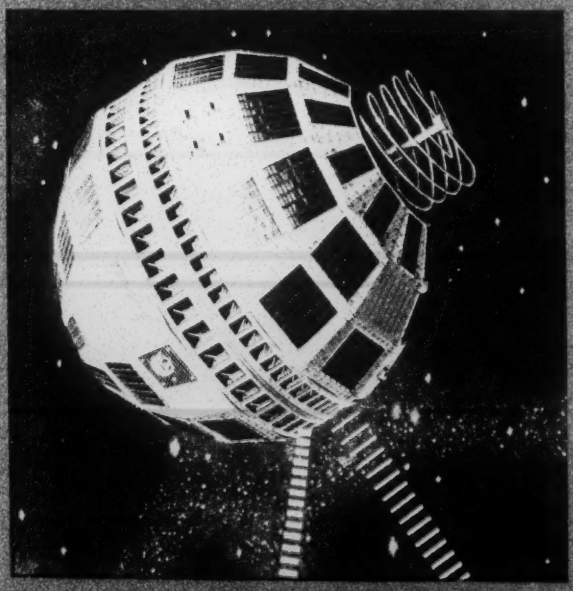
The Protestant Radio and Television Center, Inc.

1727 Clifton Road, N. E.

Atlanta 6, Georgia

FOR COMMUNICATING
OUR FAITH
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

THE PROTESTANT RADIO AND TELEVISION
CENTER, INC.
IS AS MODERN AS
TELSTAR COMMUNICATION SATELLITE



EACH GENERATION MUST USE EVERY AVAILABLE TOOL OF COMMUNICATION FOR CALLING THE PEOPLE TO A SENSE OF COMMITMENT AND OBLIGATION TO GOD

Today, to reach billions around the world, our generation has electronic communication which knows no barriers of time or space. By radio and television one's voice and face may be heard and seen around the world in the twinkling of an eye. "Telstar" satellite ushered in a new era, making global television a reality.

No other generation has had such vast facilities for communicating its faith to the peoples of the earth. This is for our generation to develop.

Anticipating the new opportunities to "go into all the world" to teach and preach the Gospel, wise leadership has created

THE PROTESTANT RADIO AND TELEVISION CENTER, INC.

WHAT IT IS

An inter-denominationally owned and uniquely operated Center for the production of non-commercial religious and educational radio-television programs and audio-visual materials.

A non-profit corporation chartered in 1949 by the representatives of religious and educational groups, including Methodist, Presbyterian (U.S.), Presbyterian (U.S.A.), Lutheran, and Episcopal communions —designed to serve these and others of common interest.

A "cooperative plan" distributor of programs to the broadcast industry for sustaining (free) time broadcasts on radio or television stations throughout the world, presently serving more than 2,000 outlets in many nations.

A well-equipped "production center" for the making of such audio-visuals as motion pictures, film strips, slides, etc. for in-church, school, and club use.

An assembly of professionally trained individuals dedicated to the most creative use of man's modern tools of communication for the enrichment of religious life and educational processes.

It is NOT a broadcasting station.

WHAT IT HAS

A million dollar investment in building and equipment of latest designs and perfected operations, including:

Studios of sizes to serve individuals or major productions—well equipped with pipe organ, piano, and other basic instruments.

Recording, editing, and duplicating equipment for every production need in radio.

Filming and editing equipment for the most advanced professional television requirements.

Video tape facilities, including one of the most complete rolling recording facilities in America—plus duplicating recorders, studio units, etc.

Libraries of recorded music, sound effects, and other aids for the finest productions.

Talent pool of script writers and performing artists necessary for quality work.

Regular staff of directors, engineers, and technicians trained for specialized production responsibilities.

A "good-will" background and current working arrangements with the broadcast industry of America and the Armed Forces broadcast services overseas.

FACTS ABOUT THE PRTVC

(a few of its activities)

Protestant Hour—494 stations in America carry the program weekly.

The Armed Forces Radio and Television Services have carried the Protestant Hour continuously since 1952. (This vast worldwide network broadcasts practically every program produced by the PRTVC.)

Be Still and Know—a Daily Meditation is aired by more than 1,000 stations.

Sunday School of the Air—Currently heard from 130 stations weekly.

The Upper Room Parish releases its Christmas and Easter series to more than 1,500 radio stations.

Educational Interest Films produced:

Agnes Scott
Newberry College
Tallulah Falls School
Southern Seminary

Documentaries on video tape for:

Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina
Central Presbyterian Church
Rabun Gap School
Chapels of All Faiths

Television Teaching Films:

Including 52 half-hour programs on the Life and Teachings of Jesus.

During a recent month, the broadcast time given by American stations to the PRTVC produced programs totalled 3,984 hours, or the equivalent of one station broadcasting this material continuously for 166 twenty-four hour days.

Through the eyes of the listening and viewing public:

"PRTVC's mobile cameras and video tape unit recorded the 30-minute program at many locations . . . this venture into television represents a first for the church . . . the fact that we now have personnel and equipment for such projects is the most encouraging advance in church communication in 50 years." (Dr. Fred Stair, Minister, Central Presbyterian Church)

"I had no idea that your productions were as expansive as they are. You and your staff are to be commended on the outstanding work which you are doing in this field for Protestantism." (Armed Forces Chaplain)

"**Magnificent Mission,** a filmstrip produced by PRTVC, Atlanta, has received a graphic arts award, one of 4 from 140 entries in the slide and filmstrip category." (The Presbyterian Outlook)

"**Another Door** has been narrated by Academy Award winner Susan Hayward and produced by PRTVC in Atlanta in connection with the campaign to build chapels-of-all-faiths at the state hospital." (The Atlanta Journal)

"I have been associated with the development of the Center from the time when it was only a dream until today when many of us look upon it as one of the most effective cooperative efforts in Protestantism. I commend the Center as worthy of all we can do both as campaign workers and givers." (Bishop Arthur J. Moore)

"Thank you so much for the caliber of your program and for the ministry it is having over our nation. It is undoubtedly one of the finest religious programs on the air." (A Baptist minister in Florida)

"I wish to congratulate you on the high quality of the worship services, the beauty of the music and the timeliness and effectiveness of the messages of Dr. Waights G. Henry, Jr." (A college professor)

WAYS OF GIVING TO THE PROTESTANT RADIO AND TELEVISION CENTER, INC.

All gifts are deductible for income tax purposes.

- ☐ **Direct gift**
- ☐ **Three tax year plan**
- ☐ **Endowments**
- ☐ **Stocks or real estate**
- ☐ **Life insurance**
- ☐ **Wills**
- ☐ **Charter Patron**
  A Charter Patron is one of one thousand who gives $100.00 or more to establish the Patrons capital fund.
- ☐ **Donor**
  A Donor is one who gives a contribution of any amount.
- ☐ **Underwriting education program,** as "Visiting Faculty"
- ☐ **Documentaries** for churches, institutions, schools
- ☐ **Libraries of sermons** by outstanding speakers
- ☐ **Equipment**

The Protestant Radio and Television Center, Inc.
1727 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329

A contribution is a perpetual memorial. It will never cease to exist.

P-63-7

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Chemicals and Pests

Man's use, misuse, and abuse of the products of science determine whether these valuable assets are also harmful.

I. L. Baldwin

Human society, since the time of recorded history, has encountered many difficulties in adapting itself to changes brought on by the advancement of technology. Although we usually think of the Industrial Revolution as the starting point of modern technology, the invention of the wheel must have brought about one of the greatest changes in human society the world has seen. In recent years there has been a rapid expansion of scientific endeavors and a consequent rapid increase in the rate of accumulation of knowledge. Technology has quicky translated this new knowledge into materials and procedures for use by society.

The discovery of methods of harnessing nuclear energy, some two decades ago, has so captured public attention that few have given serious attention to the chemical revolution which has occurred during the same period. It is the chemical revolution, however, that has most intimately affected every aspect of our daily life. The development of new fibers, new plastics, new medicinals, and new agricultural chemicals has produced profound changes in our lives. Public health has been improved; the span of life has been greatly extended; our clothes are composed of fibers unknown 20 years ago; our machinery and household utensils are made of new and strange materials; and our rate of productivity in agriculture has been greatly expanded.

Benefits, however, have not been achieved without cost. Many of the new materials have been used without adequate testing, or they have been used under improper conditions. Sometimes lives have been lost or health has been destroyed. At other times our economy has suffered when shoddy materials have been used in clothing, equipment, and structures. Often men have lost their means of livelihood. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1962. 368 pp., $5) dramatizes in an effective fashion the losses that society has suffered from the use of new pesticides. Her emphasis is upon the danger to human health and the possible irreparable damage to various forms of wildlife.

Silent Spring is superbly written and beautifully illustrated with line drawings. The author has made an exhaustive study of the facts bearing on the problem. It is not, however, a judicial review or a balancing of the gains and losses; rather, it is the prosecuting attorney's impassioned plea for action against the use of these new materials which have received such widespread acceptance, acceptance accorded because of the obvious benefits that their use has conferred. The author has reviewed many of the instances in which unfortunate accidents have occurred. In some cases the accidents were the result of carelessness; in others they were caused by widespread use of materials prior to adequate small-scale testing; in some instances the unfortunate effect on wildlife was a result of the failure of those who used the new pesticide to consider wildlife values.

The author's mode of approach to the use of pesticides will undoubtedly result in wider recognition of the fact that these chemicals are poisons and in a more careful and rigorous control of every step in the pathway that pesticide must travel, from the research laboratory, through the process of obtaining government approval, to use in the field. Perhaps the tremendous improvements in public health and welfare that have resulted from the use of these materials have caused us to become careless in our control and use of them. There are serious hazards involved in the use of pesticides. It has frequently been said: "There are no harmless chemicals, only harmless use of chemicals." The recent case in which the death of several infants in a hospital was caused by the inadvertent use of salt instead of sugar in their food comes to mind.

A Matter of Perspective

The possible indirect harmful effects of pesticides on humans and wildlife are stressed in *Silent Spring*. It is noted that certain of the pesticides may serve as carcinogens and that some may serve as mutagens. How often all the necessary conditions are met, so that the pesticides do actually serve as carcinogens or mutagens, is unknown. The author feels that such dangers are very great. Most scientists who are familiar with the field, including government workers charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the public health, feel that the danger of damage is slight. The author gives no figures for deaths known to be due to pesticides, but her description of certain cases may leave the impression with the uninformed reader that such cases of death due to the direct effects of pesticides are numerous. Actually human deaths in the United States known to be caused by pesticides are less than 100 annually. To place this in proper perspective, consider that almost twice that many deaths are known to be caused by aspirin and that almost one-half as many deaths are known to be caused by bee stings. Another example, in which the author's choice of language may lead to false impressions, is her reference to the "fall of chemical death rain." Many may be led to believe that, just as rain falls on all of our land, so is all of our land sprayed with pesticides. Actually less than 5 percent of all the area of the United States is annually treated with insecticides.

I can understand that the author felt it necessary to portray as "bad guys" all those who recommend the use of pesticides and as "good guys" all those who oppose the use of such insecti-

The reviewer is professor of agricultural bacteriology at the University of Wisconsin, and special assistant to the president of the university. He also serves as chairman of the Committee on Pest Control and Wildlife Relationships of the National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council.

cides. I cannot condone, however, the sarcastic and unjustified attack on the ethics and integrity of many scientific workers. The following quotation is only one of such attacks.

> The major chemical companies are pouring money into the universities to support research on insecticides. This creates attractive fellowships for graduate students and attractive staff positions. Biological-control studies, on the other hand, are never so endowed—for the simple reason that they do not promise anyone the fortunes that are to be made in the chemical industry. These are left to state and federal agencies, where the salaries paid are far less.
>
> This situation also explains the otherwise mystifying fact that certain outstanding entomologists are among the leading advocates of chemical control. Inquiry into the background of some of these men reveals that their entire research program is supported by the chemical industry. Their professional prestige, sometimes their very jobs depend on the perpetuation of chemical methods. Can we then expect them to bite the hand that literally feeds them? But knowing their bias, how much credence can we give to their protests that insecticides are harmless?

The author pleads for a return to the balance of nature as the method of controlling our pests. Greater use of biological control of pests would be desirable, but, if it is to be effective enough to meet human needs, it must result in upsetting the balance of nature. Mankind has been engaged in the process of upsetting the balance of nature since the dawn of civilization. Certain species of plant and animal life that serve the economic or esthetic needs of mankind have been nurtured with great care; other species that have interfered with the health, comfort, or welfare of mankind have been attacked with great vigor; the large majority of the species have been ignored by all but a small portion of the population. Fortunately there is a growing concern, coupled with positive action, for the preservation of all forms of plant and animal life. This effort to preserve our wildlife is too late to save some species and too little to save others, but an encouraging start is being made. Undoubtedly mankind's own self-interests have suffered in the past and are still suffering because of his callous disregard of the damage he does to other species of plant and animal life. But it is equally certain that modern agriculture and modern public health, indeed, modern civilization, could not exist without an unrelenting war against a return of a true balance of nature.

Valuable but Dangerous

Just as it is important for us to be reminded of the dangers inherent in the use of the new pesticides, so must our people also be made aware of the tremendous values to human welfare conferred by the new pesticides. No attempt is made by the author to portray the many positive benefits that society derives from the use of pesticides. No estimates are made of the countless lives that have been saved because of the destruction of insect vectors of disease. No mention is made of the fact that the average length of human life has steadily increased over the last several years. No consideration is given to the important role played by modern pesticides in the production of food and fiber. The author does suggest that, with a surplus of food in the United States, we might well curtail the use of pesticides. Although the United States has a surplus of food, over one half of the people of the world go to bed hungry each night. The greater use of pesticides in most sections of the world would increase food production, alleviate hunger, and improve the health of the people.

Modern agriculture, with its high-quality foods and fibers, could not exist without the use of pesticides. Weeds, disease, and insect pests would take an extremely heavy toll if these chemicals were not used. The yields per acre, the yields per man hour, and the quality of the product would all suffer materially if these chemicals were withdrawn from use. One cannot do more than guess about the changes that would be necessary in American society if pesticides were banned. An immediate back-to-the-farm movement would be necessary, and this would involve many millions of people. It is hoped that someone with Rachel Carson's ability will write a companion volume dramatizing the improvements in human health and welfare derived from the use of pesticides. Such a story would be far more dramatic than the one told by Miss Carson in *Silent Spring*, which deals with the losses society has sustained or may suffer in the future because of the use of these materials.

The problem which Rachel Carson so effectively dramatizes is not a new one. It has long been recognized by workers in government and industrial laboratories and by chemists and biologists wherever they may work. Several years ago the National Academy of Sciences established a committee of outstanding scientists to study the problem of food protection and the influence of pesticides and other chemicals on human health and welfare. Some three years ago a companion committee was established to deal with pesticides and wildlife relationships. These committees and their subcommittees have members from all of the scientific disciplines that might be able to contribute to the problem, including physicians, wildlife specialists, toxicologists entomologists, agriculturists, biologists, chemists, and economists. Both the Food Protection Committee and the Pesticides and Wildlife Relationships Committee have made a careful and judicial review of all the evidence available, and they have published a series of reports making appropriate recommendations. These reports are not dramatically written, and they were not intended to be best sellers. They are, however, the result of careful study by a wide group of scientists, and they represent balanced judgments in areas in which emotional appeals tend to over-balance sound judgment based on facts.

I suggest that those who read *Silent Spring* include as companion reading the following publications of the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, D.C.). Publications 920-A and 920-B: *Pest Control and Wildlife Relationships*, part 1, *Evaluation of Pesticide-Wildlife Problems*; part 2, *Policy and Procedures for Pest Control* (1962. $1.25 each); Publication 887: *Use of Chemicals in Food Production, Processing, Storage, and Distribution* (1961. $0.50); Publication 470: *Safe Use of Pesticides in Food Production* (1956. $0.50).

The story of *Silent Spring*, so well told by Rachel Carson, even though it presents only one side of a very complex problem, will serve a useful purpose, if research on better methods of pest control is stimulated and if all concerned with the production, control, and use of pesticides are stimulated to exercise greater care in the protection of the public welfare. In the meantime it is my hope that some equally gifted writer will be willing to do the necessary research and to write the even more dramatic story of the values conferred on mankind by the chemical revolution of the last two decades.

WILLIAM J. DARBY

MANY IN AMERICA'S scientific community have been concerned with the public comment and publicity accorded Rachel Carson's new book, "The Silent Spring." The review of this publication, which follows, appeared in an October edition of a professional publication of the American Chemical Society, and was prepared by William J. Darby, M.D., M.S., Ph.D. Dr. Darby is Head, Department of Biochemistry and Director of the Division of Nutrition, Vanderbilt University School of Medicine.

He holds or has held the following posts: Chairman, Council on Foods and Nutrition, American Medical Association; Chairman, Metabolism and Nutrition Study Section, USPHS, Division of Research Grants and Fellowships; Member of the Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council (Steering Committee); Chairman, Committee on Food Protection; Chairman, FAO/WHO Joint Expert Committee on Nutrition; Chairman, General Medicine Study Section, USPHS, NIH; Chairman, First Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Food Additives; Member, Board of Scientific Counselors, National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases, NIH; Chairman, Nutrition Study Section, USPHS, NIH; Chairman, Advisory Committee on Nutrition and Metabolism to the Office of the Surgeon General, U.S. Army; Member, Second Citizen's Committee on the Food and Drug Administration; Herbert Swift Carter Memorial Lecturer, Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons.

In addition he has held the following editorial appointments: Associate Editor, Nutrition Reviews; Editorial Board, Journal of Nutrition; Editorial Board, Journal of Clinical Investigation.

His professional societies include: American Medical Association; American Institute of Nutrition (Vice President, 1957; President, 1958; Chairman, Management Committee of Journal of Nutrition, 1961); American Public Health Association Fellow (Member, Governing Council, 1957); American Medical Association (Chairman, Council on Foods and Nutrition, 1960); American Society of Biological Chemists (Member, Committee on Clinical Chemistry, 1956-60); American College of Physicians, Fellow; Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine.

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A SCIENTIST LOOKS AT "Silent Spring"

SILENT SPRING. By Rachel Carson. 368 pages. Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston, Mass. 1962. $5.00.
Reviewed by Dr. William J. Darby.

"SILENT SPRING" starts with a bit of dramatic description of a situation which the author then acknowledges does not actually exist. It then orients the reader to its subject matter by stating that "only within... the present century has man ... acquired significant power to alter the nature of his world." It identifies as irrecoverable and "for the most part irreversible" the effects of "this now universal contamination of the environment (in which) chemicals are the sinister and little recognized partners of radiation in changing the very nature of the world, the very nature of life itself." Man has, according to Miss Carson, now upset that ideal state of "adjustment and balance" of life on this planet through "synthetic creations of man's inventive mind, brewed in his laboratory, and having no counterpart in nature." These products the reader is told, are "staggering in number," have "power to kill," have "incredible potential for harm," represent a "train of disaster," result in a "chemical death rain," and are being used with "little or no advance investigation of their effect on soil, water, wildlife, and man himself." She further warns the reader that all of these sinister chemicals will not only extinguish plant life, wild life, aquatic life, and man, but they will produce cancer, leukemia, sterility, and cellular mutations.

There are 297 pages devoted to reiteration of these views. There then follows a 55-page "list of principal sources" designed to impress the reader with the extent of the support for Miss Carson's views. This list uses an extender and is artificially colored and flavored. Its apparent bulk is made one third greater through devoting a line of type to identify each page on which a source bears, and by repeating in full the title of each source in relation to recurrent pages. Its bulk will appeal to those readers who are as uncritical as the author, or to those who find the flavor of her product to their taste. These consumers will include the organic gardeners, the antifluoride leaguers, the worshippers of "natural foods," those who cling to the philosophy of a vital principle, and other pseudo-scientists and faddists.

The flavor of this product is indicated in part by the source list. She refers frequently to testimony given at 1950, 1951, and 1952 Congressional hearings, seldom to later years, and to the opinions of Morton S. Biskind and W. C. Hueper. She ignores the sound appraisals of such responsible, broadly knowledgeable scientists as the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the members of the President's Scientific Advisory Committee, the presidents of the Rockefeller Foundation and Nutrition Foundation, the several committees of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council (including the Food and Nutrition Board, the Agricultural Board, the Food Protection Committee) who have long given thoughtful study to these questions, and the special advisory committees appointed by the governors of California and Wisconsin. The latter committees were chaired by two distinguished scientist-presidents of universities, Dr. Emil Mrak and the late Dr. Conrad A. Elvehjem.

All of these groups of scientists have recognized the essentiality of use of agricultural chemicals to produce the food required by the expanding world population and to sustain an acceptable standard of living and health. They have recognized the safety of proper use of agricultural chemicals and, indeed, the benefits to the consumer which accrue from their proper use in food and agricultural production.

Miss Carson's book adds no new factual material not already known to such serious scientists as those concerned with these developments, nor does it include information essential for the reader to interpret the knowledge. It does confuse the information and so mix it with her opinions that the uninitiated reader is unable to sort fact from fancy. In view of the mature, responsible attention which this whole subject receives from able, qualified scientific groups such as those identified in the foregoing (and whom Miss Carson chooses to ignore); in view of her scientific qualifications in contrast to those of our distinguished scientific leaders and statesmen, this book should be ignored.

Logically, it should be possible to terminate this review here. Unfortunately, however, this book will have wide circulation on one of the standard subscription lists. It is doubtful that many readers can bear to wade through its high-pitched sequences of anxieties. It is likely to be perused uncritically, to be regarded by the layman as authoritative (which it is not), and to arouse in him manifestations of anxieties and psychoneuroses exhibited by some of the subjects cited by the author in the chapter "The Human Price." Indeed, the author's efforts at appraising psychologic evidence concerning the effects of substances reveal a remarkable lack of competence as a psychiatrist even as great a lack as in the area of toxicology or even knowledge of existing regulatory controls. The obvious effect of all of this on the reader will be to aggravate unjustifiably his own neurotic anxiety.

Her thesis is revealed by the dedicatory quotations: "Man has lost the capacity to foresee and to forestall. He will end by destroying the earth." (Albert Schweitzer) "Our approach to nature is to beat it into submission. We would stand a better chance of survival if we accommodated ourselves to this planet and viewed it appreciatively instead of skeptically and dictatorially." (E. B. White)

Such a passive attitude as the latter, coupled with such pessimistic (and to this reviewer, unacceptable) philosophy as the former, means the end of all human progress, reversion to a passive social state devoid of technology, scientific medicine, agriculture, sanitation, or education. It means disease, epidemics, starvation, misery, and suffering incomparable and intolerable to modern man. Indeed, social, educational, and scientific development is prefaced on the conviction that man's lot will be and is being improved by a greater understanding of and thereby increased ability to control or mold those forces responsible for man's suffering, misery, and deprivation.

The author's motivation is not quite so evident, but the emotional call to write the book is revealed by her acknowledgment that "In a letter written in January 1958, Olga Owens Huckins told me of her own bitter experience of a small world made lifeless, and so brought my attention sharply back to a

problem with which I had long been concerned. I then realized I *must write* this book."

So impelled, Miss Carson has effectively used several literary devices to present her thesis and make it appear to be a widely held scientific one. She "name-drops" by quoting or referring to renowned scientists out of context. A statement divorced from its original meaning is then approximated to an opinion of the author or else to a question posed by her with an implied answer. The reader is led to conclude thereby that the authority mentioned is in accord with the author's position. Nobel prize winners are recognized as especially useful names for such a purpose.

Another device used is that of confusion of the reader with (to him) unintelligible scientific jargon or irrelevant discussions of cellular processes.

Miss Carson's failure to distinguish between the occupational and residue hazards is common to almost all popular writers on this subject. The occupational hazard associated with the manufacture and application of agricultural chemicals is similar to that of other work and can, should be, and is being reduced. That accidents have occurred is well known, but this is not more reason to ban useful chemicals than is the lamentable occurrence of preventable automobile or airplane accidents reason to ban these modern modes of transportation. Despite all of the implications of harm from residues on foods, Miss Carson has not produced one single example of injury resulting to man from these residues.

Miss Carson is infatuated with biological control and the balance of nature. Despite her statement that the really effective control of insects is that applied by nature, one must observe that the very ineffectiveness of such control is the raison d'ertre of chemical pesticides.

She commits the scientifically indefensible fallacy of considering that any substance which in any quantity is toxic must per se be a poison. By such a definition almost everything—water, salt, sugar, amino acids, minerals, vitamin A or D, etc.—is a poison. She gives the reader a mistaken concept of tolerances. Tolerances are not ill-defined levels of maximum quantities which can be ingested without acute harm. They are maximum amounts of a substance which should exist as a residue when the chemical has been employed in good and proper beneficial practice. They are based on extensive use data and toxicologic testing in animals and frequently metabolic studies in man. They include a very wide margin of safety, usually being set at 100 times the minimal amount of the substance which produces any physiologic effect in the most sensitive of at least two species of animals for lifetime or two- to four-year periods.

The benefit of use of chemicals, charges Miss Carson, is for the producer. She ignores the requirement under the Miller bill that a chemical must be effective, which means benefit to the consumer. She fails to recognize that "the consumer" includes the producer, farmer, wholesaler, retailer, equipment manufacturer, their families, and even the scientists who evaluate the chemicals. The toxicologists in industry, in the Food and Drug Administration, in our universities and research institutes have, as consumers, equal stake in protecting the nation's health as does Miss Carson—and are, I believe, better qualified to make those judgments necessary to assure this protection.

Her ignorance or bias on some of the considerations throws doubt on her competence to judge policy. For example, she indicates that it is neither wise nor responsible to use pesticides in the control of insect-borne diseases. The July-August 1962 World Health *(WHO publication) reports that a malaria eradication program in Mexico has since 1957 reduced the malarious area from 978,185 sq. km. with 18 million inhabitants to 224,500 sq. km. with 1.5 million inhabitants. "In most areas the simple technique of indoor spraying of houses proved effective . . ."; where bedbugs were resistant to DDT, an insecticide mixture was successfully used. "As a result of the campaign, the Mexican Government is expanding its agricultural programme, distributing land, and undertaking irrigation and hydroelectric schemes." It is most doubtful that Miss Carson really is ignorant of these and other facts which any objective appraisal of this subject demands. Instead, it seems that a call to write a book has completely outweighed any semblance of scientific objectivity.*

The public may be misled by this book. If it stimulates the public to press for unwise and ill-conceived restrictions on the production, use, or development of new chemicals, it will be the consumer who suffers. If, on the other hand, it inspires some users to read and heed labels more carefully, it may aid in the large educational effort in which industry, government, colleges, and many other groups are engaged (despite Miss Carson's implication that they are not).

The responsible scientist should read this book to understand the ignorance of those writing on the subject and the educational task which lies ahead.

FACTS ON THE USE OF PESTICIDES

Prepared by the New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, and the New York State Agricultural Experiment Station, Geneva, units of the State University, at Cornell University.

In the more than 75 years that man has employed chemicals to control insects, fungi, rodents, weeds and other pests, he has become increasingly dependent on them. This trend has been especially evident since World War II. In general, chemical pesticides have proved highly effective in attaining desired goals, although they have certain objectionable aspects. One of these is their actual or possible hazards to man and other forms of life. Individuals, of varying degrees of competence to make critical judgments in this field, have urged a drastic curtailment in pesticide use, and even a discontinuance of most of the synthetic compounds introduced in the past 20 years.

Since our economy, health, and recreational activities depend in large measure on the use of chemical pesticides, it seems timely and in the public interest to make an objective assessment of all aspects of this important subject.

Do we really need pesticides? This is hardly a debatable question. We not only need them, we are highly dependent on them, especially in the production of food and fiber crops. Without pesticides we would eat very poorly indeed in terms of both quality and quantity. Millions of people are alive today because of the use of DDT and other modern pesticides in suppressing insect-transmitted diseases of man such as malaria, yellow fever, and typhus. Witness, too, how we are relying on pesticides to stamp out the current outbreak of encephalitis in Florida. But if we use these materials, we cannot hope to be free from all possible objectionable consequences of their use. One such problem, for example, is the traces of pesticides that unavoidably may persist in or on some of our food crops beyond harvest.

Do these traces of pesticides constitute a health hazard to consumers? According to the best scientific evidence available, the traces that are allowed – and these are fixed by the Food and Drug Administration – constitute no known hazard. This question of allowable levels involves the "tolerance" concept. Its principle can be illustrated with table salt. As used in our foods, salt is employed at a safe or tolerable amount – for most individuals. At higher levels, however, it becomes a "poison." This was tragically illustrated in a Binghamton, N. Y., hospital recently when salt was accidentally substituted for sugar in the formula fed to new-born babies. All chemicals have their safe and toxic levels. For "toxic" materials such as certain pesticides these levels are simply lower than for table salt.

Before any pesticide can be sold it must undergo extensive feeding tests on laboratory animals. These tests may be continued for two years or longer, and involve several generations and thousands of laboratory animals. The FDA sets a tolerance – zero or otherwise – on the basis of this information. This level always represents an amount far below any that may have shown the begin-

nings of trouble in test animals. It often reflects a hundredfold safety factor. Most laymen will still ask why we allow even these traces. Fortunately, much of our food is free from them. But what is the meaning of "free" when we now have instruments capable of detecting up to 1 part of pesticide in 1 billion parts of product? Short of not using the material at all, common sense calls for setting the allowable level low enough to meet all safety requirements yet not so low as to prevent the use of a needed product. This is exactly what the FDA attempts to do.

Do pesticides pose a serious threat to wildlife? As a preface to this section two facts should be appreciated: (1) The harm man has done to wildlife in felling forests, tilling fields, draining wet places, polluting waters, and through urbanization, is of much greater consequence collectively, than are the relatively small and temporary losses that have occurred from pesticide use. (2) Of the total land (and water) area of the U. S. A., *more than 95 percent receives no pesticides* in a typical year; in the wildlands (about 75 percent of the total area) the figure is 99 percent.

As currently used in routine operations to control mosquitoes and pests of our farms and forests, the hazards to wildlife are generally considered to be small. In the past, greatest losses have occurred in special eradication programs, especially where high dosages of pesticides were used more or less indiscriminately over large areas. In the light of present knowledge, some of these programs were unsoundly based. That professionals in this field have profited from past mistakes is evidenced by the highly successful eradication programs against the screwworm fly and the medfly that have been conducted recently in Florida. These were judged to have had little or no effect on wildlife. Wildlife protection is a common interest. Therefore, we can all subscribe wholeheartedly to a plea made by a committee established by the National Academy of Sciences – National Research Council to study pesticide-wildlife problems. It reported: "In order to hold wildlife losses to a minimum, scientists representing all of the disciplines involved should unite forces in an all out effort to identify and evaluate specific hazards and to develop corrective measures for objectionable practices."

Are pesticides upsetting the balance of nature? This question implies that modern man is living under conditions of natural balance in relation to other forms of life. This is far from true regardless of where he lives, farms, or carries out his business enterprises. Man's progress, in fact, is largely measured by the degree to which he has been able to unbalance nature – to his advantage. It is often suggested that we use nature's tools to keep pests in check. Notice though, that there are no "pests" in nature. Pests are a concept of man. Species fluctuate periodically in numbers through competition with one another, but this is of no consequence under nature's grand design. Nature, we find, is usually much too slow and inefficient in control to meet man's standards. Anyone who has seen the eastern tent caterpillar totally defoliate wild cherry trees for two consecutive years before parasites, predators, and disease begin to get the upper hand will understand this. Scientists are exploring the possibilities of using biological methods in control. But experience to date shows that we cannot rely on them alone, particularly in intensive agricultural operations. To produce food at present high volume and quality we are dependent on chemical control measures primarily.

How much are pesticides misused? To some extent, of course. But such misuse is apparently no higher than occurs in any other similar human endeavors. A different logic seems to apply where misuse of pesticides is involved. This is the tendency to fix blame on the pesticide rather than on the person who misused it. When someone runs into a tree with an automobile, what or whom do we blame: automobiles in general, or the man who misused that particular one?

The number of farmers who *willfully* apply treatments nearer harvest than the law allows is quite small, for several reasons. Even if farmers were not law-abiding as a group – and they are – pesticides are expensive and farmers tend to use them only when needed. They know, too, that pest control treatments applied near harvest usually are of little avail. Reference has already been made to the misuses that have occurred in relation to wildlife. We must also recognize that some pesticide misuses have led to serious illnesses and even deaths. Certain pesticides are toxic at low dosage levels, so in common with many other chemicals, fatalities can occur if they are accidentally swallowed, intentionally swallowed, or are handled with gross carelessness. There is no question that farmers, for their personal safety, should handle and use pesticides with respect. The pesticide safety record of the farm is remarkably high.

Should "less toxic" pesticides be used? No simple answer can be given to this question, as can be illustrated with two insecticides, parathion and rotenone. Parathion is

considered, rightly, to be highly toxic to both insects and man; rotenone, on the other hand, is rated relatively "safe." The danger in parathion use is to the farmer who applies the material, not to the consumer who eats parathion-treated crops. This chemical disappears rapidly from spray deposits. It thus may be *safer*, from the standpoint of the consumer than some less toxic pesticide that lays down deposits highly resistant to weathering. Rotenone is relatively nontoxic to humans, but it is highly toxic to fish. In fact, it is commonly used to exterminate unwanted species of fish from certain ponds or streams before restocking with wanted species. It has been suggested in the interest of safety that plant-derived pesticides such as rotenone, pyrethrum, and ryania be used in place of DDT and the other synthetic organic pesticides. Although these well-known botanicals have found limited use over the years, experience has demonstrated that they are too inefficient generally to cope with the total pest problem. A primary goal of insect toxicologists is to find pesticides with maximum differential toxicity. These would be highly toxic to certain insect species but of low toxicity to man. Examples of such synthetic products are malathion and Sevin.

Are there satisfactory alternatives to chemicals for pest control? As of today, no. This is not intended to belittle nonchemical control principles. Some, such as the breeding of disease-resistant crop varieties, have proved to be highly successful solutions to certain problems. Even in such instances, however, chemical treatments may be needed to protect the crop from diseases and insects other than the one to which the plant is resistant. Other nonchemical principles being actively explored for practical application include: use of various microbial agents; use of insect and mite parasites and predators; manipulation of plant nutrition; and use of various agronomic principles, such as crop rotation and time of planting.

Another method that seems to have important possibilities is the genetic approach. A dramatic demonstration of its application is the eradication of the screwworm fly through mass releases of sterilized males. Sterilization can be effected by irradiation or more cheaply now, possibly, by use of certain chemicals (chemosterilants). The technique used to control the screwworm probably can be applied advantageously to other pests. But there are still other ways in which genetic principles can be manipulated to combat pests.

However, the final standard that all control measures must meet is: do they work? Thus for the foreseeable future we must continue to rely heavily on chemical methods to cope with critical pest problems. We will undoubtedly develop better pesticides – safer, more effective, and perhaps less subject to pest circumvention through the development of resistant strains.

Can pesticides induce cancer or cause gene mutations? This is a consideration that flourishes better in the realm of speculation than in fact. Based on the same "evidence" in this area one can project a given assumption to mean almost everything, or, conversely, almost nothing. The list of substances that have been identified as carcinogens (cancer-producing) is very large. The number known to be mutagens (mutant-producing) is smaller but includes such well-known chemicals as caffeine and, possibly, table salt. The significance of such ratings of chemicals in terms of actual hazards to humans in normal exposure is a much debated subject among scientists.

None of the synthetic insecticides in use today is either carcinogenic or mutagenic. As a matter of fact, any that should be judged to be carcinogenic must, by present law, be given a zero tolerance. DDT has been strongly suspected of being mutagenic by some persons. But in 1957 a well-known geneticist, Professor James F. Crow, reported: "This study shows that DDT as ordinarily used does not have a significant effect on mutation rate."

CONCLUSIONS

Both the chemical and nonchemical methods in use today to control pests are the result of research that has been done by thousands of scientists in state and federal agencies, in industry, in our universities, and in private institutes. These persons include entomologists, plant pathologists, chemists, horticulturists, agronomists, veterinarians, medical scientists, pharmacologists, wildlife specialists, and others. Collectively, they are aware of the areas of both strength and of weakness in all the methods in use. Where the limitations in a given method are serious, two courses of action are followed: one is to eliminate the objectionable feature if possible or to reduce its importance; the other is to find a new material or method that does not have the drawback.

The public can do two things to bring about a better program of pest control. One is to learn more about all aspects of this important subject. The other is to support research, especially on new approaches in which human health hazards are nonexistent or minimal, and to support programs that endeavor to establish the facts about health hazards, if any, in existing control methods.

440 Crossways Pl.
Aiken, S.C.
11/16/62

Dear Sir:

A couple of months ago you printed a review of Silent Spring by an English professor that was somewhat noncommital. At the time I felt it would be much more valuable to hear a scientist's opinion of the book. I found such an opinion in the Chemical & Engineering News, and am sending it along in the hope it will prove equally interesting to you.

Sincerely yours,

Lee Ayden

BOOKS

Silence, Miss Carson

Silent Spring. RACHEL CARSON. 368 pages. Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston, Mass. 1962. $5.00 Reviewed by Dr. William J. Darby.

Dr. Darby is professor and chairman of the department of biochemistry and director, division of nutrition, at Vanderbilt University school of medicine; member and past chairman of the Food Protection Committee, National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council; and a member of the NAS-NRC Food and Nutrition Board.

"Silent Spring" starts with a bit of dramatic description of a situation which the author then acknowledges does not actually exist. It then orients the reader to its subject matter by stating that "only within . . . the present century has man . . . acquired significant power to alter the nature of his world." It identifies as irrecoverable and "for the most part irreversible" the effects of "this now universal contamination of the environment [in which] chemicals are the sinister and little recognized partners of radiation in changing the very nature of the world, the very nature of life itself." Man has, according to Miss Carson, now upset that ideal state of "adjustment and balance" of life on this planet through "synthetic creations of man's inventive mind, brewed in his laboratory, and having no counterpart in nature." These products, the reader is told, are "staggering in number," have "power to kill," have "incredible potential for harm," represent a "train of disaster," result in a "chemical death rain," and are being used with "little or no advance investigation of their effect on soil, water, wildlife, and man himself." She further warns the reader that all of these sinister chemicals will not only extinguish plant life, wild life, aquatic life, and man, but they will produce cancer, leukemia, sterility, and cellular mutations.

There are 297 pages devoted to reiteration of these views. There then follows a 55-page "list of principal sources" designed to impress the reader with the extent of the support for Miss Carson's views. This list uses an extender and is artificially colored and flavored. Its apparent bulk is made one third greater through devoting a line of type to identify each page on which a source bears, and by repeating in full the title of each source in relation to recurrent pages. Its bulk will appeal to those readers who are as uncritical as the author, or to those who find the flavor of her product to their taste. These consumers will include the organic gardeners, the antifluoride leaguers, the worshipers of "natural foods," those who cling to the philosophy of a vital principle, and pseudo-scientists and faddists.

The flavor of this product is indicated in part by the source list. She refers frequently to testimony given at 1950, 1951, and 1952 Congressional hearings, seldom to later years, and to the opinions of Morton S. Biskind and W. C. Hueper.

The author ignores the sound appraisals of such responsible, broadly knowledgeable scientists as the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the members of the President's Scientific Advisory Committee, the Presidents of the Rockefeller Foundation and Nutrition Foundation, the several committees of the National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council (including the Food and Nutrition Board, the Agricultural Board, the Food Protection Committee) who have long given thoughtful study to these questions, and the special advisory committees appointed by the governors of California and Wisconsin. The latter committees were chaired by two distinguished scientist-presidents of universities, Dr. Emil Mrak and the late Dr. Conrad A. Elvehjem.

All of these groups of scientists have recognized the essentiality of use of agricultural chemicals to produce the food required by the expanding world population and to sustain an acceptable standard of living and health. They have recognized the safety of proper use of agricultural chemicals and, indeed, the benefits to the consumer which accrue from their proper use in food and agricultural production.

Miss Carson's book adds no new factual material not already known to such serious scientists as those concerned with these developments, nor does it include information essential for the reader to interpret the knowledge. It does confuse the information and so mix it with her opinions that the uninitiated reader is unable to sort fact from fancy. In view of the mature, responsible attention which this whole subject receives from able, qualified scientific groups such as those identified in the foregoing (and whom Miss Carson chooses to ignore); in view of her scientific qualifications in contrast to those of our distinguished scientific leaders and statesmen, this book should be ignored.

Logically, it should be possible to terminate this review here. Unfortunately, however, this book will have wide circulation on one of the standard subscription lists. It is doubtful that many readers can bear to wade through its high-pitched sequences of anxieties. It is likely to be perused uncritically, to be regarded by the layman as authoritative (which it is not), and to arouse in him manifestations of anxieties and psychoneuroses exhibited by some of the subjects cited by the author in the chapter "The Human Price." Indeed, the author's efforts at appraising psychologic evidence concerning the effects of substances reveal a remarkable lack of competence as a psychiatrist, even as great a lack as in the area of toxicology or even knowledge of existing regulatory controls. The obvious effect of all of this on the reader will be to aggravate unjustifiably his own neurotic anxiety.

Her thesis is revealed by the dedicatory quotations: "Man has lost the capacity to foresee and to forestall. He will end by destroying the earth." (Albert Schweitzer) "Our approach to nature is to beat it into submission. We would stand a better chance of survival if we accommodated ourselves to this planet and viewed it appreciatively instead of skeptically and dictatorially." (E. B. White)

Such a passive attitude as the latter, coupled with such pessimistic (and to this reviewer, unacceptable) philosophy as the former, means the end of all human progress, reversion to a passive social state devoid of technology, scientific medicine, agriculture, sanitation, or education. It means disease, epidemics, starvation, misery, and suffering incomparable and intolerable to modern man. Indeed, social, educational, and scientific development is prefaced on the conviction that man's lot will be and is being improved by a

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greater understanding of and thereby increased ability to control or mold those forces responsible for man's suffering, misery, and deprivation.

The author's motivation is not quite so evident, but the emotional call to write the book is revealed by her acknowledgment that "In a letter written in January 1958, Olga Owens Huckins told me of her own bitter experience of a small world made lifeless, and so brought my attention sharply back to a problem with which I had long been concerned. I then realized I *must write this book*" (italics are the reviewer's).

So impelled, Miss Carson has effectively used several literary devices to present her thesis and make it appear to be a widely held scientific one. She "name-drops" by quoting or referring to renowned scientists out of context. A statement divorced from its original meaning is then approximated to an opinion of the author or else to a question posed by her with an implied answer. The reader is led to conclude thereby that the authority mentioned is in accord with the author's position. Nobel prize winners are recognized as especially useful names for such a purpose.

Another device used is that of confusion of the reader with (to him) unintelligible scientific jargon or irrelevant discussions of cellular processes.

Miss Carson's failure to distinguish between the occupational and residue hazards is common to almost all popular writers on this subject. The occupational hazard associated with the manufacture and application of agricultural chemicals is similar to that of other work and can, should be, and is being reduced. That accidents have occurred is well known, but this is no more reason to ban useful chemicals than is the lamentable occurrence of preventable automobile or airplane accidents reason to ban these modern modes of transportation. Despite all of the implications of harm from residues on foods, Miss Carson has not produced one single example of injury resulting to man from these residues.

Miss Carson is infatuated with biologic control and the balance of nature. Despite her statement that the really effective control of insects is that applied by nature, one must observe that the very ineffectiveness of such control is the raison d'etre of chemical pesticides.

She commits the scientifically indefensible fallacy of considering that any substance which in any quantity is toxic must per se be a poison. By such a definition almost everything—water, salt, sugar, amino acids, minerals, vitamins A or D, etc.—is a poison. She gives the reader a mistaken concept of tolerances. Tolerances are not ill-defined levels of maximum quantities which can be ingested without acute harm. They are maximum amounts of a substance which should exist as a residue when the chemical has been employed in good and proper beneficial practice. They are based on extensive use data and toxicologic testing in animals and frequently metabolic studies in man. They include a very wide margin of safety, usually being set at 100 times the *minimal* amount of the substance which produces any physiologic effect in the most sensitive of at least two species of animals for lifetime or two- to four-year periods.

The benefit of use of chemicals, charges Miss Carson, is for the producer. She ignores the requirement under the Miller bill that a chemical must be *effective*, which means benefit to the consumer. She fails to recognize that "the consumer" includes the producer, farmer, wholesaler, retailer, equipment manufacturer, their families, and even the scientists who evaluate the chemicals. The toxicologists in industry, in the Food and Drug Administration, in our universities and research institutes have, as consumers, equal stake in protecting the nation's health as does Miss Carson—and are, I believe, better qualified to make those judgments necessary to assure this protection.

Her ignorance or bias on some of the considerations throws doubt on her competence to judge policy. For example, she indicates that it is neither wise nor responsible to use pesticides in the control of insect-borne diseases. The July-August 1962 *World Health* (WHO publication) reports that a malaria eradication program in Mexico has since 1957 reduced the malarious area from 978,185 sq. km. with 18 million inhabitants to 224,500 sq. km. with 1.5 million inhabitants. "In most areas the simple technique of indoor spraying of houses proved effective . . ."; where bedbugs were resistant to DDT, an insecticide mixture was successfully used. "As a result of the campaign, the Mexican Government is expanding its agricultural programme, distributing land, and undertaking irrigation and hydro-

electric schemes." It is most doubtful that Miss Carson really is ignorant of these and other facts which any objective appraisal of this subject demands. Instead, it seems that a call to write a book has completely outweighed any semblance of scientific objectivity.

The public may be misled by this book. If it stimulates the public to press for unwise and ill-conceived restrictions on the production, use, or development of new chemicals, it will be the consumer who suffers. If, on the other hand, it inspires some users to read and heed labels more carefully, it may aid in the large educational effort in which industry, government, colleges, and many other groups are engaged (despite Miss Carson's implication that they are not).

The responsible scientist should read this book to understand the ignorance of those writing on the subject and the educational task which lies ahead.

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December, 1962

I am writing you

because many responsible citizens, including both scientists and non-scientists, are increasingly concerned about the promotion of Rachel Carson's book "Silent Spring" as if it were a reliable and "scientific" document.

As president of The Nutrition Foundation and as immediate past president of the American Public Health Association, I believe that it is important to keep the record straight -- to recognize factual evidence with reasonable interpretation and to be equally critical of distortion and bias, irrespective of the skill and popularity of a writer.

You will find four reprints of articles enclosed with this letter. They are reviews of "Silent Spring," and comments on its areas of concern, prepared by independent distinguished scientists who have had many years of active responsibility in the field covered by this book. Dr. Darby is professor of biochemistry and nutrition in the School of Medicine at Vanderbilt University, and for several years has served as chairman of the Food Protection Committee of the National Academy of Sciences - National Research Council (the top scientific advisory body to the national government) and as chairman of the Council on Foods and Nutrition of the American Medical Association. The other reviews are written by men of comparable stature as scientists who are familiar with the subject matter of the book, and likewise are in independent positions and widely recognized for their integrity as public-spirited citizens.

I hope that you will take the time to read these comments -- for they reflect the opinion of a large, responsible, independent and highly qualified segment of the scientific community.

The problems of health protection, while making desirable use of agricultural chemicals that are major contributors to human progress, are indeed difficult. Governmental, academic and industrial scientists and their respective executives are fully conscious of this -- and, on the whole, their record for competent performance and diligence in protecting the public interest is excellent. As in all walks of life, however, there have been instances of bad judgment, carelessness and accidents. These are a part of the cost of normal, true progress -- as in developing the use of automobiles, airplanes, and electricity. But, there has not been gross negligence or evasion of responsibility for protecting human health. Corrective measures have steadily superseded real evidence of risks -- a pat-

tern of progress well established through twenty years of experience before the book appeared.

The problem is magnified in that publicists and the author's adherents among the food faddists, health quacks, and special interest groups are promoting her book as if it were scientifically irreproachable and written by a scientist.

Neither is true. The book presents almost solely selected information that is negative and uses such bits from a period of many years to build a vastly distorted picture. The author is a professional journalist -- not a scientist in the field of her discussion -- and misses the very essence of science in not being objective either in citing the evidence or in its interpretation.

It is to be regretted that the sales of "Silent Spring" are benefiting the many special interest groups who are now feeding on its publicity. These groups, who are profiting from the atmosphere it attempts to create, are those who advertise and promote to gull and frighten Americans about our food and our health. Their advertisements are designed to convince us that our forests, farms and food are poisoned, our health has failed -- but that a long and happy life awaits if only we will buy or follow panacea "X."

Their alarmist advertising is aimed right at our pocketbooks. They can well afford this publicity and advertising, for each year they sell more than 750-million dollars worth of fakes and nostrums to a gullible public. They poison minds for profit, and Miss Carson's book has become a tool in their hands. Her own selection of persons to quote in formulating alarms and opinions, however, sets the stage for multiplying the distortion.

The net effect is a stimulus to the anti-scientists -- those in each generation who would block such steps forward as the development of vaccines, techniques of transfusion, experimentation with animals to advance surgery, and the control of malaria, tooth decay and typhus; and who seek to nullify the dedicated efforts of those who work to make us less subject to the whims of a hostile environment.

Strenuous efforts are made to avoid accidents and carelessness in the use of agricultural chemicals, and progress in that direction has been relatively good. To place this situation in perspective, during the past year there were twice as many deaths caused by the misuse of aspirin as were caused by agricultural chemicals. Compared with these few dozens, there were over 35,000 deaths caused by automobile accidents alone in the same year.

An agricultural chemical, like the auto, and almost everything in life, can be hazardous when used carelessly. Most persons handle chemicals with care and follow directions. Superior products, tighter regulations, more effective inspections, improved methods of testing, and more effective programs of consumer education -- all are developing steadily as a normal function of progress. Within reason these are all heartily supported by leaders in agriculture, in the food industry and in the chemical industry.

There is ground for satisfaction, and a sound basis for confidence in the future, in the fact that in parallel with the steady increase in the use of agricultural chemicals during the past twenty years, there has been a steady decrease in the deaths due to accidental poisoning by both solid and liquid agents.

I do not believe, as Miss Carson asserts in her story, that man, in the use of agricultural chemicals -- essential to producing an adequate food supply -- is in dire danger of irreversibly polluting his environment, poisoning his fellow man, and damaging the heredity of the human race.

Most well-informed scientists would agree heartily with a summary statement that our food has never been better or safer, our health and life span never more favorable, and never before has science done so much to improve standards of living in the best sense of citizenship goals.

There is no sound basis for maligning the integrity, objectivity and competence of executives and scientists in industry, agriculture, education and government, as does Miss Carson. I have known them and worked with them long enough to challenge forthrightly such implication. It is most unfortunate that a writer of such skill should present so distorted a picture to the public.

The Manufacturing Chemists' Association, which joins with us to see that relevant information is brought to your attention, appreciates, as we do, the time you have given to review this correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. King

C. G. King
President

SOME COMMENTS ON "SILENT SPRING"

A Review by Fredrick J. Stare, B.S., M.S., Ph.D., M.D.

SINCE FOOD FADDISTS, theatre critics, news commentators and other self-appointed protectors of the public welfare have written critical estimates of *Silent Spring*, Miss Rachel Carson's controversial book on the effect of agricultural chemicals on man's environment, there seems to be no reason to bar a research chemist and physician, whose principal interest is food and nutrition. Particularly, since a very large part of Miss Carson's work touches on the matter of the safety and wholesomeness of our food supply.

Though I disagree strongly with Miss Carson's central conclusions, undoubtedly she has rendered a service by obliquely arousing an apathetic, unscientific public to a most serious problem — providing enough food for an exploding population, and protecting man from the scourge of epidemic disease.

However, I doubt that this was her purpose. Her book is an emotional picture of the disaster we possibly court through our wide-scale use of agricultural chemicals, and is filled with horrendous examples of how pesticides are polluting our rivers, destroying wildlife and impairing the health of human beings. Throughout, she asserts that we are destroying the balance of nature, and ourselves in the process, and that we must adopt a radically new approach or consign ourselves to certain death.

Miss Carson writes with passion and with beauty, but with very little scientific detachment. Dispassionate scientific evidence and passionate propaganda are two buckets of water that simply can't be carried on one person's shoulders.

The bucket that springs a leak in Miss Carson's case is the scientific evidence. Through omission and commission (the only two ways to commit sin) Miss Carson flounders as a scientist in this book.

So far, through the broad application of a brilliant technology which includes the wide use of agricultural chemicals, man has managed to stave off starvation, disease, and social and political unrest in many parts of the world. But in those areas of the world where chemical technology is not highly developed, disease, famine and social and political unrest are the order of the day.

The fact that the public does not recognize the enormous debt it owes the scientist can have disastrous consequences many times more serious than the alleged risks Miss Carson fears from life-saving chemistry.

In 1956, Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, warned against the unscientific attitude of the public in these words:

"Today our great problem and opportunity is to let science be itself and thus realize its full potential for good. The beneficent applications of science should be given a clear field to reduce the forces tending toward war. The hazard we face is that science will be so identified with destruction, and so hemmed in by security considerations, that its real significance will be lost, its ranks weakened, and its creativity diminished. If American science is to continue to prosper, if it is to continue to attract its proper complement of creative and gifted minds, scientists must combat the notions that science and engineering are incompatible with the disciplines of the great humanities, that they are narrowly materialistic and destructive of human values."[1]

Unfortunately, Miss Carson implicitly accuses the scientific community of disparaging human values. In doing so, she abandons scientific proof and truth and combats them with exaggeration and unscientific deductive reasoning based on axioms of her own making.

Silent Spring is so selective in the instances Miss Carson chooses to make her points that information the public should know about does not get through to them. It may be, of course, that her research simply was not adequate enough to bring these facts to light — although they are known to almost every science writer and scientist. For example: new chemicals to kill insects which have become resistant to old chemical formulations do not have to be more and more poisonous. In fact, they are usually less so.

Also — to refute Miss Carson — research in biological controls—using insects and disease to destroy

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other insects — is not being ignored by either industry or the government. Research and experiments have gone on for a long time. In fact, there has been a recent dramatic breakthrough in which chemicals have been used to create a biological type of control: reporting on the insect sterilization activity of certain chemical compounds, scientists of the U. S. Department of Agriculture claim to have halted reproduction completely in insects of several species (house flies, mosquitos, Mexican fruit flies) by use of chemicals.[2]

Miss Carson says she speaks for wildlife experts. Does she speak for the fish and game authorities who depend on agricultural chemicals to thin out overconstricting wooded areas, increase the quality of our natural resources, and provide better game refuge? Does she speak for experts like Walter Dykstra of U. S. Fish and Wildlife service? He says, talking about chemicals, "We couldn't get along without them."[3]

The Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, in a less than favorable review of *Silent Spring*, pointed out "Miss Carson abhors the loss of shelter for wildlife caused by the spraying of weed killers along roadsides. Everyone recognizes that controlled road embankments are a safety factor necessary to increased vision. Weed killers provide an economical and effective method of controlling these hazards, and for better or for worse, this is necessary to our way of life. However, only a small portion of wildlife cover is lost as the result of such spraying. Far more is destroyed when vast acreages are cleared for housing developments and wildernesses are torn apart for super highways; these also are necessary to our civilization."[4]

Some general statements may be made about some of her allegations:

- The examples she cites to show the lethal effects of pesticides are all examples of improper use. If she had so labeled them, she would have done a great deal of good by arousing the public to the necessity for caution and for following directions in the use of chemicals.
- She implies that the deaths due to insecticides are many. As a matter of fact, there has never been one medically-documented death due to proper use of insecticides. Deaths due to improper use, says the U. S. Department of Agriculture, totaled 89 last year.[5] Improper use of any substance can cause harm or even death. For example, aspirin alone accidently kills about 150 a year, most of them children. No one has yet suggested we do away with aspirin — or automobiles, which kill thousands of people.
- Residues of DDT do build up in stored fat in humans but not to harmful levels and they are not permanent.[6] Further there is no evidence that ill health in man, except for those few who may have a true allergy to DDT, has ever been caused from DDT residues or foods. If you'll accept that scientific fact, then you will have to discount many of Miss Carson's most hair-raising examples from which she makes possibility projections.
- The book attempts to mobilize farmers, conservationists, and the general public against an enormous, heartless pesticide industry. Not only does the industry account for less than 1% of total annual sales of chemical products, but it amounts to only slightly more than a modest $300 million of sales annually.[7] There must be several hundred American corporations each of whom do that much business alone.
- Those within nearest call of Miss Carson's trumpet, farmers and conservationists, say they cannot do their jobs without agricultural chemicals. If this latter thought intrigues you, I suggest you

look into how pesticides are helping to clear the Great Lakes of the pernicious lamprey[8] and are restoring the fish population, and how they are used in wildlife management to increase the game supply. Miss Carson unfortunately leaves these kinds of facts out of her story.

Another thought that intrigued me after reading Miss Carson's presentation is why there was no effort to get opinions straight from the mouths of some of America's farmers — the men who supposedly know the perils as well as the profits of pesticides as a part of their day to day existence. Roswell Garst came to my mind immediately. As most people know, he's the Coon Rapids, Iowa farmer that all the visiting Russian agriculturalists and crop specialists make a bee-line for — to find out how they can use his, and our, techniques to keep Russia and Red China from starving to death. I remember a story from *The New York Times* of September 17, reporting on a visit of the Soviet Minister of Agricultural Sciences to the Garst farm the day previous. I think Mr. Garst stated the case pretty well. As the *Times* quoted him, "Mr. Garst, during a lecture on commercial fertilizers and weed killers, declared that the success of American Agriculture was the result of a 'combination of the chemical industry with agriculture.' "

My principle associate at Harvard, Professor D. M. Hegsted, and I beat Mr. Garst to this punch line by eight years when in an article in the *Scientific Monthly* (September, 1954) we wrote: "The farmer and the chemist together can do a better job of solving the problem of global nutrition than either can alone."[9]

Lone final comment: a curious paradoxical situation has resulted from publication of *Silent Spring*. Many of the reviewers who have dealt with the book have referred to Miss Carson as "a distinguished scientist." As a consequence, some of the public accepts Miss Carson as the spokesman for the scientific community, a community supposedly up in arms against a heartless, profit-seeking chemical industry led by non-scientists. Nothing could be further from the truth. Miss Carson is a distinguished author.

Listen to these phrases:

"*...never ending stream of chemicals...now pervading the world...acting upon us directly and indirectly, separately and collectively. Their presence casts a shadow that is no less ominous because it is formless and obscure...*" Lovely writing, but the implication of harm to our health is just not true.

"*As the tide of chemicals...has arisen to engulf our environment...*" Was the word "engulf" overly dramatic? Why not the word "benefit"?

"*...few if any foods can be relied upon to be entirely free of DDT.*" True, but residues are well below the minimum tolerances.

"*This piling up of chemicals from many sources creates a total exposure that cannot be measured.*" True, but no known ill health in man has resulted and life expectancy in this country continues to increase at every age.

"*Today we are concerned with a different kind of hazard that lurks in our environment...*" Was "lurks" a good choice of a word? It is an emotional one, but is it an honest one?

It is unfortunate for the scientific community and for the nation as a whole that Miss Carson's book is promoted by its publicists and proponents as the work of a scientist. I have seen no evidence in *Silent Spring* which justifies calling Miss Carson a scientist. Unfortunately, what evidence there is would lead me to the opposite conclusion. I believe that many scientists I know would agree that in Miss Carson's case, research limited to selective reading, plus the urging of "friends" with special interests, is certainly no diploma of equivalency for the academic training and experience required for authority in this area.

Miss Carson is a literary luminary — and one of splendid accomplishment. That is no mean feat. Miss Carson could have written a book which would have helped bridge the gap between science and the public, instead of one which widens the gulf.

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"CAUSE FOR CONCERN"

Man Manipulates Himself in Tampering With His Environment

Perhaps the most critical and most often ignored resource is man's total environment. Increasing awareness of the importance of understanding the balances of nature is reflected in the gradual development of interest in ecological studies. The study of the interaction of all biologic species, among themselves and with the inanimate forces of nature, requires coordination of the contributions of all the sciences, natural and social.

The wisdom of examining environment in the totality of its interaction with man becomes increasingly apparent in view of the rapidity of environmental change in our country. We live in a period of social and technological revolution, in which man's ability to manipulate the processes of nature for his own economic and social purposes is increasing at a rate which his forebears would find frightening.

Man is altering the balance of a relatively stable system by his pollution of the atmosphere with smoke, fumes, and particles from fossil fuels, industrial chemicals, and radioactive material; by his alteration of the energy and water balance at the earth's surface by deforestation, afforestation, cultivation of land, shading, mulching, over-grazing grasslands, reduction of evapotranspiration, irrigation, drainage of large swamp lands, and the building of cities and highways; by his clearing forests and alterations of plant surface cover, changing the reflectivity of the earth's surface and soil structures; by his land-filling, construction of buildings and seawalls, and pollution, bringing about radical changes in the ecology of estuarine areas; by the changes he effects in the biologic balance and the physical relocation of water basins through the erection of dams and channel works; and by the increasing quantities of carbon dioxide an industrial society releases to the atmosphere.

There is a continuing worldwide movement of population to the cities. The patterns of society are being rapidly rearranged, and new sets of aspirations, new evaluations of what constitutes a resource, and new requirements in both type and quantity of resources are resulting.

The effects on man himself of the changes he has wrought in the balance of great natural forces and in the new microenvironment which he has created are but dimly perceived and not at all well understood. The following examples suggested by observable changes in environment illustrate questions for which answers should be sought through research.

Environmental Health and Disease. Little is known of the short-term or long-term effects on man's health and productivity of the great variety of air and water pollutants, in terms of his ability to adapt, to build up resistance over what periods of time, and to tolerate what levels of toxicity. Neurological disorders and physiological reactions have been traced to some of these pollutants.

Geographic and Time Distribution of Disease. Diseases such as cancer and heart disease are in some way environmentally linked, but the mechanisms of linkage are not now known. As various environments have become more industrialized they have shown a rise in certain types of cancer, a drop in others.

The Environment and Biological Functioning. Man, after tens of thousands of years of very slow, very gradual change in environment, has in the past few hundred years made radical and abrupt changes to which he has to adjust more rapidly than ever before. Evidence indicates significant physiological and psychological reactions to such changes, but neither the causes nor the short- or long-range results are clear. Among the changed regimes which produce these physical and mental effects, still to be precisely identified and measured, are: the provision of artificial climates for increasing numbers of our population, changes in the light-dark cycles, changes in temperature and humidity, and increase in ambient noise levels.

There is a host of components of the physical atmosphere that are bioclimatic in nature, which affect, or in some cases are presumed to affect, human biology. Those known to have such effects include motion of air, atmospheric pressure fluctuations, the chemical composition of air, ionizing radiations, and atmospheric electricity. In the "presumed-effects" group are radio waves, long-wave radiation, space charges, electrostatic fields, and variations in atmospheric pressures.

Climatic Modifications. Man has worked assiduously to control or change natural phenomena for his benefit. He has tried particularly to influence weather and climate by modification of the atmosphere. There has been a long history of efforts to induce precipitation artificially, to cause the dissipation of cloud cover, and to reduce the violence of storms.

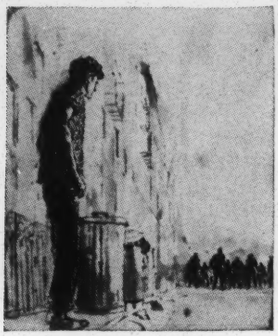
Many of the questions relating to the artificial induction of rain are far from settled; there is no solid basis at present either for rejection or for optimism. In cloud dissipation, it has been demonstrated that the seeding technique used for inducing precipitation could be used to cut holes in clouds as well, but this effect has not proved particularly practical yet.

Seeding of hurricanes, extratropical cyclones, and thunderstorms to dissipate or release their effects has been tried only on a limited scale, and as yet without significant results. Understanding of the development and movement of such disturbances is so imperfect that it is doubtful that a significant, man-induced influence could now be recognized. Any program to control storms must await the development of understanding of the natural processes involved.

In summary, it is apparent that man must concern himself with a variety of changes in the environment, both those caused by human beings and those reflecting man's responses. Some are good; some may be very harmful. That we often do not have any clear-cut idea of their impact on man, or of man's response, is cause for concern. It would seem unwise to continue to tamper with environment without, concurrently, striving to determine the real and lasting effects of our actions.

—Committee on National Resources,
National Academy of Sciences
in "National Resources: A Summary Report to the President of the U.S.A." (NAS Publication No. 1,000)

THE RESEARCH FRONTIER



—*from "The Violent Gang"*

WHERE IS SCIENCE TAKING US? *Away from planet earth, at what scientists quite appropriately call "escape" speed. Unconsciously in some cases, consciously in others, thousands of men and women are vicariously joining exploration of the sky-ocean as relief from the problems of home. Perhaps the most widely discussed event of recent decades was the Soviet launching of the first spaceship, Sputnik 1, in October 1957. How much have you heard about something that happened in New York City's Highbridge Park just three months earlier?*

On 30 July 1957, a boy named Michael Farmer, aged 15 years, crippled by polio, was stabbed and stomped to death near an upper East Side swimming pool. No money was taken from the boy's mutilated body. No matter of personal revenge was involved. According to all the information that police could piece together

By LEWIS YABLONSKY
University of California

IT IS the contention of this article that a new type of criminal is at large.

This new breed of sociopathic offender is replacing the old sociological model described in Edwin H. Sutherland's classic theory of "differential association." A grossly over-simplified description of Sutherland's model would say that criminals learn to become criminal from association with other offenders. They are trained into criminal patterns at an early age in a school of criminal *modus operandi,* which specifies certain criminal values and behavior patterns. In "Principles of Criminology" (Lippincott, 1947), Sutherland cited the "professional thief" as a case example:

> Professional thieves make a regular business of theft. They use techniques which have been developed over a period of centuries and transmitted to them through traditions and personal association. They have codes of behavior, *esprit de corps,* and consensus. They have a high status among other thieves and in the political and criminal underworld in general. They have differential association in the sense that they associate with each other and not, on the same basis, with outsiders, and also in the sense that they select their colleagues.
>
> Because of this differential association they develop a common language or argot which is relatively unknown to persons not in the profession. And they have organization. A thief is a professional when he has these six characteristics: regular work at theft, technical skill, consensus, status, differential association, and organization.
>
> Professional thieves have their group ways of behavior for the principal situations which confront them in their criminal activities. Consequently professional theft is . . . a sociological entity.

This image of the old-fashioned criminal characterizes him as a resourceful, well-trained and effective felon; a member of a profession (albeit illegal) with certain ethics and values which dictate his conduct. In criminal jargon, the "professional thief" had "class" or "character." He would not "give his buddies up" and he even proscribed certain victims. Assault and violence were used as a means to an end—not as an end in themselves.

In sharp contrast to the personality just described is a young modern violent gang member who told me, after a brutal homicide in which he had been involved:

> "I have my mind made up I'm not going to be in no gang. Then I go on inside. Something comes up. Then here all my friends coming to me. Like I said before, I'm intelligent and so forth. They be coming to me—then they talk to me about what they gonna do. Like, 'Man, we'll go out here and kill this cat.' I say, 'Yeah. They kept on talkin'. I said, 'Man, I just gotta go with you.' Myself, I don't want to go, but when they start talkin' about what they gonna do, I say, 'So, he isn't gonna take over my rep. I ain't gonna let him be known more than me.' And I go ahead, just for selfishness . . ."

This type of senseless violence is perpetrated for ego status—for "kicks" or "thrills." The "kicks" involve and produce a type of emotional euphoria which, the new criminal maintains, "makes me feel good." He does it "for selfishness." The goals of the crime are self-oriented in a primary fashion with material gain as a very secondary consideration.

IF the criminal gang involved in burglary and robbery represented the "professional" model criminal behavior patterns of the past, the modern violent gang in many respects represents the prototype structure for the new criminal. This is not to say that criminal gangs do not exist today or that violent gangs were not active in the past; but it is to say that the dominant emphasis has shifted to the wilder criminal and the wilder organization structure—his gang.

The violent gang is characterized more specifically by many or all of the following factors:

There is no evidence of prior contact or interaction between the assailants and their victim.

The act occurs in an unpremeditated, generally spontaneous and impulsive manner.

In some cases (particularly, for example, in violent gang assault), there is a degree of prior build-up to the act; however, the final consequence (often homicide) is not really anticipated.

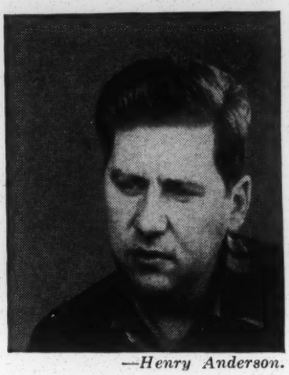
The violent collectivity has indicated by prior behavior or personality factors a potentiality for the commission of violence for some period of time.

The post-rationale expressed by the offenders for the violent behavior is usually without regret or at least inappropriate to the act committed.

As an individual offender, the *new* criminal may be classified as follows. He has a persistent pattern of deviant behavior characterized by an almost total disregard for the rights and feelings of others. A listing of overt personality and behavior traits of this brand of sociopath would include most, if not all, of the following factors (1) limited social conscience, (2) egocentrism dominates most interaction, "instrumental manipulation" of others for self-

afterward, Michael Farmer did not know his assailants nor did his killers know their victim.

Sociologist Lewis Yablonsky documented that horror story in "The Violent Gang," a book published by Macmillan in 1962. Since the book's appearance, he has gathered further insight into senseless executions by neighborhood toughs. At the 1962 annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia last December, he boiled his findings down to a description of "The New Criminal." Although he took personal responsibility, as Associate Professor of Sociology and Social Welfare at the University of California (Los Angeles), for the summation before the Criminology Section of the AAAS, he acknowledged the research collaboration of one of his graduate students, John Irwin. Below are their conclusions, adapted for publication in SR/Research.



—Henry Anderson.

Lewis Yablonsky

advantage (rather than effective relating), (3) inability to forego immediate pleasure for future goals, (4) habit of pathological lying to achieve personal advantage (according to Hervey Cleckley in "The Mask of Sanity," the sociopaths' feelings and emotions are "word deep"), and (5) violent outbursts when blocked from momentary goals.

Borrowing a criterion from David Riesman's "Lonely Crowd," we may say that another observed characteristic of the *new* criminal basic personality involved a shift from "inner-direction" to "other-direction." Perhaps the change in the basic personality which has taken place in the middle-class person in the United States (as described by Riesman) can be equated with the shift in the basic personality of the criminal. The overall shift of social forces which formed the causal context of change in the middle-class man also appears to have produced changes in the participant in criminal culture.

The "inner-directed" person (*old* criminal) is more concerned with concrete material gain and less with psychic emotional gratification characteristic of the "other-directed" individual (*new* criminal). The business of the criminal of the past was making money and to make money took skill. Highly skilled professionals thus emerged within the criminal subcultures. As in the legitimate society, the skills were those that allowed the person to manipulate the material world. Burglary, robbery, hi-jacking, forgery, counterfeiting methods and other professional skills became highly developed. The *old* criminal was secure in himself and developed his professional craft. He not only knew how to "pull a caper," but how to do it in the "cleanest" way possible. This implied a knowledge of law, court proceedings, police methods, and many other aspects of the "caper."

The *old* criminal had to make contacts with trusted people whom he needed in the pursuit of his criminal work. He had to trust others to cooperate with his criminal venture. This often meant using a steady "fence" when dealing in merchandise. He often made contracts with lawyers whom he could trust, who were "right." They would afford him legal advice before a crime and would go to bat for him if he were caught. There was even a right way for the *old* criminal who couldn't "beat the rap" to "do time" when he was caught. The training for it was directed toward getting out with a minimum sentence. It also prescribed the correct behavior in relation to other criminals, officials, "bulls," and other "cons" while "in stir." Inherent in the old criminal society was an important factor which fostered the old cohesive criminal subculture. This was the presence of role models for the maturing delinquent. The means for criminal success were clear. The apprentice had available to him exemplary models.

Partly because the old style criminal models were of limited variety, the *new* criminal has adopted among other traits a new style. He is "cool" or "hip." The manipulative principle of relating has perhaps filtered down from the middle-class competitive system. For the *new* criminal, "how to win friends and influence people" becomes interpreted to mean how to beat a "mark" (victim).

This new definition of how to earn money has a different emphasis from the former definition. The *old* thief was out to make money in the cleanest, quickest, fastest way. The *new* "hip" criminal is out to make money, too, but of equal importance to him is beating someone in the process, by manipulating them and so making himself look "sharp" to others. The emphasis is often on the sharpness rather than on making money. The means for theft become an end.

A central theme in hipsterism is "having a ball" or getting "kicks." "The main purpose of life for the cat is to experience the 'kick.'" A "kick" may be any act tabooed by "squares" which heightens and intensifies the present moment of experience and differentiates it as much as possible from the humdrum routine of daily life. Seeking "kicks" naturally will be the main concern of youths with no commitment to any goals beyond daily proving oneself.

Violence often replaces "hip" talk and "coolness" (verbal manipulations for ego needs) in this scheme. It becomes an important "rep"-making device. As one youth involved in a gang killing told me:

> "If I would of got the knife, I would have stabbed him. That would of gave me more of a build-up. People would have respected me for what I've done and things like that. They would say, 'There goes a cold killer.'"

Addiction to alcohol or drugs can be seen as another convenient and amenable pattern for the *new* criminal. If one views hipsterism, "coolness" and "kicks" as overt symptom patterns of an underdeveloped self, it is logical to anticipate how the drug addiction symptom could also take over. In many ways, addiction is a new fad which the "other-directed" criminal has grabbed onto. As one "hip" criminal stated:

> "Man, getting on drugs is like putting all your little bills in one easy package. When you become hooked, you only got one problem: getting stuff."

The basic personality of the "other-directed" criminal makes him very susceptible to drug addiction. All that he

requires to start using drugs is to come into contact with a drug-using collectivity. He is seeking "kicks," trying to keep up with the trends of his culture, trying to be "hip;" so if drugs are "the scene," the "other-directed" criminal will "make it."

In summary, the *new* criminal is "kicks"-oriented, be it violence, drugs or being a hipster. As an "other-directed" personality, he is amenable and susceptible to criminal fads or new scenes. As a sociopath, he is not totally disoriented from the larger society. However, he characteristically has a limited social conscience or concern for others. He is undersocialized to the legal society, and his own criminal subculture has few clear and binding rules or demands.

This is in marked contrast with the well-trained *old* criminal who assumed responsibility for relating positively to his cohorts in their criminal activities. He had "character" and "ethics" in his criminal pursuits.

The *new* criminal, by contrast, would and does literally give his crime partner up in return for an offer of a "fix" or a "pill."

The causal context from which the *new* criminal personality has risen seems to include the following forces:

1. The shift from a stable slum condition to a disorganized slum. The high delinquency areas of the past had a stable population. A criminal hierarchy could develop. There was room at the top for an enterprising "hood" if he trained with an older criminal and had vision. The modern scene emphasizes "kicks" and achievement in the "here and now," because there is no criminal ladder to climb in the shifting slum.

2. Because of the current limited neighborhood criminal hierarchy, there is a concomitant limited training or recruitment system for the youth personally predisposed towards a life of professional crime. As a corollary of this fact, good professional criminal role models and educators are disappearing.

The downfall of the old criminal culture is also partly due to improved police methods. New safes, new detection methods, fingerprint systems, etc., have made it difficult for the old type professional criminal to operate effectively.

Also, the world-wide discussion of potential total destruction and manipulation of instruments of violence, although difficult to prove as a causal force, no doubt filters down to help develop the problem. And the acceleration of great social change affecting our society also plays some role in spawning the *new* criminal.

HOW is society to treat the *new* criminal?

The old prison does not work for him. In particular, traditional rehabilitation schemes are a totally ineffective approach to the addictive component of his behavior system.

A new approach called Synanon has emerged. Synanon is a therapeutic community composed of ex-criminal addicts who have gone legal and honest in the extreme. This anti-addiction society originated with Charles E. Dederich, a former business executive, who had worked out of an alcoholic problem and was motivated to transmit the forces which had led to his own recovery. A brilliant person with many characteristics of a charismatic leader, Dederich attracted to his residency by the beach in Ocean Park, Calif., a coterie of alcoholics and drug addicts who were stimulated by the philosophical discussions which he led. Many of these people had no roots. Some moved into Dederich's "pad." Within a short time, a small colony of about fifteen addicts moved into various apartments in the immediate area. Over the past four years, the experiment has attracted more than 600 financial sponsors. As a result of exposure to this unique social system, approximately 150 persons, most with long criminal and addiction records, no longer find it necessary to use drugs or commit crimes. Some have been clean of deviant patterns for periods of up to four years, seventy for over one year.

One of the creations of Synanon is a breed of therapist —a Synanist, who has three levels of experience which uniquely qualify him for work with other offenders:

1. He has a lengthy history of criminal experience.

2. At Synanon, this individual has deeply experienced the emotional upheaval of rejecting one way of life for another.

3. He knows the Synanon social system. He has a subconscious conception of the processes at work for helping others and is himself a functional part of this organization.

INITIALLY, Synanon society is able to involve and control the offender. This is accomplished through providing an interesting social setting comprised of associates who understand him and will not be outmaneuvered by his manipulating behavior. Within this system, the offender can (perhaps for the first time) see a realistic possibility for legitimate achievement and prestige. He is no longer restricted to "inmate" or "patient" status, since there is no inmate-staff division. All residents are staff and any resident can potentially achieve any position in the status system.

Synanon creates a new social role which can be temporarily or indefinitely occupied in the process of social growth and development. (Some residents have made the decision to make Synanon their life's work.) This new role is a legitimate one supported by the ex-offender's own community as well as by the inclusive society. With the opening of new Synanons and increasing development of projects in federal and state prisons (there is a Synanon project at the Terminal Island Federal Prison and another one at the Nevada State Prison), Synanists are increasingly in demand.

In the process of acquiring legitimate social status in Synanon, the offender necessarily develops as a side effect the ability to relate, communicate and work with others. The values of truth, honesty and industry become necessary means to the goal of status achievement. The threat of ostracism becomes a binding force. After being initially involved in Synanon, the individual does not for a time feel adequate for participation in the larger society. After a sufficient residue of Synanon social living has been acquired, the individual no longer fears banishment; by then he is better prepared for life on the outside (if this is his choice). When these socialization processes take hold, the sociopathic new criminal tends to become reconnected with the legitimate society and no longer finds it necessary to use drugs or assume a deviant role.

The Synanon approach provides a method for effectively working with a new symptom manifestation of the old crime problem. It is the most feasible therapeutic system currently available for treating the *new* criminal.

THE conclusions reported here are not based on any one special study but upon my own close contact with various offenders and with the structure of the crime problem over the last twelve years. I have studied New York violent gangs, ex-addicts, and ex-criminals currently living in an anti-criminal society at Synanon House in Santa Monica, California. My experience in running group psychotherapy sessions with offenders in custody in various institutions over the last ten years has also contributed to these observations. My conclusions are more hypothetical than "hard" research results; yet they seem to be confirmed by considerable evidence. Obviously, more intensive research is needed on this oldest frontier of human society—the otherworld of crime.

on our toast and oatmeal, especially those that come from a man admittedly addicted to squirting Tabasco sauce and chicory on a dish to conceal the fact that it contains some non-edible article called chitlins, or hominy grits . . ."

At that point, chef Verdon had the hands hustle in the hominy, which was passed all around. "Ah'd certainly like you all to share this," said Boggs, smacking his lips. The President tried a mouthful and let it go at that. Then, as Sen. Hubert Humphrey said later: "We went back to the Midwest-Boston coalition" (eggs, bacon, jam, sweet rolls, toast, coffee, milk).

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Passport to Progress

A shotgun spat three times in the sticky September night in Ruleville, Miss., a town of 2,000 in cottony Sunflower County. The buckshot tore into a small frame house in Ruleville's Negro section where Mrs. Hattie Sisson, 78, and her husband, Herman, were putting up their granddaughter, Mary Lee Burks, 20, and her Jackson State College schoolmate, Vivian Hilley, 18.

The girls tumbled from the studio couch and sprawled on the floor—Vivian wounded in the head and neck, Mary Lee in the arm and leg. A pellet pinged off the fan and grazed Mrs. Sisson's arm.

The message, for the Sissons, was unmistakable. A month before, they had joined a drive to register Sunflower's Negroes to vote. But in Sunflower, though voting-age Negroes outnumber whites by 13,524 to 8,785, only 114 are on the voting rolls.

Discrimination? Not to hear Sunflower's first citizens tell it. "Everybody's being treated alike," said the county's best-known native son, U.S. Sen. James O. Eastland, master of a 6,000-acre plantation near Doddsville. "Hell," said Ruleville's mayor (and Citizens Council vice president) Charles M. Dorrough, propping his black-booted feet on his desk, "most of these niggers ain't interested in voting."

But in Washington, the refrain sounded familiar—and unconvincing. Across the South, only 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered; in some counties—thirteen in Mississippi—none at all are on the rolls. In a time of more dramatic strategies—of sit-ins and freedom rides—the Kennedy Administration has committed itself increasingly to the ballot as the Negro's passport to progress on all fronts in his revolt against discrimination. Where he cannot win the ballot himself, the U.S. has tried to help, and inevitably Sunflower's number came up. After months of investigation and negotiation, the Justice Department filed suit last week for an order barring discrimination against qualified Negroes seeking to register.

It was the 33rd such suit filed under the Civil Rights acts of 1957 and 1960—the eleventh of its kind brought in Mississippi. But many civil-rights advocates regard it as a singularly critical test. Sunflower is in the heart of the intransigent Delta country, the flat-as-a-skillet Mississippi River bottomland where cotton growers still call themselves "planters" and Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers are tied to the black soil as surely as feudal serfs. James Eastland was born there; so was the segregationist Citizens Council movement, in 1954. So powerful is the symbolism of the Sunflower suit that one voting-rights leader ranks it alongside a general attack on Mississippi's restrictive registration laws as the two most important voting cases filed to date.

Irony and Bubbles: Mississippi law alone is a strong deterrent to Negroes. It requires that an applicant copy and interpret any section of the state constitution to the satisfaction of the local voting registrar. If the questions are not so raw as in the old days ("How many bubbles in a bar of soap?") they are often technical, and sometimes freighted with irony. Some Sunflower Negroes were asked, for example, to discourse on Section 15: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state . . ." An applicant must, besides, show his "good moral character," and his name must be listed in local papers for two weeks—a convenient Who's Who in The Movement.

But the law is only the first line of defense; beyond lie more prickly weapons. Expecting trouble in Mississippi, five civil-rights organizations pooled staff workers under the single banner of the Council of Federated Organizations. COFO's Mississippi vote campaign director, Robert Moses, a New York Negro with a Harvard M.A. in philosophy, arrived in Ruleville early last August to lead the Sunflower County effort.

Starting Aug. 14, handfuls of Negroes headed down the road to Indianola to fill out forms. Trouble dogged their heels. A city garbage-truck driver whose wife had tried to register was fired from his $35-a-week job. A sharecropper's wife was evicted on overnight notice, though her husband was ordered to stay and "finish out the crop" (at an average of $1 a day) before he could take his household belongings. COFO canvassers were arrested. Two Negro dry-cleaners were shut down for violating city ordinances. Twenty-seven gospel-singing Negroes rode to Indianola on a bus without incident, but the driver was arrested and fined $30 because his bus was the wrong color—school-bus yellow.

Water Power: Mayor Dorrough himself turned off the water supply at Williams Chapel, the Negro Baptist church where registration meetings had been conducted, and cut off its tax-

Associated Press

The Other Cheek

Billie Sol Estes, cheerful and dapper after weeks of evangelizing as a lay preacher, took a break from the sawdust trail last week to attend a temporal judgment day. The judge gave him eight years for swindling a Pecos, Texas, farmer out of $94,500.

It was the first jail sentence the much-indicted Estes (photo) has drawn. And when District Judge Otis Dunagan handed it down in Tyler, Texas, the sometimes talkative Billie Sol had little to say. The judge denied a new trial on the charge that Estes had induced a farmer to sign a mortgage for nonexistent fertilizer tanks, then sold the mortgage and kept the money. Then he asked if Estes had anything to say.

"No, sir," said the Pecos financier.

But Billie Sol would have other days in court—in two more Federal criminal trials and a passel of civil suits.

Estes showed his silence was neither grudging nor insecure. After his lawyer had filed notice of appeal and obtained his freedom on bail ($5,000), Estes extended his hand to Judge Dunagan. "Good luck," he said. "Thank you," gulped the judge.

exempt status. "You all ain't having religious services down there," he said. "You're carrying on a lot of mess and I ain't gonna stand for it."

September brought darker omens. Shotguns blazed at the Sisson home and two others nearby. "You done that yourself," Dorrough told Sisson at the hospital that night. He arrested a campaign worker, Charles Cobb, but let him go next morning with a parting shot: "I think you-all shot at those houses. You were disappointed at the lack of violence here." After the gunplay, morale sagged. "It took a month to start up again," COFO's Bob Moses said. "After something like that, you don't ask people to go down and register—you just show your face and let them know you haven't left them."

They haven't left yet. But they have little to show for their work. In five months, 60 Ruleville Negroes have been persuaded to try—but only four of them have been placed on the rolls. Statewide, the yield has been no more than 150 votes in fifteen months.

Ph.D.'s Pass: But the Justice Department feels it has just begun to fight. Nibbling at the problem county by county, it has thus far won 16 of 33 voting-rights cases and lost one; the rest are pending. The process is long, costly, and tedious. Some cases bring dramatic breakthroughs, but others produce simply token registration: Negro Ph.D.'s pass literacy tests that barely schooled whites have sailed through for years.

Even so, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy—sending off his annual report to the President last week—could recite some gains: four Mississippi and Louisiana counties were registering Negroes for the first time since Reconstruction, 29 counties had opened their rolls to government inspection without a court fight, four voluntarily gave up discriminatory practices—and scores more cases were in the works. Despite the Mississippi riot and all the stubborn problems that remain, Kennedy concluded, 1962 would go down in history as a "year of great progress in civil rights."

There was progress, but, in dozens of communities like Sunflower County, it was progress measured in inches, will against stubborn will. "We don't resent our local niggers," Mayor Dorrough said, "but we don't want Bobby Kennedy and a bunch of damn burrheads telling us we gotta change our way of life." But a few local Negroes might surprise him. Mrs. Joe McDonald, 70, a three-time loser in the registrar's office, is living vulnerably, with her husband, on $60 a month Social Security; their home has been shotgunned by night riders. "It's rough with us," Mrs. McDonald said, "but God is letting us pull through some sort of way. I've done stuck my neck out and I'm going on as long as I can."

UPI

Meredith heads home at mid-term: An integrated push for a balky car

Patience—Wearing Thin

One remarkable fact in the long, troubled story of desegregation has been the poised restraint of the Negro under pressure. Tested by violence, harassment, and threats, he has rarely cracked. But there is a limit.

For 40-year-old Jasper Brown, the moment came in the first tense hours of court-ordered desegregation of three schools in rural Caswell County, N.C. Early on the morning he enrolled his own children—four of the sixteen Negroes admitted to previously white schools—the badgering started. Carloads of leather-jacketed white youths blocked his car. The gibes began. "That's Brown," yelled one punk. "No it ain't, it's black," a comrade replied.

By that afternoon, when his car bumped into another which was dogging him on a road near Yanceyville, Jasper Brown had had enough. He leaped from his car, a .38 pistol in hand, and fired six times at the four young white men in the other vehicle. Bullets grazed the scalp of one, N.L. Oliver, 21, son of a county education board member, and nicked the shoulder of a second, James Nixon, age 23. Authorities first lodged Brown—a well-to-do tobacco farmer and long a desegregation leader in Caswell County—in an undisclosed jail. Later he was freed on $2,000 bail under a charge of felonious assault.

After School: Patience also ran out last week for William Howard, a 33-year-old service station operator whose niece, Sarah Etoria Howard, 15, is one of two Negroes in suburban Dollarway School near Pine Bluff, Ark. Howard had just picked up his niece, as well as the other Negro Dollarway student, Samuel Wayne Cato, 8, when a jeering cluster of white youths gathered after school near his station wagon.

When a chunk of concrete struck a window, Howard jumped out to "see what was happening." He found himself facing an 18-year-old white student, Johnny Irvin, and in an ensuing scuffle Howard stabbed Irvin in the side, inflicting a minor injury.

While Howard was jailed, charged with assault with intent to kill and released on $1,000 bail, The Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock speculated shrewdly on the cause of a seemingly new impulse to disorder—an impulse that seemed especially odd at Dollarway School, where events have gone smoothly since integration came in 1960.

"The apparently impending withdrawal of James Meredith from the University of Mississippi," said the Gazette, "may have raised some false hopes that desegregation can be halted by hounding Negroes until they are afraid or unable to continue in a formerly all white school."

Meredith's Trial: Had patience indeed run out for Meredith himself, protagonist of the longest and toughest test of nerves since desegregation began? Last week, when the 29-year-old Negro skipped his algebra exam (though completing the others) and left the campus in his balky auto (photo), he spurred rumors that he would quit.

Yet, whatever his personal feelings, Meredith was under immense pressures to induce him to stick it out. President Kennedy told last week's news conference: "I hope he continues. It would be a loss not only to Mr. Meredith but to the university."

Though Meredith seemed determined

to conceal his decision from the public until this week, one clue to it came out of a private report which comedian Dick Gregory made to friends in the Justice Department after his conversation with Meredith in Jackson, Miss., last week. If Meredith withdraws, Gregory said, "I'd be surprised."

Defenders of the Right

When the Lone Star flag of Texas is flying in front of the old two-story house of stucco, brick, and frame, the neighbors along Turtle Creek Drive know that former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker is in residence in Dallas. The flag fluttered high last week in Dallas while a Federal court in Oxford, Miss., weighed charges that Walker helped egg on the riots at the University of Mississippi.

Walker was one of eleven men accused of trying to prevent the enrollment of James Meredith. But the grand jury indicted only four—none of them Ole Miss students—and Walker was among the seven cleared.

Walker shunned reporters in his hour of victory, but in downtown Dallas, only a few miles from the ex-general's flagpole, it brought a salute from Robert Morris, president and counsel of an organization that represents a new phenomenon in the U.S. political thicket. Called the Defenders of American Liberties (DAL), the group protects the civil liberties of the right-wing underdog —much as such outfits as the Civil Rights Congress have fought the same battle for the Communist left.

It was Morris and his Defenders who sprang to help rabble-rouser Walker when the government arrested and confined him for psychiatric examination, and who managed to win his release from custody. Last week Morris hailed the ex-general's exoneration as "an assertion of the due process of law."

A tall, heavy-set man of 212 pounds who settled in Texas after his defeat for a New Jersey Senatorial seat on the Republican ticket in 1960, Morris can trace his experience with civil rights back to service as chief counsel of the Communist-hunting Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Nowadays he sees outrages against civil liberties on all sides, and few defenders.

Sued, Harassed: "The Communists aren't getting into any difficulty, or very little difficulty," he said. "But the patriotic citizens who see the loss of their heritage—these people are being sued mercilessly, they are being harassed, and these are the people who today have no defenders on the national scene."

Associated Press

For counselor Morris (right), Walker was the right kind of underdog

Among more than 100 cases handled by DAL since its inception last summer, Morris cited farmers who had ignored Federal crop-acreage allotments; patriots sued (as they have been by Bullock's in Los Angeles and S. Klein's in Yonkers, N.Y.) for holding anti-Communist "card parties" in stores stocking goods from Communist countries; a physician who lost a place on a hospital staff because of John Birch ties. One implication was clear: that the American Civil Liberties Union, the best-known organization in the field, leaves something to be desired.

"We are primarily interested in those who are willing to preserve our traditions," said Morris "... For instance, in the prayer case, I notice that the ACLU is intervening on behalf of those who are moving to strike references to God and prayer ... We take the opposite position. We would be willing to defend ideological Communists or ex-Communists. We cannot defend a Communist with a capital C because such a person is not a free individual but one of Khrushchev's shock troops."

The ACLU, nevertheless, did step into the Walker case by writing to the government in protest at his confinement without trial or counsel. "We don't separate right-wingers from anyone else," said a spokesman. "This would not have stopped us in Walker's case."

What did stop the ACLU was that Walker didn't ask for its help, probably feeling more at home with Morris, who, like himself, believes that there is "hidden civilian control over the Pentagon" and a possibility "of United Nations troops moving into Mississippi." Last week Walker broke his Spartan silence only long enough to add another pronouncement of the same coinage.

"I am glad to be vindicated today by a Mississippi grand jury," the former general said. "Today my hopes returned to the Cubans and millions of others who long to return to their homes after having escaped from jails and boundaries of police states."

ARMED FORCES:

Out of the Barracks Bag

A senior officer of colonel's rank was angry enough to ignore the caution against writing complaints to headquarters. "As I understand it, all the raise I will get is about $45 a month," he said. "That is almost insulting after waiting nearly five years for a raise while Civil Service had at least two raises and are now getting another ..."

Around the world, while other Americans clucked over the prospects of a record budget's spending, military servicemen—some 2.7 million strong—griped that so little of it would boost their pay. Last week Lloyd Norman, NEWSWEEK's Pentagon correspondent, reported:

The armed forces are downright unhappy with Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's new pay bill proposing an average 14.4 per cent increase—at a cost of $900 million more in fiscal 1964 added to the $12 billion annual military payroll. The cost of the pay boost, beginning Oct. 1 would rise to more than $1.2 billion in later years.

"They keep nibbling away at our pay and privileges until we're second-class citizens," gritted a Navy petty officer at Norfolk. "Talk about segregation! What

What British Doctors Really Think About Socialized Medicine *by Richard M. Titmuss*

The guest in the Easy Chair this month is professor of social administration at the University of London and head of the department of social science and administration at the London School of Economics.

AT THE end of a two months' visit to the United States, from the West to the East, I am left with one clear impression. The extent and character of misconceptions about the British Health Service are really quite startling, particularly when one remembers our common language and democratic values, and our common interest in combining the freedom of doctor and patient in the provision of medical care.

At the same time I encountered a deep sense of frustration about the power of organized medicine in the United States and widespread feelings of helplessness and cynicism in the face of rising medical costs. It is not for me to explain the cause of this disquietude. But were I an American citizen, I would fear for the good name of medicine. In California, for instance, I learned that a young doctor has to pay around $820 a year for malpractice insurance. In Britain the comparable figure is six dollars.

Since 1948 when the British Health Service Act was adopted, an unbelievable quantity of generalized ink has been spilled on the subject; and it has run into the Atlantic from both sides. During my stay in the United States I heard most of the familiar arguments—that the quality of medical care has deteriorated; that doctors have been turned into minor bureaucrats and are so unhappy about their condition that they are fleeing the country in large numbers; that the general practitioner has lost status; that the Health Service unleashed a torrent of demand and is bankrupting the country.

Leaving aside the more piquant and colorful statements, my purpose here is simply to set the record straight. Some of the major lessons of the Health Service can be illustrated by a rather simple story.

A few years ago I was involved in a medical and sociological study of the structure and functions of general (family) practice in Britain. For six months I spent a good part of each day sitting in a doctor's office recording, minute by minute, what took place in each consultation. There was one patient I remember—let us call her Mrs. Smith—who appeared regularly every Monday morning for about two months. She was an elderly widow, living alone on her old-age pension, who suffered from chronic heart disease. After full diagnostic investigation, the treatment consisted of a drug containing digitalis and a certain amount of social-work aid.

The core of the matter, however, was to find the right dosage; to adapt the therapy to the biology of the unique individual; to find the level of stabilization; to avoid harmful side effects; to keep Mrs. Smith out of the hospital. This is a usual problem today in the use of many new and potent drugs. To solve it requires regular and frequent contact between doctor and patient.

Mrs. Smith's doctor was asked to comment on the effects of the Health Service on his practice. "Before the Act," he said, "I would have had to carry on a private soliloquy with myself as to whether I could ask Mrs. Smith to see me regularly for a longish period. She might have thought I was more interested in collecting more fees than in the condition of her heart. I did not want her to think this of me—after all, I am a doctor. But unless I could see her often I could not explain all the facts about the action of the drug. We could communicate less—a restriction of the patient's freedom. Now, on the Health Service, our relationship is more open. I can say what I professionally think."

This doctor was consciously separating the professional and financial elements in his life. Essentially, he was talking about self-respect: his self-respect (the basis of professional behavior); the patient's self-respect (the basis of personal freedom); mutual respect (the basis for effective medical care). Self-realization in modern society depends on the building of a hundred and one such tiny acts of self-respect. We cannot organize them; we can only so arrange our affairs as to make more of them possible.

The single most important effect of the Health Service Act in 1948 was that it abolished the financial barrier between patient and doctor. This was the first principle set down in the war-

time coalition government's White Paper of 1944: "to divorce the care of health from questions of personal means or other factors irrelevant to it."

Another basic principle of the Health Service was to provide medical care that would be "comprehensive" (*i.e.*, meet all of the individual's health needs) and of high quality. This has not been an easy goal to achieve. A major obstacle has been the fact that many of our hospital buildings in Britain are ancient. About 45 per cent of them were erected before 1891 and, with Victorian solidity, they were built to last. Hospital construction stopped in 1939 and during the first ten years of the Service little money was spent on new hospitals. This was due partly to the priorities in capital investment given after the war to houses and schools, and partly to the sustained attacks on the Health Service for being too costly. By the middle 1950s, however, it was found that Britain was spending a lower proportion of its national income on medical care than in 1948. It is now argued that Britain is not spending enough, and the rate of hospital building has been stepped up.

Moreover, three months ago the government published a ten-year national plan for hospital development. This envisages the replacement of over 40 per cent of all existing hospitals; the construction of many new *general* hospitals with a total of about 150,000 beds; the closing of many small and specialist hospitals; the eventual abolition of large mental hospitals; and a great expansion in home and community care for the mentally ill and disabled.

Britain's hospitals have been nationalized, which means the distinction between voluntary and public institutions has been virtually wiped out. But this change has not introduced centralized ministerial rule into our hospital system. In practice it meant no more than a reshuffling of the same people who had always run the hospitals —the unpaid volunteers who had acquired some expert knowledge, plus a much higher proportion from the medical profession.

At present, except for a handful of private hospitals and clinics, Britain's three thousand or so hospitals are run by some four to five hundred hospital management committees on which doctors have at least a quarter of the seats (all professional matters are entirely in the hands of doctors). The committees also include local government officials and people who had been governors of voluntary hospitals before 1948.

Since the early 1950s there have been as many unpaid volunteers in health activities as ever, if not more—though, it should be remembered, they now spend very little of their time in the fund-raising which occupies so much of the energies of health volunteers in the U. S.

Illustrative of the role of the volunteer in Britain is the National Blood Transfusion Service—an increasingly vital element in modern hospital care, surgery, and highway-casualty treatment. The number of blood donations, freely and voluntarily given by members of the public, has risen steadily from 384,000 in 1948 to 1,024,000 in 1960. The number of effective blood donors rose from 374,000 in 1948 to 854,000 individuals in 1960. This service is also largely run by voluntary organizations and unpaid helpers. Blood transfusions are used in the hospitals without distinguishing between public and private patients. (About 2 per cent of the beds in British hospitals are set aside for private patients who pay in full for accommodations and service. In general, the supply of such beds has met the demand for them.)

Most of the medical staffs of all hospitals are paid on a part-time or sessional basis. Of all qualified and practicing British doctors, around 40 per cent are full-time salaried. Surprisingly to some people, that is only about 5 per cent or so higher than the proportion of full-time salaried doctors in the United States.

SO far as the general practitioner or family doctor is concerned, we in Britain have held onto the conception of personal physicians as the first line in medical care. This is contrary to the trend in the States where, I am told, the family doctor is a disappearing category. About one-half of all British medical students now enter general practice. All members of a family are free to choose and change their doctors and some 95 per cent of the population now have the family doctor of their choice under the Health Service. The remaining 5 per cent or so of the population get medical care privately either by paying doctors' bills directly or, more generally, through membership in nonprofit prepayment schemes. According to the code laid down by the British Medical Association, patients must not go directly to specialists or consultants without first being seen and referred by general practitioners.

Each general practitioner is restricted to a ceiling of 3,500 Health Service patients—a figure too high in the opinion of many people. In addition, they may have as many private patients as they like. Between 1948 and 1960, the average number of Health Service patients on doctors' lists fell considerably and is now 2,300.*

Doctors are paid on a capitation basis, receiving an annual payment for each patient accepted. There is a special "loading" (*i.e.*, an additional payment per capita) to favor doctors with medium-sized lists and to taper off rewards for

* No precise comparison with an American doctor's private practice is possible. Assuming, however, that each patient on the British doctor's panel of 2,300 is seen four times a year, this would amount to 9,200 visits annually. It is estimated that a typical general practitioner in the U.S. sees 25 to 30 patients a day, amounting to 6,000 to 7,000 a year. (See *Doctors, Patients, and Health Insurance*, by Herman M. and Anne R. Somers. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1961, pp 49-50.)—*The Editors*

WHY DON'T I HAVE A MOTHER ?

石光琪

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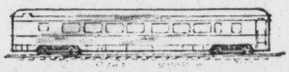
THE EASY CHAIR

larger practices. There are also built-in incentives to partnerships and group practices, payments for the training of assistants, special fees for maternity services, for clinic sessions at local maternity and child-welfare centers, for part-time school and factory work, for part-time posts in hospitals, and for new entrants in under-doctored areas.

A particularly important innovation is a payment to doctors who attend postgraduate and refresher courses. One of my more amusing medical friends said recently (in talking about scientific advances in medicine): "If you now go away for a weekend you are out of date on Monday." Last year 13 per cent of general practitioners in Britain attended a postgraduate course and received a public grant to help pay a substitute. In 1948 the figure was only 5 per cent.

At the outset, doctors, being highly organized, did not take kindly to change—whether caused by political, administrative, or scientific factors, and in this respect they are no different from workers in other professions and trade unions exposed to changes induced by technology, cybernetics, and science. But over the years the discontents of the medical profession have diminished.* And certainly the Health Service has brought about a better geographical distribution of doctors. This trend toward territorial justice (as I call it) has been accompanied by a movement for more doctors to work in partnerships and group practice. By 1960 the percentage had risen to just over 70. At the same time general practice has been made more attractive by a policy of throwing open (known as "open access") the X-ray,

* Experts from nine British medical associations completed a four-year study of the Health Service in October 1962. This committee found the Service essentially "sound" although a number of operating improvements were recommended. Chiefly, the committee urged a greater voice for physicians in administrative matters and a reduction in the maximum number of Health Service patients on each general practitioner's list. Concurrently, the committee released the results of a Gallup Poll which showed that 89 per cent of the people questioned were satisfied with the Health Service.



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pathological, and other diagnostic facilities of the hospital. This means that general practitioners have the right to send their patients direct to these departments and to get the reports back quickly.

This policy has helped to avoid the wasteful duplication of expensive diagnostic equipment and to make possible a more rational use of pathologists and other scarce specialists. The complex diagnostic procedures of modern medicine can no longer be successfully interpreted by th average doctor or small local h pital. It is a job for the expert. Health Service has been able ploy more widely the bene medicine's technological skil removal of financial barri aided this process; so too removal of political and adm tive boundaries. For examp possible under the Service for in the north of Scotland s from a rare form of spinal di be sent to a London special pital without any bookkee financial problems.

WHAT of the demand for medical care? Of course we still have unmet needs: waiting lists at hospitals (mainly for tonsillectomies and other "cold" surgical cases), inadequate hospital buildings, too many old people in hospitals for chronic illness, not enough nurses, psychiatrists, and other health workers, and so on. What, indeed, is the limit in more prosperous societies to demands for medical care? This is an almost metaphysical question applicable to all Western societies. How then can one judge whether there has been "abuse" of a free-on-demand health service?

So far as the general practitioner is concerned, we can at least say that expressed demands for his services are no higher than they were before 1948. Measured statistically in terms of all consultations (office and home), demand is somewhat lower than in the 1930s—around four consultations a year per patient. Moreover, general practitioners now have fewer night cases, less weekend work, smaller quantities of certificates, forms, and accounts to deal with, and no unpaid bills. Over one-third of all consultations take place in the patient's home —thus helping the family doctor to

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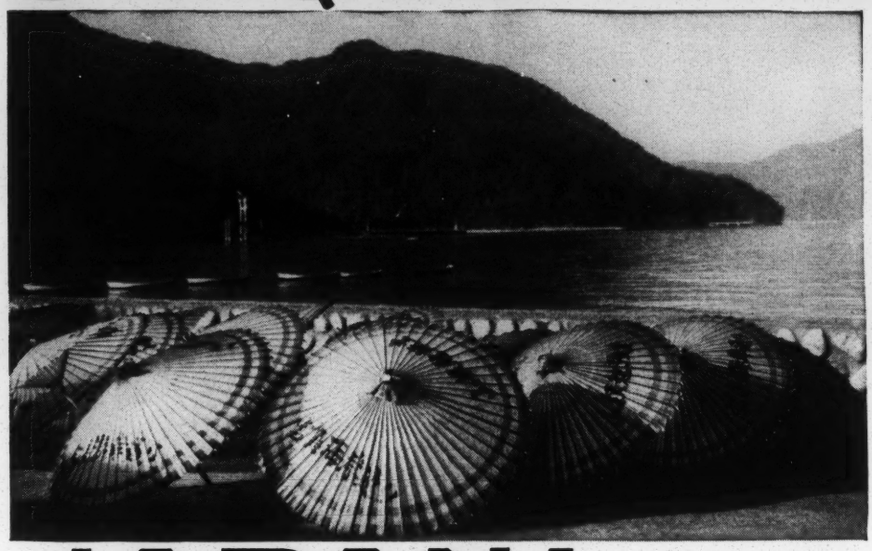

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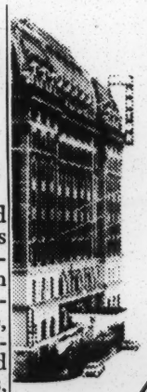

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take account of social factors in diagnosis and treatment. The comparable home visit figure in the States is around 10 per cent.

There is thus no evidence of inordinate demands on the family doctor since 1948. The removal of the financial disciplines of the private market has not had the consequences that were feared.

So far as the hospital is concerned, there has been a striking fall in the average length of stay of patients although treatment is free for 98 per cent of the population. In Br as in the United States, some 4 cent of all hospital beds have occupied by mental patients ever, this picture is changing thanks to a new and revolu Mental Health Act passed i which makes practically all sions free and voluntary; and also to the growing use of the hospital as a therapeutic sh instrument, the developm short-stay mental units in hospitals, scientific advances in treatment of schizophrenia, a ne research interest in the chemical functioning of the nervous system in relation to mental illness, and the drawing together, clinically and administratively, of physical and psychological medicine.

All these trends mean that we can now envisage the disappearance of the vast, outworn, archaic, recumbent mental institutions of the past. Only twenty years ago, by a patient's eleventh year of residence in a mental hospital the odds were one hundred to one against his discharge from the hospital. Today, in Britain, the chances are almost one hundred to one against a patient's remaining in a mental hospital after two years.

This, I think, is one of the most important lessons we have learned since 1948. Without the Health Service, it would not have been possible to move on a national scale toward the integration of physical and psychological medicine. One could not grow without the other. To separate the two professionally, administratively, and financially—to regard mental illness, organizationally, as a "bad risk"—is to promote the growth of the "institutionalized" personality, a dead end for patients, a dead end for doctors.

The corollary of this change in

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India's legends and true-life stories are rich with anecdotes of hospitality—wholeheartedly given and gracefully accepted. When a stranger stood at the threshold, he became an honored guest of the house. The tradition of centuries is even stronger today. The people of India wish to welcome visitors from other lands, and to share with them, even if briefly, the Indian way of life. To make it easier for you to meet them a special program has been developed.

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The people of India are very much like you, proud of their country and their traditions. They have a lively interest in knowing more about *your* country, how *you* feel about today's world and everything in it. Come to India—maybe this year, maybe the next—your Indian friends will wait for you.

medical care—a shift from the institution to the home—calls for more community care services. Apart from the problems of finance, this, in my view, is the biggest challenge in Britain in the field of medical care.

ONE criticism of the Service that is still heard is that the cost was seriously underestimated. Of course it was. Twenty years ago, when the original estimates were made by the government, no one could predict the scientific advances that have changed the fate of medicine in two decades.

In 1949-50, the first full year of the Service, the gross cost to public funds was 3.8 per cent of the Gross National Product. This figure fell slowly to 3.2 in 1955 and has since risen to 3.6 in 1960. (In the United States in 1958-59 total public and private expenditures for medical and health care were estimated at 5.4 per cent of the Gross National Product.) Clearly, Britain has not been overspending on medical care. Public demand for a "free" service and the rising costs of new drugs have certainly not bankrupted the nation. We have learned, however, that we shall have to spend more on building new hospitals, in training more social workers, and in developing community care services.

We have also learned in Britain to respect the political and trade-union power of the medical profession. The last Royal Commission on doctors' earnings, reporting in 1960, showed that, compared with other high-income groups, doctors had done well out of the Health Service. Between the ages of thirty and sixty-five, for example (and disregarding the benefits of a generous pension scheme and heavily subsidized medical training), medical specialists and consultants earned substantially more than accountants, actuaries, lawyers, architects, university teachers, and all university graduates in industry. There is no lack of young people in Britain who want to be doctors. The real problem for the deans of the medical schools has been how to select and how to restrict (as they have done) the number of candidates accepted for training.

It has been alleged recently that over six hundred doctors are leaving Britain every year. It is further said they are refugees from "socialized medicine." But such statements fail to point out that these "estimates" include graduates from British medical schools born and brought up overseas (including the U. S. A., Canada, Ireland, and many other countries), British doctors working temporarily with the World Health Organization in hospitals and posts in Africa and other parts of the underdeveloped world, and British doctors doing graduate and research work overseas. Wrongly included in these "estimates" (incautiously bandied abo by the American Medical Ass tion) are also substantial numb British-trained women doctors rying overseas citizens and e ing, and many categories of doctors of both sexes who spell abroad return to practic cine in Britain.

What is more to the p that despite this "internatio change," the ratio of all types ticing doctors in Britain per in the population has risen per cent since 1949. Though we need more doctors, we have done be ter than the U. S., where the ratio has fallen during the same period.

After nineteen months of deliberation, a committee appointed by the British Medical Association to consider recruitment concluded in its report published in May 1962 that it is not prepared to commit itself on the need for more doctors. The report adds that there are more than enough potential recruits of the right caliber to fill the places available at the medical schools.

These conclusions are very different from those of the U. S. Surgeon-General's committee in the 1950 "Bane Report." Here it was said that the United States may expect to be 20,000 short, in the next fifteen years, of the number of physicians required to maintain the present position—let alone improve it. In other words, the ratio of doctors to patients may worsen by 50 per cent. It would thus follow that the U. S. will be less able to make a contribution to less fortunate countries. If this should happen, the underdeveloped world will be even more desperately undersupplied with doctors, and other countries will be asked to make greater sacrifices to uphold the high traditions of Western medicine to serve the poor.

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'A Racial Program for the 20th Century' Seems to Exist Only in Somebody's Imagination

(See Editorial: "Running Down a Hoax")

This story begins, in so far as it concerns us, with The Star's publication last March of a letter from R. A. Hester, then the chairman of the Montgomery County Chapter, Maryland Petition Committee, Inc.

In the course of his letter, commenting on a news story, Mr. Hester wrote that—

"Over 40 years ago, an English Communist, Israel Cohen, wrote:

"'We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can meld them to the program of the Communist Party. In America we will aim for visible victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negroes will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause.' (From "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" 1912.)"

* * * *

The letter and quotation remained unchallenged until the following June, when The Star received a letter (for publication) from Herman Edelsberg, director of the Washington Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

In his letter Mr. Edelsberg said that Representative Abernethy of Mississippi, during debate on the civil rights bill, had placed the quotation in the Congressional Record (June 7). Mr. Abernethy had explained that "Israel Cohen, a leading Communist in England, in his 'A Racial Program for the

MISSING CARTOONISTS

Cartoonist Jim Berryman is vacationing in Latin America. Cartoonist Gib Crockett is snowbound in the wilds of Montgomery County. We hope things will change for the better in the near future.

"small Rightest newspaper" and was supplied to that newspaper by an employe of the Library of Congress. "It was accepted in good faith by the publisher, but he does not possess a copy of 'A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century' nor has he ever seen one . . . Inquiries made in England have been equally fruitless."

Mr. Stephenson enclosed a photostat of a reference to Israel Cohen in "Who's Who in World Jewry" which contained his London address.

* * * *

Within a few days after the receipt of the letter from Mr. Stephenson, The Star received a letter from Everette Severe, the new Chairman of the Montgomery County Chapter of the Maryland Petition Committee, Inc. Mr. Severe wrote:

"On July 15, a director of the Maryland Petition Committee, Mr. E. T. Smith, received a letter from Mr. Eustace Mullins, Box 1785, Chicago (90), Illinois. Mr. Mullins, who was formerly with Senator McCarthy's office, gave us permission to quote his letter, which read in part as follows: 'The Cohen quote was copied by me from a Zionist publication while doing research work at the Library of Congress in 1952. It has since been reprinted widely in many publications. Congressman Abernethy inserted it in the Congressional Record after it had been generally circulated for three years. I do not have my files with me in Chicago, or I could give you the exact name and date of the publication in which the

aid. I never visited America until the fall of 1931. I was there for only two weeks and did not write anything political while there. I published my autobiography under the title 'A Jewish Pilgrimage' last November. If you can get a copy . . . you will see that I could not possibly have written the statement. I am very curious myself to learn who this Israel Cohen was who wrote it. Why not ask the writer who sent you the letter? He ought to be able to tell you where he found the statement, whether in a book, pamphlet or magazine. . . . I have never known of an American Jewish writer having the same name as myself. My career is set forth in Who's Who and in the catalogue of the British Museum. I am credited with a long list of books, pamphlets, etc., but none of them has anything to do with Communism or the Negro question."

* * * *

The Star next requested a research assistant at the Library of Congress to make a thorough search, first, for a publication, "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century," by Israel Cohen or by anybody else; second, for the alleged quotation from the works of Mr. Cohen. The research was fruitless in both its aims.

The Star next requested the director of the Jewish Information Bureau, Inc., 250 West 57th street, New York, to make a search for the publication or the quotation or the identity of an English Communist named Israel Cohen. Bernard G. Richards, director and chairman of the board of the Jewish Information Bureau, replied that "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" was "entirely unknown" and that the alleged statement was, on its face, fraudulent. The only Israel Cohen known to Mr. Richards was the distinguished writer in London, previously

Running Down a Hoax

In adjoining columns on this page today we print an account of our efforts to run down the source of what we are convinced was a fraudulent quotation contained in a letter printed in The Star last March. The "quotation" had been in circulation for some time before its inadvertent publication in The Star. But since Representative Abernethy of Mississippi, under the impression that it was authentic, inserted the quotation in the Congressional Record last June, it has been given broader currency with an added color of authenticity. We have recited our own efforts to trace the "quotation" in the belief that others will also be convinced that it is spurious, or that someone may be able to establish its real source. Certainly one innocent victim of this fraud has been Israel Cohen of London, a journalist and writer of excellent reputation, whose name seems to have been gratuitously exploited as part of the fabrication.

In his letter Mr. Edelsberg said that Representative Abernethy of Mississippi, during debate on the civil rights bill, had placed the quotation in the Congressional Record (June 7). Mr. Abernethy had explained that "Israel Cohen, a leading Communist in England, in his 'A Racial Program for the 20th Century,' wrote, in 1912 the passage referred to above. Mr. Edelsberg said his own research convinced him that the alleged quotation was a fabrication, that no such publication as "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" was known either to the Library of Congress or the National Union Catalogue, which summarizes holdings of 800 principal libraries in the United States. Furthermore, he said, he had been unable to find any information that might serve to identify an [illegible] Communist, Israel [illegible].

The Star printed Mr. Edelsberg's letter with an Editor's Note, explaining that Mr. Hester, when asked by The Star to give the source of the alleged quotation, said he had read it in "some newspaper," but could not remember which one. The Star apologized for having printed the letter from Mr. Hester without first establishing authenticity of the alleged quotation and stated that a [illegible] available sources [illegible] such publication as "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century."

* * * *

Publication of Mr. Edelsberg's letter seemed to close the incident until the latter part of July, when The Star received a letter from a reader, not for publication, taking issue with Mr. Edelsberg. She said that an Israel Cohen lived in London, was listed in the British Who's Who, that he had written extensively, was the author of numerous publications, and that the same quotation appearing in Mr. Hester's letter to The Star in March had previously appeared as an advertisement in the December, 1956, issue of "The Virginian," published at Newport News, Va.

A letter was immediately dispatched to the editor of "The Virginian" requesting information as to the source of the alleged Cohen quotation.

The editor, William Stephenson, replied by reciting his own efforts to establish its source. "Personally," he wrote, "I have been forced to conclude that the 'quotation' is phony."

It had first appeared, Mr. Stephenson wrote, in a [illegible] Library of Congress in 1952. It has since been reprinted widely in many publications. Congressman Abernethy inserted it in the Congressional Record after it had been generally circulated for three years. I do not have my files with me in Chicago, or I could give you the exact name and date of the publication in which the Cohen statement appeared. I used this quotation more than three years ago, and have not had occasion to refer to it since, [illegible] was never questioned."

A letter was written to Mr. Mullins at the Chicago address. It related the circumstances and requested him to furnish some clue to the source of the alleged quotation, or to the location of his "files," with the understanding that The Star would then undertake the research, following any lead that Mr. Mullins might furnish, to run the quotation down.

Mr. Mullins promptly responded, writing on stationery of the "American Humane Church," Route 1, Huntley, Ill. The stationery described him as "Rev. Eustace Mullins, director, Society for the Propagation of the Human Faith."

Said Mr. Mullins: "I had done research on the writings of one Israel Cohen, a Communist, several years ago, but I do not have my files available. At any rate, [illegible] determined to make a political issue of the matter, and the church feels that I should devote my time to religious problems."

He concluded his letter by inviting The Star to join his church in its crusade against "the barbarous Hebrew method" of slaughtering meat animals.

* * * *

The Star considered Mr. Mullins' letter to be a revealing evasion of the question of where he got the quotation, and wrote to Israel Cohen, now nearly 80 years old, living in London. He was asked if he could shed any light on the matter.

Mr. Cohen promptly replied, in his own clear handwriting, that he was astonished. "I have never written a book, pamphlet or article under the title 'A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century', or under any title resembling this or any subject relating to it. . . . I have never been a Communist or had any sympathy with the movement. In 1912 I was living in Berlin, where I worked in the Secretariat of the World Zionist Organization and acted as correspondent of the Glasgow Herald.

Mr. Cohen's letter was forwarded to Mr. Mullins, who replied that "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" was "entirely unknown" and that the alleged statement was, on its face, fraudulent. The only Israel Cohen known to Mr. Richards was the distinguished writer in London, previously referred to. Mr. Richards, naturally, suggested that we try the Library of Congress, for if there was any such publication as the one described, it would surely be there.

The Star concluded there was no such publication as "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" and that the alleged quotation was a hoax. But as discussion of the incident had died down, as The Star had already acknowledged its error in printing the alleged quotation, and as printing it again might put the "quotation" back in circulation, it was decided to drop the matter—unless it popped up again.

* * * *

It popped up again last week. This time the "quotation" was included in some of the "hate literature" mailed from some anonymous source in Philadelphia to Arlington County high school pupils and signed "Veritas."

This time the phony quotation is described as "an excerpt from testimony given on the floor of the House of Representatives" June 7, 1957. The anonymous literature mailed to Arlington pupils attempts to authenticate the "quotation" by citing the Congressional Record as the official source.

Mr. Edelsberg cites other examples of the circulation of Mr. Abernethy's statement in the Congressional Record.

The Richmond News Leader on June 26, 1957, carried a letter, with Mr. Abernethy's picture, quoting his insertion in the Congressional Record.

A magazine, "South," quoted the statement in its lead editorial in its October 21, 1957, edition.

The "quotation" was carried in a column by Charles Hill in the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger, in October of 1957.

The Citizens' Council of America, in Texas, reprinted the Abernethy statement from the Congressional Record in its news letter of September 5, 1957, and the same statement was used in a radio broadcast on January 19, 1958.

The statement will doubtless continue to circulate. This recital of The Star's experience in trying to trace its origin may help to prove that it is a fraud or produce evidence to the contrary.

Morning Mail

Bham. Post-Herald
Feb. 2, 1959

Book As Quoted In Letter Proves Hoax

On Thursday of last week there appeared in these columns a letter under the heading "Race Troubles in Commie Plan" which quoted a purported excerpt from a book by one "Israel Cohen" allegedly published in 1913 under the title "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century."

The excerpt taken from remarks inserted by Rep. Tom Abernathy in The Congressional Record said in part:

"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mould them to the program of the Communist Party.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes..."

This quotation has been published many times around the country. It first appeared in The Washington Star in a letter to the editor and it was from this letter that Rep. Abernathy quoted in The Congressional Record.

The whole thing apparently is a cruel hoax and The Post-Herald regrets that it has been a party to its circulation.

A diligent search of the Library of Congress, the British Museum and the National Union Catalogue which summarizes the holdings of 800 libraries in the United States reveals the listing of no book or pamphlet under the title "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" nor can any trace be found of a Communist leader, philosopher or pamphleteer by the name of Israel Cohen.

THE EDITOR

The State: South Carolina's Progressive Newspaper

COLUMBIA, S. C., SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1959

CAROLINA FOLKLORE

'Communist Plan' Labeled a Hoax

By F. W. BRADLEY

On March the 18th appeared in this column a copy of a 'Communist Plan for America," taken from the Congressional Record, and supposed to have been written by one Israel Cohen.

I am indebted to Dave Baker, Esq., for the information that this "Plan" has been investigated thoroughly, and proved to be a hoax. It first appeared, not in 1912, but in a letter to the editor of the Washington Evening Star, signed by Mr. R. A. Hester, with the apparent intent of defaming the Jews, since the name of the supposed author was Jewish.

Full particulars of the hoax are given in the ADL Bulletin, 515 Madison Ave., New York 2, published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

I shall also write to my friend in North Carolina who sent me this letter. He and I were only interested in defending the South against the accusation of a guilt complex, which was mentioned in the letter of Mr. Hester. A correction has been inserted in the Congressional Record, and the Star has published its regrets. I thank Mr. Baker for setting this straight.

communism is treason! fight it with common sense!

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Common Sense

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"The Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth"
Without fear or favor,
Conde McGinley
FOUNDER AND EDITOR

Issue No. 350 (15th Year) | Union, New Jersey, U.S.A. | Oct. 1, 1960 | Entered as Second Class Matter January 27, 1948, at the Post Office at Union, N. J., under the Act of March 3, 1879 | FIVE CENTS

NIXON IGNORES VITAL ISSUES

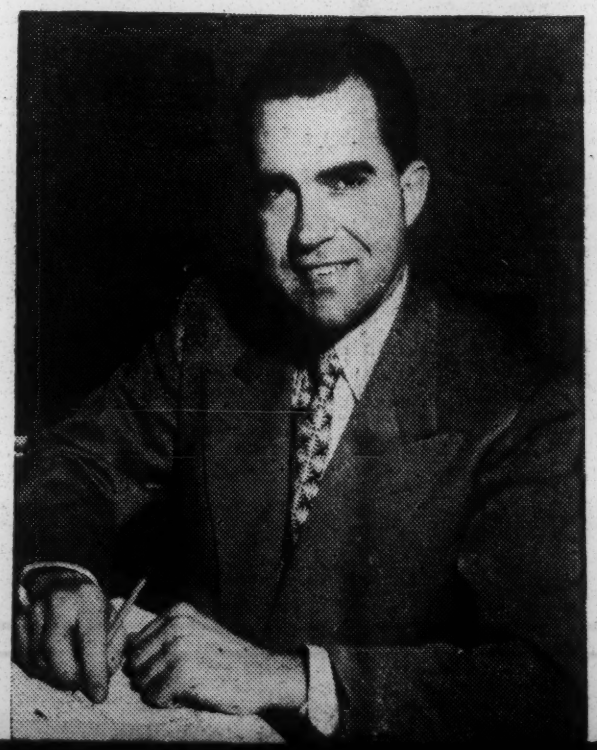
WHAT IS THE MYSTERIOUS FORCE RESPONSIBLE? DOES HE DARE CAMPAIGN TO WIN?

Kennedy is winning every round with **Nixon;** apparently it is planned that way. Reminds us of when **Tom Dewey,** a Republican, ran against **F.D.R.** Dewey was campaigning when it became known he was going to expose the maneuvering by **Roosevelt,** ordered by **Churchill,** to bring about the **Pearl Harbor** tragedy which cost the lives of over three thousand of our boys and a good part of our navy. **Eleanor** had said in a speech at Philadelphia:

> **"For eight days we listened to the radio, expecting a report of the bombing of Pearl Harbor."**

The boys who were killed had not expected it.

Exposing the Pearl Harbor crime would have sunk **FDR** and elected Dewey, but the **Invisible Government** ordered **General Marshall** to go to New York and demand Dewey forget Pearl Harbor and use a milk-toast



tive assistant to Kennedy), **Anna Rosenberg** (named as a communist in sworn testimony before Congressional Committee by **Ralph DeSola,** a former communist), also chief political adviser to **Nelson Rockefeller** until he failed to be nominated, now one of Kennedy's advisers.

All of the above are Jews. Nearly all have communist front citations.

Here are the non-Jew disciples and tools of **Zionist Jews:**

Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, James Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, Adolph Berle, Jr., Walter Reuther, Henry Steele Commanger, John Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard Professor Archie Fox.

To the above must be added **Eleanor Roosevelt with 102 red-fronts, Americans for Democratic Action, a Marxist Jewish political group, Anti-Defamation**

expecting a report of the bombing of Pearl Harbor."

The boys who were killed had not expected it.

Exposing the Pearl Harbor crime would have sunk **FDR** and elected Dewey, but the **Invisible Government** ordered **General Marshall** to go to New York and demand Dewey forget Pearl Harbor and use a milk-toast campaign. This election is similar to two boxers put in the ring with ten oz. gloves (4 oz. are used for a fight) and told to give the audience a good show but not get rough.

Those who advised Nixon to appear on television in Chicago apparently are for Kennedy, and if Nixon is free to do so, he should refuse to appear with Kennedy again. The comparison is all in Kennedy's favor. Good looks and quick retort, cause the audience to forget that Kennedy has surrounded himself with advisers who are known as **liberals, Marxists, socialists or communists, all of them New Dealers who swarmed into Washington when Roosevelt opened the gates to Marxists who forced us to take part in a war which resulted in building communism as a world threat.**

Richard M. Nixon

We list the most important brains behind Kennedy without whom he would have no chance:

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Al Segal, Ben Cohen, Dore Schary, David Dubinsky, Sam Rosenman (FDR's ghostwriter), **Al Rose, Herbert Lehman, Jake Arvey** (Chicago political boss), **Arthur Goldberg (Walter Reuther's** atty.), **Myer Feldman** (administra- **Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, James Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, Adolph Berle, Jr., Walter Reuther, Henry Steele Commanger, John Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard Professor Archie Fox.**

To the above must be added **Eleanor Roosevelt with 102 red-fronts, Americans for Democratic Action, a Marxist Jewish political group, Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress** and **American Jewish Committee.**

Kennedy has cooperated closely with these. Kennedy, himself, is a **Fabian Socialist** educated under **Harold Laski,** top communist brain in London. The **ADA** stated that the election of Sen. John F. Kennedy as President is imperative for **"strong liberal executive leadership."**

The Invisible Government, to be doubly sure, has placed socialist advisers around **Nixon:** Among them **Arthur F. Burns (Burnstein)** from Austria; **Joseph Kaplan,** Professor, University of California; and **David Sarnoff.**

—o— **Please turn to page 4** —o—

OUR STATE DEPT SCORES AGAIN FOR COMMUNISM

(Editor's Note: In the following article reference is made to a mysterious force in our State Department which is more powerful than the Secretary of State and the White House. These good former Ambassadors have not done sufficient research on the World Conspiracy to understand that this is the Invisible Government with irresistible pressure.)

FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE — 9/11/60

"Cuba was handed to Castro and the Communists by a combination of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the Communists," Senators **James O. Eastland** (D. - Miss.) and **Thomas J. Dodd** (D. - Conn.) said today in releasing the testimony of two former United States Ambassadors to Cuba, who appeared before the Subcommittee on Internal Security. The Ambassadors who gave evidence on which the two Senators based their statement were **Earl T. Smith,** who represented the United States in Havana when Castro rose to power, and **Arthur Gardner,** who was Mr. Smith's immediate predecessor.

"The testimony of both these gentlemen demonstrates that American foreign policy is not made in the office of **Secretary Herter** on the fifth floor of the State Department," said Eastland and Dodd. "It is made on the fourth floor, by the unknown policy planners and memo makers who fill the Secretary's 'in' basket." According to Messrs. Smith and Gardner, **Fidel Castro** was the **hero** of the In-Basket Brigade. They worked with pro-Castro elements in the American press to make Castro appear as Robin Hood. They misguided American opinion in exactly the same way the In-Basket Brigade of 1945 misguided American opinion with the myth that the Chinese Communists were 'agrarian reformers'.

"The State Department has not been cleansed of those elements whose policies contributed so much to the loss of China to the free world. Secretary Herter, the man on the quarter deck, is not in charge of the ship."

The Senators drew particular attention to this statement of Ambassador Smith.

"We helped to overthrow the **Batista** dictatorship which was pro-American, only to install the Castro dictatorship, which is pro-Russian."

According to former Ambassador Smith, the agencies of the United States Government which "had a hand in bringing pressure to overthrow the Batista government" were "certain influential people, influential sources in the State Department, lower down echelons in the CIA" and "representatives of the majority of the United States Government agencies which have anything to do with the Embassy" in Cuba

Both former Ambassadors indicated that **William Wieland,** who had charge of **Central American Affairs** as Director of the State Department's **Caribbean Division,** was a supporter of leftish elements in Latin America. Both indicated that **Roy A. Rubottom** suggested policies which aided Castro's rise to power, although Mr. Smith expressed the opinion that Mr. Rubottom had done so only after "terrific pressure." Mr. Rubottom was

—o— **Please turn to page 2** —o—

OUR STATE DEPT SCORES

—o— Continued from page 1 —o—

Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs during the ambassadorships of Messrs. Gardner and Smith. He was recently named Ambassador to the Argentine.

Mr. Smith made the extraordinary revelation that William Wieland sent him (Smith) to **Herbert Matthews** of the **New York Times** to get a briefing on Cuban affairs before Smith departed to take up his post in Havana. This occurred in 1957, after Matthews had written a series of articles which made "a Robin Hood" out of Fidel Castro.

When Mr. Smith reached Havana, he found out that "Castro was a revolutionary and a terrorist. From the time that he was "a university student, he was a gun-toter," said the former Ambassador. "I was informed by a diplomat that he had killed two priests and one nun in Bogota during the uprising in 1948."

"Whether he started out as a Communist or not I doubt. But Fidel Castro did make a number of statements at Costa Rica and out of Mexico (before he won the revolution) which clearly showed his Marxist line of thinking."

Mr. Smith was asked by Counsel **J.G. Sourwine:** "Is there any doubt in your mind, that the Cuban government under Castro is a Communist government?"

He answered. "I would go further.. I believe it is becoming a satellite, a Communist satellite."

"The U.S. Government agencies and the U.S. press played a major role in bringing Castro to power," continued the Ambassador.

"Three front-page articles in the **New York Times** in early 1957, written by the editorialist **Herbert Matthews**, served to in-

C. Douglas Dillon (Lapowski) — would like Dominican Republic's doors thrown open to Reds as was done in Cuba, China, Korea and many other countries.

"The United States would never agree to support or would never permit me to negotiate because it would be considered as intervening in the internal affairs of Cuba.

"As far as the disintegration of the armed forces around the Batista government, the answer is that this negative action helped shatter the morale of the existing government. The responsibility for the deterioration in the morale of the army, navy and Cuban Air Force dates back to many other forms of direct and indirect — I use the word "intervention" advisedly.

"Primarily I would say that when we refused to sell arms to the Cuban Government and also by what I termed intervening by innuendo (which was persuading other [illegible] not to sell arms to

sent down surreptitiously almost every night. Every once in a while we were able to catch such a shipment and stop it. But we were not very active about it, and one factor which I think was one of the most serious was that the former President, named **Prio**, was living in Miami. I don't know whether you know this or not, but he was arrested, convicted and paid a five-thousand dollar fine for gun-running. He was also indicted a second time. And yet no action was ever taken on it."

This is Mr. Smith's testimony: The Batista government complained continually about the airlifts and airdrops of bodies and arms from the United States. I always kept the State Department fully informed.

"But we seem to have great trouble in enforcing our neutrality laws. I have sometimes wished that we had been half as diligent at that time in enforcing our neutrality laws as we have been lately."

Senator Eastland. Enforcing those laws now is an aid to the present government in Cuba, is it not?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

In answer to a question from **Senator Dodd** as to whether he had ever discussed Castro with Mr. Rubottom, Mr. Smith said that he had done so on numerous occasions.

"Mr. Smith. In all due justice to Roy Rubottom, I think that Roy Rubottom was under terrific pressure from segments of the press, from certain Members of Congress, from the avalanche of Castro sympathizers who daily descend upon the State Department, and Rubottom may have taken the line of least resistance."

Mr. Smith said: "The espionage system of the Castro people was so good that they knew nearly everything that was going on. They had their spies planted in the Cuban Embassy in Washington before Castro [illegible] to power.

munist satellite."

"The U.S. Government agencies and the U.S. press played a major role in bringing Castro to power," continued the Ambassador.

"Three front-page articles in the **New York Times** in early 1957, written by the editorialist **Herbert Matthews**, served to inflate Castro to world stature and world recognition. Until that time, Castro had been just another bandit in the Oriente Mountains of Cuba with a handful of followers who had terrorized the campesinos, that is the peasants, throughout the countryside.

"Fidel Castro landed on the south coast of Oriente in December of 1956 from Mexico with an expeditionary force of 81 men. Intercepted by Cuban gunboats and patrol planes, Castro and a handful of stragglers managed to esconce themselves in the rugged 8,000-foot Sierra Maestra Range.

"After the Matthews articles which followed an exclusive interview by the **Times** editorial writer in Castro's mountain hideout and which likened him to **Abraham Lincoln**, he was able to get followers and funds in Cuba and in the United States. From that time on arms, money and soldiers of fortune abounded. Much of the American press began to picture Castro as a political Robin Hood.

"Also because **Batista** was the dictator who unlawfuly seized power, American people assumed Castro must, on the other hand, represent liberty and democracy. The crusader role which the press and radio bestowed on the bearded rebel blinded the people to the leftwing political philosophy with which even at that time he was already on record.

"His speeches as a student leader, his interviews as an exile while in Mexico, Costa Rica, and elsewhere clearly outlined a Marxist trend of political thought.

"The official U.S. attitude toward Castro could not help but be influenced by the pro-Castro press and radio, certain Members of Congress picked up the torch for him.

"There were a number of times, number of occasions when I was asked as the Ambassador if we would help the church in its efforts to establish a bridge between Castro and Batista, or if we, in any way, would support a national unity government. Such government would act as a provisional government in Cuba to maintain law and order while elections were being held.

ioration in the morale of the army, navy and Cuban Air Force dates back to many other forms of direct and indirect — I use the word "intervention" advisedly.

"Primarily I would say that when we refused to sell arms to the Cuban Government and also by what I termed intervening by innuendo (which was persuading other friendly governments not to sell arms to Cuba) that these actions had a moral, pyschological effect upon the Cuban armed forces which was demoralizing to the nth degree.

"The reverse, it built up the morale of the revolutionary forces. Obviously when we refused to sell arms to a friendly government, the existing government, the people of Cuba and the armed forces knew that the United States no longer would support Batista's government.

"A decision such as prohibiting the sale of arms to a friendly nation can have devastating effects upon the government in power.

"We even did not fulfill our promise to deliver 15 training planes, which had been bought and paid for by the Batista government. In accordance with instructions from the State Department I informed Batista that delivery would be suspended, because we feared some harm might come to the 47 kidnapped Americans. The kidnapping by **Raul Costro** of 30 U.S. marines and sailors, 17 American citizens, and 3 Canadians occurred at this time.

"After the kidnapped Americans were returned we still refused to deliver these training planes because we feared that bombs could be put on the planes even though they were strictly for training purposes. "I reiterate that decisions such as these may determine whether a government can remain in power.

"Although they could buy arms and ammunition from other sources, the psychological impact on the morale of the government was crippling. On the other hand, it gave a great uplift to the morale of the rebels."

Former Ambassador Gardner declared that a shipment of military equipment to Batista, arranged under the mutual aid pact, was "stopped" on the New York docks. He declared it was "common gossip" that "Rubottom was the only man who could have stopped it."

At the same time, according to Mr. Gardner, shipments of arms and ammunition to Castro from the United States "were being

pathizers who daily descend upon the State Department, and Rubottom may have taken the line of least resistance."

Mr. Smith said: "The espionage system of the Castro people was so good that they knew nearly everything that was going on. They had their spies planted in the Cuban Embassy in Washington before Castro came to power.

"Many of these people, who later became members of the first Cabinet of Castro were asylees in the United States. They had close contacts with members of the State Department.

"To name a few: **Urrutia**, the first President of Cuba, **Agramonte**, the first Foreign Minister of Cuba, the first Prime Minister of Cuba, **Miro Cardona**. As a matter of fact, the first time that I met Cardona was after Batista had left the country. It was about the 4th of January of 1959 in the Presidential palace. He turned to me and said, ' I am a good friend of **William Wieland**, a very good friend of William Wieland.' "

Mr. Smith asserted that before the Castro forces arrived in Havana, they had been demanding tribute throughout Cuba. "By the fall or the late summer of 1958, they decided to also demand tribute by American business and American property holders. Toward the closing days of the Batista regime, I believe some Americans did pay protection money. They were paying taxes to the Batista government and were also paying taxes to the Castro people."

Mr. Smith also strongly criticized the haste with which the Castro government was recognized by the United States. He declared that the State Department had ordered him to recognize the Castro government before Castro himself reached Havana in January 1958. In protesting against the making of policies by the people "on the fourth floor" Mr. Smith said:

"I believe that the policies are determined in the lower echelon, and by the time the higher echelon receives them, policies have already been made, and they have to live by them.

"If they believed it was in the best interest of the United States to be friendly to another power and to give aid to that power, then our actions along that line should be guided accordingly."

Mr. Gardner declared that when he was Ambassador he endeavored to lay the facts about Castro and the Cuban situation before Secretary Herter, former Under Secretary **Robert Murphy** and Under Secretary **Loy**

Henderson, as well as others in the State Department . He said he was "ignored, overlooked and circumvented."

Both former Ambassadors emphasized that before Batista's downfall Cuba was enjoying the greatest prosperity in its history. "Today", commented Senators Eastland and Dodd, in their joint statement, "the Cuban economy has been reduced to chaos, according to standard Communist procedures for instituting systematic disorder before imposing the final acts of Red despotism."

OUR FRIEND FOR THIRTY YEARS DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — TARGET OF RED DIRECTED STATE DEPARTMENT

This red directed outfit has cancelled diplomatic relations with the **Dominican Republic** and has called on all countries to follow our lead of economic boycott.

Douglas Dillon, who is really running the State Dept. is quoted by **Associated Press** of 8/25/60 as saying,

"Trujillo is a tyrant, torturer, and murderer."

We don't remember hearing him say that about **Khrushchev,** the butcher, who murdered several million or Castro. Trujillo has brought his country from chaos, and a starving run-down country 30 years ago, built it up with beautiful buildings, clean streets and today they have no national debt. Long ago Trujillo cancelled diplomatic relations with Soviet Union, something the U.S. should have done.

It is mainly our State Dept. that has maneuvered the U.S. into such a staggering national debt, that economists are warning we face bankruptcy. Our State Dept. doesn't like dictators, meaning rulers who are rough on communism. Agents from the State Dept. ran **Chiang Kai-Shek** out of China, **Syngman Rhee** out of Korea and tried for years to run **Gen. Franco** out of Spain; and brought pressure on Belgium

ARGENTINA -- A COLONY OR A SATELLITE STATE OF ISRAEL?

Republished from the political review, "Pregondo Verdades" in Buenos Aires June 9th 1960

The Eichmann Case has to be investigated! The Zionist centers are academies of spy-work and subversion!

The people have suspicioned that here a policy with strange traits was in development, the details of which could not be clearly recognized, but had a determined aim, to undermine the fundamentals of our economic and political structure. For many, the problem was already clear as daylight and the facts which are eloquent and characteristic, give the reasons for the evaluation they have provoked.

THE STRATEGY OF THE SYSTEM

We have seen, how slowly but surely positions of strategical importance beyond any doubt on all reaches of our life have been snatched away, even those which have decisive importance for the economical and social organization and are narrowly tied and united to the defense of our country. This results from the old military principle that the capacity for action of the armed forces in case of war depend on the organization of the inner front, which has to be wholly homogenous to be able to give without delay the support, which an army, having defensive and offensive tasks, needs. The inner fronts must be watched carefully in modern times for it is a question of our own sovereignty and there can be no question, which may conspire against our security or may open a breach by which information may trickle

WHO CONTROLS THE SOURCES OF CREDIT?

How many banks and credit institutions in Argentina and in all America are controlled by **Jewish capitalism?** Following **a** strategical plan, the aim of which is to expand **Jewish controlled economy, banks and companies** have been established which make use of the enormous volume of capital they are able to dispose of, to throttle all possibility of development or all self-defence of the great majority of Argentinian enterprises, until either by economical pressure, stoppage, restriction or calling off credits they will have forced them to **surrender into the hands of the Jews, who are supported by these companies of Jewish capitalists. The truth is that more than 70% of the national capital is controlled either by Jewish enterprises or personalities.** By this way purposedly the economical potentialities of the Argentinians to live and to develop are **Jewish controlled,** which will transform us in a short time into slaves of a small power, that **we will be forced to spend all our work and efforts only to the profit of Israel and of Jewish capitalism.** There is only one way of salvation left that even with so much money they can not buy all consciences in the country and can not break all moral principles which we Argentinians generally strive to maintain.

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH POLICE FORCE

When we heard that on our territory, on our beloved fatherland agents of **Israel's Secret Service** have managed to arrest

maneuvered the U.S. into such a staggering national debt, that economists are warning we face bankruptcy. Our State Dept. doesn't like dictators, meaning rulers who are rough on communism. Agents from the State Dept. ran **Chiang Kai-Shek** out of China, **Syngman Rhee** out of Korea and tried for years to run **Gen. Franco** out of Spain; and brought pressure on Belgium to leave the Congo to **Lumumba** to set up communism. And now Trujillo.

This same outfit refused to help Hungary and prevented Spain from sending troops to help **Hungarian Freedom Fighters,** who were being slaughtered by Khrushchev. He's no dictator? Castro is no dictator? Castro insults us everyday — steals several hundred million of American property, arrests our people and puts hundreds of Cubans before the firing squads for nothing. He has communist fighter planes, has set up a refueling station for communist subs., and communists have built a landing field. We keep turning the other cheek. **Ike** said the other day that Cuba was not our government, we could not interfere.

Trujillo has been our good friend for 30 years but has been rough on a gang of communists that escaped from Spain and who were trying to communize the Dominican Republic. We stick our nose into trouble all over the world but we are timid where communism is concerned. Are we trying to crush Trujillo and force his country under communism?

After the surrender of Germany hundreds of scientists and technicians trying to surrender to the U.S. were forced to go to Soviet Union. On whose orders? The State Department's. After Washington had agreed to lend money to Egypt to build Aswan Dam, our State Dept. cancelled out forcing Egypt to deal with Soviet Union. The State Dept. has assumed the power of the executive department and congress.

A few weeks ago we were speaking with a man engaged full time in patriotic work. He had just returned from a visit to all Caribbean countries, where he found in public buildings, posters with the Hammer & Sickle. He said:

"The only friend we have in the Caribbean is Dominican Republic."

So why not attack them, that is what we have been doing since 1941. Attack our friends and help our enemies — even if it bankrupts us!

——o——

which has to be wholly homogenous to be able to give without delay the support, which an army, having defensive and offensive tasks, needs. The inner fronts must be watched carefully in modern times for it is a question of our own sovereignty and there can be no question, which may conspire against our security or may open a breach by which information may trickle out of the country, or elements able to commit sabotage against the production of war materials or may hinder their transport or deteriorate their quality.

WHO CONTROLS THE SOURCES OF IMPORTANT AND CRITICAL MATERIALS?

It is a strange occurrence that more than ninety percent of the production of vital materials, such which relates to national defense in Argentina is controlled by **Jewish companies,** and by a short survey we are able to demonstrate that fact: the great chemical laboratories which can be transformed into centers of military production,the laboratories of medicinal drugs and pharmaceutics, which are indispensible to the country in case of war, the great metallurgical plants which are of vital importance for the production of war stores and equipment, the plants for manufacturing minerals and their further working up, the industries of food stuffs, of textiles, of artificial fibres and of auto-motors, moreover the petroleum-chemical industry in evolution, they all without any exception belong under this statement. That will say, **the Zionist economy is managing the whole fundamental system of our defense.**

WHO CONTROLS THE CENTERS WHERE PUBLIC OPINION IS FORMED?

At the inner front in time of peace and of war the organizations of opinion and information are important. That has nothing to do with the freedom of the press nor with the freedom to express one's own opinion, but it is a matter of security of the State. There exists a continuous execution of a program of taking away these means mentioned above, of snatching away reviews, magazines and newspapers, which **are all transferred into Jewish hands.** To them must be added the radio transmissions and radio stations,which are in the same situation of gliding more and more into **Jewish hands;** while permanently **more and more Jews turn up as commentators in television and radio** as far as these are not wholly controlled by Jews or by Jewish societies.

buy all consciences in the country and can not break all moral principles which we Argentinians generally strive to maintain.

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH POLICE FORCE

When we heard that on our territory, on our beloved fatherland agents of **Israel's Secret Service** have managed to arrest **Eichmann** and to abduct him by an avion to Israel, we first did not believe that such an aggression on Argentina's sovereignty was possible. But the hard facts and **Israel's own confession have made the truth evident,** and the matter has a much bigger dimension by the cynicism which is expressed in the note which Israel has submitted to our Minister of Foreign Affairs. We don't want to say here, how our laws have been violated and how international law has been offended, and we don't want to enter into an investigation of Eichmann's personality. It was enough that the whole world has heard about the coup made against us, that all newspapers and leaders of Zionism in the world began a perfectly uniform campaign to hinder Argentina from demanding Eichmann to be returned according to international law and rules.

THE SPY-WORK OF THE MOST RACIST RACE BY ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS

The Argentinian Republic stands today at the second place in the world as to the density of Jewish population and in this respect is only exceeded by the United States. From this point of view, which most people ignore it must be stressed that **the real Jewish State does not shelter as many Jews as Argentina does,** the Jewish population of Argentina being more than three million persons. The racist feeling, developed in the highest degree among the Jews brings out that **they never finally integrate into our nation nor in any other nation. The Jews have always remained isolated.** There exists a Jewish axiom of their creed that **absolute racial purity will allow them to rule the world one day.** It is indeed this tendency aiming at the dominion of the world, which is far from all development of humanity (though this development tries to make itself free from sentiments of hatred inherited from their ancestors) which characterizes definitely **the Jews as the only rabidly racial minded beings existing in the world of today.** There is no assimilation to the surrounding world nor any attempt to reach such an assim-

—o— **Please turn to page 4** —o—

ARGENTINA

—o— Continued from page 3 —o—

ilation. There is an absolute separation from our history, from all Argentinian efforts to create a better future. This will surely provoke the reaction of those who are only influenced by powerful interests and will set up a false defense of the Jewish cause. Those blare out the **stupid slogans of "racial persecution", "beginnings of nazism"**, and **"anti-semitic campaign"**, whenever these very serious problems are discussed.

Who orders that nobody is allowed to touch the Jewish subject?

One must break through the close veil and disclose the lie under the cover of which the Jewish organizations are working.

SECRET SERVICE AND SPY-WORK

We say that the structure of Jewish power in our country has made it possible to build up an efficient secret service; this statement being confirmed by the fact that Jewish penetration of our country is so all comprising that those forms of activity of national life, which are not yet brought under Jewish control are only exceptions. This apparently invisible penetration has been effected in a slow but stubborn way, gradually a strategy being employed which is based on a far reaching plan; and this plan has been conceived, ripened and put into effect with a view into the future. our military or economical potentiality is in front of their financial power, around which our whole development is turning.

In many offices which have to do with these matters, there sit Jewish "fellow-citizens" as employees or clerks and access to information, which in other countries of the world would be totally closed to them, exactly because they are active as **citizens of the Jewish State.** But in spite of that all people are so misled to defend with cynicism their position not only in Israel being paid, these young Jews and Jewesses were prepared and trained in special Zionist camps and schools situated near to Buenos Aires. There they are taught **fencing, boxing, judo, tactics of commando troops** and **spy-work.** This training in camps is made **obligatory** for **all Jewish youth enjoying their full sexual liberty.** Of course these Jewish clubs and organizations are **exclusive and don't admit any goy(non-Jew).** The rigid racial consciousness of the Jews makes it difficult to get nearer information about the inside activities and the practice in these training camps, where also military exercises are made, all under inoffensive camouflage of cultural arrangements. It is important to know that all these Jewish associations and clubs serve as information offices for Israel's secret service and that nobody in the country dares say a word about it. It will be necessary to give more details particularly about certain organizations. At any rate, it is a concrete fact that in our country intense spy-work and dark activities are happening.

PALESTINE – WORLD CAPITAL

To quote a French Canadian paper, L'Unite' Nationale, No. 4/1953, published in Montreal: **"The President of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, at Montreal in 1947, declared: 'The Jews might have had Uganda, Madagascar and other places for the establishment of a Jewish fatherland, but they want absolutely nothing except Palestine; not because of the Biblical or religious significance of Palestine; not because the Dead Sea waters by evaporation can produce five trillion dollars worth of metaloid and powdered metals, not because (following Mr. Dulles) the sub-soil of Palestine contains twenty times more petroleum than all the combined reserves of the two Americas, but because Palestine is the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa, because Palestine constitutes the veritable center of**

NIXON – VITAL ISSUES

—o— Continued from page 1 —o—

It appears that Nixon, had he been able to resist the pressure put on successful politicians, would be a strong character. But early in his career, in steps a clever **A.D.L. Jew** to control him. **Murray Chotiner** managed Nixon's first two political campaigns. Chotiner, because of his association with Nixon, although living in California, was hired as defense attorney by four different New Jersey concerns accused of defrauding the government on clothing contracts. In persuading the Justice Dept. to go easy with the prosecution, Chotiner operated from Nixon's office. **Maxwell Rabb** assisted Chotiner according to the press. Those involved as defendants were **Herman Kravitz, Samuel Kravits, George Klass** and **Nathan Lieberman.**

Nelson Rockefeller, who is identified with the Invisible Government, has apparently made a complete captive of Nixon, who went to New York at Rockefeller's bidding, and after an all-night conference, went to Chicago and forced Rockefeller's policies into the Republican platform. Should Nixon be elected, who would run the government? Nixon in his TV debate with Kennedy in Chicago said a number of times how he and Kennedy were agreed. While Kennedy referred approvingly four times to **F. D. Roosevelt,** giving the impression he would follow the **New Deal** program, Nixon made no move to remind 73 million listeners that **FDR** had turned millions of helpless people in Europe over to **Stalin.**

Nixon must know that if he used facts from **Walter Judd's speech** which he heard at the Republican Convention, the Democrats would be discredited and Nixon would be President. Many people wonder what **power** prevents discussion of **vital questions** while the **religious question** gets the play.

Why not bring out the fact that no Senator has a more leftist voting record than

In many offices which have to do with these matters, there sit Jewish "fellow-citizens" as employees or clerks and access to information, which in other countries of the world would be totally closed to them, exactly because they are active as **citizens of the Jewish State.** But in spite of that all people are so misled to defend with cynicism their position not only in public administration, but also in the positions mentioned above. All these circumstances help them to collect information, which later on is classified and will converge in **Tel Aviv,** mostly by the way of **New York, the center of the Jewish terroristic organizations —HAGANAH and the STERN GANG,** which have contributed particularly to the creation of the State of Israel. Both these organizations, under an iron leadership, coordinate their efforts and spy-work in all countries. Eichmann was kidnapped from Buenos Aires by their spy service. **Therefore it would be of special interest to know the names of their agents in Argentina, who have travelled during last December to New York or to Tel Aviv.** There were several of them and some have been bearers of information concerning the stay of Eichmann, **Dr. Mengele** and other personalities persecuted by Israel and also of apostate Jews, who are condemned to death by the terroristic Jewish organizations.

JEWISH CLUBS AND CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS AS CENTERS OF TRAINING AND ISRAEL'S SECRET SERVICE

When the **Committee to Investigate Un-Argentinian Activities** had been created by the Argentinian parliament, it took away legal personality from the German main association of cultural character and prohibited any further activity of the numerous German associations, saying they were centers of spy-work and Nazi propaganda. Many of these measures were taken because of accusations brought forward by Jewish centers and associations, which have always found a favorable acceptance with the interested authorities.

Today it is the question of the first centers of **Jewish spy-work;** training for Israel's secret service is made in apparently innocent Jewish clubs and cultural centers. We know from the information given to us by some young Jewesses that when the system has been introduced to make young Argentinian born Jews and Jewesses work in Israel, all the costs of their transport to

because the Dead Sea waters by evaporation can produce five trillion dollars worth of metaloid and powdered metals, not because (following Mr. Dulles) the sub-soil of Palestine contains twenty times more petroleum than all the combined reserves of the two Americas, but because Palestine is the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa, because Palestine constitutes the veritable center of world political Power, the strategic military center for world control.'—"

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(Signed) Conde McGinley

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1960, Ethel B. Stewart, Notary Public of N. J. My commission expires Aug. 23, 1962.

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Union, New Jersey, U.S.A.

Conde McGinley, Editor

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Why not bring out the fact that no Senator has a more leftist voting record than Kennedy? To stop Kennedy is to stop the gang who surrounds him. Why does Nixon **not dare win with facts like these?** Under Democratic rule we turned the Balkans over to communism; we divided Poland and gave half to communism. It was a Democratic administration that divided Germany giving half to communism, leaving Berlin surrounded by communist territory — a lighted fuse for war. The Democratic administration divided Korea and let communism have North Korea. It was a Democratic President Truman who ordered the atomic bombs dropped on Japan after they had offered to surrender; he also recognized the illegitimate state of Israel. Millions of Russians who fled into Germany to escape communism were forced to return to the Soviet Union, where they were slaughtered. This was an order by a Democratic administration ruled by **Zionists.**

It is evident there is not a great deal of difference between the two parties. A president from either party is not a free man. We allowed this condition to slip up on us. Now we are trapped and puzzled as to what to do. We are not giving advice for this election, only information which may be helpful. Some patriots have been working to give thoughtful people an escape from this trap. In some states independent candidates are on the ballot. You can vote for them; they are not controlled. In other states there are independent electors on the ballot to vote for; and in at least one state there is a write-in campaign. Particular attention is called to **Virginia, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Washington, Michigan, Wisconsin and Delaware.**

Use your vote the best way to stop Kennedy.

For more complete information on **John Kennedy's red record** read **Common Sense** issues **No. 344** and **345** and **348.**

Read and pass on!

COMMUNISM IS TREASON!

FIGHT IT WITH . . .

Common Sense

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER AGAINST COMMUNISM

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Without fear or favor,

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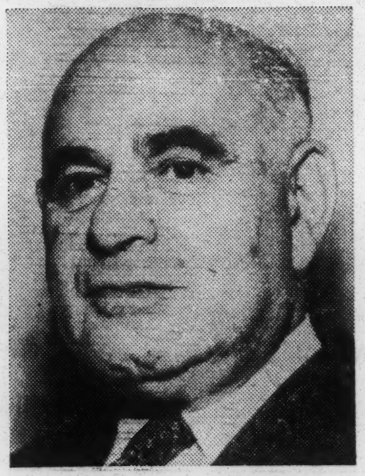
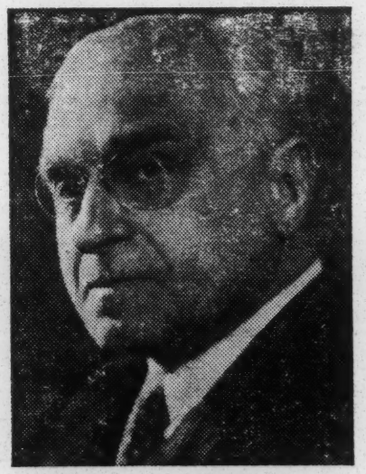
ZIONISTS CONTROL NAACP



Herbert Lehman

Zionist Jew, director in the NAACP, has 10 Communist Front citations. Most powerful in Marxist movement.



Felix Frankfurter

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Arthur Spingarn

Zionist Jew, is president of the NAACP and has contact with many Red-front organizations.

Sen. Jacob Javits

This Zionist Jew along with Congressman Emanuel Celler were authors of the infamous Civil Rights Bill.

How Red Is NAACP & Its Leaders?

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How Red Is NAACP & Its Leaders?

The NAACP, supposedly a Negro organization, is controlled by Asiatic Marxist Jews who do not have the welfare of the Negro at heart! They use the Negro to create strife and disorder—The oldest trick in the book—DIVIDE AND CONQUER! !

Some people in **Northern States** are under the impression that Negro people want to abolish segregation and that it is the colored people who are pushing for integration.

After interviewing people of both the **Black** and **White race** in 20 States we can truthfully say that approximately 90% of the colored people throughout the South **WANT separate schools** for their children

Why shouldn't they? Most people like to be with their own kind. We saw Negro schools which appeared equal, and in many cities the Negro schools were better than those for whites!

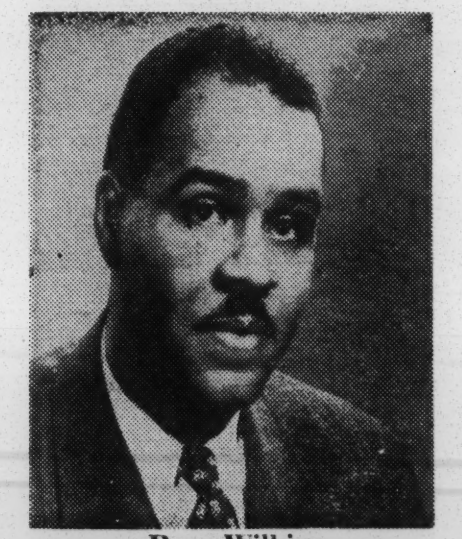
The two races have been living in harmony in the South for a long time, and they understand each other. Clever **Jewish Communist organizers** from **New York area** have been agitating young Negroes in the South, using false promises just as they did with the Hungarian workmen to secure their support in communist Hungary. Later when Jewish Communism had gained full control of Hungary, the workers asked for recognition and were mercilessly slaughtered. We now state that the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** is **positively** a **Communist dominated,** agitating group which has never had a **Negro** as **head of the organization** since it was founded and financed by the Communist **Garland Fund.** A **JEW** has always headed the National Association for the Agitation of Colored People (A more appropriate name for the NAACP).

The NAACP derives its real power from the **Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith** which is the **Jewish F.B.I.** Twenty-four years study of the Marxist conspiracy enables us to state that the United States is in the process of being brain-washed and slowly but surely being prepared to **give up its freedom.**

Since the **Supreme Court decision** on segregation has focused attention on the NAACP, and they have been exposed time and again as a Communist-front, at important public meetings they cleverly state that they must be careful to screen out all Communist influence. Then, why don't they start with themselves? All the important officers in the NAACP we know of, have been tied up with Communism for years. When the Communists are put on the spot or in a corner they conveniently take the **"FIFTH AMENDMENT"** or **"don't remember,"** or like **Alger Hiss,** who in an effort to deceive the public, sued **Whittaker Chambers** for calling him **a Communist. Major Jordan's Diary** shows conclusive evidence that former **Senator Herbert Lehman (Zionist)** is a powerful man in the world Communist movement and certainly he is the most powerful man behind the NAACP!

The **Zionist controlled NAACP agitators** hand-pick Negroes to force into schools of the South as an opening wedge to break down segregation. The **Autherine Lucy case**

—o— Please turn to page 4 —o—



Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary NAACP
9 Communist - front citations.

Dr. Ralph Bunche
Deputy Sec. Gen. of U.N., has 7 Red front Citations. National director of NAACP.

Thurgood Marshall
Special Council NAACP, has 5 Communist - front citations.

Channing Tobias
Asst. Treasurer of NAACP, at least 50 Communist-front listings.

Martin Luther King Jr. MARXIST TOOL & RACE AGITATOR

By Sam Crockett

On Jan. 1, 1958, the **power-crazy** Negro "leader" **Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.,** led **a "Pilgrimage for Public Schools on Emancipation Day"** march on Richmond, **Va.** The Va. branch of the **NAACP** and the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** co-sponsored the march. This school integration propaganda gesture is another in the long series of racial agitation activities led by King, and as usual was reported in the **Worker,** 12/21/58, p. 16, with full approval by the **Communist Party's** official organ.

Let's take a good look at **King's record** since he was picked as one to **"lead"** the Negroes down the crimson path to a Soviet America.

"Over the Labor Day weekend (8/30 to 9/2/57), Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tenn., staged its 25th anniversary seminar on 'the . . . integration struggle.' Notorious communists, veteran communist fellow travelers, and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the seminar . . . (This) School was organized by . . . Don West." **West** was District organizer **of** CP of No. Carolina. This school is actually a Communist Training School. The closing address at this seminar was made by Martin Luther King. Pictures taken at that time shows him together with **Abner Berry,** Negro member of the **Central Committee of the Communist Party** and columnist for the **Daily Worker. Pete Seeger,** participant in the **N. Y. State Youth Board of the CP (Daily Worker,** 2/22/49) and long time CP member, entertained the delegates

Martin Luther King Jr.

Negro's evaluation of himself . . . ." Ruskin contributes another article and is identified as having **"had many years of direct experience in racial conflicts in the South."** In 1946 he served a sentence on the chain gang in N. C. for refusing to sit in the Negro section of a bus. He went to India in 1947 and Africa in 1953. He is an expert on civil disobedience. The title of his speeches delivered in Africa and U. S. was **"AFRICA AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE."** Bayard Ruskin was sentenced to 60 days in jail as a **sex pervert** in Pasadena, Calif., January 22, 1953 by **Judge H. Burton Noble.**

The Youth March for Integrated Schools to Washington, D. C., 10/25/58, was another of King's activities. He was co-chair-**for the Youth March and were in vast audience." Challenge,** official publication of the Young Peoples Socialist League (11/1/58) headlined the story and pointed out that the Marcher's White House Student delegation leader and 14 of the main youth organizers were members of the YPSL.

The **N. Y. Post** (7/11/58 reports an interview with King by **Mike Wallace (Myron Wallik✡)** in which King asserted **"I'm sure that integration will lead to intermarriage. I don't deny that . . ."**

The Communist **National Guardian,** 10/20 58, p. 8, carried a laudatory review of King's book **"Stride Toward Freedom."**

While autographing copies of this book in a Jewish department store in Harlem, King was stabbed in the chest by a Negro woman who resented his integration activities and yelled as she stabbed him **"You made enough people suffer in the last six years." (N.Y. Journal American,** 9/20/58). With King was the president of NAACP, **Arthur B. Spingarn (✡).** The woman also stated that **Rev. King has ruined my life; he is no good; the NAACP is no good, it's Communistic. (N.Y. Amsterdam News, 9/27/58, p. 11).**

The **Daily Worker,** 3/10 & 14/57, described the celebration marking the birth of the Communist-run Negro state of **Ghana** in **Africa** under the premiership of Communist Party member **Kwame Nkrumah.** Soviet representatives were present: Communist **W. E. B. DuBois** (72 Fronts) was invited by **Nkrumah; Cedric Belgrage,** CP member, was present; Communist-fronter **A. Philip Randolph** and identified Party member **Ralph Bunche** were there, and so were King and his wife.

The one organization in this country

closing address at this seminar was made by Martin Luther King. Pictures taken at that time shows him together with **Abner Berry,** Negro member of the **Central Committee of the Communist Party** and columnist for the **Daily Worker. Pete Seeger,** participant in the **N. Y. State Youth Board of the CP (Daily Worker,** 2/22/49) and long time CP member, entertained the delegates.

King is president of the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** and led the **Montgomery Boycott** and the **March On Washington,** the latter with **Bayard Ruskin his** manager, who, according to the **Daily Worker,** attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party.

"Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's movement . .. the Party looks upon King's work and movement as a new opportunity to incite racial animosity."

King's manager, **Bayard Ruskin,** is listed as a member of the Editorial Board of **Liberation** (April 1956; Jan. 1957 issues). This is a pacifist-anarchist publication. Its contributors included typical communist-fronters **Norman Mailer, Dorothy Day, Lewis Mumford, Pitirim Sorokin. A. J. Muste,** infamous pacifist, communist-collaborator, also is listed on the Editorial Board. Martin Luther King contributed an article to the April 1956 issue in which he stated that **"The extreme tension in race in part by the revolutionary change in the** of his speeches delivered in Africa and U. S. was **"AFRICA AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE."** Bayard Ruskin was sentenced to 60 days in jail as a **sex pervert** in Pasadena, Calif., January 22, 1953 by **Judge H. Burton Noble.**

The Youth March for Integrated Schools to Washington, D. C., 10/25/58, was another of King's activities. He was co-chairman along with veteran Communist-fronter **A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins** of the NAACP, who also has a record, and committee member **Algernon Black**(66 fronts), **George B. Ford, Harry Fosdick, Milton Galamison**(Brooklyn NAACP head), **Clarence Pickett, James H. Robinson, Bayard Ruskin,** all of whom have front records. (See **Call**) Three bus loads of Communists from the cited **Communist N.Y. Teachers' Union** participated in the March (N. Y. Teachers News, 10/18 & 11/1/58). The **Worker**(11/2/58, p. 3) reported the March with the heading **"Rev. King said: The Oppressed Always Marched For Freedom"** accompanied by a picture of Mrs. King, who delivered the speech for her ailing husband. **The Youth Pledge of the Marchers** was reprinted in its entirety by the **Worker.** The entire front page of this issue and 14 columns of print were devoted to the March, May 17, 1959. Communist-fronter **Harry Belafonte** was a speaker to the Marchers. The **Worker** stated(p.15) that **"Large numbers of the Left(Communist) forces actively aided in mobilizing support** Africa under the premiership of Communist Party member **Kwame Nkrumah.** Soviet representatives were present: Communist **W. E. B. DuBois**(72 Fronts) was invited by **Nkrumah; Cedric Belgrage,** CP member, was present; Communist-fronter **A. Philip Randolph** and identified Party member **Ralph Bunche** were there, and so were King and his wife.

The one organization in this country which has been supporting the South African communists traitors currently on trial is the **American Committee on Africa.** An 11/7/58 letterhead shows King listed as a member of its national committee, along with a long list of communist-fronters: **John Gunther**(✡), **Oscar Hammerstein II**(✡), **Will Maslow** (✡), identified Communist Party member **Alex Meiklejohn** (✡), **Reinhold Niebuhr, Sidney Poitier. A. Philip Randolph, Mrs. FDR(over 100 Fronts), Rex Stout, Channing Tobias(50 Fronts), and** about three dozen more. A Jan. 11, 1956, letterhead shows Bayard Ruskin on the Executive Board (Also 1957 letterheads).

The 1958 **CORE**(See above) letterheads show King on the National Advisory Committee along with red-fronters **Roger Baldwin, Will Maslow, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Ira DeA. Reid,** and **Goodwin Watson(82 Communist fronts).**

Warren Studies Talmudic Law

HEAD OF THE SUPREME COURT

Justice Earl Warren, a darling of the Zionists is shown on his arrival in New York with Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, to study TALMUDIC Law. He is not content with the way his "DECISIONS" have upset the U.S., he now must study Jewish law. We can now brace ourselves for more of his weird Red-favored decisions!

In a recent popularity contest in Warren's home State of California, he ran a poor last

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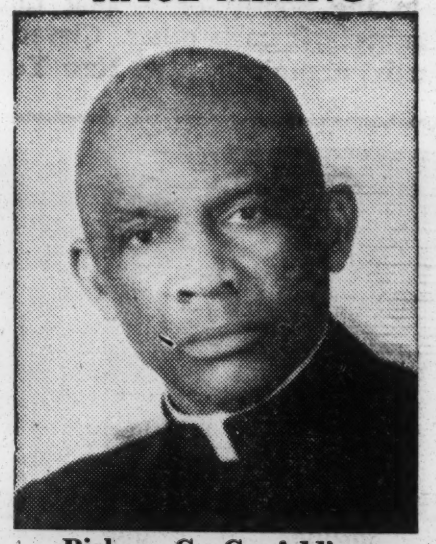
LEADING NEGRO AGAINST RACE MIXING



Bishop C. C. Addison

Native of Georgia, Archbishop and Pres. General. African Stock Exchange Assn., 14 Webster Place, East Orange, N.J. This is one of nine Negro leaders actively opposing integration in the United States today.

FORCE THE RACES TO MIX - NAACP'S GOAL

INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS - RESULT INTERMARRIAGE

In considering the problem of race segregation, it must be approached from the standpoint of the greatest good both to Negro and White. Sentimentality or prejudice cannot properly enter into the merits of segregation.

The only logical method to determine the best situation is to depend on well authenticated facts as to results when conditions have been in effect long enough to have produced a definite pattern.

Free, indiscriminate, intermingling of the races is the NAACP's goal. It is a sinister plot by the Marxist masterminds out of New York and Washington, D.C., to weaken and degenerate the entire White race.

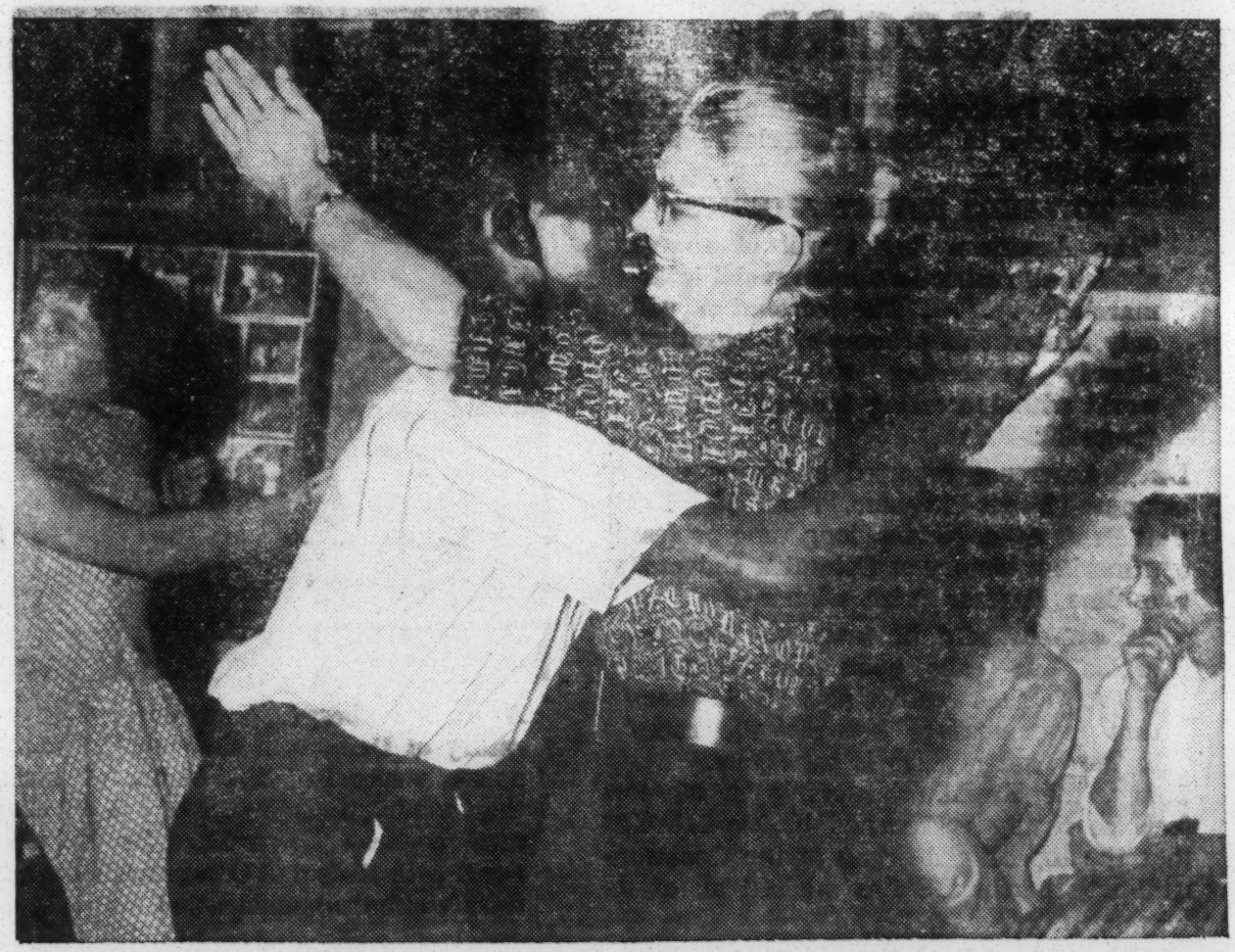
The Negro should be proud of his OWN heritage and NOT let the Jewish controlled NAACP force him into seeking the unnatural association of the whites!

If our Creator intended only one race, a mulatto race, he would have so created it in the beginning and NOT expected the NAACP to finish His work for Him. Our Lord gave each race its own character, individuality and charm. It is obvious He intended they should remain so. The Jewish organizations and the NAACP intend to change the wishes of our Creator.

If the Communist policy of conquest by absorption can be fulfilled through racial intimacy and the inevitable intermarriage of Whites and Blacks, then this evil Marxist philosophy will prove the downfall, if not the actual disappearance of the entire White Race !!

The North, like the South is not without its share of the segregation problem in its schools as well as its public housing projects.

In the latter part of 1957, deep in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, which has a predominantly Negro population Stuyvesant section all Negro. Disregarding this fact, the NAACP, always on the offensive when there is a chance to agitate, contended that if the school was "not good



Here we have race-mixing at the Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn.

Dancing at school would be encouraged by certain teachers and the children would not be capable of coping with the overwhelming Red propaganda aimed at them. This is the inevitable result of integration. The young child in school can come under the influence of the increasing crop of one-world minded teachers. Lenin's theory was to capture the young minds of the children at school, indoctrinate them, and parents would lose them forever.

This is the same type of philosophy the Jewish controlled NAACP thrives on. The seating of a Negro child beside a White child is just the opening wedge!

CONGRESSMAN — REVEREND — TAXDODGER —

intimacy and the inevitable intermarriage of Whites and Blacks, then this evil Marxist philosophy will prove the downfall, if not the actual disappearance of the entire White Race !!

The North, like the South is not without its share of the segregation problem in its schools as well as its public housing projects.

In the latter part of 1957, deep in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, which has a predominantly Negro population, public school 258 incurred the wrath of the Jewish controlled NAACP!

P.S. 258, a new junior high school with 1,500 Negro students and less than 5 or 6 white students was not integrated enough to suit the NAACP.

The white families, trying to protect their children had moved out of the neighborhood as fast as the Negro families had moved in, thus making the Bedford-Stuyvesant section all Negro. Disregarding this fact, the NAACP, always on the offensive when there is a chance to agitate, contended that if the school was "not good for whites it is not good enough for Negroes" and went into their usual tactics. They created such a disturbance and pressured the school board to such an extent that the Negro children are now being transported by bus several miles out of their way to schools in all-white districts at taxpayers expense! All this just to pacify the NAACP and forcefully integrate the races.

A great majority of New York schools are being FORCEFULLY integrated in this manner. The white students are being transported or "reassigned" to previously all-Negro school districts, despite their parents disapproval!

As a direct result of this NAACP inspired FORCED integration the teaching standards of New York schools have dropped far below par due to the loss of many qualified teachers quietly leaving the profession in disgust. Crime is rampant throughout the school corridors to such extent that school authorities cannot cope with it and many schools require police protection for its students as well as its faculty members.

The only safe alternative for many white families is to move out of the city and into the suburbs, or as a last resort, out of New York state itself! This very same pattern of forced integration is being enacted in many large metropolitan areas throughout the North with the inevitable happening—the cities automatically become segregated.

In Washington, D.C. with the forced integration of previously all-white schools, the wholesale muggings, stabbings and rapings of decent girls has forced the white families to send their children to private schools across the line to Arlington. Va., where the NAACP is now agitating in the Courts for immediate integration of all Virginia schools. In our Capitol, Washington, the schools, after integration, are now 75% Negro.

—o—

by certain teachers and the children would not be capable of coping with the overwhelming Red propaganda aimed at them. This is the inevitable result of integration. The young child in school can come under the influence of the increasing crop and parents would lose them forever.

This is the same type of philosophy the Jewish controlled NAACP thrives on. The seating of a Negro child beside a White child is just the opening wedge!

– JEWS STIR UP NEGROES –

AL LEVENSTEIN (✡), delegate from So. Africa to U. N. photographed while speaking to negroes March, 7, 1960 in Montgomery, Alabama. Although a citizen of a foreign country, this Jew is traveling over our Southern States sowing discord and confusion among our citizens. As the PROTOCOLS state, Jews will turn classes and races against each other so that confusion reigns while Marxists spring the trap as they have already done in 17 other countries.

CONGRESSMAN — REVEREND — TAXDODGER —

Adam Clayton Powell, U.S. Congressman from New York, appearing on the Mike Wallace (✡) television program Channel 13 at 11 P.M. Friday, March 20, 1959 made several significant statements.

Powell stated that in New York City 64% of the school population are Negroes and Puerto Ricans; 50% of the city population is Negro and Puerto Ricans; that in the U.S. 28 million whites have Negro blood and 70% of the Negroes have white blood. When asked by Mike Wallace what he thought was the best way to solve the race problem, Powell quoted an educator at Harvard University as stating that intermarriage would solve the race problem.

– KEEP INFORMED –

Space will not permit us giving in one issue a full understanding of the terrifying danger of the race mixing plot promoted by cunning Marxist minds who are using vote-hungry politicians to enforce it.

Ask your friends to subscribe to COMMON SENSE at the low subscription price of $1.00 per year so they can be informed. Only an aroused public can prevent our being slaves under Jewish communism as exists in 17 countries.. In 42 years, more than 40% of the world's population has been enslaved under communism.

REDS RACIAL RECORD

William Z. Foster, present head of the **Communist Party in America,** declared in his book entitled —

TOWARDS SOVIET AMERICA

"The American Soviet will of course abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage . . . . The revolution will only hasten this process of integration, already proceeding throughout the world with increasing tempo."
(page 305-306)

David Lawrence reported in his newspaper column **(Times-Picayune,** Nov. 12, 1958) that **Prof. Allen Nevins,** long time professor of American history at **Columbia University,** two time Pulitzer prize winner—

"is emphatically in favor of desegregation and calls upon the Southern people to face reality, as he tells them that intermarriage between the races in the coming years is inevitable."

Today, the **Kremlin** leadership in **Moscow** feels so firmly entrenched in the NAACP that the top official organ of the Communist Party in the US has advised all of its followers that:

"We must support the NAACP in this struggle with every ounce of energy at our disposal."

(Political Affairs, official organ of the **CPUSA,** Feb. 1950, p. 26).

HOW RED IS THE NAACP?

—o— Continued from page 1 —o—

was an outstanding example of this type agitation, the same tactics were used in **Little Rock.** Anyone who has studied the NAACP and its questionable leaders should

ANNA ROSENBERG VISITING U. S. TROOPS

Anna Rosenberg(✡), while Asst. Secretary of Defense in charge of all manpower, supervised the hiring of more than a million employees of 115 government agencies. She packed the Defense Dept. with Reds and Communists during the Truman administration.

When the late Sen. McCarthy began digging into the Defense Dept. and demanded to know who promoted Peress, the Reds and liberals screamed for McCarthy's scalp.

It was Anna Rosenberg's influence that caused the removal of crosses from cemeteries and the placing of thousands of Negro troops in Germany where they had close associations with the girls. Results—Eleanor Roosevelt asked the U.S. to adopt 5,000 Negro babies from Germany.

– FAMOUS QUOTATIONS –

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo

"If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood

All Jewish Groups Urged to Consult On Integration

BOSTON (NJP) — The view that consultation between all the Jewish agencies and the Jews of

HOW RED IS THE NAACP?

—o— Continued from page 1 —o—

was an outstanding example of this type agitation, the same tactics were used in **Little Rock.** Anyone who has studied the NAACP and its questionable leaders should be able to see right through their evil schemes.

The master-minds in New York are directing this attack on segregation, fully realizing that it is going to bring trouble between White and Black — that is the reason they work so feverishly. Few people realize that this is only part of the plan to further weaken and condition our country for Communism!

A great part of the world in which half the population of the world exists, has already been broken down and Marxist rule set up. All kinds of deception were employed to bring this about, camouflaged with high-sounding purposes.

The Jews of the South may join the **Citizens' Councils,** but each and every Jewish organization and publication in the U.S are whole-heartedly backing the fight to mongrelize the races through integration! ! **If Zionist pressure** were withdrawn from the race-mixing movement, it would die a sudden death!

Careful research has been done on **Marxist leaders within the NAACP** and key Government positions. With this information, the subject of integration will be approached with a better understanding of exactly who controls the NAACP and the Supreme Court of the United States!

The NAACP was a member of **American Youth For A Free World,** which was organized in 1942 and, in 1948, was described by the **California Un-American Activities Committee** as **"heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party."** The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1951 Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications described the **American Youth For A Free World** as **"a Communist clearing house."**

HELP AWAKEN YOUR NEIGHBORS —to the DANGER OF INTEGRATION by circulating this issue. We pay postage

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Senator Theodore G. Bilbo

"If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone. The maintenance of American civilization would be as impossible for a negroid America as would be redemption and restoration of the white man's blood which had been mixed with that of the negro."

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All Jewish Groups Urged to Consult On Integration

BOSTON (NJP) — The view that consultation between all the Jewish agencies and the Jews of all parts of the U.S. on problems involved in the school integration fight was desirable was expressed by several speakers at the 17th plenary session here of the National Community Relations Advisory Council. The NCRAC is the over-all Jewish agency involved in community relations work.

David L. Ullman, was reelected chairman of the group.

An exact reproduction from the National Jewish Post of June 20, 1958.

AID INTEGRATION RABBIS ARE ADVISED

Excerpts from **Miami Herald** of May 1, 1958.

The attitude of the rabbi both in the South and North must be **"clear and definite"** concerning integration, rabbi **Paul Reich** of Norfolk, Va., declared. He added **"there must be no pussyfooting."**

Rabbi Reich spoke to 600 spiritual leaders of the conservative branch of Judaism at the annual convention of the Rabbinical Assembly of America.

The "COMMITTEE OF 100"

The reader will get a more accurate understanding of the background of the NAACP from the letterhead of the "Committee of 100" which is "in support of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc." located at 10 Columbus Circle, N.Y., New York. Its letterhead contains names of 97 sponsors, 65 of whom have a total of 861 Red-front citations by the Dept. of Justice and the Un-American Activities Committee.

COMMUNISM IS TREASON!

FIGHT IT WITH . . .

Common Sense

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Five Cents

"Hate Germany" Propaganda Exposed

By Holten Whitney

(A word about the Author: The author of the following article, an American soldier, went to Europe believing all the conventional **hate propaganda** against **Germany** that had been disseminated in America by a controlled and kept press, radio, movies and other sources of information. But being possessed of a keen, intelligent and inquiring mind, he investigated in a fair way. After carrying on his research, he came back home from Europe disillusioned with his former feelings of animosity against Germany.)

WHAT I SAW.

Back in June, 1945, I was stationed at the former German concentration camp at **Dachau, Bavaria.**

The jewish refugees were still there in great numbers, the war having ended for Dachau only two months earlier. The other refugees had long since gone home and to work. The jew refugees remained and were

The house of the former commandant of the camp in German days was occupied by a jew named **Miklos and his White servants.** He wore black leather boots and riding pants and drove around the camp in a German

THOSE "SIX MILLION" JEWS

The Jews have so intimidated the public that no columnist has dared give the German side of the **"six million" Jew story,** hence, the lie is repeated by people who know nothing of the facts.

It is queer that members of our military occupation forces and non-military men who devoted weeks and months over post-war Germany trying to locate the remains or some sign of the gas chambers found nothing. These investigators were sent from one place to another. Only a pipe was called to their attention but further inquiry proved that these were buildings where millions of prisioners were sent through to disinfect their clothing and delouse the bodies as a safety measure in preventing disease. The official Jewish figures for Jewish population in Germany was **540 thousand.**

WHAT I SAW.

Back in June, 1945, I was stationed at the former German concentration camp at **Dachau, Bavaria.**

The jewish refugees were still there in great numbers, the war having ended for Dachau only two months earlier. The other refugees had long since gone home and to work. The jew refugees remained and were stripping the camp of everything they could steal and carry away. The warehouses and shops and storerooms of the camp had been full of all kinds of goods and material at the end of the war.

The first time I noticed this **jew thievery** was when a jew commandeered an army truck going into **Munich.** He had large cloth bags with him. They were full of leather. But he was just an ordinary thief. Another time a jew tried to steal five hundred pounds of brass out of a utility shop and got caught within my presence.

One Rumanian jew stole enough goods out of the camp and got enough free labor from the prisoners of war that he started a factory of his own and shared its ownership with the jewish-American sub-commander of the camp maintenance system. His name was **Major Greene.** The reason I know is that I often took gangs of prisoners of war over to the factory near the village of Dachau and guarded them while they toiled.

The jews stole cars and trucks from the camp and maintained them right in the camp at the expense of the American army. I've seen them bribe G I's to steal gasoline for the trucks and cars.

German engineers and auto experts were employed to keep the stolen vehicles in good condition, when the German prisoners were supposed by army authorities to be working on American army trucks.

An enduring mental picture I have of the Automotive Repair shop is the cars of the various jews jacked up for repairs and occupying all the space in the garage.

The jews also used material and labor from the camp in order to keep up and repair their homes and homes of their girl friends outside the camp, sometimes as far away as Munich. I used to take work details over to Munich to work on these private houses.

The jews occupied nearly all the decent housing on the premises of the camp while many American soldiers had to live three to a room.

The house of the former commandant of the camp in German days was occupied by a jew named **Miklos and his White servants.** He wore black leather boots and riding pants and drove around the camp in a German limousine. He used to throw parties for some of the American officers. Then the house would be lit up all night and the sound of the band could be heard all over the camp, which covered about a square mile.

I sometimes would mention to other G I's stationed at Dachau what I saw the jews doing. **"That's nothing. Yesterday they . . ."** was an answer I often got back. The same thing was happening all over the camp from what I heard. I was told specifically that the jews stole glass wool, army gasoline, radio parts by the truckful, and a whole warehouse full of skis.

Within a few months after the war, the cupboard was bare of materials and goods in so far as wartime Dachau was concerned. But many a jew fortune was made.

How did the jews get away with it?

One way was thru the propaganda about their persecution at the hands of the Germans during the war. This propaganda caused the Americans to be indifferent towards the jewish plundering of property belonging to others.

Some people seemed to think that jews were above the law and beyond criticism. Once a jew went up to a G I, a youngster in years and army experience, and pointed out the window to a detail of Hungarian prisoners of war. **"See that Hungarian out there with the stripes on his arm? He was a member of the Hungarian secret police during the war. He tortured a lot of jews."** The American soldier went out and forced the Hungarian to clean snow off the tops of a row of army trailers. He made him do it with bare hands.

Another thing was the organization of jewry itself. The jews were for all practical purposes in charge of Dachau. Most important jobs and positions seemed to be in their hands. The section of the camp where I was employed was overseen by an American jewish officer. The American army sergeant of the prison compound where I worked was still another American jew.

—o— Please turn to page 2 —o—

ing. These investigators were sent from one place to another. Only a pipe was called to their attention but further inquiry proved that these were buildings where millions of prisioners were sent through to disinfect their clothing and delouse the bodies as a safety measure in preventing disease. The official Jewish figures for Jewish population in Germany was **540 thousand.**

Germany was being threatened from the outside while the **communist Jews** were trying to take Germany over from the inside, this forced Germany to place many Jews in concentration camps. Jews over the world cried for war on Germany; 22 nations then were out to destroy Germany which was attacked by several thousand bombers in a single day.

Germany was blockaded and faced with feeding themselves as well as millions of prisoners; thus, Germans were on the verge of starvation. Communist Jews inside Germany were a serious source of trouble, they who had brought on the war could not escape suffering under these conditions which they were responsible for.

The whereabouts of these so-called Jews is no mystery to those who have given time to the study of the question. The U. S. as well as South America and other countries have been systematically flooded. It is well to remember that **President Truman** set aside 12 ships to bring Jews from Europe after the war. Hundreds of thousands came in illegally.

"Six million Jews," is an effective slogan for blackmailing the Germans and adding to the age old propaganda of Jews being persecuted. West Germany and U. S. taxpayers have given hundreds of millions to Israel that did not exist during the war.

The **Jewish-owned TV channel 5** in New York City on July 18 ran an hour long film **"REMEMBER US"** — a movie creation grossly exaggerating conditions in Jewish camps in Germany during the war.

Several times **NINE million Jews** were mentioned as being burned in ovens. A woman described what she witnessed in several camps, but like the **Anne Frank lie,** it was not explained how she was allowed to see all of this and live!

In order to deceive the public more fully, pictures of several ovens were shown. The same single-body oven found in every city for cremating. Jews outsmart themselves in their **"LOVE THE JEWS", hate the Germans, program.**

—o— Please turn to page 4 —o—

– "HATE GERMANY" –

—o— Continued from page 1 —o—

His name was **Givertz.** The foreman of all the prisoners of war sent out from the compound was a jew refugee. And the compound office swarmed with droves of other jews.

When Givertz came to the office in July, he was a **"T" corporal** and was outranked by a gentile buck sergeant. The buck sergeant was transferred to another job in another part of the camp early in August. Later on he took a civilian job at the camp at $5,500 a year. Givertz was promoted first to buck sergeant, then to staff sergeant, and the last I heard he was a master sergeant, by the first of 1946.

In January of 1946 the American army forcibly deported **Ukrainian freedom fighters to Communist Russia.** When the war had started in 1941 between Russia and Germany, the Ukrainians had risen up against the Red dictatorship at Moscow and fought alongside the Germans. They did so in order to free their country from Russian occupation.

The Russians permanently reoccupied Ukrainia at the close of WW II and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians had fled to the West for sanctuary, where they were jailed by the American army and kept in camps like Dachau. The Red government at Moscow said the Ukrainians were Nazis and demanded their return.

One day at noon I heard a terrible cry and sounds of commotion at the Ukrainian compound. Upon arriving there, I saw that the Ukrainians were being forced by a contingent of the artillery soldiers, to board railroad boxcars. The train was parked on a siding just outside the Ukrainian compound.

The effort to force the Ukrainians had not succeeded as yet. First the American officers had asked the Ukrainians to get on the train. Then they sent American soldiers into the barracks to force them out. Then the Americans had tossed tear gas bombs cleared out from the barracks whoever tried to remain inside. One youth was dragged by the feet out from one of the barracks. He had wedged himself under a bed and breathed deeply of the gas fumes. When they dragged him out he was

ALLIED BOMBERS LEAVE THEIR MARK

This is one of the many groups of victims of the ferocious Allied bombings of Dresden, Germany, the art center, on Feb. 13, 14, and April 17, 1945, which "held no important industries which could have bolstered the fading German war effort" (N.Y. Herald Tribune), but whose 625,000 population had just then been swelled to 1,000,000 by refugees from the Russians believing that the Four Freedom crusaders would not bomb where bombing would kill only women and children—and art. "When the Red Army arrived on May 8, it ordered the thousands of corpses that were still being taken out of the debris to be piled up in the Altmarkt . . . . . The streets leading to the square were roped off and flamethrowers were turned on the bodies."

Hundreds of thousands of Germans who were buried in the mass graves as a result of bombings were exhibited later to deceive Americans into believing they were Jews.

gation in My Capacity as a Guard at the Camp.

GAS OVENS AT DACHAU

When I came to Dachau I had heard of the horrors of the gas chambers where it was stated that millions of jews had been

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The effort to force the Ukrainians had not succeeded as yet. First the American officers had asked the Ukrainians to get on the train. Then they sent American soldiers into the barracks to force them out. Then the Americans had tossed tear gas bombs into the barracks. And still the Ukrainians had not come out. Instead the Ukrainians crowded to the windows for fresh air and pleaded with the American soldiers for mercy.

Near the gate to the prison enclosure stood the American officers and the Red officers who were to accompany the Ukrainians to Russia. Swarming around the boxcars of the train and spilling over into the compound were hundreds of spectators. The compound was filled with a battalion of American soldiers milling around trying to escape the fumes from the bombs that had been tossed into the barracks. They were unable to approach them because of the gas clinging to the building and all in it.

After a conference between the American and Communist officers, gas masks had been summoned from an infantry regiment headquarters. Shortly the American soldiers donned the masks and divided into teams.

American soldiers went into the barracks with clubs. They beat down resistance and dragged the Ukrainians out of the barracks one by one. They handed them to the main body of American soldiers who remained outside the barracks. Two soldiers would then get on either arm of a Ukrainian and another American soldier would follow along behind with a club. If the unfortunate twisted or resisted the soldier behind would strike him on the back of the head. And they did not spare the rod.

The doors of the railroad boxcars were thrown wide open. The Ukrainians like cattle were packed tightly in both ends of the boxcars. Both ends were boarded up and nailed fast, leaving the middle of the car empty where the doors opened. A soldier rode in the middle of the car as guard.

As a last measure of resistance, the sweaty, tear-stained Ukrainians locked their arms together in sheer desperation and came outside the barracks. The ragged lines swayed as they sang national anthems of their country. The soldiers charged the lines and beat them down with clubs.

Still another team of American soldiers cleared out from the barracks whoever tried to remain inside. One youth was dragged by the feet out from one of the barracks. He had wedged himself under a bed and breathed deeply of the gas fumes.

When they dragged him out he was suffocated by the tear gas. The color of his face was deep purple. His long, lank body and close-cropped blond hair reminded me of some American high school athlete of pre-war days in America. But the youth was not the only dead Ukrainian. The area was littered with the bodies of victims of tear gas and physical assault. One of them had regained an upright position. He was praying, and for some reason I fancied he was saying **"Forgive them, Oh Lord, for they know not what they do."**

I knew that history was in the making. I therefore had the urge to participate. So I joined the ranks of one group of American soldiers as they left the railroad cars after having delivered their charges to them.

I got in line and grabbed the left arm of a Ukrainian and began escorting him to the train. The smell of tear gas was strong and I could feel the sweat under his arm thru his torn shirt. He sagged a little and bent his head as he went along. Half way to the gate I leaned towards his ear and said in a low voice, **"Fini, eh?"** He answered in the affirmative.

For a long time I fancied I could smell the sweat from his arm on my fingers. I could not help but contrast the oriental features and squat build of the communist officers with the light complexioned and straight-featured countenance of the Ukrainian patriot.

Days later there were stories around the camp that the Ukrainians had been shot as soon as the train crossed into the Soviet zone of Germany.

I hate to admit it but not one American soldier I talked to about it displayed the slightest amount of sympathy for the Ukrainians. **"They were traitors,"** were the inevitable answers. Once I replied to a buddy of mine, **"Then the Italians were traitors for turning on Germany. The Ukrainians are no more Russians than the Italians are Germans."** My friend could not understand.

What I Learned Thru Personal Investigation in My Capacity as a Guard at the Camp.

GAS OVENS AT DACHAU

When I came to Dachau I had heard of the horrors of the gas chambers where it was stated that millions of jews had been burned to death. I had seen pictures of the death train found at the gate of Dachau in April, 1945, when the American army moved in. The picture showed heaps of dead bodies of men, women, and children. They were incredibly wasted and were lying sprawled around the open doors of boxcar doors.

Once in Dachau I sensed vagueness about the alleged murders. The whole question melted away when brought up. In general I never saw any proof of the gassing of millions or even thousands of prisoners. No one knew anything about it altho I asked many questions.

At that time in the summer of 1945, the story of the **"six million"** had not yet been born. The number claimed dead was much smaller than it is now.

It seemed that all the jews and ex-prisoners at Dachau had been there a long time since before 1939 in many cases. Most of them appeared to be in good health and unmarked by life. A few of them had a hollow look around the eyes and a certain tightness to the skin of the face. The ones I asked about it said they had had typhus **"Everyone here had it,"** they said.

Typhus is a fever that literally burns up and makes skeletons out of its victims.

I asked a German about the murder of millions at Dachau in the crematory. He waved his hands and told me not to believe such lies. He had been at the camp since being drafted into the German army in 1942, first as a guard and then as a prisoner of the Americans.There had been no cruelty, no gassing, no murder.

WHAT ABOUT THE DEATH TRAIN?

"They were prisoners of war, Russian guerrilla bands mostly, brought here to Dachau as we retreated from the East." he said. **"Bombing attacks slowed the movement of the train. Typhus broke out on it amid filthy conditions,"** he continued, **"and by the time the train got here, most of the prisoners were afflicted and dying."**

"HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE

that the Four Freedom crusaders would not bomb where bombing would kill only women of bombings were exhibited later to deceive Americans into believing they were Jews.

CREMATORY?" I asked.

"Every prison and asylum has a crematory," he said. **"There's no room for graveyards in Germany, at least for prisoners. We must use the land to grow food. How could we have a funeral for each of the thousands of Germans killed by bombs including the prisoners?"**

The crematory at Dachau was one of the first places I visited upon reaching Dachau. One Saturday I went on a conducted tour of the gas chambers. I joined about fifteen men and women tourists from different countries at the main gate. We went thru a little clump of trees in one corner of the camp, down a muddy path. We entered a small concrete building about the size of a backyard garage.

The first room was empty except for several signs and a large painting around the room. The signs indicated that many beings had met their death on these premises. It was obvious to me that this was propaganda paraphernalia placed there after the war to prejudice tourists. It was not placed there by the Germans. I forget the exact number that the signs claimed had been put to death in Dachau. But it was a few thousands. Since then I have read repeatedly in national magazines that nearly a million jews were exterminated there.

The painting showed a gaunt prisoner in striped convict suit with ball and chain attached to one leg.

The guide said that the prisoners had been relieved of all possessions and clothing in this first room. He said that gold and stainless steel dentures and the hair on the head had been salvaged after the executions which had taken place in the next room.

The second room was fitted out with shower nozzles running along the walls. There were no windows and both doors were heavy. It was not much bigger than a small bedroom. The guide said that the prisoners were gassed in this second room. The gas was wafted thru the shower nozzles after the prisoners had been told they

years to burn a million bodies at Dachau.

When we stepped out the back door of the crematory, there was a buzz of conversation in the crowd and short laughter. One girl laughed cynically and said, **"Is that all there is to it?"** The German people had not been so evil as she had thought.

But there was one more thing to see. The guide showed us stacks of earthen ware jars. They were meant to hold the remains of the dead. The jars were shipped to relatives of the dead.

More than once afterwards during my months at Dachau, I went back to the small building housing the crematory. Most week days it was deserted.

Several things about the premises struck my attention. One was the shower room. The doors were not air tight. No gassing of prisioners seemingly could have taken place in the shower room. The escaping gas would have sickened and eventually killed the guards and attendants.

Also the shower nozzle, from whence it was alleged the deadly gas wafted, appeared to be new. The nozzles were bright and shiny. The plaster around them was lighter in color than the plaster on the rest of the room. The plaster around the nozzles was no more than several months old if that much. This fact suggested that the shower nozzles had been installed after the war, as I had heard before from a German plumber, named Alex, who had been in the prisoner work gang ordered to install them.

The presence of push carts outside the boiler room suggested something too. They probably had been used to bring the dead from the hospital and barracks to the crematory after having died from natural causes.

Incidentally up until the last part of the war, the victims of illness at the camp had been treated at the camp hospital, whose facilities for treatment were excellent even by American standards. Each bed was fitted out with radios and earphones.

As for cremation, it permitted the families of the dead to claim the ashes and

the last month of the war, the ashes of every single human being who died at Dachau was sent home to his family.

Towards the last part of the war, many of the dead from the epidemics that swept the camp had no records in camp. It was impossible to label the remains of them. So they were given a common burial in large caskets.

When the American army over-ran Dachau, so did teams of jew agents. These **orientals and bolshevists engineered the story of Dachau as a murder camp.** Meanwhile other teams of jews were doing the same thing all over Europe. They took possession of the German war archives. They appropriated records, films and whole libraries of information. They forged documents that incriminated individual German governmental officers. The jews destroyed documents that justified the Germans. They coerced and tortured confessions out of prisoners. They doctored photographs. They doctored papers.

In the end they burned over 100 million library and school textbooks in the greatest book burning outrage in the history of the world.

Evidence collected by the German army showed that the **Reds had slaughtered close to seventy-eight million Whites, mostly blonds, in Russia and Eastern Europe from 1917 onwards.** The Reds liquidated the native Russian stock. By 1941 only Asiatics and mixed breeds remained.

The jews destroyed all evidence of Communist genocide.

But they did more. For example the jews would take a photograph of a **Khazar tribeman murdering a blond-haired German family in Russia.** They would doctor the photograph and change the faces and insignia on uniforms to make it seem that the White was killing the Asiatic.

The Germans had captured thousands of detailed pictures showing the mass murder of the Russian equivalent to our Pennsylvania Dutch, in Russia in 1940-1941.

The jew agents, who descended upon

tions which had taken place in the next room.

The second room was fitted out with shower nozzles running along the walls. There were no windows and both doors were heavy. It was not much bigger than a small bedroom. The guide said that the prisoners were gassed in this second room. The gas was wafted thru the shower nozzles after the prisoners had been told they were going to take a shower.

The guide made no reference to jews being gassed. I got the impression that the victims were mostly Russian prisoners of war caught operating back of German battle lines and executed as spies.

The back door to this shower room looked down into a cramped boiler room. This boiler room looked like part of a basement to some small brick building. It was fitted out with two large boilers. The boilers had gas jets inside.

Each boiler was fitted out with two metal stretchers on rollers attached to the front of the boiler. The corpses were placed on the stretchers and pushed inside the boilers. In an hour or so the bodies were reduced to cinders. The remains were raked off the stretchers and new corpses were put in place.

We followed the guide down into the boiler room. We saw wooden push carts sitting outside the boiler room doors under a tree.

The sightseers had been apprehensive and a little jittery when we started from the main gate. They seemed gloomy when we were in the ante-room. But another emotion seemed to come over them down in the boiler room.

The crematory had not quite panned out. Some of them had traveled far to see it. From afar they had heard of a Nazi death factory. They had expected banks of gas ovens and evidence of murder, mass murder.

Instead of a million jews it turned out that a few thousand prisoners of war had been executed there, and after death had been cremated instead of buried. And for all the sightseers knew, the prisioners may have deserved it.

It was obvious to all that the equipment at hand was not sufficient to gas or burn very many bodies. I figured it up later. It would have taken 540 years to burn the **proverbial "six million"** at Dachau even if the crematory were kept busy all day long, seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year. It would have taken ninety matory after having died from natural causes.

Incidentally up until the last part of the war, the victims of illness at the camp had been treated at the camp hospital, whose facilities for treatment were excellent even by American standards. Each bed was fitted out with radios and earphones.

As for cremation, it permitted the families of the dead to claim the ashes and to give them a decent burial at home, something they would not have been able to do in most cases without cremation.

Cremation is indeed the accepted way of disposing of dead bodies in many European institutions and prisons and asylums even today. The one at Dachau was no bigger than normal. It served the need to dispose quickly of diseased corpses in order to prevent and control epidemics. The crematory served as camp graveyard.

Further Investigative Research Carried Out By the Author After Leaving Camp Dachau.

Here is how I reconstructed the operation of the crematory, after much thinking and questioning and reading. Every morning the pushcarts gathered the dead from the barracks. It must be said that many prisioners were in bad health or suffering from sickness when they came to Dachau.

The corpses were delivered to the anteroom. They were examined there by a doctor. Death certificates were made out and the bodies were prepared for cremation.

All clothing was removed and valuables were removed. The possessions of the dead were confiscated by the state. They were contributed to the war effort of common defense against Communist invasion from the East.

Here I take issue with the government. The personal possessions ought to have been returned to the families of the dead when possible. This might indeed have been done before the last years of the war.

The bodies were laid out in the so-called shower room. The doors were kept closed for obvious reasons.

The crematory burners were started. The bodies were carried down to the boiler room one by one on stretchers and burned. After an hour or so the ashes were raked out of the boilers and placed in jars. The jars were sealed, labeled and stacked out in back of the crematory. A truck picked up the jars and took them to the camp express office. They were sent home free of charge. Until **man murdering a blond-haired German family in Russia.** They would doctor the photograph and change the faces and insignia on uniforms to make it seem that the White was killing the Asiatic.

The Germans had captured thousands of detailed pictures showing the mass murder of the Russian equivalent to our Pennsylvania Dutch, in Russia in 1940-1941.

The jew agents who descended upon Germany after the close of World War II forced German citizens to sign false confessions admitting the murder of jews. Their confessions were used against Germanic people everywhere.

Frankfort Germany served as headquarters for the processing of what the jew teams invented, faked and forged. The central office for the jew fabricators was said to be located in the I. G. Farben building for a while.

There the final processing was done on the truckloads of affidavits, photographs and film. The whole mass of faked evidence was assembled into a coherent tale by the end of 1945. It has served as a basis for prosecution in all war crime trials since then. That part of the forged evidence pertaining to the trial of the so-called major war criminals of 1946 is called **"Official Documents of Nazi War Crimes and Aggression."**

Afterwards the whole bulk of the material was shipped to the **Wiener Library in London.** This library was made up of thousands of statements by jews charging the Germanic people with all sorts of crimes since 1933.

It is a fact that no jews were driven to prisons in Nazi Germany simply because they were jews.

Wherever it is possible to investigate the truthfulness of stories that jews were persecuted, none can be proven. For example it is admitted that no French jews were gassed. It is too easy to check the facts in France. Journalists have access to all parts of the country. People are not afraid to talk. Plenty of impartial witnesses exist to confirm or deny.

The well-known radical jewess **Gertrude Stein** lived in France all thru the war. She was not molested by the Nazis.

Our sources of information about the extermination of the **"six million"** come to us from just those areas where no confirmation is possible, i.e., **Eastern Europe and** areas are strongly anti-German, anti-White

—o— **Please turn to page 4** —o—

– "HATE GERMANY" –

—o— Continued from page 3. —o—

and anti-Nazi. History shows that the governments were launched by these so-called jews and jew ideas. The press and institutions for scientific research and scholarship of nearly all of them are tied to national political policy and are regarded as tools of the state.

Therefore the case against Germany is based upon the word of their worst enemies, supported by witnesses who have been subjected to strong coercion and by documents filtered thru jewish hands.

Such evidence is no evidence.

In 1933 the Reds burned down the German capitol buildings in Berlin as a signal to Red revolution. The revolution failed. Camp Dachau was built as an auxiliary prison for the purpose of housing communist traitors. Many if not most of them were jews.

Dachau continued thru the thirties to serve as a prison for Red traitors. Conditions at the camp were no better or worse than any other prison in north Europe. Until 1939 it accommodated only German jewish and German prisoners. No executions took place there.

Dachau was expanded when war broke out in 1939. Communist infiltraters, spies, and saboteurs from other parts of Europe were sent there once the war started.

Few or no jews were sent to Dachau after 1941 when the Russo-German war started. The Russian jews fled en masse with the flight of the Red army. They believed their own propaganda. Few of these Russian jews ever came under jurisdiction of the German government.

The jews in such nations as Italy, Rumania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary also were beyond the control of the German state. Nazi officials like **Joseph Goebbels** complained often in their wartime diary-writings that jews still strongly influenced the rulers of these German allies.

bodies of German guards and their prisoners. There was one gathering of the dead in the morning and another in the afternoon. The camp command gave up push carts and resorted to trucks in order to get the corpses delivered to the crematory.

Many of the corpses weighed no more than fifty pounds. They would be reduced to ashes within thirty to forty minutes in the incinerator.

It is important to remember that each of these corpses were counted as jews by the press in later compilations. Also each one was said to have been murdered instead of having died naturally from disease.

The attendants and German guards at the crematory died from contamination from the dead. Towards the end of the war, most of the German guards and some of the officers and their families stationed at the camp fled. Finally the crematory was abandoned. The bodies were left lying in their beds or at best stacked in one place. The guards who had the courage to remain retreated to the guard towers in order to escape the pestilence. Many were found dead at their posts.

There was no food in the camp for the last three days. These were three of the days late in April that the American army waited passively nearby while the Red army closed in on the heartland of the White man.

The same stories about German atrocities were told during and after World War I. They were shown to be false by revisionist historians after the close of the war. The stories of the gas ovens of World War II were more of the same wartime propaganda of hysteria, designed to fire up the people to fervor for war. But after WW II, it served jewish propaganda to continue with the stories and to continue to make fools of the masses. The spirit of deliberate scholarship and scientific honesty in evaluating the past has disappeared since 1918. True liberalism in historical research is dead for the most part. The result is that most

years ago. The cry of persecution is valuable to this group which is a nation within a nation.

Why have the Jews been repulsed in England, France, Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Italy, Poland, Austria and now the Soviet Union and the Middle East. It is important that our people understand how organized Jewry has deceived the world about the situation in Germany, so that we can prevent them from maneuvering us into World War III, as they did in World War I and II.

No one can disprove these facts.

Are there any four Jewish leaders in the World who will meet Mr. McGinley and Mr. Freedman in debate and deny that the Zionist brought the U. S. into World War I and II against Germany? There are not.

BROTHERHOOD?

The following are **exact quotes** from the book **"GERMANY MUST PERISH"** by **Theodore N. Kaufman,** published by Argyle Press, Newark, N. J., February, 1941.

This book was accepted by the **Zionist** leaders as the guide for dealing with the German people who had challenged the Jewish plot to rule the world by communism.

"The population of Germany, excluding conquered and annexed territories, is about 70,000,000, almost equally divided between male and female. To **achieve the purpose of German extinction it would be necessary to only sterilize some 48,000,000**— a figure which excludes, because of their limited power to procreate, males over 60 years of age, and females over 45.

"Concerning the males subject to sterilization the army groups, as organized units, would be the easiest and quickest to deal with. Taking on the assumption that each will perform a minimum of 25 operations daily, it would take no more than one month, at the maximum, to complete their sterilization.

own propaganda. Few of these Russian jews ever came under jurisdiction of the German government.

The jews in such nations as Italy, Rumania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary also were beyond the control of the German state. Nazi officials like **Joseph Goebbels** complained often in their wartime diary-writings that jews still strongly influenced the rulers of these German allies.

At no time were there more than a million jews under control of Nazi Germany. There were no more than half that number ever living at one time inside Greater Germany, including three fourths of the land now claimed as Poland.

By 1944 the Red army began its invasion of Germany. Prisons inside Germany did double and triple duty in order to accommodate prison populations from those portions of Europe that the Asiatics had driven into.

Dachau got its share of prisoners of war starting late in 1944 and early 1945, a few months before the end of the war.

The spring of 1945 brought clear weather to the small territory left to the German army. It also brought clouds of American and British aircraft who shot up everything in sight. The planes strafed and bombed even at night. Nothing on wheels could move.

By April communications and governmental control had broken down in Germany. The Reich was prostrate. Dachau was isolated and quarantined.

Trainloads of prisoners on the way to Dachau were stalled on track sidings for weeks. The results can be imagined. The authorities could not turn the prisoners loose, and they could not supply them with food or medication.

It was one of these trains that was parked at the gate at Dachau on a morning late in April, 1945, when the American army reached Dachau. The Americans were horrified. But they knew it was one of the accidents of war caused by allied invasion of Europe and concomitant circumstances. It took a jewish press to convince the world otherwise.

The trains that reached Dachau before the Americans came found the same bad conditions there. Food supplies had given out at Camp Dachau. Famine and sickness swept the camp. The newcomers only added to the overcrowding and brought more epidemics to sweep the camp.

The crematory worked overtime to dispose of the typhus racked, pitifully thin

were more of the same wartime propaganda of hysteria, designed to fire up the people to fervor for war. But after WW II, it served jewish propaganda to continue with the stories and to continue to make fools of the masses. The spirit of deliberate scholarship and scientific honesty in evaluating the past has disappeared since 1918. True liberalism in historical research is dead for the most part. The result is that most people still believe in the **myth of the "six million."**

-Those "SIX MILLION JEWS"-

—o— **Continued from page 1** —o—

Anne Frank's diary described her at age 15 standing naked watching a line of naked women four abreast, being thrown into the ovens. She described another camp where she was later, but did not explain how,—without clothes, she concealed her diary. Her own father here in New York for a court hearing stated that the statements attributed to her could not be from a girl her age.

A man born and lived in Russia for 25 years viewed the "REMEMBER US" film with us and says that a number of the gruesome scenes attributed to Germany were from the Soviet Union.

Now—hear two Jews on Channel 13: On July 6, 1960, **George Sokolsky** in an interview with **Mike Wallace** on TV-NTA, New York, stated that many of the Jews thought to be killed by Germany were **killed by Stalin.**

Reminds you of the **Katyn Massacre**—where **14,000 Polish officers were buried in four graves—killed by the Soviet Union and blamed on Germany.**

A Colonel of the U. S. Army examined these Polish graves while a German prisoner and reported it was the work of the communists, but our defense department remained silent—protecting the Soviet Union.

Not one Jew or non-Jew was burned alive; thousands of dead, mainly Germans were cremated for sanitary reasons.

Never have we heard one word of sorrow from the Jews as to more than 75 million non-Jews killed under direction of the communist Jews in the Soviet Union and communist-controlled Countries.

Two and a half million Germans, who were prisoners of the Soviet Union, have never been heard of to date.

Today Jews cry before the **Wailing Wall in Jerusalem for persecution a thousand**

power to procreate, males over 60 years of age, and females over 45.

"Concerning the males subject to sterilization the army groups, as organized units, would be the easiest and quickest to deal with. Taking on the assumption that each will perform a minimum of 25 operations daily, it would take no more than one month, at the maximum, to complete their sterilization.

"Inasmuch as **sterilization of women needs somewhat more time, it may be computed that the entire female population of Germany could be sterilized within a period of three years or less. Complete sterilization of both sexes,** and not only one, **is to be considered necessary** in view of the present German doctrine that so much as one drop of true German blood constitutes a German."

A copy of this book was forwarded to the **Library of Congress** for copyright purposes in February, 1941. You will note that this book was written and printed 10 months BEFORE the United States was promoted into World War II. It was printed while the United States was at peace with Germany. **Like the Gomberg Map, prepared and printed months before Pearl Harbor, it was done in anticipation of our being shoved into this unnecessary war.**

Consider the enormity of this un-Christian, un-American suggestion.

- WE ARE GRATEFUL -

Sacramento, for those new bills; they are put to good use.

Philadelphia, Chicago and Louisville, your contributions come through OK.

Only God and your conscience can reward you for this urgently needed help to preserve our freedom

We are making the best use of your help. As you know, I draw no pay. Editor

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The Thunderbolt

THE WHITE MAN'S VIEWPOINT

ISSUE # 31, JUNE 25, 1961

"Birmingham News" Persecutes White

All of the Whitemen being picked out of line-ups these days over the C.O.R.E. bus incident are being identified by newsmen from the "Birmingham News". No city detectives are involved in this. The "Birmingham News" has taken over the crusade to identify and arrest everyone in the picture taken by Tommy Langford. Julian "Bud" Gordon is the 'Ace Birmingham News reporter' with the brilliant brain who can remember the faces of hundreds of people who were at the bus station. Clancy Lake could not identify Mr. Herschel W. Acker of Rome, Ga., as an attacker, but Bud Gordon could! Tommy Langford could not identify Howard Thurston Edwards as one of those who touched him, but old reliable Bud Gordon could. Anyone who has seen the picture of the blond, wavy headed man who hit the communist James Peck and a picture of brunett

The Face of the NAACP

North And South Must Unite

HOLD ON SOUTH - THE NORTH IS WITH YOU

By Roy Frankhouser, Reading, Penna.

For years after the Civil War the North and South remained in conflict over the Negro Question. The reason was simple, the North had little or no Negro population. Times have changed and now through rapid breeding and immigration from the South, Black Belts have formed in the North. Here is the story from a Northerner himself.

"South, hold the line, we are fighting the same fight to save our children and the future of our nation. Our cities in the North have become black jungles. Our wives and children dare not wander the streets at night. NAACP bloc vote machines now control our

tegrate. These 'chosen people' are the conspirators like the real head of the NAACP, Arthur Spingarn a Jew and Kivie Kaplan chief NAACP fund raiser and Jack Greenberg head of the NAACP legal dept. These are who negro fronters like Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins as office boys and window dressing to fool both blacks and Whites. Fred Shuttlesworth stated publicly that the Jew Marvin Rich runs the CORE sit-in headquarters in New York and sent him $500.00 for the Bus agitators expenses while they were here in Birmingham."

"Remember the crime rate among INTEGRATED Negroes in the North is 300% higher than that of the White population. More than 50% of all murders are committed by Negroes and the same situation exists in felonies, burglary, rape and

Bud Gordon could! Tommy Langford could not identify Howard Thurston Edwards as one of those who touched him, but old reliable Bud Gordon could. Anyone who has seen the picture of the blond, wavy headed man who hit the communist James Peck and a picture of brunett Howard Thurston Edwards knows it is not the same person. The "Birmingham News" wants someone to pay, and pay dearly for the beating of communist James Peck. They want to make an example out of some fall guy. Hard working, family-man, Howard Thurston Edwards, 22 yrs. of age with two small children and war veteran is their victim. They know that there is not a jury in the South which would convict anyone in the James Peck beating. So, "Birmingham News" reporter Bud Gordon comes up with the tall story that the man who hit Peck also hit "Birmingham News" photographer Tommy Langford. So they charge Howard Thurston Edwards with hitting News photographer Tommy Langford. The outrageous charge is "Assault with intent to murder." Bud Gordon wants Edwards to get 20 yrs. in prison as a warning to the rest of us not to stand in the way of the "Birmingham News" campaign to comply with the Supreme Court and mix the races in this city. The actual facts in this case are that Edwards is not the man in the picture and can easily prove his innocence before a fair and impartial jury. Those who should be on trial are Bud Gordon and the "Birmingham News" for looking for a sacrificial victim to hold over the publics head. Then, every time CORE, NAACP, Martin Luther King or Shuttlesworth want to ride roughshod over the city, the "Birmingham News" will threaten us with arrest with, "We'll give you the same raw deal we gave Howard Thurston Edwards." If you want to let Bud Gordon know how you feel about his accusations in this case, his address is, Bud Gordon, 5845 Court "O", in Central Park. His phone number is ST. 1-3596.

"Face of the NAACP." This picture shows Thurgood Marshall, mulatto special counsel for the NAACP, receiving a special NAACP Life Membership plaque from Kivie Kaplan, co-chairman of the NAACP Life Membership Committee, while Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president looks on with approval. Take a good look at this picture.

There is not now, nor has there ever been a Negro at the head of the N.A.A.C.P.. Two multi-millionaires Jewish brothers (Joel and Arthur Spingarn) founded the group. Joel Spingarn was President of the N.A.A.C.P. until his death in 1939. Arthur Spingarn then took over and has been N.A.A.C.P. president ever since. Head of the N.A.A.C.P. Life membership Committee and chief fund raiser is the Jew Kivie Kaplan. Jack Greenberg runs the NAACP legal staff. Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins are just window dressing, sitting around to fool Negroes (and Whites).

'Birmingham News" Surpresses Fire Story

"Birmingham News" circulation hit an all time high the week after the C.O.R.E. bus agitators hit town. The reason the "Birmingham News" plays up, out of all proportion, all local racial problems is to make money, no matter how bad a name they give our fare city. The "Birmingham News" presses were going round the clock turning out extra editions on the racial bus conflict. When the "Birmingham News" was fanning the fires of discord among the whites, a fire was flaming inside the newspaper itself. While the "Birmingham News" built up this little racial shoving back and forth at the bus station on page one, a serious tragedy struck inside the "Birmingham News" building.

On Tuesday, May 16th the overworked presses caught fire. Smoke bellowed from the building. Many fire trucks were called to the area. The poisonous fumes overcome 20 persons. Ambulances rushed to and from the scene. Thirteen of the injured were firemen, while seven were employees of the "Birmingham News." All of the fire victims were taken to the West End Hospital for treatment. Any other newspaper in America would have headlined this disastrous fire on page one. But not the "Birmingham News", they instead continued to headline the 'nigger hit in the head' bus story, and pushed demands that all the White people, who reporter 'Bud' Gordon fancies he saw at the bus depot be arrested. The fact that the "Birmingham News" caught fire and many were injured made page 26 of the May 17th edition of "Birmingham News". In a small article they played the story down as a 'minor fire'. The fact that men were risking their lives to put out a fire in the "Birmingham News" didn't matter to them. They were to busy faning the fires against the White Citizens of this state. Seems as if reporters like Bud Gordon can't see the real fire even when standing in the furnace.

himself.

"South, hold the line, we are fighting the same fight to save our children and the future of our nation. Our cities in the North have become black jungles. Our wives and children dare not wander the streets at night. NAACP bloc vote machines now control our cities. Our politicians crawl and kiss the feet of the minority bloc vote. Our taxes are spent to pay for their illegitimate children, (which they have by the score). Millions go to tripple the size of police forces to hold down the growing black terror."

"There have been more and worse race riots in the North than in the South. (One riot covering blocks and thousands of people was completely surpressed by the press in Philadelphia last year alone.) Our newspapers have long been taken over by the liberal, red racemixing element. (90% or the Northern Press, 80% of Magazines and 100% of the T.V. Radio and Movies are controlled by the enemy.) Organized minority groups have pushed laws through our state legislatures forcing us to cut Negroes hair, sell him a house, rent to him and go to school with him and eat in public places with him."

"This is what is known as freedom for the blacks, and tyranny for the Whites. This misery is being inflicted upon both races by a selected few who refuse themselves to in-

agitators expenses while they were here in Birmingham."

"Remember the crime rate among INTEGRATED Negroes in the North is 300% higher than that of the White population. More than 50% of all murders are committed by Negroes and the same situation exists in felonies, burglary, rape and other major crimes. Our cities have become a nightmare and the nation is being terrorized by only 13% of the population, the Negro. The most important point to remember is that the South has a much greater Negro population than does the north, the Segregated Southern crime rate is much smaller than that in the North. The reason is Segregation, and racial self respect. We in the North have now formed groups like the Citizens Councils and States Rights Party and our memberships are booming. More than half of all Segregation Literature printed today goes into the North, at the request of the Northerners themselves. South look up the North is coming. Hold your racial banners high, we know your struggle for it is now our own. Stand proudly and know the truth. Though you may not hear it from our controlled press, we are with you in your fight for Race, Nation and Faith. Let us say both North and South, UNITE, UNITE! Let us say in the words of Patrick Henry, both to Federal tyranny and race mixing, "I know not what course others might take, but for me give me Liberty or give me Death!"

"BIRMINGHAM NEWS" DOES IT AGAIN

On Sunday May 21st on a Tarrant City bus, a Negro crowded in between two Whitemen who were talking together in a front side seat of the bus. When Mr. William H. Merrill, 68 yrs. of age, asked why the Negro didn't sit in the back of the bus where there were plenty of empty seats, the Negro struck him over the head with a blackjack and jumped off the bus and fled. Merrill, who lives at 422-38th Ave., N., was X-Rayed for skull fractures at University hospital. The "Birmingham News" barely mentioned the incident, as they were too busy still crying over CORE bus agitator James Peck.

If the situation had been reversed and it had been the Whiteman who had hit the Negro for siting beside him, the "Birmingham News" would have headlined the story on page one, charging the Whites with being prejudiced, brutal, intollerant, etc. etc.. They would have demanded the immediate arrest of the Whiteman on assault with intent to murder (the usual phoney rap) and the arrest of every other whiteman on the bus who was a witness?

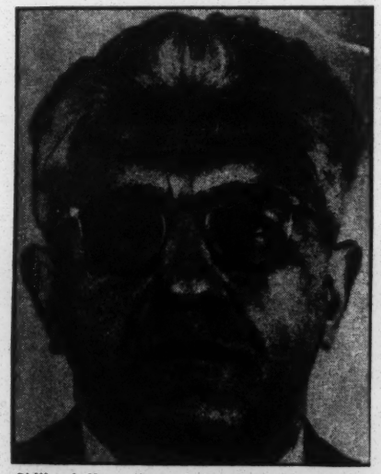
HISTORY OF COMMUNIST

THE TREASON TRIALS

Since early 1945 the Communist party has been involved in a series of highly publicized treason and conspiracy trials utterly without precedent in American history. These included the "Amerasia Case," the "Gerhart Eisler Case," the "Judith Coplin Case," the "Alger Hiss Case," the "Hollywood Ten Case," the "Fuchs-Gold Atom Spy Case," the "Rosenberg-Sobell Case," and the case of "Eugene Dennis and the Convicted Eleven."

It was impossible, of course, to conceal altogether the Jewishness of the overwhelming majority of the defendants. But Jewish propagandists exhausted every trick in trying. One Jewish publication—Look magazine—ran a picture story on the spy trials in which the defendants were variously described as "typical Americans" . . . "American born" . . . and "as American as apple pie." So there will be no further doubt regarding the racial identity of the American Communist party, we have accumulated photographs and data on virtually every Communist indicted or tried for Communistic activity since 1945. The reader may judge for himself.

Amerasia Case



Philip Jaffe, editor of "Amerasia," and head of the ring which stole 1700 secret documents. Like many other high ranking reds, he originally came from the Pale of Settlement.

In early 1945 six individuals arrested , three of whom are known Jews, for stealing 1700 highly confidential documents from State Department files. This was the Amerasia Case. Those arrested were:

PHILIP JAFFE, a Russian Jew who came to the U. S. in 1905. He was editor of the magazine, "Amerasia," and was the former editor of the Communist paper. "Labor Defense." He was convicted and fined.

ANDREW ROTH, a Brooklyn-born Jew with a lieutenant's commission in Naval Intelligence.

MARK GAYN, a writer, born in Manchuria of Russian-Jewish parents. His Jew name is Julius Ginsberg.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE, a nigh State Department official who gave Jaffe much of the stolen material. He is believed to be a gentile.

ALSO ARRESTED were Em-

pro-Marxist causes. He first attained prominence as one of the defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Frankfurter, along with Lehman and Henry Morgantheau, is one of the most influential Jews in America today. In addition to Acheson and Hiss, he has been responsible for the placing of an estimated 200 of his "proteges" in high places. These include: (1) Nathan Witt, former general secretary of the National Labor Relations Board; (2) Lee Pressman, chief legal counsel for the CIO; (3) John Abt, key attorney for the SEC, AAA, and WPA. All are Marxist Jews; Pressman has admitted being a card carrying party member.

Frankfurter may or may not be a Communist, but an amazing number of his proteges, including Alger Hiss, have turned out to be. That was the background of the Alger Hiss Case.

Judith Coplin, a convicted spy, is also Jewish. She worked for the Justice Department.

Judith Coplin

One of the most publicized treason trials was that of Jewish Judith Coplin, in June of 1949. She was caught red-handed passing classified documents from Justice Department files to a Russian agent, who happened to be employed by the United Nations. She was convicted of espionage and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Later the conviction was set aside by the Supreme Court on the grounds that the FBI had arrested her improperly and without a warrant. It pays to have a friend on the Supreme Court, or so it would seem . . .

Gerhart Eisler

The highest ranking Communist ever brought to trial in the U. S. was Gerhart Eisler. Between 1935 and February of 1947 he was the secret boss of the Communist Party in the U. S. In those years he commuted regularly between the U. S. and Russia, using the aliases Berger, Brown, Edwards, and others. His right hand man, and the second ranking cominform agent in the U. S. was J. Peters, author of the "Peters Manual." His real name was

academy award winning actress Gale S

(3) Lester Cole, also a party membe

(4) Edward Dmytryk, who belongs t tenced.

(5) Ring Lardner, Jr., a script writer

(6) John Howard Lawson, a Broadwa Wrote "Professional," "Success Story."

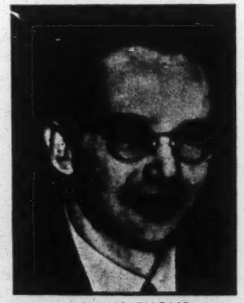
(7) Albert Maltz, wrote "Merry-go-R member.

(8) Sam Ornitz, a screen writer.

(9) Adrian Scott, nationality not veri

(10) Dalton Trumbo, a party membe

The Fu



KLAUS FUCHS

On February agents arrested atomic scientist He was accused of passing atom

At the begi had been intern alien. He was British custody the personal in As a scientist f had access to between 1942 a one of the few construction of serving a penit espionage.

Acting on Fuchs, there b which resulted other members all of whom we Jewish. Here entire ring:

HARRY GOLD

Harry Gold (Jew name Goldodnitsky Switzerland of Russian-Jewish parents. H University of Pennsylvania, and Xavier U the Soviet espi who used the A a base of opera the country col members strate atomic energy i

of the ring which stole 1700 secret documents. Like many other high ranking reds, he originally came from the Pale of Settlement.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE, a nigh State Department official who gave Jaffe much of the stolen material. He is believed to be a gentile.

ALSO ARRESTED were Emmanuel Larsen and Kate Mitchel, nationality unknown.

Only two of those arrested were actually brought to trial, although the Justice Department's case was considered airtight. The trial of the ringleader, Philip Jaffe, was one of the strangest on record. Late one Friday afternoon he was rushed into court without any previous notice or publicity, and before anyone knew what was going on he pleaded guilty, and was sentenced and fined. By paying the comparatively insignificant sum of $1,500.00 he was relieved from the danger of any future prosecution. Roth paid a $500.00 fine.

John Stewart Service was not prosecuted, nor was he discharged from his high State Department position. The State Department, despite the constant prodding of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin, refused to accept the evidence against him. Four times he was called before the State Department's "loyalty board," and four times he was cleared.

This in spite of a wire recording of his transactions with Jaffe! Not until the fifth loyalty hearing was it decided that there were "reasonable" grounds for suspecting his loyalty. This came six years after the original arrests. Somewhere, hidden hands were pulling wires . . .

in Manchuria of Russian-Jewish parents. His Jew name is Julius Ginsberg.

Andrew Roth aided in the theft of State Department documents. He is a Brooklyn Jew.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE

ALGER HISS CASE

The second treason case also involved the State Department. This was the trial of Alger Hiss, protege of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. Hiss, like Acheson, was a student under Frankfurter at Harvard.

Hiss was one of the most influential men in the State Department. At Yalta he had been a Roosevelt advisor; at San Francisco he helped draw up the United Nations charter. And he was an intimate friend of the secretary-of-state.

Hiss, although a communist, was not convicted for being one. He perjured himself by denying his communist activities, however, and it was on this charge that he was tried and convicted.

The Alger Hiss trial was also a unique one. Dean Acheson's wife campaigned to raise funds for his defense. Acheson himself declared: "I'll not turn my back on Alger Hiss." Felix Frankfurter actually took the witness stand to testify as a character witness for his protege. In spite of all this, Hiss was convicted and sent to the penitentiary.

Frankfurter's role in this treasonable drama is worth commenting on. An immigrant Jew from Austria, he has a life-long affinity for

GERHART EISLER, highest ranking communist ever convicted in the U.S. He's Jewish.

and February of 1947 he was the secret boss of the Communist Party in the U. S. In those years he commuted regularly between the U. S. and Russia, using the aliases Berger, Brown, Edwards, and others. His right hand man, and the second ranking cominform agent in the U. S. was J. Peters, author of the "Peters Manuel." His real name was Goldberger, and like Eisler he is Jewish.

Several of Eisler's family have also been prominent in the Party. A brother, Hans, has built an outstanding reputation as a writer of revolutionary songs. He is presently employed as a songwriter in Hollywood. A sister, Ruth Fischer, was a Communist agent for a number of years.

In May of 1950, while free on bail, Eisler fled the U.S. on the Polish ship Batory and is now propaganda chief of Russian-occupied Eastern Germany.

The Hollywood Ten

In 1950 the ten leading film writers of the Hollywood Film Colony, nine of whom are known Jews, were convicted for contempt of Congress and sentenced to prison. All had appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948, and all had refused to testify.

The Film Colony went all-out in its support. A group of film notables, including Lauren Becall and Humphrey Bogart, chartered a special plane to Washington. Jewish publications everywhere raised the cry

Shown above are the convicted "Hollywood Ten." All wear $200.00 suits, all are in the one-to-five thousand dollar a week income bracket. All of them are Yiddish except one.

that the Un-American Activities Committee was victimizing a group of artists who, at the worst, were liberally inclined.

As events proved, the committee knew exactly what it was doing. Six of the "Hollywood Ten" were communist party members. The other four had flagrantly pro-communist records. Furthermore, as screen writers they were in a particularly advantageous position to insert subtle bits of red propaganda into pictures. Given here is a roll-call of the Hollywood Ten:

(1) Alvah Bessie, a sceen writer. A communist party member, he wrote for the party publication, New Masses.

(2) Herbert Biberman, received a six month sentence and a $1,000.00 fine. A party member, he is the Yiddish husband of

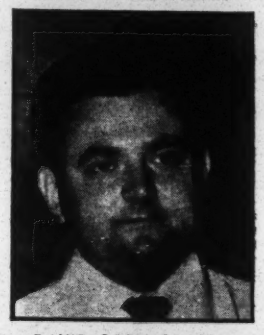
entire ring:

Harry Gold (Jew name Goldodnitsky). Switzerland of Russian-Jewish parents. He University of Pennsylvania, and Xavier Uni the Soviet espio who used the Am a base of operat the country colle members strategi atomic energy in of 1950, he plea received 30 yea

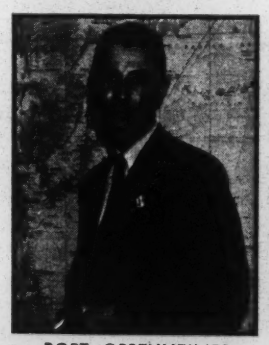
David Green Jewish father a was one of thos mation to Gold he was employe tion at Los Ala gave Julius Rose cerning the "fu A-bomb. Signifi Alamos project Robt. Oppenhei passing A-bomb from Los Alamos

Abraham Bro of the ring. He of A. Brotham a

ABRAHAM BROTHMAN



DAVID GREENGLASS



ROBT. OPPENHEIMER

ISRAEL WEINBAUM

N. Y. He supplied Gold with secret dat aircraft engines, and synthetic rubber. So that a Russian official allegedly told him brigades to Soviet Russia. He was arre conspiracy against the U. S., and was con

Miriam Moskowitz was also caught in the City College of NYC, she was arrest of the same apparatus. She was emplo Commission between 1942-44, and was Brothman firm. Miriam is Yiddish. She w

Sidney Weinbaum, a product of Rus Technology, came to the U. S. in 192 Weinbaum., He was connected with the Tech for four years, during which time he ment with atomic secrets. He was convic

Alfred Dean Slack, was the only g apprehended. While employed at the gave atomic information to Harry Gold. given Gold intelligence about a new secr at th

Battle Creek, Mich.

NDERBOLT

ISSUE # 31, JUNE 25, 1961

ST SPY RINGS IN AMERICA

By Frank L. Britton

Gale Sondergaard.
member.
elongs to 15 fronts. Fined and sen-

ot writer and party member.
Broadway playright and screen writer.
Story." A party member.
rry-go-Round," "Snake Pit." A party

er.
not verified.
member.

he Fuchs-Gold Spy Ring

February 3rd, 1949, British intelligence arrested a diminutive German-born scientist by the name of Klaus Fuchs. accused, and subsequently convicted, ng atomic secrets to the Russians.
he beginning of World War II Fuchs n interned by the British as an enemy He was subsequently released from custody and admitted to the U. S. at sonal instigation of Albert Einstein. ientist for the Manhattan Project, he ess to our innermost atomic secrets 1942 and 1945, and he is said to be the few men familiar with the overall tion of the A-bomb. He is now a penitentiary term in England for ge.
ng on information obtained from there began a series of investigations esulted in the eventual arrest of nine embers of the ring. Of these nine, hom were later convicted, eight were Here is a brief description of the ing:

odnitsky). A chemist, he was born in nts. He studied at Drexel University, avier University. He was a courier for et espionage chief, S. M. Semenov, d the Amtorg Trading Corporation as f operations. Gold travelled all over ntry collecting information from ring strategically placed in defense and

JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG

at Kingsport, Tenn. His alma mater is Syracuse University.

The Rosenbergs

Three other members of the Fuchs-Gold ring were also arrested. However, unlike the first seven—who pleaded guilty—they chose to plead "not guilty." As a result two of them—Julius and Ethel Rosenberg — received the death penalty and the third, Morton Sobell, received 30 years in prison.

Julius Rosenberg was born of Russian-Jewish parents. An electrical engineer and a graduate of the City College of New York City, he was instrumental in recruiting Greenglass into the spy ring. While employed at the Emerson Electric Company he stole the plans for the highly secret proximity fuse which is now being used against American planes in Korea. He also aided in the theft of atomic secrets. His job was to digest information from Greenglass, and then pass it on to Soviet agents. He was sentenced to death.

MORTON SOBELL

Ethel Rosenberg, wife of Julius, was convicted of the same charges at the same time. She is a sister of David Greenglass. David Greenglass's wife acted as a courier between Greenglass and the Rosenbergs, but for some reason was not put on trial.

Morton Sobell was also a graduate of the City College of New York City. He and Rosenberg were classmates together. Sobell passed electronic data to Rosenberg, including radar secrets. He fled to Mexico to escape arrest, was returned by Mexican authorities. He was convicted for conspiracy to commit espionage and was sentenced to 30 years in prison. He's a Jew.

Behind the Atom Treason

The question which instantly comes to mind is: how were Communist agents able to ferret out our valuable atom secrets when so much secrecy surrounded the entire project? Why was it that Russia had the full secret of atom-bomb manufacture before the American people even knew of the existence of atomic weapons? These questions are especially puzzling when we consider the fantastic security

"Scientist X" proved to be a Jew by the name of Joseph W. Weinberg of the University of Minnesota.

Steve Nelson? His real name is Mesarosh and his birthplace is Belgrade. "Nelson" studied at the Lenin Institute in Moscow and resided in Russia from September of 1931 to July 1943. Recently cited for contempt of Congress, he was originally arrested for deportation in 1922 when it was found that he had fraudulently entered this country by using the passport of one Joseph Fleishinger, a cousin . . .

STEVE NELSON

Canadian Spy Ring

Fred Rose, member of Parliament and leader of the Canadian Spy Ring, is a Polish-Jew.

Canada has also had spy trouble. There, as in the U. S., the Soviet Embassy served as headquarters for espionage activity. There, as in the U. S. the principal characters in the plot were Jews.

In early 1945 an employee of the Russian embassy in Ottawa packed hundreds of secret Russian documents into a suitcase and turned himself over to Canadian authorities. As a result, a spy ring was uncovered which included — among others — a member of the Canadian Parliament and a professor at McDill university. Leader of the ring, and by far its most important member, was Fred Rose (Rosenberg), the only communist in the Canadian Parliament. Rose, a Polish-Jew, was the ringleader, the recruiter, and the courier for the ring.)

On June 16, 1946, he was sentenced to prison for his activities. The following year (Dec. 6, 1947) Dr. Raymond Boyer, a professor at McDill university, was sentenced to two years in prison for having given Rose information concerning the secret explosive, RDX. Boyer was married to the Jewess, Anita Cohen. Arraigned with Rose were Samuel Gerson (of Russian-Jewish parentage)

odnitsky). A chemist, he was born in nts. He studied at Drexel University, avier University. He was a courier for et espionage chief, S. M. Semenov, d the Amtorg Trading Corporation as f operations. Gold travelled all over ntry collecting information from ring strategically placed in defense and energy installations. Arrested in May he pleaded guilty of espionage and 30 years in prison.

d Greenglass, the son of a Russian-father and a Polish-Jewish mother, of those who passed atomic infor-to Gold. Between 1943 and 1946 employed at the vital atomic installa-Los Alamos, New Mexico. He also lius Rosenberg vital information con-the "fuse" used to detonate the Significantly, the chief of the Los project at this time was the Jew, ppenheimer. Klaus Fuchs was also A-bomb information to Harry Gold Alamos during this period.

ham Brothman was another member ng. He headed the engineering firm otham and Associates, Long Island,

WEINBAUM

MIRIAM MOSCOWITZ

cret data on aviation gasoline, turbo ber. So valuable was his contribution told him his efforts were worth two was arrested on July 27th, 1950, for was convicted.

ught in the spy net. A graduate of as arrested August 17, 1950 as part s employed by the War Manpower and was later associated with the . She was convicted.

of Russia's "Charkoff" Institute of in 1922. His real name is Israel vith the radiation laboratory at Cal-time he furnished the Soviet govern-s convicted on a perjury charge.

only gentile besides Fuchs to be at the Oak Ridge establishment he Gold. He is also believed to have new secret explosive while employed at the Holtson Ordnance Works

Mexican authorities. He was convicted for conspiracy to commit espionage and was sentenced to 30 years in prison. He's a Jew.

Behind the Atom Treason

The question which instantly comes to mind is: how were Communist agents able to ferret out our valuable atom secrets when so much secrecy surrounded the entire project? Why was it that Russia had the full secret of atom-bomb manufacture before the American people even knew of the existence of atomic weapons? These questions are especially puzzling when we consider the fantastic security measures taken to safeguard the secret. Bob Considine once described a fire which burned down a large building housing an atomic installation. Although firemen could have easily saved the building, plant guards would not permit them to enter the restricted area because they didn't have authorized passes! Not even members of the U. S. Congress were let in on the secret. Yet the Soviet agents were able to penetrate this security wall as though it weren't there. How did they do it?

First it should be remembered that a central figure in the atomic program was Albert Einstein, a foreign-born Jew with a record of 16 red fronts to his credit. It has never been proven that Einstein is an actual party member, but there can be absolutely no doubt as to where his sympathies lie. Nor can there be any doubt regarding the red tint of his friends. A list of those around Einstein reads like a Who's Who of Communism. It was Einstein who was instrumental in having Fuchs brought to the United States.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that the chief of the Los Alamos installation between 1943-45, when most of the secrets were stolen, was the Jew, Robert Oppenheimer. Robert Oppenheimer has a brother, Frank, who is also an atomic scientist and who is, or was, a card carrying communist. Frank Oppenheimer belonged to "Professional Unit No. 122 of the Communist Party," while on the staff at Cal-Tech.

Left to right: W. W. Waymack, L. L. Straus*, David Lilienthal*, R. F. Bacher*, Sumner Pike. In 1945 Harry Truman removed atomic energy from military authority and placed it under this Jew-dominated board, headed by David Lilienthal. Lilienthal had a pro-communist record.

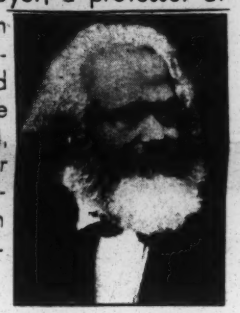
Finally, it should be noted that shortly after V-J day Harry Truman turned America's atomic energy program over to a board consisting of five men, three of whom were Jews. Not only that, but the Jewish chairman, David Lilienthal, had belonged to at least two communist fronts previous to his appointment. This was the background to the atom treason.

Scientist X

There have been other instances of Jewish treason in our atomic energy program. Witness the case of the much publicized "Scientist X" who from 1943 on passed vital atomic information to Steve Nelson.

Polish-Jew, was the ringleader, the recruiter, and the courier for the ring.

On June 16, 1946, he was sentenced to prison for his activities. The following year (Dec. 6, 1947) Dr. Raymond Boyer, a professor at McDill university, was sentenced to two years in prison for having given Rose information concerning the secret explosive, RDX. Boyer was married to the Jewess, Anita Cohen. Arraigned with Rose were Samuel Gerson (of Russian-Jewish parentage), and David Shugar, believed to be Jewish. Other Jews implicated in the Fred Rose spy ring included: J. Isidor Gottheil, Israel Halperin, and Sam Carr (Cohen). (NOTE: This is not a complete listing of the Fred Rose spy ring.)



KARL MARX

LAST BUT NOT LEAST

The main spy case broken in 1957 was uncovered with the arrest of master spy, Col. Rudolph Abel. He pretended to be a Jewish refugee from Germany, but actually headed a vast spy ring of Jews in America. The latest were the arrests of Mr. and Mrs. Myron Cohen in England. They are from the Bronx in New York. Using phoney passports, they guided an international spy ring.

The fact that every Red Spy in America has been completely dominated by Communist Jews casts grave suspicion on the Loyality of all Jews residing in America. Those who place the interests of Communist Russia or Zionist Israel over America should have their citizenship revoked and be deported back to the country they are fronting for.

Karl Marx, Jewish son of a long line of Rabbies imbedded in his Communist philosophy all the basic components of Judaism. Thus, we find a strong leaning by ALL Jews toward Communism.

A true explanation for all this was proclaimed by World Zion-long line of Rabbis imbedded Wise, when he said "Some call it Marxism, I call it Judaism."

T.V. News

T.V. QUOTES OF THE MONTH CHAMP LETS CAT OUT OF BAG.

After the light-heavyweight championship fight on June 10, Archie Moore announced to a nation wide T.V. audience that part of his winnings would go to the following charities. $500.00 to B'nai B'rith, $1,000.00 to the "Freedom Riders", and $500.00 to buy him a life membership in the N.A.A.CP.. Archie Moore actually helped awaken America. People have started putting 2 & 2 together. B'nai B'rith plus N.A.A.C.P. equals "Freedom Riders", Jewish Communism and Race-Mixing.

KELLOGG SPONSORS MIXING ON T.V.

The Kellogg cereal Co, sponsors of "Whats My Line" with John Daley insulted all White people Sunday night June 11. On their panel they placed the race-mixing Negro agitator Harry Bellefonte between 2 White Women panelists. Bellefonte sported a phoney English accent and acted extremely arrogant on the show. He was all smiles with White women seated on both sides. We feel sure all our readers will feel ill everytime they eat a Kellogg cereal and think of this horrible Race-mixing exhibition. We are sure your will be able to buy some other brand in the store. In the meantime, you can express your opinion by writing your views on this type of race-mixing propaganda to Public Relations Dept., Kellogg Co., Battle Creek. Mich.

THE CHICAGO JUNGLE

THE JUNGLE BEAST THAT WALKS LIKE A MAN AND KILLS LIKE A BEAST

The below photographic reproduction is from the Negro magazine, "Jet." This heinious crime which was committed right in the streets of Chicago's famous "Loop" was given no publicity in the Negro-catering newspapers of that corruption-ridden city.

The guilt for this crime cannot be placed entirely upon the shoulders of the killer. After all, the Negro is an emotional, amoral, semi-primitive. In the dark jungles from which he comes, when one Negro becomes angry with another he simply goes into his enemy's village, seeks him out, chops off his head, and shrinks it. We must not forget that the Negroes of America are not far removed from that state. To the Negro, the only solution to a problem is the solution of the savage.

And these are the type of people that the de-segregationists want to mix with little white children in the shcools; the people who should be our social equals; the people who should be allowed to move into respectable, crime-free white neighborhoods and communities.

CHICAGO MAN BEHEADS LOVER;

BY ALEX POINSETT

From his Chicago jail cell last week, 29-year-old laborer Marshall Abraham seemed totally unconcerned over the grim fact that he had hacked off his girl friend's head with a hunting knife—only disturbed over reports that news stories had given inaccurate details of his grisly crime. Newspaper accounts had indicated that he had very carefully cut off the head of 34-year-old Anna L. Jones, then lugged it four blocks before finally depositing it in a trash can. "But that wasn't true," complained the unemployed construction worker. "I was misrepresented. I didn't carry her head no four blocks like they said. It was six." Then he named in quick succession the streets along the six-block route of his post-execution journey.

For a man whose own doom now seemed certain, Abraham was not at all reluctant to discuss his version of the crime he had committed in the late near-midnight hour before Easter. He had beheaded her, he said, "because I promised her I would. She had squandered money, he said, which he had given her periodically in amounts varying from $20 to $25 since their first meeting last June in a tavern. She had, at times, visited him in his apartment, he added, but would not agree to live with him because she feared loss of public charity checks which she received for support of her three children. On the night of the slaying it was an argument over her refusal to visit him that led to the grisly execution. In fact, as Abraham explained it, Miss Jones had teased him about it, as well as boastfully taunting him about her romantic excursions with other men.

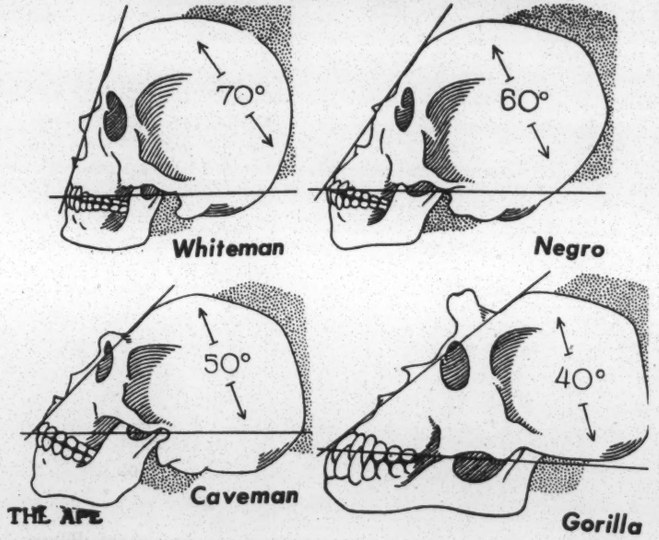
Marshall Abraham

"I don't play that," he said indignantly, the angry jealousy rising within him. And apparently he was not in a playing mood either when he rapped on Miss Jones' apartment door about 11 p.m. on Easter eve.

REMAINS UNMOVED BY SLAYING

through the neighborhood with his girl friend's head tucked under his arm remained for other witnesses to fill in. About five blocks from the scene of his self-styled

Science Proves Races Are Different



THE APE

The black skin of the Negro has nothing to do with climate. It is caused by animal coloring matter between the true and the scarf layers of the skin. It is proven the world over that black and yellow skins are signs of mental and spiritual inferiority and that no tinged race can create a civilization.

A few mulattoes may appear to be brilliant but this brilliance never allows them to invent or create which shows they have not bridged the gap between the black and white, for no archaic form can become modern.

While the Japanese are great imitators they have never been known to produce a great inventor or creator because they are a white race that has become polluted by Negro blood at some time in their history.

The Negro is much closer to the ape than any other race physically and consequently mentally for form must determine mental and moral qualities and like must produce like. keep it going.

Negro blood which differs from all other human blood and has a sickle shaped cell, has destroyed Egypt, India, Carthage, and caused the deep animal sleep to fall upon China, Portugal, Spain and Turkey.

Unless the Negro race with its deadly sickle celled blood is separated from the white race it will completely destroy America.

The Negro's head shows the archaic form. The front of the Negro's skull is much smaller than the white man's thus giving the Negro less room for the higher faculties, such as affection, self control, will power, reason, judgement, apperception, orientation and a feeling for the relationship of personality to environment.

Formation determines the amount of intelligence that will be reflected just as the size and shape of a glass pitcher determines the size and shape of the water in it. If this were

Marshall Abraham

ceived for support of her three children. On the night of the slaying it was an argument over her refusal to visit him that led to the grisly execution. In fact, as Abraham explained it, Miss Jones had teased him about it, as well as boastfully taunting him about her romantic excursions with other men.

"I don't play that," he said indignantly, the angry jealousy rising within him. And apparently he was not in a playing mood either when he rapped on Miss Jones' apartment door about 11 p.m. on Easter eve. She was at home with a son, James, 11, and a daughter, Ethel, 9 (another son, Charles, 10, was visiting an aunt). It was James who heard Abraham order his mother to leave with him. "But I've got to stay with my kids," she argued.

Abraham left alone. He went home, doffed his white sport coat and cream colored trousers, and slipped on a pair of old blue jeans and a sweat shirt—the kind of clothes he wore when he went to work. This time his only work tool was a well-sharpened Sears-Roebuck hunting knife.

In a short while he returned to Miss Jones' apartment and broke down the door when she would not admit him. He faced her, he said, knife in hand. "I told you I was gonna kill you," he said angrily, then lunged at her.

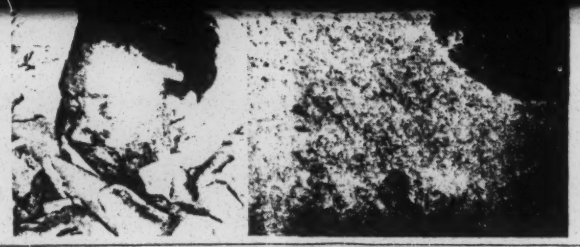
"I grabbed the back of his shirt," recalled young James, "and tried to pull him back. Then he got after me and Ethel with the knife, too. But we ran too fast for him."

Miss Jones was not so fortunate. Abraham, who admitted that he had fortified himself with six drinks of whiskey before his visit, said she swung at him with an iron bar. "She didn't trip over a curb like the newspapers said," he explained. "I knocked her down. Then I stabbed her a bunch of times here and there (he pointed to his shoulder blades). Then I cut her head off."

One witness, who preferred to remain unnamed, thought she was having a terrible nightmare, when, from her living room window, she saw Abraham astraddle Miss Jones, pounding her in the back.

"I thought he was hitting her with his fists," she said. "It was dark and you couldn't tell. Then I phoned police. When I looked through the window again, it looked like he was struggling to pull up something. He got it free in about five minutes. I could see then it was the woman's head. I couldn't stand to look anymore."

What happened after that on Abraham's six-block trek



through the neighborhood with his girl friend's head tucked under his arm remained for other witnesses to fill in. About five blocks from the scene of his self-styled execution, Abraham stopped at a tavern, laid aside the head for a moment just outside the door, then walked in, lit a cigarette and ordered a glass of beer.

"I served him right away," recalled bartender Romero Berni. "Then some woman asked him 'how come you so bloody?' The guy says, 'I just cut off your girl friend's head. You wanna see?' She didn't believe him, so he took her outside and lifted the thing off the sidewalk. She nearly fainted."

From there, Abraham went on his way, found a trash can, dropped the head in and headed for home. But he had forgotten to leave his bloody sweat shirt and knife. When he returned a short while later, police were already on the scene. They scrutinized him, asked him casually if he had killed the woman. "Yeah, I killed her," Abraham admitted.

"What were you going to do if we hadn't arrested you?" police wanted to know.

Abraham shrugged. "Go home. Take a bath, change clothes and get some sleep, I guess."

Does he regret committing the crime? "I'll be frank," he reflected in jail. "I never gave it no special thought." Then, when reminded that he had been declared sane and is charged with murder, he summed it up thusly: "Murder is murder. I guess I'll die if I have to."

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Issue No. 31 . . . . . June 25, 1961
PHONE STate 7-6818

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imitators they have never been known to produce a great inventor or creator because they are a white race that has become polluted by Negro blood at some time in their history.

The Negro is much closer to the ape than any other race physically and consequently mentally for form must determine mental and moral qualities and like must produce like. Every race is different physically and thereby mentally. With the Negro, the body - hence mind - is the lowest of all.

No amount of imitation and apeing will instill a creative or inventive instinct into the Negro nor will education or sympathetic aid.

The Negro has had just as long as the white man to develop. Tens of thousands of years have passed by and the Negro has not produced a civilization. Where is his art, his science, his religion? What single aspect of civilization has he contributed to present day culture?

The Negro has no morals. He is not immoral but nonmoral. Without the white man to control him the Negro reverts to savagery and practices torture, cruelty and witchcraft. The Negro is a natural cannibal and on his native doorpost may be found choice cuts of human flesh. In Africa the Negro even sells his dead relatives and will eat human flesh after it has become decomposed.

The black genes of the Negro are more powerful than white genes. The Negro gene is dominant over the White gene at a 4 to 1 ratio. In other words, if a Negro marries a white and they have 4 children 3 of them will be predominantly Black and 1 child would be mostly White. This proves we cannot assimalate the black race. The black gene would devour our entire race and the vast majority of the offspring would be Black. Thusly we cannot mix with the Negro and whiten his race. He will drag us down into the black depths of mongrelization. The Negro has thereby destroyed every white civilization that he has come in contact with or has left that civilization stagnant and rotting and dependent upon the last drop of white blood from outside to

higher faculties, such as affection, self control, will power, reason, judgement, apperception, orientation and a feeling for the relationship of personality to environment.

Formation determines the amount of intelligence that will be reflected just as the size and shape of a glass pitcher determines the size and shape of the water in it. If this were not so there would be no law governing intelligence and one organism would reflect as much mind as another regardless of its construction.

The Negro's whole skull capacity is much undersize so that the black brain weighs 35 ounces as against 45 ounces for the Caucasian brain.

In the Negro the cranial bones are very thick and the cranial sutures unite early in life. This checks the development of the brain and explains the sudden stunting of the Negro intellect shortly before puberty.

The Negro's hair is flat and without a center core or duct. It is not a true human hair but resembles the wool of the lower animals and it can be felted.

The Negro's eyeball is tinged with yellow as is the ape's. The jaws protrude so that the facial angle of the Negro is 60 degrees as in the ape. The white man's facial angle is 70.

The Negro's nose is concave at the bridge as is the ape's. The nostrils turn up and show the red inner lining. The lips are everted and show the red mucous membrane.

In the white man the alveolar arch and palatine area of the mouth became shortened and widened and the tongue became shortened and more horizontally flattened which allows for greater refinement in pronunciation while the Negro palate and tongue remained ape like (macrodont) and he is unable to pronunce sibilant sounds. Sibilant sounds are unknown in Negro dialect.

The Negro carries stench glands as does the dog and in his natural state these may serve as a means of identification in place of a name. This stench (from extra sweat glands) is partly under control and is put out when the Negro is excited.

Ohio Group Exposes Anti-Semitic Hoax

File Israel Cohen Hoax So. Israelite 8/18/61

CINCINNATI, (JTA)—A vicious anti-Semitic hoax was brought to light by the Jewish Community Relations Committee here after "The Cincinnati Enquirer" unwittingly reprinted it.

As a result of the facts brought out by the JCRC, the Enquirer published an editorial retraction, expressing its regret for "making use of an erroneous piece of information." The hoax consists of a statement purportedly printed in a book, allegedly published in 1912, entitled "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century." The author of the book was said to have been "an English Communist, Israel Cohen."

The non-existent "book" by the fictitious Cohen had allegedly included these quotations:

"We must realize our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. In America, we will aim for a subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the negroes, and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Declaring the very existence of the book, its alleged author, and the quotation, "a piece of journalistic fakery," The JCRC said "the hoax was clearly calculated to revive the old 'Communist-Jewish plot' libel, long used by enemies of American democracy."

According to the JCRC, the report was first submitted to the Washington Star in 1957 by R. A. Hester, then chairman of the Montgomery County chapter of the Maryland Petition Committee Inc. The Star published the story in March, 1957, then printed a retraction nearly a year later when its own extensive research, spurred by the investigation of Herman Edelsberg, director of the Washington office of ADL, proved that there had never been any such book, and that there was no Communist party leader, philosopher or pamphleteer named Israel Cohen.

The Star did establish that the real Israel Cohen is an Anglo-Jewish writer who has written some two dozen books, none of which deals with Communism. He was secretary of the World Zionist Organization from 1922 to 1939.

Later in 1957, the Hester letter was inserted in the Congressional Record by Rep. Thomas Abernathy, of Mississippi. When the Star asked Mr. Hester to give the source of the quotation, the newspaper reported, Mr. Hester said "he had read it in some newspaper, but could not remember which one."

Write for Pvt. White Schools — MA 2-4850... PO Box 6551 Sta G

The White American

Location is meeting next Tues. Meeting next Tues. send application Get a state grant... Who! Dr. Fields

Issue Number I

August 1961

Strong seed

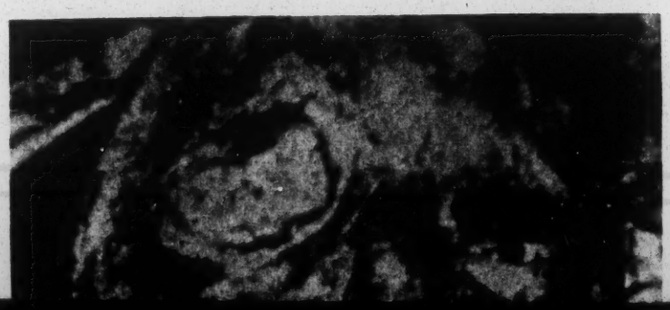
Kill Whites Negroes Told

Not allowed

TRAIN BEHIND IRON CURTAIN

JEWISH FIEND IN CHARGE

The European branch of the N.A.A.C.P. known as the "INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEGRO RACE" operating in communist controlled East Germany is training 50,000 negroes to carry out the Communist Party's goal of organizing the blacks on a world wide scale against white civilization. Intelligence sources recently revealed



Negroes Endanger Health

A NEW INCURABLE DISEASE

The *American Illustrated Medical Dictionary* defines sickle cell anæmia thus:—"A disease marked by anæmia and by ulcers and characterized by the red blood cells of the patient acquiring a

capable of transferring it in active form to his progeny."

Summarizing the issue in *Sickle Cell Anæmia as a National Health Problem*, Dr. Ogden declares:—

The European branch of the N.A.A.C.P. known as the "INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEGRO RACE" operating in communist controlled East Germany is training 50,000 negroes to carry out the Communist Party's goal of organizing the blacks on a world wide scale against white civilization. Intelligence sources recently revealed that negro deserters from the U. S. Army are among thousands of blacks being trained at Bautzen, East Germany.

Authoritative sources said that hundreds of blacks who have completed training at the party's center are already operating in the U.S.A., mainly in the southern states.

The blacks from all parts of the world, including South Africa, Gahna, Liberia and the Congo, receive special training before being smuggled into the United States, and other countries where there are large negro populations. The negroes are trained as agitators, sabatoeurs and assassians. Special emphasis on methods of murder in which the death of the victim will appear accidential are being stressed.

Through their secret system of transportation, Negroes who only a few months ago raped white Belgians can be in the United States committing the same kind of sex crime.

GERHART EISLER, highest ranking communist ever convicted in the U.S. He's Jewish.

He escaped while under watch by F.B.I.

WHITE VICTIM

Photo from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee

In charge of training blacks is the Jew, Gerhard Eisler, top man in the U. S. communist party until the year 1950, when he escaped to Germany while under watch by the F.B.I. The F.B.I. has not explained why he was allowed to escape but sources in Washington say that some of the F.B.I. could have been communists themselves.

With terrifying cunning the crafty Jew, Eisler, offers white women to the simple minded negroes as a person might tempt a child with a piece of candy. On his instructions hundreds of naked white women adorn the walls of the negro living quarters. Movies taken in the Congo of negroes raping white women are shown daily. The lust of the negro is thus directed totoward the white woman which becomes a sex symbol in his primitave and simple mind. These are the negroes who upon their arrival in the U.S.A. agitate and inflame their black brothers against the white man.

Inside sources quoted Eisler as saying "a white wife for all who aid us in this struggle", and promises that even though they are slaves of white men today, that tomorrow they will be the masters.

Many trainees have been sent to aid Martin Luther King, Jr. in Atlanta and other southern cities.

The shocking murder of beautiful Donna Trussell of New Orleans, a first cousin of Miss America, who was killed by a sex crazed negro this year on her birthday, is one example of the fruits of race mixing. In the Belgian Congo childrens clothes were ripped off to determine their sex. Two and three year old children were raped by grown negroes.

Eisler tells his negro terrorists that if they are caught they have little to fear as the Supreme Court will release them on technicalities. "We are sure to win" he says "How can we lose with the Supreme Court and White House on our side".

Negroes Endanger Health

A NEW INCURABLE DISEASE

The *American Illustrated Medical Dictionary* defines sickle cell anæmia thus:—"A disease marked by anæmia and by ulcers and characterized by the red blood cells of the patient acquiring a sickle-like of crescentic shape in vitro. The disease seems confined to the negro race and it is hereditary."

It has been estimated that in the U.S.A. over 1,000,000 negroes have the hereditary sickle cell trait and over 150,000 have the actual disease.

In a report in the *Archives of Internal Medicine*, Vol 71, one of the leading authorities on the disease, Dr M. A. Ogden, states:—"It has also been proved that every sicklemeic person is a potential bearer of sickle cell anæmia and that, while not showing any marked clinical manifestations of the disease himself, he is capable of transferring it in active form to his progeny."

Summarizing the issue in *Sickle Cell Anæmia as a National Health Problem*, Dr. Ogden declares:—"The sickling trait is a condition found in the negro race only, and the findings of such a trait in another race indicates an admixture of negro blood in the immediate or remote ancestry. Sickle cell anæmia is a national public health problem especially in the United States. Inter-marriages between negroes and White persons directly endangers the White Race by transmission of the sickling trait, as has been proved in the nine case histories here presented."

Intermarriage is a loathsome evil This disease is but one of its hideous results. The nation's health requires the prohibition of intermarriage

BLUEPRINT FOR DESTRUCTION

Every race agitator and every professional race mixing organization knows that the first step toward racial mongrelization is the "integrated" school. They know that if the growing child can be exposed to an inter-racial atmosphere early enough in life, and can be conditioned in a Negroidal environment from kindergarten on, it will never develop racial pride or racial self respect.

Accordingly, the integrationists are seeking to transform the educational process into an instrument of mass mongrelization; they are fanatically determined to mix Negroes and whites in our public schools at all costs. In Little Rock they tried to do it with bayonets. In New York City they are using school buses to import Negroes into all-white schools. In other areas they are utilizing court injunctions, coercion and propaganda to gain their ends. Their immediate goal is the integration of our schools; their ultimate objective is the bastardization of the white race . . .

PRESERVE WHITE CIVILISATION

Juston Finger

Integration Hits Atlanta

Hartsfield-Jenkins Ready

SCHOOL DAYS
Reading, Writing and Race Mixing

Jews Admit

Brutal Police Force

While Atlanta and national Jewish groups manipulate secretly behind the scenes, brutal plans are being drawn up to supress the freedom of speech and assembly of the white citizens of Atlanta.

Vicious dogs already trained will be put to use against Atlanta whites who are not in favor of race mixing in the city's schools this fall, if any demonstrations occur. Just what category a "demonstration" fits into is not known. However it looks as though the peoples right to freedom of assembly, peaceful or otherwise, will be classed as disturbing by the Hartsfield-Jenkins goon squad police department.

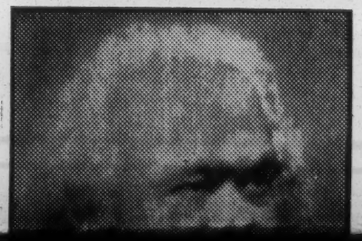
Hartsfield has stated that "skulls will be cracked". This statement clearly shows the cruel mind of this traitor to the White Race.

Backed in their plans by Atlanta Newspapers Inc. (Red Ralph McGill etc) these gutless political prostitutes intend to loose savage blacks on innocent white children of all ages. Knowing full well what the outcome will be, Atlanta's Political leaders have sold out the white citizens to gain votes and achieve their own political ends.

If integration is allowed to go on unchecked Atlanta will become even

This Negro can force his way into a white School under the protection of bayonets, but what happens when the troops leave is another matter.

The Man Who Started It All



The Jew, Karl Marx, founded communism and by so doing has sent the

SCHOOL DAYS
Reading, Writing and Race Mixing

Jews Admit Race-Mix Plot 54 Groups Meet

The Atlanta Journal — Friday, July 14, 1961

...ate ... treatie...
Germanys.
It did not close the door to ...

Jewish Group Supports School Desegregation

The Atlanta Jewish Community Council has adopted a resolution which affirms support of the Atlanta Board of Education in desegregation of city schools this fall.

The council, composed of 54 affiliated and constituent member organizations, said:

"Whereas, our public schools are essential for the education of all the children of our community, and whereas public schools are basic to the strength and vitality of our democratic institutions;

"Therefore, be it resolved that we pledge our support to the Board of Education and to the school administration in their efforts to achieve a peaceful and orderly desegregation of our public schools.

"We call upon all our affiliated member organizations to take affirmative action in support of the Board of Education and to urge all their members to do likewise in the best interests of all our citizens. . . ."

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Newspapers Inc. (Red Ralph McGill etc) these gutless political prostitutes intend to loose savage blacks on innocent white children of all ages. Knowing full well what the outcome will be, Atlanta's Political leaders have sold out the white citizens to gain votes and achieve their own political ends.

If integration is allowed to go on unchecked Atlanta will become even more a cesspool of communist subversion and crime than it is today.

It is well known the communists have chosen Atlanta for their headquarters in the south. This is because they have full cooperation of the Atlanta newspapers, television, and the police department.

City parks will become battle grounds for gangs of knife wielding and pistol packing blacks. Instead of being places of recreation, city parks will become places of horror more dangerous than the actual jungle. In this way the communists begin to take over. To stop these manufactured riots and disturbances supressive laws will be passed which will destroy the freedom of the individual.

The Hartsfield-Jenkins dictatorship in Atlanta allows negroes to demonstrate and parade through the city by the hundreds while whites who do likewise are jailed.

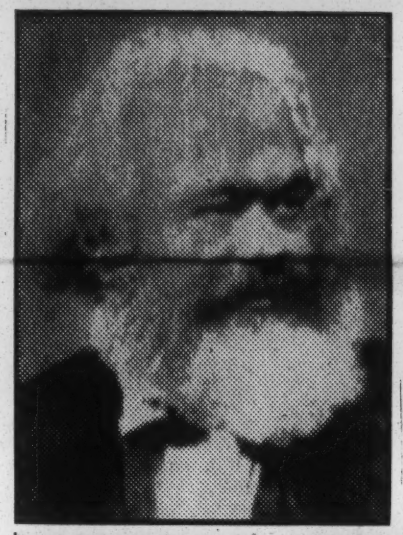
Integration in Atlanta's public schools will throw innocent white children into contact with blacks actually and literally reeking with veneral diseases.

At stake is not just the white children of today but the future of the White Race forever. The white citizens of Atlanta must not sacrifice their children to the Jewish-Communist plan of race mixing.

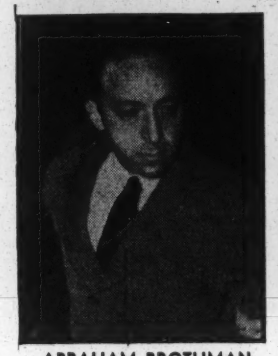
Since they have been deserted by their elected representitives the white citizens must avail themselves to every possible lawful method to stop race mixing in Atlanta.

White citizens who wish to aid in this crisis are urged to contact
The NATIONAL WHITE AMERICANS PARTY
P. O. BOX 2013
ATLANTA 1, GA.

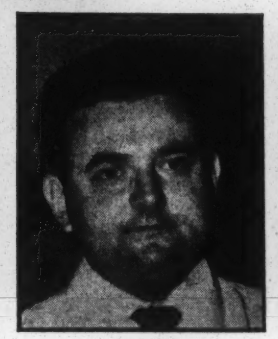
The Man Who Started It All



The Jew, Karl Marx, founded communism and by so doing has sent the twentieth century into chaos and destruction. Jewish-Communism today rages like a fire out of control and threatens to engulf the entire world. Important to remember is the fact that all top communist spies have been Jews.



ABRAHAM BROTHMAN



DAVID GREENGLASS

HARRY GOLD

ALL TOP COMMUNIST SPIES HAVE BEEN JEWS

Tolerance Propaganda Dulls U.S. Racial Pride

SPECIAL — One of the more pernicious canards utilized by Jewish propagandists to destroy racial pride and self-respect among white Christian Americans is the one which holds that all children are born without racial awareness or "prejudice", and that racial consciousness is an unnatural phenomenon which children learn from their grownups. The argument is intended to prove that racial awareness is an acquired trait, and is therefore artificial.

This theme, with variations and embellishments, finds its way into much of the propaganda disseminated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews as a part of its annual "Brotherhood Week" celebration, and it is fairly safe to say that few propaganda cliches have been repeated with more frequency, or with more fervor, than this particular one.

The controversy over the forceful "integration" of the nation's public schools has added new lustre to this argument, and enthusiasts for race-mixing never tire of pointing out that in schools where children of different races have been "integrated", it is the parents rather than the children who object. "The children", they shrill triumphantly, "get along fine together without distinction as to race or color. It is only the parents who make the trouble."

Relatively few parents take the time or trouble to analyze the shallowness of this sort of reasoning, and the more susceptible they are to the religious or moral approach, the more likely they are to succumb to it. Many church going parents have actually been cowed into a shamed acceptance of racial "integration" after being reminded a few times by Negro-loving ministers and church publications that "the Lord created little children without racial consciousness; it is the grownups who teach them race prejudice, etc."

Cont. Page 4

WHAT NEGROES WANT

SEEK WHITE WOMEN

Contrary to what they claim, the American negro cares very little for equal rights. They possess a terrifying psychological lust for sexual relationship with white women. Urged on by Jewish-Communist revolutionaries who lead them to believe that white women are theirs for the taking, the negro looks for the day when he can go to bed with white women. When their advances toward whites are spurned many become enraged, go berserk and violate their victims with diseased bodies. These animals in human form are not content with rape, their beast like instincts come out and they murder the victim as well. Police records show that negroes murder most of their victims or attempt to do so to escape detection and identification.

The African Congo today is an example of what can happen when blacks are given equality with whites. This same situation can become a reality in America if Jewish-Communist are allowed to continue feeding the primitive desires of the negro. America can soon become a slaughter house filled with half breed mongrels.

New York already fits this description. In this city a mixture of every race on earth exists. Brutal rape and murder is an every day occurence and the negro is the dread of the night.

If white Americans honestly face the racial problem they will arrive

THE RADICAL EXPONENTS of compulsory mongrelization have long boasted that ultimately the race problem will be solved in the

THE DREAM AND GOAL OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Jews Behind Negroes

the primitive desires of the negro. America can soon become a slaughter house filled with half breed mongrels.

New York already fits this description. In this city a mixture of every race on earth exists. Brutal rape and murder is an every day occurence and the negro is the dread of the night.

If white Americans honestly face the racial problem they will arrive at the inescapable conclusion that the negro does not belong in America. The negro should be returned to his African homeland where he will cease to hinder the progress of this country, where he is now a ready and willing tool of communist subversion.

NEGRO INSANITY

Jet, an American magazine by and for negroes. makes this admission:—

"A study of mental disease among negroes in New York State, conducted by Dr. Benjamin Malzberg of the State's department of hygiene, showed that, proportionately, negro insane outnumbered whites two to one and their insanity rate is rapidly increasing. It has been estimated that one out of every 200 negroes has been in an asylum, and one out of ten now walking the streets is sufficiently neurotic to require medical care."

THE RADICAL EXPONENTS of compulsory mongrelization have long boasted that ultimately the race problem will be solved in the bedroom. The more effete apostles of interracial amity usually content themselves with the pious hope that the day will soon arrive when the "barriers of racial discrimination" will have been destroyed. But regardless of the semantics, the picture to the left pretty well depicts the end result.

It does not require much investigation to determine that much of the propaganda designed to popularize race-mixing between Negroes and whites is emanating from the Jewish-owned entertainment industry. The studios in Hollywood, which with one or two exceptions are all Jewish controlled, have already turned out a long procession of propaganda films glamourizing Negro "war heroes", sports figures, boxers, baseball players and others. Now the emphasis seems to be shifting toward Negro crooners and musicians, who are currently getting a big play in Hollywood and throughout the entertainment field. The bobby soxer who formerly swooned over a Sinatra or a Perry Como is now more and more switching her adoration to Negroidal idols such as Billy Daniels, Billy Eckstine, Nat King Cole, Harry Bellafonte... At the same time the sex interest of the male public is being directed toward Negresses like Pearl Bailey, Eartha Kitt, Dorothy Dandridge... Take another long look at the above photo for a preview of the inevitable result.

Boy meets girl . . . "bebop" style

Jews Behind Negroes

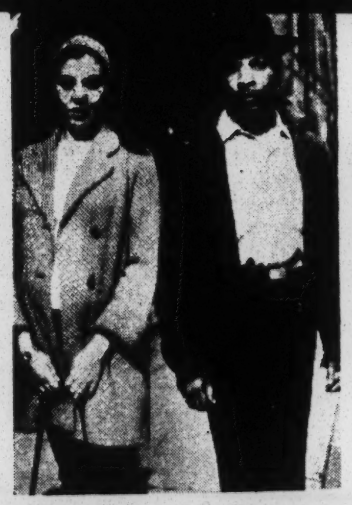
The NAACP receives a gift of $75,000 from the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation in New York ceremonies. Shown during the presentation, left to right, are Arthur Spingarn, NAACP president; Walter P. Reuther, CIO president, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator.—Campbell Photo.

As the clipping indicates, the C.I.O., under the leadership of the Russian-loving Walter Reuther, recently presented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) with a $75,000 donation to help with its "educational" fund ("education" for whites, that is; not for Negroes). The $75,000 gift was accepted by NAACP president Arthur Spingarn, the Jew who has headed that trouble-making organization since 1939.

JEWS HAVE ALWAYS LED THE N.A.A.C.P.

THESE ARE THE PRODUCTS OF INTEGRATION...

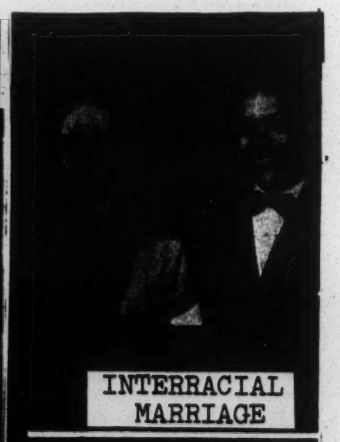
This girl, on honeymoon with her Negro husband, will make her parents proud someday—with mulatto grandchildren.



These white girls, all of whom have married Negroes, have obviously taken racial "tolerance" seriously—as they were taught to do.

Experience has already shown that there is no such thing as just a little integration. Negroes cannot be integrated in the classroom, but segregated at the school party; they cannot be treated as "equals" in the school lunch room, but as inferiors at the junior prom. It's all or nothing; the line cannot be drawn halfway . . .

These are the products of integration — the inevitable consequence of throwing Negroes and whites into the same schools, churches and social environment. Once integration is achieved on a mass scale, mongrelization on a mass scale can be expected to follow.



INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

INTERRACIAL FRIENDSHIP

Are Blacks as Good as Whites?

THE blacks say "yes . Those renegade whites who are sponsoring black settlement in our land, and the pollution of our race, say " yes ". The cranks, charlatans, and lying propagandists they have brought forward as "experts" say "yes" too, and have persuaded large numbers of well-meaning but gullible people to say "yes" as well.

But science and common sense emphatically say "no"

Proof of the Pudding

Common sense answers that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the real gauge of the black man's ability lies in what he can achieve when left entirely to himself, without the white man's help, and any infusion of the white man's blood. If the black man is as capable as the white man, why did he prove utterly incapable of creating civilization for himself in Africa before the white man arrived on the scene to do the job for him? The race mixers do not face up to this question because it destroys their whole argument.

Here now are some findings of science corroborating and explaining this verdict of common sense.

"MENTALLY INFERIOR"

The Encyclopaedia Britannica has stated:-

" In certain of the characteristics mentioned. . . . the negro would appear to stand on a lower evolutionary plane than the white man, and to be more closely related to the highest anthropoids. The characteristics are length of arm, prognathism (forward projecting jaws), a heavy massive cranium with large zygomatic arches, flat nose depressed at base, etc.

" Mentally the negro is inferior to the white. The remark of F. Manetta, made after a long study of the negro in America, may be taken as generally true of the whole race : 'The negro children were sharp, intelligent and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to

LESS CAPACITY

DR. FRANK C. J. MCGURK, Associate Professor of Psychology at Villanova University, says that psychological tests given to negroes during World War 1 and since have shown them to be inferior to whites in the ability to learn. Factual evidence, he says, completely denies the theory that improving the social and economic status of the negro improves his capacity for education.

MIXTURE MEANS DECLINE

"WHEN WE bring young people of the two races together in intimate social relationship we promote the protoplasmic mixing of the races. This will result, as generations come and go, in the production of an ever increasing proportion of mixed breed people and a lessening of pure strains. In my judgement, one of the consequences will be the deterioration and probably destruction, of the creative genius of our people."

Prof. Wesley Critz George

University of North Carolina.

Tolerance Propaganda

Very few victims of this interracial brainwash ever stop to consider that their children were also created without any perceptible awareness of morality, honesty, cleanliness or, for that matter, good table manners. The very young child, it is true, has no racial prejudice, but then neither does he have any prejudice against dirty or unsanitary objects, either.

It would be well to remember this the next time you encounter the argument that our children are accepting racial "integration" in the schools without protest. The fact that they submit to "integration" without question means nothing—except that they should be taught racial self-respect along with the rest of their education . . .

Food For Thought

A Paris correspondent states that the President of the newly independent country of gabon in Africa, one Leon M'Ba, has served four years in prison for eating his mother-in-law. The correspondent also said that a member of the French Senate, Biaka Boda, representing another African country, was eaten by his constituents because he refused to supply a babyfrom his family for the annual ritual feast.

NEGRO THREATENS BLOOD BATH

A North Carolina negro leader of the N.A.A.C.P. has threatened to give the people of Monroe, N. C. a blood bath if his house is attacked. Robert F. Williams, communist loving friend of Red dictator Fidel Castro is hoarding arms in preparation for the coming "blood bath". A North Carolina state senator said "Williams openly admits what other negroes are afraid to say". Williams has made two trips recently to communist controlled Cuba.

Mongrel Born to Sammy Davis, Jr. VD Tests Given

Pictured above, Sammy Davis and his White bride, Mai Britt, known for her perverted ways.

Sammy Davis, Jr. and his white wife Mai Britt now have a mongrel baby. "This is the ideal American of the future" says Davis who is a convert to the Jewish faith.

Hospital records showed the baby was given tests for several types of veneral diseases. A hospital spokesman later questioned said it was "just to make sure".

It is common knowledge among doctors that negroes have the highest rate of inherent syphilis known. The dread "sickle shape" blood anemia is also highest among negroes.

President Kennedy's brother-in-law, Peter Lawford is known to be intimate with Davis who includes among his friends many notorious Hollywood communists.

KING MAYOR IN 65

It has been reported that Martin Luther King, Jr. with the support of Atlanta Newspapers Inc. and Atlanta Jewish and negro organizations will run for mayor of Atlanta in 1965. It is said he was promised the position if Atlanta is successfully integrated this fall. Atlanta Newspapers Inc. with the combined negro and Jewish bloc vote has elected radical race mixer William B. Hartsfield mayor of Atlanta for over 20 years.

Negro Population Growing

The population of negroes in the United States has grown by four million in the last ten years and is expected to increase by seven million in the next ten years. An official in Washington said this presented one of the gravest dangers yet to American securtiy.

The chart to the right shows the comparative crime rates of Negroes and whites on a per capita basis. The chart is based on statistics taken from the FBI "Uniform Crime Report for 1949".

As the chart indicates, the per capita crime rate

base, etc.

"Mentally the negro is inferior to the white. The remark of F. Manetta, made after a long study of the negro in America, may be taken as generally true of the whole race: 'The negro children were sharp, intelligent and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to indolence. We must necessarily suppose that the development of the negro and white proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brainpan, in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure on the frontal bone.'....

"On the other hand negroes far surpass white men in acuteness of vision, hearing, sense of direction and topography. A native who has once visited a particular locality will rarely fail to recognize it again. For the rest, the mental constitution of the negro is similar to that of a child, normally good-natured and cheerful, but subject to sudden fits of emotion and passion during which he is capable of performing acts of singular atrocity, impressionable, vain, but often exhibiting in the capacity of a servant a dog-like fidelity which has stood the supreme test.'

"The recognized leaders of the race (in America) are almost invariably persons of mixed blood, and the qualities which have made them leaders are derived certainly in part and perhaps mainly from their white ancestry."

NEGRO BRAIN SMALLER

The sutures of the negro's skull close quite early in life, preventing the further expansion of the brain, whereas the sutures in a white man do not close until late in life. It is estimated that the sutures in the skull of an anthropoid ape are obliterated at the age of twelve, in a negro when he is twenty, and in a white man when he is forty.

Measurements made by various anatomists over a 100-year period all show that the negroes have fewer and smaller brains than the whites. Burmeister found the average negro brain ten ounces lighter than the average European brain.

More Like Apes

"The difference in weight of brain between the highest and lowest of men or between the white and the negro is far greater, both relatively and absolutely, than between the negro and the highest ape."

Prof. Huxley in *Man's Place in Nature.*

of the races. This will result, as generations come and go, in the production of an ever increasing proportion of mixed breed people and a lessening of pure strains. In my judgement, one of the consequences will be the deterioration and probably destruction, of the creative genius of our people."

Prof. Wesley Critz George

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Kennedy Frees Red

Communist leader Henry Winston pledged Wednesday to continue party activity despite blindness and the possibility of being sent back to prison. He was released from Federal custody recently by White House direction.

It is difficult enough to arrest and convict communists today but it is almost useless to do so when the President frees them so they can continue subverting the U. S. government.

the people of Monroe, N. C. a blood bath if his house is attacked. Robert F. Williams, communist loving friend of Red dictator Fidel Castro is hoarding arms in preparation for the coming "blood bath". A North Carolina state senator said "Williams openly admits what other negroes are afraid to say". Williams has made two trips recently to communist controlled Cuba.

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expected to increase by seven million in the next ten years. An official in Washington said this presented one of the gravest dangers yet to American securtiy.

NEGROES LEAD IN CRIME

Ten per cent of the total population of the U.S.A. is negro, yet a recent crime report on 1,389 cities issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation revealed an immensely higher proportion of negroes arrested.

- **63% arrested for murder were negroes.**
- **63% arrested for dope violations were negroes.**
- **63% arrested for aggravated assaults were negroes.**
- **62% arrested for prostitution were negroes.**
- **55% arrested for possession of deadly weapons were negroes.**
- **53% arrested for robbery were negroes.**

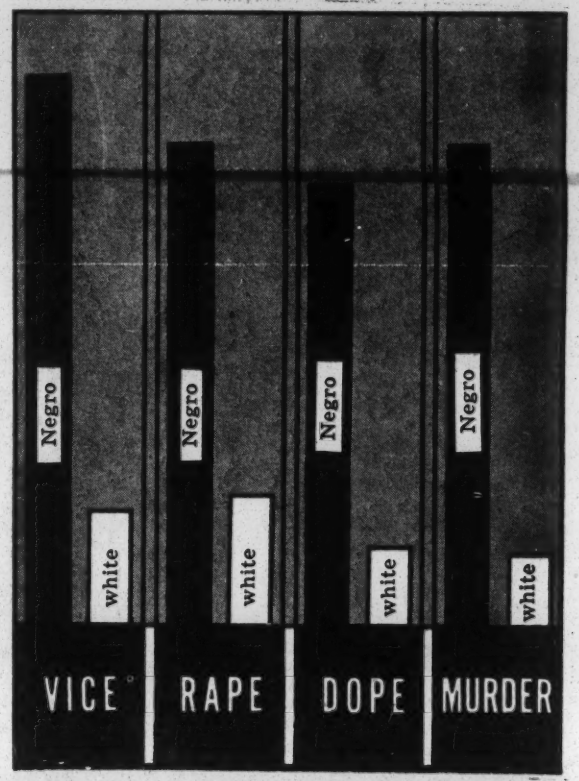
More negroes mean more crime.

The chart to the right shows the comparative crime rates of Negroes and whites on a per capita basis. The chart is based on statistics taken from the FBI "Uniform Crime Report for 1949".

As the chart indicates, the per capita crime rate is vastly greater for Negroes than for whites. The incidence of rape, for example, is 400% higher among Negroes than whites. For murder the figure is 750%. Other crimes yield a similar ratio.

While the bleeding-heart set readily acknowledge these facts to be true, they are quick to point out that the high Negro crime rate is attributable to the depressed living standards of Negroes. According to this line of reasoning, the Negro crime rate is merely a reflection of inferior economic opportunity.

This is not a very good argument, however, because statistics show crime to be far more prevalent among Negroes in the North and West (where they enjoy relatively high standards of living)—than it is in the South. In other words, a higher living standard does not decrease Negro crime; rather it increases it.



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EDITOR

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The White American

FBI exposed

SEE PAGE 3

Issue Number 2

1961

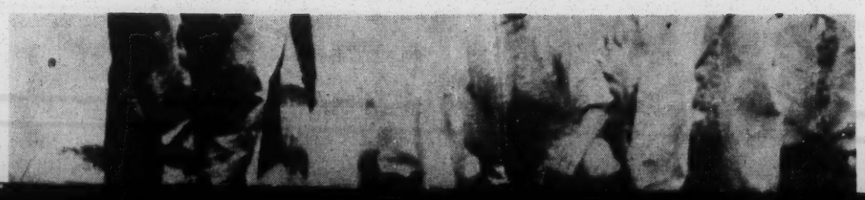
RACE WAR PREDICTED

Negroes Arming

Whites Vow to Take No More

STRUGGLE TO TAKE ON MANY FORMS

As the Kennedy administration nears the end of it's first year alarming reports



them out. Opposition to the dictatorial policies of the federal government is stiffening as never before. Despite the protests of White Americans who elected them

STRUGGLE TO TAKE ON MANY FORMS

As the Kennedy administration nears the end of it's first year alarming reports of race wars are becoming more and more frequent. Facts are bearing out these reports however, as the case of one N. A. A. C. P. leader will show. A Negro; Robert F. Williams of Monroe, North Carolina is State president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Williams is now being hunted by police after he kidnapped a White woman and later shot it out with police. He earlier had threatened to give the city of Monroe a "blood bath".

In Negaunee, Michigan 250 black airmen from a nearby airbase literally invaded the city streets because some Negroes claimed they had been harassed by Whites in cars. Some Whites and Negroes were arrested after local police were forced to call in state troopers. This is evidence of the groing boldness of the American Negro pouplation and is but one case in many thousands like it throughout the country

The bus riots in Montgomery, Anniston and Birmingham caused by the Communist "freedom riders" verged on the brink of civil war as relations betewee n the state of Alabama and the federal government deteriorated. President Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy, it was learned, backed the so called "freedom riders".

WILL IT HAPPEN AGAIN
The two Negroes shown above were captured and executed by White vigilantes for the rape and murder of a teen age White girl.

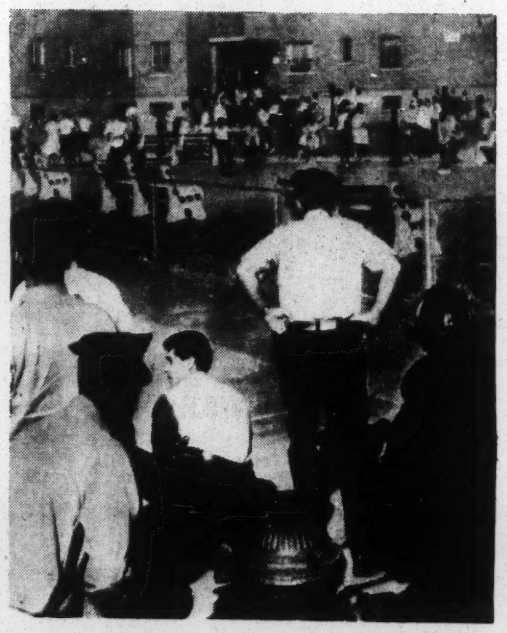
The "Wade In's" in a northern city like Chicago where thousands took part in riots recently, is evidence that clearly shows race war is becoming a national problem not just a southern one.

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, dealers in firearms throughout the nation report a tremendous increase in the purchase of firearms by Negroes. In order to protect themselves it is necessary that every White man arm himself. Many have already done so. As incidents become more frequent and both races continue to arm the outcome can only be race war.

Negroes led by fanatical Jewish Communist agitators demand that we surrender our nation, our traditions and our White women to them The old adage of "give a nigger an inch and he'll take a mile" is being proved daily. Meetings and organizations of segregationist groups are More numerous than at any time in the past thirty years A new train of thought today reveals the JEW as one of the major causes of race mixing and world strife. Whites throughout the North and South have vowed to resist any and all attempts of the national or local government at race mixing

New political parties have been formed and people are beginning to realize that the politicians of the two major political parties have sold them out. Opposition to the dictatorial policies of the federal government is stiffening as never before. Despite the protests of White Americans who elected them to office the politicians continue to do the bidding of both Negro and communist Jewish pressure groups. This situation has shown the people they must seek a remedy outside the Democratic and Republican parties.

On the horizon the day is not far distant when we shall be called upon once more to sacrifice all to save all--OUR NATION OUR RELIGION and OUR WHITE RACE. The lines have been drawn. The conflict is upon us. Patriot or traitor there is no middle ground.



Negroes shown in picture (above) were among 600 rioting blacks who attacked Newark, N. J. police station after police were called to quell disturbance at school.

Mayor Sued

MILLION DOLLAR SUITS PENDING IN INTEGRATION ARRESTS

Forced integration came to Atlanta Aug. 30th, 1961 with all the trappings of a communist style, Castro type dictatorship to go with it. Even though the White citizens of Atlanta wished to maintain their traditional educational system of segregated schools the radicals and extremists of the communist front such as Red Ralph McGill were able to integrate four city schools by the use of police state methods. Citizens and laws alike were trampled underfoot as the Jewish-Communist plan of racemixing was put into effect. It was in this way Atlanta schools began the transition to decay.

The first day of school five teen age youths were arrested for standing on the streets near the schools. When one mother asked the citys grimy police judge what law her son had broken he replied "none, we were afraid he might do something". One youth claimed he was assaulted by police Capt. R. E. Little who he said jabbed him in the stomach with three fingers searched him and then hit him in the stomach. A warrant for the

At a hearing, held later, Little claimed he was not present where the alleged assault took place. Even though the charge was dismissed other legal action is being taken in the matter, it was reported. The youths were tried in less than an hour without benefit of legal counsel and given sentences ranging from 30 to 60 days in the city stockade.

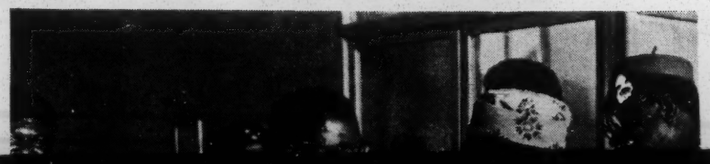
One parent said "we have learned that in Atlanta to be a patriot is a crime". A Habeas Corpus hearing was set by the boys lawyers, and Hartsfield, afraid lest the truth be made public, decided to release the boys. But the outraged parents and public have not been satisfied. Suits totaling over a million dollars are now pending against Mayor Hartsfield, Chief Jenkins and Capt. Little.

Little Lurks

Capt. R. E. Little lurks behind bushes(above) as he spies on White segregationists. Only moments later he assaulted White youth. Little was named in million dollar suit against Mayor Hartsfield and Chief Jenkins.

UN Communist Ruled

JEW-NEGRO BLOC IN CONTROL



ing". One youth claimed he was assaulted by police Capt. R. E. Little who he said jabbed him in the stomach with three fingers searched him and then hit him in the stomach. A warrant for the arrest of Little was issued and he posted a $300.00 bond.

JEW SUCCEEDS MARSHALL

Jack Greenberg, Communist Jew, and longtime N. A. A. C. P. attorney will replace Thurgood Marshall as it's chief legal adviser. Red loving President Kennedy recently appointed Marshall to a federal judgeship in pursuance of his "New Frontier" policy of placing the federal judiciary in the hands of negro and Jewish radicals Greenbergs appointment was no surprise. The N. A. A. C. P. was founded by communist Jews. It's present head is the Jew, Arthur Spingarn Nearly half it's life members are Jews. Without Jewish money and backing the N.A.A.C.P. could not exist.

"Re-educating" the Germans

At Bamberg, Germany, a 15 year old German school girl has been attacked by 7 American negro soldiers and raped by all of them. This is just one of the continual stream of cases of assault and rape by blacks stationed in the country. There are now reported to be thousands of half-breed children in Germany.

JEW-NEGRO BLOC IN CONTROL

UNITED NATIONS FLAG

RUSSIAN ARMS BANNER

UN SYMBOL LIKE UN POLICY IS SAME AS COMMUNISTS.

Communists plan take over in South American countries as next move to to gain U. N. seats.

Jewish-Communists in Moscow and other world capitals such as New York now believe they may at last be taking the final steps to achieve world control as they split the African continent into seperate nations populated by easily ruled blacks led by Red bosses. The United Nations has helped to make their dreams of conquest become a reality at the expense of White Western Civilization. The Belgian Congo in Africa has been the latest victim of combined U. N. communist agression. The murder and rape of thousands of Whites in the Congo is an example of what the black mind considers freedom to be. The communists believe they can eventually gain control of the world through the U. N. by localizing their conquests thereby averting a large scale war which they could not win.

As communists split African colonies more blacks gain seats. Majority of UN is now red.

Communist blueprint for control of United Nations is being fulfilled as blacks pack U. N. seats.
Upper Volta, newly created African nation, is about the size of Colorado, but has one vote in General Assembly-same as United States. Pouplation of Upper Volta is only four million. U. N. usurped power in Congo. Using same methods Jewish-Communists and blacks can also dictate and influence American policy at home and abroad. One of few things holding back U. N. from complete world take over is lack of money. United States now pays most of expenses.

F.B.I.– CITY POLICE CHARGED IN ASSAULTS

Violate Laws to Enforce Race Mixing

SURPRISED AGENTS
These thugs are typical of what the FBI now has on it's payroll.

HARD WORKER
FBI agent sits in car and thumbs nose.

BASHFUL BEAUTIES
Driver of F.B.I. car hides face with fan. Later other agent also produced fan.

The arrival of carloads of FBI agents in Atlanta two weeks prior to the date set for race mixing in Atlanta's schools went unoticed by the average citizen. Segregationist patriots however, members of the National

stopped his car at the intersection of Linden and Courtland streets to photograph the car directly behind him. The FBI agent driving the car, aroused, lest a photo of his moronic face appear in print and evidently habor-

JEW BURNS SYNAGOGUE

FBI agents in Atlanta two weeks prior to the date set for race mixing in Atlanta's schools went unoticed by the average citizen. Segregationist patriots however, members of the National White Americans Party, N. S.R.P., Klan groups and others were the prime targets of these "shock troops of integration". Those who awakened to find FBI men stationed outside their homes and who had never before seen these untouchables were in for a surprise. Instead of the faces of honest White police officers the spectacle of swarthy Jews and mongrel faced criminal types peeped from car windows and from behind bushes. Once a fine law enforcement agency dedicated to our nations welfare, these agents were visual proof of a purge in the FBI ranks in which agents loyal to American principals have been replaced by radical Jews and racial degenerates instilled with the communist doctrine. Members of the National White Americans Party decided to photograph these "gestapo" just for the record Learning that their pictures were being taken these deciples of race mixing gave vent to their frustration by cursing and making obscene gestures.

An example of Kennedy's "New Frontier" in action was an assault by FBI agents on the editor of the "White American". Perceiving his car being followed by five cars of FBI goons the editor stopped his car at the intersection of Linden and Courtland streets to photograph the car directly behind him. The FBI agent driving the car, aroused, lest a photo of his moronic face appear in print and evidently haboring a guilt complex in his feeble brain, leaped from the car and wrestled the camera from the editors grasp. The camera was regained by the editor after a brief struggle but not until it's film content had been stolen by the agent who fled after seeing that his actions were being photographed by one of the editors associates. This is a police state in action. The National White Americans Party urges an investigation of the FBI by Congress before these startling un-American incidents are repeated. If it's terror tactics are not curbed the FBI is well on it's way to becoming a secret police agency equaled only by the Russian N.K.V.D.

NEGRO KILLS TEACHER

Chicago, Ill.

A 14 year old negro fifth grader was convicted of fatally stabbing a White school teacher and a jury set the sentence of Lee Arthur Hester at 55 years in prison The teacher Mrs. Josephine Keane, 45, and mother of six children was raped and murdered in the storeroom of the Lewis-Champlin School. A coroners examination showed she had been sexually molested and stabbed seven times.

JEW BURNS SYNAGOGUE

ATLANTA TEMPLE CASE CITED

A 19 year old Jewish college student has confessed to police that he set three fires that caused and estimated $150,000 damage to a Baptist church and a synagogue. Police Capt. John Kistner said that Richard Friedman of Chicago, the son of a Jewish liquor dealer gave no reason for setting the three fires during a two week period. Friedman told police he used "matches, rags and whatever I could find" to set the fires at Agudath Achim Synagogue and two earlier fires at Calvary Baptist Church a few blocks away. Police said they could find no previous record on Friedman who is a student at Lincoln College, Lincoln, Ill.

For some time evidence has pointed to the Jews bombing their own temples etc. This has been done to gain public sympathy, enrich themselves by collecting insurance money and at the same time destroy their political enemies by blaming them with the crime. The 1958 Bright temple bombing trial demonstrated a vicious attempt on the part of the Jews, the Atlanta Police and the F.B.I. to frame innocent patriots. The purpoted Israel plan to blow up the American Embassy in an Arab capital is similar. The trick of course was for the Jews to blow up the American Embassy in an Arab city and then make it appear that the Arabs had done it, necessitating that we Americans go to war against the Arabs. The facts speak for themselves. It is the same story the world over. The Jewish communists are up to their old tricks. In the U.S.A. the FBI seem to be giving them aid. But the public is awakening and Mr. Khrushchev (who is married to a Jewess) as well as Mr. J. Edgar Hoover will find an informed American public that refuses to be tricked again.

TOP U.S. RED IS JEW

Jews take the lead in Communist activities in the U.S.A. reports show. Today, the leader of the Communist Party in America is Arvo Mike Halberg alias Gus Hall Halberg is Jewish. Before he became leader, the position was held by Gerhard Eisler, who is also Jewish

A CALL TO ARMS!

N.W.A.P. Organizes for Victory

White youth read party paper, "The White American"

Today, with communism 90 miles from our shores in Cuba, with Soviet Russia controlling nearly half the globe, with our tax dollars being used to feed and arm our enemies, and bayonets being used on White citizens to force them to mix with blacks, it is becoming evident to all White Americans that something is drastically wrong with the leadership of

OFFICIAL PLATFORM

of the
NATIONAL WHITE AMERICANS PARTY

The National White Americans Party was organized for the purpose of preserving constitutional government, defeating the communist conspiracy and restoring the reigns and control of government, of this republic, national, state and local, to the White Race which gave it birth. The government of this republic was established by White Men, for White Men alone and it was never the intention of it's founders that it should fall into the hands of COMMUNIST JEWS and AFRICAN BLACKS as history must record the last five decades of it's existence. In order to accomplish these objectives upon which the continued evolution and progress of White civilization depends, the party has adopted the following program.

RACIAL POLICY

I. Preservation of White racial purity. 2. Racial seperation. 3. Admittance of pure White immigrants only. 4. Passage of a federal law prohibiting intermarrige of diverse races. 5. Restoration of segregation in the armed forces. 6. Provide federal funds for the voluntary resettlement of Negroes in Africa.

ECONOMIC POLICY

I. Steady employment of all citizens to be attained by the resettlement of non-whites in Africa. 2. Drastic reduction of federal income taxes made possible by the immediate halting of "giveaway" loans. 3. Cancellation

DOMESTIC POLICY

I. A return to constitutional government. 2. Preservation of states rights as guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution. 3. Nullification of unconstitutional decrees of the U. S. Supreme Court. 4. Preservation of U. S. sovereignty as opposed to world government 5. A constitutional amendment so that the supreme court is elected by the people or appointed by congress with all regions of the U. S. represented by it's members. 6. The passage of a constitutional amendment revoking the citizenship of all those who pledge allegiance to a foriegn government. 7. A cultutural rebirth

being used to feed and arm our enemies, and bayonets being used on White citizens to force them to mix with blacks, it is becoming evident to all White Americans that something is drastically wrong with the leadership of our national government and the Democratic and Republican parties which have allowed and encouraged these things to happen. The last and only hope for our nation and race is a new political party. The National White Americans Party is dedicated to the fulfillment of the platform set forth on this page. With your help and support we can nominate and elect our candidates to public office, defeat the communist conspiracy and insure a progressive and prosperous White America for future generations. Enlist in the growing ranks of the National White Americans Party. Join in the fight to make America White.

Party members march in front of Atlanta City Hall

ECONOMIC POLICY

I. Steady employment of all citizens to be attained by the resettlement of non-whites in Africa. 2. Drastic reduction of federal income taxes made possible by the immediate halting of "giveaway" loans. 3. Cancellation of the national debt. 4. Demand for payment of all long standing debts due U.S. government.

FORIEGN POLICY

The adoption of a program of positive action against world communism including:

2. The immediate end of all diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and her puppet states. 3. The use of force if necessary to restore self government to those nations now ruled directly or indirectly by Soviet Russia and Support of counter revolution in Russia and her slave states. 5. The halting of all foriegn aid to communist countries such as Yugoslavia, Poland etc. These nations would suffer an economic collapse without the aid which they are now receiveing from our country. 6. A naval blocade of communist Cuba. 7. The threat of economic boycott against England, France or any other nation that persists in trading with the communist bloc. 8. The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine to stop the communist takeover of South America. 9. Total rearmament of West Germany as a bloc in Europe to prevent communist encroachment. I0. No more useless treaties, conferences or agreements with communists who would break them at any time it was to their advantage.

the people or appointed by congress with all regions of the U.S. represented by it's members. 6. The passage of a constitutional amendment revoking the citizenship of all those who pledge allegiance to a foriegn government. 7. A cultutural rebirth through racial purification.

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"FRANKFURTERS RED RECORD" This tells how the Jewish Supreme Court Justice aids communism. and "KNOW YOUR ENEMY" expose of Jewish-Communism by a former counter intelligence officer.

The White American is the official organ of the National White Americans Party.

ROBERT A. BOWLING
EDITOR

ICKRICK SAYS

t true that all "white" and "colred" signs were removed from City Hall rest rooms two weeks ago? Why? Who is it that is colored and ashamed to use a "colored" rest room or white and ashamed to use a "white" rest room? Are there those in Atlanta who are so ashamed of their racial identity that they would try to hide it by using rest rooms belonging to others? Or, are they being mixed for the cause of politics?

LESTER MADDOX

I UNDERSTAND

the Atlanta Police Committee will decide Wednesday night as to whether Negro police will arrest white people. In my opinion, the answer will be NO if they vote like they feel is right, and YES if politics must come ahead of what is best for Atlanta.

MEETING AND EATING AT THE PICKRICK THIS WEEK

Monday Evening, Feb. 5	AMERICAN WELDING SOCIETY
Tuesday Evening, Feb. 6	HEMPHILL CHURCH OF GOD
Thursday Evening, Feb. 8	SOUTHERN BELL-MID-TOWN DISTRICT PLANT
Saturday Noon Feb. 10	SIXTY-FIVE CLUB
Feb. 10 Noon	CHRISTIAN BUSINESSMEN
Saturday Evening, Feb. 10	GRANT PARK LODGE

CALL TR. 4-9344, TR. 6-0449
FOR BANQUET ACCOMMODATIONS

THE FOLLOWING

quotation is from the Congressional Record of June 7, 1957 and a photostatic copy is on display at the Pickrick. According to the Congressional Record, the statement comes from the book: "A Racial Program For the 20th Century," by Israel Cohen, reported as a "leading English Communist."

"We must realize that our party's most forceful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the white, we can mold them to the program of the Communist party. In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the negroes. We will aid the negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige the negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Are you helping (through advocating racial integration) the Communists to destroy America and the white and negro civilizations of America?

WE SURE HAD

a wonderful business last week-end. Folks figured that if the world really was coming to an end they would like to enjoy one more good meal at the Pickrick.

SPECIAL TONIGHT

ORDER OF PICKRICK SKILLET-FRIED **25c**

ATLANTA JOURNAL 2-10-62

WE SURE HAD

a wonderful business last week-end. Folks figured that if the world really was coming to an end they would like to enjoy one more good meal at the Pickrick.

SPECIAL TONIGHT

ORDER OF PICKRICK SKILLET-FRIED CHICKEN

25c

Drumstick and thigh served right from the skillet! (No carry-out orders at this special price.)

SILLY OR SLANTED?

Look at this front page headline that appeared in the Atlanta Constitution on Friday, February 2, 1962.

"193 MILLION PROGRAM TO END POVERTY IN U.S. IS OFFERED BY PRESIDENT"

Now, friends, with about 7,400,000 people on welfare, the $193,000,000 will increase their take about $26 each. My question—How can you remove poverty from America at $26 per person? Why, this amount would not supply the heavy smokers with cigarettes for a month, nor the heavy drinkers with liquor for a week-end, much less remove them from poverty. What some folks don't seem to understand is that many people don't want to get out of poverty. Let us help all who need assistance and can't help themselves, but it is crazy to suggest we can win over Communism by aping it. The more we cause our people to depend on government, the more our freedom is lost.

JESUS SAID

"For ye have the poor always with you . . ." and the vote seekers of Washington are saying: "It ain't so." And the Bible instructs that we take from the man who will not use his talents and give it to the man who will. Washington says: "No, take from the man who will use his talents and give to the one who will not use his talents."

OUR SUNDAY MENU

ROAST YOUNG TURKEY WITH DRESSING, GIBLET GRAVY AND CRANBERRY SAUCE ....55¢
BREADED VEAL CUTLET, CREOLE SAUCE .....50¢
BARBECUED CHICKEN .....50¢
ROAST ROUND OF BEEF, AU JUS .....65¢
PICKRICK MEAT LOAF, CREOLE SAUCE .....50¢
FRIED FILLET OF HADDOCK .....50¢
SKILLET-FRIED CHICKEN .....50¢

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THE pickrick

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

PERSONAL February 13, 1962

Mr. Pat Watters
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

As you undoubtedly know, Lester Maddox has run the "Israel Cohen" item in his advertisement, as per the attached, three times.

On the first occasion, an individual wrote to him, with substantiating documentation, pointing out the spuriousness of this hoax. Maddox responded by rerunning the item, and he has now repeated it a third time. It has caused a great deal of anger in the community not only at Maddox, but also at the Atlanta Journal for carrying such ads.

While the content of your newspaper, including ads, is your own business which I would not presume to question, I do believe that the Journal does have a responsibility to correct false information. I am therefore attaching documentation proving that the "Israel Cohen" quotation is a hoax, with the suggestion that you may want to carry it as a news item or a feature. You may quote me as the source of the information if you wish to do so.

Since Maddox has given such widespread currency in your newspaper to this hoax, further publicity will not serve to spread the canard but rather to refute it, on which I would very much appreciate your help.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

AJL

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/tg

Avoid Union With Whites, Muslims Told

CHICAGO, Feb. 26 (UPI)—Elijah Muhammed, leader of the black Muslims, told thousands of his Negro followers Sunday that efforts at integration were made to deceive them.

"I'm teaching separation of the races," he said, "because God has chosen us, He's asking us to leave the white man."

Muhammed said "it is nothing but decency for a race to keep to itself. It is ignorant for you and I to want to assimilate ourselves into the white race."

The statement drew vigorous applause from the audience, including George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, and several of this self-styled "storm troopers."

Following Muhammed's speech, Rockwell addressed the assembly and called Muhammed "The Adolf Hitler of the black man."

"Elijah Muhammed is a leader who is trying what I am trying to do," Rockwell said. "I believe Elijah Muhammed will solve the race problem."

* * *

ROCKWELL attacked the Congress of Racial Equality and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asking, "Do black people have to go and get Jews to lead them? Just as Elijah Muhammed is leading the field slaves we are leading the common people, who are with us."

Rockwell, who also lashed out at the "hypocrites who are leading this country, the beatniks in Washington," said he understood Negro problems because he had been in prison and in a mental institution.

2/26/62 Sun

ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL INTEGRATES

SPEND YOUR DOLLARS WITH THE BILTMORE AND HELP SPREAD RACE MIXING

6 The Atlanta Journal Tuesday, March 27, 1962

Lillian Smith, Georgia Writer, To Be Honored

Lillian Smith, Clayton, Ga., novelist and writer on human relations, will be honor guest at an autograph tea Saturday from 3 to 5 p.m. at the Atlanta Biltmore.

Miss Smith will sign copies of her new and revised "Killers of the Dream," published by W. W. Norton and Co.

The public is invited to this tribute to Miss Smith.

Hostesses will include Mrs. Ted Fisher, Mrs. Charles Perkins, Mrs. Sam Massell Jr., Mrs. Mrs. Thomas L. Brogden, Mrs. Samuel DuBois Cook, Mrs. John B. Pendergrast, Mrs. Rufus E. Clement, Mrs. Ed Albright, Mrs. Jake Harris, Mrs. Charles Demere, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Mrs. Joseph Masuk, Mrs. John Youngblutt, Mrs. Paul Groves, Mrs. James K. Fancher Jr., Miss Marge Manderson, Mrs. W. C. Thomas, Miss Elizabeth Stevenson, Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell, Mrs. P. C. Yancey, and Miss Helen Bullard.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

BILLIONAIRES CAN'T PAY— TAX GOT 'EM

AUGUSTA, Maine, March 27 (UPI) — The "Billionaires," a team in the local men's basketball league, was disqualifed from postseason playoffs because members couldn't raise the entry fee.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

* Also Served Atlanta Lawyers' Club Banquet and Republican Fund Raising Banquet—Both Integrated.

Mrs. Martin Luther King; Mayor Allen's Executive Secretary, Miss Helen Bullard; Mrs. Sam Massell, Jr., wife of Sam Massell, Jr., President of Atlanta's Aldermanic Board; Mrs. Rufus Clement, wife of Dr. Rufus Clement, Negro member of Atlanta Board of Education; and numerous other White and Negro women are hostesses at this autograph tea for the South shaming extreme leftwinger, LILLIAN SMITH.

MIXED TEA IN PROGRESS NOW

SPEND YOUR DOLLARS AT THE ATLANTA BILTMORE

AND IT WILL HELP TO SPEED INTEGRATION OF YOUR CHILDREN, GRANDCHILDREN AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WHITE CIVILIZATION.

1962

MOPSY

Fulton Asked To Charter Special Group

A nonprofit corporation to expose "communism, Marxism, mongrelism, and nihilism" and to "force adherence to the state rights of each sovereign state" has been chartered in Fulton County.

The charter for the "Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc.," which is on file at the secretary of state's office at the State Capitol, also says the incorporators want the power necessary to carry out their purposes.

What this last means was not spelled out in the petition for charter, which was filed by James Venable, an attorney whose name has often been connected with the Ku Klux Klan's legal life.

But Secretary of State Ben Fortson tended to scoff at the idea that the organization would get any special powers. "Those folks will be limited by the corporation law and the other state laws, just like anybody else."

nected with the Ku Klux Klan's legal life.

But Secretary of State Ben Fortson tended to scoff at the idea that the organization would get any special powers. "Those folks will be limited by the corporation law and the other state laws, just like anybody else," he said.

* * *

THE CHARTER lists these as the petitioners:

Stewart R. Gullion, 1251 Lynwyn Lane, SE, Atlanta; C. J. Bullard, Gordon Avenue, Stone Mountain, and Mrs. W. M. Smith, Rte. 2, Stockbridge. (The Atlanta City Directory lists a Stuart Gullion at the Lynwyn Lane address.)

The charter was signed April 10 by Judge Stonewall Dyer of Fulton Superior Court. The life of the corporation was set at 35 years.

The incorporation papers ask that the Defensive Legion be accorded the tax exemptions which are granted to other nonprofit organizations, and they give these purposes and aims of the group:

". . . To work for the good of the people of the United States and to help educate the said people of the United States concerning the preservation of the United States Constitution; also the preservation of the question of the Holy Writ of the various religious denominations; to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and to guard against its perversion by officeholders and others; to uphold the American economic system of free enterprise; to oppose communism, marxism, mongrelism, and nihilism in all their many forms; to uphold the sovereignties of the 50 states in their respective spheres; to help in the election of public officials who believe in the principle of abiding strictly by the Constitution of the United States, and the constitutions of the 50 states of the Union of the United States; to educate the people of the United States as to the wisdom and righteousness of the traditional way of life our forefathers adopted; to force adherence to the state rights of each sovereign state in the union. . . ."

* * *

NIHILISM is the belief that traditional values are useless.

"To achieve these purposes," states the charter, the group wants to adopt a constitution and bylaws; publish papers, recordings, and motion pictures, solicit for funds, and "to have any and all such other and further powers as may be necessary to carry out these purposes and objects mentioned herein. . . ."

Morgan Junior High School

Mrs. Anita Carter, 6th Grade
Mrs. Ada Clements, Soc. St.

CALHOUN COUNTY SYSTEM
MORGAN, GEORGIA
JAMES B. CLEGG, Principal

Mrs. Mildred Davis, Ass't Prin.
Math - Science
Mrs. Ruth Gleaton, English

April 1, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters
The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Watters:

May I comment on your question, " Why is there not more moral resistance to Mississippi evil?", appearing in yesterday's edition?

One wonders why you ask such a question or even bother to write on the subject. Are you, McGill, and Patterson losing your feeble minds over this racial business? Are the decent, intelligent white people driving you batty because they refuse to follow your hysterical line on integration?

Do you actually wish to see the Ubangis elected to public office in those several Southern counties where they outnumber the whites, two to one?

Why should the white people of the South, far better educated and holders of ninety per cent of the property, suddenly play dead and hand over the governing powers of their counties and municipalities to those sons of Ham just to please the Washington politicians?

Are you not aware that ninety-nine per cent of the educators of Georgia and all other Southern states applaud all resistance to integration of any type? About one of fifty negroes is qualified to ~~xxxx~~ vote according to the principles set down in our original Constitution. Do you really think the field hands of Mississippi, because of their superior numbers over the whites, should be given control of the ballot?

You and your cohorts of the Atlanta newspapers are truly disgraces to Georgia, the South, and the white race. Would it injure you to know that at least eighty per cent of the Northern whites agree with us on this question?

You're sickening --- and your pitiful attempts to sway the people toward acceptance of the kinky-heads only add fuel to our fires of resistance to the unlawful encroachments of those blacks which are backed by federal force.

We love our children, Mr Watters. We love those we teach as well as our own. We want no so-called reforms tending to throw our children in contact with the blacks. Thus, we shall resist, too.

Take a look at history, Mr. Watters. This was the most powerful nation on earth until we succumbed to the integration fanatacism. Take a look at Washington and its integrated schools. Would it shock you to know that in every good-sized city in the North negro gangs obtain hundreds of dollars a month from white kids who pay from fifty cents to a dollar for the privilege of not getting a beating from the blacks? Would it shock you to know that one of the Atlanta high school principals told the writer that only one policy was sensible there-- "Just ignore them"-- ?

James B. Clegg

The Factual Education Council

PRESENTS

TOM ANDERSON

PRESIDENT-EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

"Farm and Ranch Magazine"

SPEAKING

"STRAIGHT TALK"

ON

"BI-PARTISAN TREASON"

DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Thursday July 25, 1963

8:00 P.M. DONATION $1.50

TOM ANDERSON

"STRAIGHT TALK"

speaking

on

"BI-PARTISAN TREASON"

Thursday, July 25, 1963

Dinkler Plaza Hotel — Atlanta, Ga. — 8:00 P.M.

In this age of filtered news, "managed" mass communications, and entertainment concocted primarily for what Tom Anderson calls **"The Boob Tube,"** there's no room for a Will Rogers. TV reaps its real monetary harvest from re-uses rather than first runs. Such formats necessarily must ignore the topical, must avoid today so as not to be old-hat tomorrow. **Were this not the case, Tom Anderson would be today's Will Rogers.**

Tom Anderson's forte is evaluating each today in perspective with its assessable yesterdays and its assayable tomorrows. Reviewed months and years after their utterance, his incisive analyses of the minds and events combining to subvert a great nation into a slave state prove to be profoundly prophetic.

On January 17, 1960, Anderson was principal speaker on The Manion Forum Network. In presenting him, Dean Clarence Manion observed "No writer in America can take the padding out of a stuffed political shirt any faster or more effectively than Tom Anderson. Every Southern Congressman and Senator I know reads his monthly **'Straight Talk'** with respectful attention and some of them frequently with commendable chagrin."

A native of Tennessee and graduate of Vanderbilt University, Tom Anderson served as a Naval Officer overseas during World War II. Beating his sword into an editorial plowshare, Tom then embarked on his notable career in agricultural journalism. He is President, Editor-in-Chief and majority owner of **"FARM AND RANCH MAGAZINE."** Tom also owns five other agricultural publications with a combined circulation in excess of 1,300,000.

Tom's **"STRAIGHT TALK"** editorial page is the most reprinted feature in the farm field. His brilliant syndicated column is carried by hundreds of papers. Tom Anderson is unquestionably the nation's most-quoted farm editor.

Twice, Tom has received the Liberty Award of The Congress of Freedom, once for his public addresses, once for his editorials. He was also recipient of The Freedam Award of Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge "For outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life." During the past two years, Tom has traveled more than 110,000 miles, to make some 160 speeches. Almost without exception his speeches are followed by standing ovations.

To the American economy and American destiny, agriculture is what anatomy and materia medica are to a physician. It's the foundation. Nobody knows more about that foundation and how the Marxist planhandlers have been manipulating it than Tom Anderson.

Tom will tell you about some mighty strange cuttings and seedlings already planted and nourished by your tax dollars in such fertile bottom land as The White House and our State Department.

George Racey Jordan,
Major, USAF, (Ret.)

hanks.

COMMUNISTS IN OUR CHURCHES

by Matt Cvetic

(For 9 years a Communist for the F.B.I.)

In this article, let me answer once and for all the question of whether or not there are Communists in our churches and church organizations.

I find it difficult to understand why some of our clergy refuse to recognize the facts about Red infiltration into our church groups, when they are so blatantly evident. How any clergyman, or for that matter, any believer in God, can front for Red causes in the face of the murderous history of Communism, is also something that staggers the imagination.

Both Marx and Lenin considered religion their prime enemy, therefore the prime target for destruction. "Religion", they both taught, "is an opiate for the ignorant masses — it must be destroyed."

With this destructive thesis of the Reds on religion, how can any believer in the Supreme Being blind himself to the realities of Communism by joining Communist fronts, or by defending Communists in their evil conspiracy, when by so doing, he is contributing to his own murder? So-called "intellectuals," especially in the fields of religion and education, would do well to learn from history, which records that in every nation which was lost to Communism, most of the "intellectuals," even those who were in the forefront aiding, abetting and defending the Red cause, were murdered, thrown into political prisons, or sent to slave camps.

Are the Reds infiltrating the churches in the United States? Of course they are — and in many cases with the help of the very clergy who would be tortured and murdered if the Reds took over.

As an example of Communist church infiltration, let me recall a Red meeting which I attended in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in the Fall of 1949. At this meeting, Steve Nelson, a top Red agent, read a report from Joseph Stalin, the leader of International Communism at that time. In this report, Stalin laid out plans for the mass murder of twenty million people in China to solidify Red control of that country. This Kremlin report, and the ensuing discussion, also outlined plans for the murder of additional thousands in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Where did the Communists plot this mass murder of millions? Was it in some deserted cellar, or some far-away secret hide-out? — No, the Kremlin plot was revealed in a most respectable place — the meeting room of one of the largest churches in the northside section of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania — and with the permission and full knowledge of the pastor!

Many American clergy and church laymen are not aware that the Reds have a well worked-out plan for the infiltration of our churches and church organizations.

This infiltration is planned by a secret group of high level Red agents, labeled the "Clergical Commission of the Communist Party." This Red "Commission" is composed of Soviet agents and American Reds, posing as ministers, preachers and priests, who have fallen away from the church and joined the Communist Party, and lay Red agents. How do I know about the existence of this Red Clergical Commission? I have reason to know only too well, because in 1945, while posing as a Communist for the F.B.I., I was a member of this Red Commission. In the Pittsburgh district alone, this commission consisted of 12 well-trained Red agents. Similar Red commissions with orders to infiltrate and use the churches and church bodies exist in every section of the United States.

It might be apropos to point out that at this very moment, Red agents are well-entrenched in key positions of some of our national church bodies. There, under the cover of respectability, they are zealously carrying on their Communist work, often aided and abetted by the very churches and church groups they are plotting to destroy.

"What about Red China?," I am often asked, "If we would recognize Red China we could send over our missionaries. We can't ignore 600,000,000 Chinese people." My answer to those who would play into the Red hands by recognizing Red China as a "spiritual must," can be given by posing this question: "How many missionaries have we been permitted to send to Soviet Russia since we so foolishly recognized that Godless Red government in 1933?" The answer, of course, is *none*. If we recognize Red China, we may be assured that the Red tyrants will never permit us to preach our Gospel, which the Reds are sworn to destroy.

It is true the Reds in Russia permit a small percentage of the churches and synagogues to function, about 2 or 3% of the number in existence prior to the red take-over in that nation. However, this small exercise of Religion is permitted by the Reds in Russia solely to mislead visitors from free countries. The Reds' plot calls for the ultimate destruction of all religion, including this 2 or 3%, when they find it no longer necessary to permit some display of religion behind which to hide their ulterior motives.

For a more recent picture of "Freedom of Religion" Communist style, let us take a look at poor Tibet. Since the Reds have stolen this little country, the Tibetan monks have been publicly tortured and murdered or imprisoned. The Tibetan nuns have been sent into brothels for the Red soldiers, and the children of Tibet have been taught to spy on their parents, brothers and sisters, and report any spark of opposition to the Red tyrants.

If the Reds ever take over in our free nation, we may be certain that their plan for religion is the same as it is for Russia, Red China and Tibet. I personally sat in secret Red

Read and pass on dont destroy.

meetings where plans for the torture and murder of the American clergy were discussed.

What is our answer to the Communists and their sympathizers? We must brook no compromise with the Reds, or with those who aid and abet them in any way. Jesus Christ sounded the warning in these words: "A man cannot serve both God and mammon." Yes, it is time that the flock calls on the Red-fronting ministers to answer for their betrayal of God, by espousing Communism and Communist causes. "No man can serve two masters," adds Jesus Christ.

We must open our eyes and speak out against the godless Red tyranny. Let us rid ourselves of these "wolves in sheeps' clothing" who, while hiding behind the holy cloth and the respectability of the Church, are carrying on their un-Godly and devilish work to destroy us.

- [redacted].

Don't let this tract die. Pass it on and send for more. All tracts free as the Lord provides the means.

GOSPEL TRACT SOCIETY

2302 Blue Ridge Blvd.

Kansas City 29, Missouri

Unmasking MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. the Deceiver

BY DR. BILLY JAMES HARGIS

A CHRISTIAN CRUSADE PUBLICATION

Recent statements by race agitator Martin Luther King, Jr., clearly indicate that it is time to rip off his pious mask and reveal the real purpose and drive behind his anti-American activities. Though King has been sainted in many popular weekly magazines, his infamous alliance with Communist objectives and personalities has been kept a carefully guarded secret.

The *Tulsa Tribune,* May 3 ,1961, carried an article datelined Atlanta, (Ga.) which read: "The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and 16 other big names in the Southern Negro integration movement joined today in demanding that the controversial House Un-American Activities Committee be abolished and that a man jailed for defying it be pardoned by President Kennedy.

"Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., whose release the bi-racial leaders were demanding, was jailed Monday along with Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles. The two were convicted by a federal jury in Atlanta in early 1959 for refusing to tell the House Committee whether they were Communists . . .

"King said the jailing of Wilkinson and Braden is evidence that 'McCarthyism' is on the rise again. He told United Press International that 'I have no doubt they are being punished — particularly Mr. Braden — for their integration activities.' "

Rev. King, in his statement that Braden was jailed because of his integration activities, conveniently ignores the fact that both Braden and Wilkinson are known, identified Communists and that Braden is field director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. According to sworn testimony before the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, Feb. 10, 1958, Dr. J. B. Matthews said, "The principal function of the Southern Conference Educational Fund is to serve as a bridge between the Communist Party on the one hand and mis-guided Southern Liberals on the other hand. The Southern Conference Educational Fund is the new name for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare of which the Senate Security Subcommittee said '. . . was conceived, financed and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern States.' "

Mr. Wilkinson could hardly be punished for his integration activities since his particular function for the Communist Party is field representative for the Communist front *The National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.*

ASKING IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

An editorial in the *St. Petersburg Independent,* March 7, 1961, said concerning the sentencing of Braden and Wilkinson:

"It was most certainly pertinent to and important for the (House Un-American Activities) committee to find out if possible whether Wilkinson was fighting the committee as an American or as a Communist. And it was equally pertinent to find out whether Braden was working for integration as an American with concern for the Negro or as a Communist concerned for the advancement of the cause of the Kremlin."

The same all-searching questions could well be asked in the case of the pro-Soviet agitator Martin Luther King, Jr. King's constant agitation of racial troubles, his attack against our private enterprise system as guaranteed in our Federal Constitution in an Indiana speech last summer, and his recent open alliance with enemies of our nation, places him squarely in the camp of subversives.

King's Communist affiliations and acquaintances go back many years and establish a clear pattern of Marxist affinity.

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1957, Martin Luther King was a participant in the 25th anniversary seminar on the integration struggle sponsored by the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee. He has been closely associated with the leadership of the school since that time. The Highlander Folk School was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West; James Dombrowski joined them shortly thereafter. Don West was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina.

Paul Crouch, the top Communist Party functionary in the south, testified before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities that Dombrowski "gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership without taking the risk of actual Party membership."

KING ASSOCIATES WITH COMMUNIST SCHOOL

Paul Crouch further testified that "The Highlander Folk School is . . . operated . . . ostensibly as an independent labor school but actually working in close co-operation with the Communist Party."

Pictures taken at the Highlander Folk School over the 1957 Labor Day weekend show Martin Luther King

with Abner W. Berry, Negro member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and columnist for the Daily Worker. Another in the photograph was Aubry Williams, President of the Southern Conference Education Fund and a top leader of all-out integration. According to the Daily Worker, Sept. 10, 1957, Williams spoke "prophetically" when he declared that the situation in the south "is only a short step to general violence" and that the "stuff out of which rebellions are made is definitely being planted." Aubry Williams has at least 43 separate listings as being associated with Communist fronts and organizations. Pete Seeger, a nationally known folk singer who has been prominently identified with the Communist movement in this country for many years, was another Labor Day attraction at the school. Seeger has been named as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony.

KING LAUDED BY COMMUNIST PRESS

Rev. King is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and led the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. His activities are usually highly praised in the Communist press as is evidenced by these gushing lines from the pen of Herbert Aptheker, Communist editor of *Political Affairs:*

"And in Montgomery, Alabama, there is the epic struggle of the entire 50,000 members of its Negro community. . . . Here, with women in the lead, is the unparalleled and unbreakable splendor of an entire people speaking out to the world in tones of purity and self-sacrifice and saying: 'We will live in freedom, in our own day and here in our own city.'"

King also led the Negro "March on Washington" and was accompanied by his manager Bayard Ruskin, who, according to the Daily Worker, attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party. According to one anti-Communist paper, "Bayard Ruskin is listed as a member of the Editorial Board of *Liberation*. . . (a) pacifist-anarchist publication. Ruskin contributes another article and is identified as having 'had many years of direct experience in racial conflicts in the South.' In 1946 he served a sentence on the chain gang in N. C. for refusing to sit in the Negro section of a bus. He went to India in 1947 and Africa in 1953. He is an expert on Civil Disobedience."

KING WORKS WITH COMMUNISTS

In the Youth March for Integrated Schools of Washington, D.C. in 1958, Martin Luther King was co-chairman of the group along with veteran Communist-fronter A. Philip Randolph. The march was fortified by three bus loads of Communists from the cited Communist New York Teacher's Union. Again, Rev. King made the pages of the Communist *Worker* which reported: "Rev. King said: The Oppressed Always Marched For Freedom." On May 17, 1959, the *Worker* devoted the entire front page and fourteen columns of print to the March. That King's Washington March was aided and engineered by the Communists is attested to by the *Worker.* On page 15 they said:

"Large numbers of the Left (Communist) forces actively aided in mobilizing support for the Youth March and were in vast audience."

Challenge, official publication of the Young People's Socialist League (11-1-58) headlined the story and pointed out that the Marchers White House Student delegation leader and 14 of the main youth organizers were members of the YPSL.

LAWLESSNESS AND VIOLENCE ACCOMPANY KING

Martin Luther King also has the dubious distinction of being associated with integrationist groups designed to stir up racial trouble. The *Tulsa World,* May 15, 1961 reported the violence associated with two bus loads of Negroes and whites sponsored by "Freedom Riders" a group seeking to break the segregation barrier in the South. The "Freedom Riders" were part of a group connected with CORE — Congress of Racial Equality. The 1958 CORE letterheads show King on the National Advisory Committee along with a number of other Red-fronters.

Rev. King has also been associated with the NAACP — The National Association For The Advancement of Colored People. Of the 5 founders of the NAACP, only one was a Negro. He is an identified Communist — W.E.B. DuBois.

According to Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia, ". . . white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with, and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations, activities and causes have directed and subsidized the NAACP. . . . the President, the Chairman of the Board, the 'Honorary Chairman', 11 of the 28 Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, 28 of 47 Directors, the Chairman of the National League Committee, the Executive Secretary, the Special Council, the Assistant Special Council, the Southeast Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries. The transcript of this evidence numbers 121 pages of single-spaced, typewritten copy and would require more than six hours to be read aloud.

"Elizabeth Dilling reported in her book, "The Red Network," that, during the seven years from 1923 to 1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. She also disclosed that the official report of the Fourth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1925 stated that 'the Party had penetrated the NAACP.' "

In 1958, J. B. Matthews, an expert on Communist infiltration, wrote:

"Listed on the current letterheads of the NAACP are the names of 236 different national officers. One hundred forty-five (or more than 61 per cent) of these individuals have been involved, in one way or another, with Communist enterprises, for a grand total of 2,200 affiliations of public record."

KING AIDS COMMUNIST PARTY OBJECTIVES

The Communist Party has often and in numerous places outlined its objectives for the Negro in America. In 1928, the Party published a pamphlet written by John Pepper, the representative of the Communist Party in the United States, in which he said: "The Communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character."

Negro Communist leader Benjamin Davis published his pamphlet entitled "The Path of Negro Liberation," in which he wrote:

"Consequently the Negro people are moving in the direction of some form of statehood in the Black Belt. This would mean an adjustment or rectification of the lines demarking 12 states through which runs the Black Belt area where Negro people are in a majority."

The remarkable way in which Martin Luther King has fitted into these goals of the Communist Party is attested to on the pages of the official Party organ, *The Worker.* The October 30, 1960 edition left no question as to the importance which the Communists recognize in the person of Rev. King toward achieving their Communist goals. After Rev. King was jailed in Atlanta following three days of mass sit-ins and picketing by hundreds of students of the Atlanta University Center, in an appeal usually reserved for top Party functionaries, the *Worker* told its Communist subscribers:

"The outrageous sentencing of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., requires the protest of all decent Americans.

"Demand Dr. King's immediate release. Demand that the persecution of the sit-inners be haulted. Demand that the federal government protect those who exercise their Constitutional 'right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.' (Note that the *Worker* takes no notice of the "civil disobedience" engaged in by the "peaceful" sit-inners. Ed.)

". . . The cause for which Dr. King speaks is the cause, not of the Negro people alone, but of all democratic America.

"Let, then, labor speak out. Let all organizations of the people speak out. Let all right-minded Americans speak out.

"Wire or phone to President Eisenhower and to both presidential candidates, Richard Nixon and John Kennedy. Let your Representatives and Senators hear from you.

"Let every candidate — for every post from state legislator to president — back up his avowed allegiance to civil rights by acting now. If he won't act now, what can you expect after election?"

TOP COMMUNISTS SPEAK FOR KING

So ingrained into the workings of the Communist Party are the policies and actions of Rev. King that his incarceration evoked protests from the top Communist command in the U.S. The same issue of the *Worker* said:

"Gus Hall, general secretary, and Benjamin Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party, on Monday protested the arrest of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, in wires to President Eisenhower, vice-president Richard Nixon and Sen. John Kennedy, and demanded the Rev. King's release."

Rocketed to national prominence through the distorted and one-sided coverage given his infamous and illegal activities by the left-wing press and *Life, Time,* and *Look* magazines, Martin Luther King now has the official ear of Washington on behalf of his crusade. The February 5, 1961 issue of the Communist *Worker* quoted King as saying, "The Justice Department 'has vast potential' to open up 'hitherto untried avenues in the desegregation struggle.' The power inherent in executive orders has never been exploited."

KING PULLS WASHINGTON STRINGS

As is the case with most Communist directives these days, the step from announcement to fulfillment is a short one. The *Newsweek* magazine, May 1, 1961 reported:

"Full protection for any Negro trying to register for voting. That's what Attorney General Robert Kennedy promised the Rev. Martin King at a private meeting in Washington last week. The Negro leader is about to launch a new campaign throughout the South to add 250,000 Negro voters to the rolls."

The WEEKLY CRUSADER is at a loss to understand why the Attorney General, who was active in the McCarthy hearings into Communist and un-American activities, *is now making promises to Communist collaborators as an official of the U.S. government.*

FULL SCALE INVESTIGATION CALLED FOR

Martin Luther King's open, deceitful influence over so much of our population is a national disgrace. The WEEKLY CRUSADER calls for an all out investigation into the activities of this co-operator with known Communists. Concerned Americans would like the answers to the following pertinent questions:

1. Is Martin Luther King interested in the Negro for the Negro's sake or for the furtherance of Communist objectives in our country?

2. Where does Martin Luther King derive the income for his multitudinous activities? What large interests are paying his way?

3. What are the REAL reasons for his objections to the House Committee on Un-American Activities? Could it be that he fears exposure of his true motives from this investigating committee?

4. Why does this man, who has selected known Communists as his closest associates and advisers, have access to the top offices of our government and personal audiences with our policy making leaders?

It is time Martin Luther King was unmasked before the American public. Only a full-scale investigation will serve the best interests of both the Negroes and whites of our nation.

A Reprint From
Christian Crusade's Weekly Editorial Voice
THE WEEKLY CRUSADER

Order Additional Copies

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500 Copies	10.00

CHRISTIAN CRUSADE — Tulsa 2, Oklahoma

S H A M E!! S H A M E !

T O A T L A N T A

NIGGERS DEFEAT STATE POLICE IN"FREEDOM DRIVE"

GARLAND BYRD AND VANDIVER EMBRACE APE CAUSE;

Atlanta white citizens, today, Feb. 12th, descended to the lowest depths of degredation, as a band of hyena-voiced Niggers took over the State Capitol building and stopped both Houses of the Legislature, with their yowling.

Over 100 fully armed State Troopers, aware of this assault, had strict orders to arrest every marcher who dared to cross the street.

As an added protection, every Trooper was given a Billy, or long night stick, and told to use it without mercy, on the sculls of the Jigaboos.

The Niggers were three times turned right to keep them from crossing Chestnut Street, to the State owned property. They then decided to cross, in defiance of warnings. [redacted] Troopers were frothing in the mouth with anger, as LAST MINUTE ORDERS came from the GOVERNORS office, to let them come in.

WHO GAVE THOSE ORDERS? Vandiver or Byrd? Colonel Connors of the GBI passed them on. He told the Niggers they might enter without any signs, and with no demonstration of any kind. Four white girls accompanied the Niggers, one holding hands with a buck Jigaboo, another having her back and fanny stroked by a coal black Jig, as they walked to the 4th floor together. Even ladies were heard to say:- "God, how disgusting!" The fannies of these blond tarts should have been stroked with a horse whip. If that were not demonstration enough, the invaders stopped all legal proceedings in the House by singing an Freedom song composed by the Jew scum of the NAACP, a JEWISH Organization. [redacted] Ralph McGill and his Jew controlled Rag- the Constitution, plus all the other Jew papers here, had a field day of publicity, and pictures. There isn't a single State Trooper tonight, this Lincoln's birthday, who isn't ashamed of his uniform. The KU KLUX KLAN demands action, and calls every white man and woman to band together.

Calvin Craig, Grand Dragon of Georgia,
Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN.

GOODBYE POLITICAL CROOKS, - YOU'RE DEAD!

Legislature: Demand protection for your daily proceedings!

NEXT IN LINE

Mayor Allen wants to experiment with your wife, daughters and sons by letting the Negro police have the right to arrest, manhandle and blackjack if necessary. This is one of the concessions Mayor Allen made to get the Negro block vote.

WHITE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA — ARE YOU CONCERNED WITH THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF YOUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS, NOT TO BE MAULED BY THE NEGRO'S HANDS?

If you are, be at the Aldermanic Police Committee meeting Wednesday Night, 4th Floor Police Station, Decatur Street, at 7:30 P. M., and protest this move by this sell-out radical politician.

WHY: CAN THE N.A.A.C.P. RENT THE CITY AUDITORIUM YET THE MANAGER REFUSES THE UNITED KLANS K.K.K.K.

United Klans, P. O. Box 10753, Atlanta, Georgia

THE MAN WHO NEVER WAS

The "Israel Cohen, English Communist" hoax is increasingly quoted by anti-Semites and their dupes. Here's how it started.

by MILTON ELLERIN

ISRAEL COHEN, English communist, is today a well-known character throughout the United States. His name has appeared in such illustrious publications as the Washington Star and the Congressional Record as well as scores of infinitely less illustrious ones. To those who read about him, Israel Cohen comes through as a most unlovable man. Not only is he a Communist; he is also the author of a plan which—in his own words—will inflame "the Negro minority against the whites" through a program of "racial tensions" in order to "deliver America to our cause."

Because of his common name—undoubtedly there are many Israel Cohens throughout the world—those who read about this one have little doubt about his religious origin. Anti-Semites throughout the country love to roll the name Israel Cohen off their tongues slowly, then spell it out to make sure their listeners get the point. The fact of the matter, however, is that this Israel Cohen is not Jewish. Nor is he Anglican, Buddhist, or anything else. Even though his name is heard increasingly, this Israel Cohen simply does not—and never did—exist.

Some anti-Semitic hoaxes—like "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion"—are ancient and a bit unwieldy for easy use by the professional bigot. The Israel Cohen hoax is new and just right. It is shrewdly adapted to exploit the tensions of the day; it is brief and clear; it raises all the bogies of the prejudiced in just a few sentences.

According to all available evidence, the Israel Cohen fabrication first appeared, full-blown, in the pages of a less than three-year-old, fairly elaborate anti-Semitic, racist monthly, The Virginian, published in Newport News. Under the heading, "Quotes from the Communist Press," appears the statement:

"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension . . . By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party . . . In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negroes will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

The alleged source of the statement is given as: ". . . from *A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century* by Israel Cohen, English Communist (1912)".

The item appears in The Virginian as a paid ad. Underneath is the notation: "This space sponsored by a Christian Virginian and a Marine Corps Veteran."

This appeared in the December 1956 issue of the Virginian. In February 1957, the next reference to "Israel Cohen, English Communist" appeared in a letter to the editor of the Sumter (S.C.) Daily Item written by Stanley F. Morse of Charleston, who heads the pro-segregation Grass Roots League there. The quotation then appeared in full in a letter to the editor of the Washington Evening Star in March 1957. It was written by R. A. Hester of the Marylands Petitions Committee.

Thus the hoax appeared in a major, highly respected daily newspaper. From here it was but one step away from being reprinted in one of the most highly regarded sources of all—the Congressional Record. It found its way there when, on June 6, in the course of the debate on civil rights legislation, Congressman Thomas Abernethy of Mississippi said:

"This civil rights business is all according to a studied and well-defined plan. It may be news to some of you but the course of the advocates of the legislation was carefully planned and outlined more than 45 years ago. Israel Cohen, a leading Communist in England, in his *A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century*, wrote in 1912 the following . . ."

Congressman Abernethy then proceeded to insert in the Congressional Record the full Israel Cohen quotation. He concluded: "What truer prophecy could there have been 40 years ago of what we now see taking place in America . . . Many thousands in America today who are in no sense Communists are helping to carry out the Communist plan laid down by their faithful thinker, Israel Cohen. Truly, vigilance is the price of liberty."

NOW THE LIE was poised to do its work; its appearance in the Congressional Record of June 7, 1957, as a portion of the remarks of Congressman Abernethy, has probably given it its greatest currency and sanction. It is fascinating to watch the course of the Israel Cohen hoax since. In the form of letters to the editor, it has appeared in many respectable newspapers. The Richmond (Va.) News Leader used it on June 26 in a letter from W. Reid Williams. The Orlando (Fla.) News used it in a letter several months later. The October 21 issue of the magazine South, published in Birmingham, featured it as the subject of a lead editorial. Dick West, Dallas Morning News columnist and radio commentator, broadcast it further in December.

Veteran propagandists have welcomed the Israel Cohen hoax as new ammunition in their old war. Gerald L. K. Smith referred to it in his recent report called "Arkansas—the Hungary of America." Speaking in Pasadena, Texas, long-time

bigot Kenneth Goff gave a detailed description of the Israel Cohen master plan as a warning of what the Jews were up to. Myron Fagan, in January 1958, appeared at a Los Angeles City Council hearing on a proposed fair employment practices ordinance, repeated the Israel Cohen fabrication, and announced that he was quoting from the Congressional Record. Fagan added that, to carry out the Israel Cohen program, both the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were organized in 1913. Anyone who votes for FEP, Fagan went on, is serving the communist conspiracy —as laid down by Israel Cohen—and committing treason against the United States.

The Israel Cohen quotation is a natural one for use by White Citizens Councils too. The publication of the Citizens Council of Tarrant County, Texas, among others, has reprinted the Israel Cohen hoax in full. On January 19, in New Orleans, the chairman of the local Citizens Council, Dr. Emmett Irwin, appeared on a Council-sponsored television show to read the Israel Cohen "plan" verbatim.

The Israel Cohen hoax is fast becoming a major weapon in the bigots' arsenal. There is danger of its being imbedded in the American mind, consciously and unconsciously, by anti-Semites, anti-integrationists, and just plain dupes. What are the facts about "Israel Cohen, English Communist"?

HERMAN EDELSBERG, ADL's Washington representative, investigated the story soon after it appeared in the Congressional Record. He found, among other things:

¶ There is no record of a Communist leader, philosopher, or pamphleteer by the name of Israel Cohen, in England or anywhere else in the world.

¶ No book or pamphlet of the title, *A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century*, is known to the Library of Congress, the British Museum, or the National Union Catalogue which summarizes the holdings of 800 libraries in the United States.

¶ Executive and congressional agencies concerned with combatting Communism —collectively, these agencies have biographical and bibliographical data about virtually all Communist personages and writings throughout the world—have no record of Israel Cohen.

¶ The term, Communist Party, was not used in 1912. It was initiated, under Lenin, after the Russian revolution in 1917.

These are facts that make the Israel Cohen quotation a transparent hoax. Added to them are the informed opinions of

Continued on page 8

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HOAX

Continued from page 5

social scientists and researchers who have studied the contents of the alleged plan and conclude that it could not have been written in 1912. For one thing, the term "guilt complex "was barely used or known then. Allusions to Negroes "in the professions, in the world of sports, and entertainment" appear to be after-the-fact thoughts.

The language of the plan is not Marxian. The idea that the Communist revolution could be achieved by intermarriage between whites and Negroes would make sense only to an ardent segregationist. Nowhere in Communist literature is there any suggestion that racial intermarriage is to be the source of the Communist revolution. In fact, the whole thing is nothing but what it appears to be—a latter-day attempt to exploit fears and prejudices now current and often verbalized.

Congressman Abernethy said that he had based his remarks on the Israel Cohen text as it appeared in the Washington Evening Star letter to the editor, from Mr. R. A. Hester. When Mr. Edelsberg brought the facts about the hoax to the attention of the newspaper, its editor said, in print, that "we accept Mr. Edelsberg's statements as being correct and we regret the publication of Mr. Hester's letter."

Congressman Abernethy was informed of the Washington Evening Star's "regrets." But he made no attempt to delete the insertion from the Congressional Record. In a letter to the Congressman, Mr. Edelsberg assured him that he knew that his use of a false quotation was inadvertent, that it was inserted without thought of religious prejudice. However, he concluded, "there is no doubt that . . . the quotation was fabricated by a man whose purpose was to promote anti-Semitism, and that anti-Semitism would be its effect."

On August 30, 1957 Congressman Abraham Multer of New York placed a "correction" in the Congressional Record and, with a bow toward Abernethy's good faith, showed that the Israel Cohen quotation was a hoax.

There was still no admission of error or deletion of the item by the Congressman from Mississippi.

Most recently, last month, Congressman Multer told Congressman Abernethy how Myron Fagan had made use of the Israel Cohen hoax in his appearance before the Los Angeles City Council. He said that "I am sure that the incident will be repeated many times in the future unless, even at this late date, you make a statement in the Congressional Record withdrawing your reference to that item."

But, to date, there has still been no action by the Congressman from Mississippi. Because the Congressional Record item about Israel Cohen has been cited so often, Congressman Abernethy has become the most-quoted "authority" of the professional hate-monger and anti Semite.

the AJC bulletin
515 Madison Ave., New York 22
Entered as 2nd class matter.

R.F.D. 1. Atlanta, Ga. Feb. 1962

The Hon. Pat Waters,

Dear Sir:

Did you know that Atlanta, Ga. is the biggest Negro infested town to be found anywhere?
Did you know that the Integrationist, Liberals, Radicals, The Hope Inc. The League of White womens voters, The Pat Waters has joined up with The NAACP, The League of Negro Voters, The Negro block voters gang and have declared war on Segregation and have gone all out for Integration

They want mixed schools, mixed swimming pools mixed shows theaters eat and drink and dance together. They want mixed teachers, mixed preachers mixed marriages mixed breeds half breeds a mixed race and I dont know what all in the hell they do want. They have gone Negro mad, Negro wild and Negro crazy. A bunch of Negro lovers Negro Worshippers and Negro sympathisers.

They dont appreciate being white and no credit to our white race and it would have been better for humanity had they never been born. Here it is our white people are forced against their will to let Negro children in their white peoples schools to mix the Negro children with the white children. To mix the Negro female with the white school boy. To mix the Negro buck with the white school girl. And what respect would the Negro buck have for a white school girl if he had a chance? None he would rape her the minute he had a chance believe it or not

Besides the Negro children use the same toilet and rest room as the white children use. Also Negro teachers to teach the white children. All of this is Communistic ungodly unjust it is an assault on liberty to force one race on another besides it is a disgrace to our white race our rights being taken away for to pacify the Negro race and to yield to the demans of THE NAACP. an organization for the advancement of the Negro race and the downfall of our white race an organisation to rule or to ruin, to bring destruction to our white race.

When the races are separate and Segregated ther is peace and Harmony but when races mix and integrate ther will be raping, riots, fights hatred, strife and enmity, trouble and just plain old HELL if you will excuse the expression.

No one wants integration but the political politicians who wants the Negroes votes to get elected and stay in power and the newspaper politicians who wants the money he can get out of the NAACP. to make him rich. Neither one dont consider any principle at all. No consideration of their own white race kin brother or sister

James Cox who owns the printing presses is furnishing the printing press, paper and power to print propaganda for to brainwash people into accepting integration have the white people all mixed with the Negro race. It is a sad move. James Cox is doing more to mix the races than the Negroes are doing. His plan is to do away with the white race and have a mixed race.

God Made the Heavens and the Earth the beast of the fields the fowls of the air take the birds for instance the blue bird wont mix and mate with the red bird. The hawk wont mix and mate with the crow. The lion wont mix and mate with the tiger but dan it they want to mix and mate the White woman with the Negro man and mix and mate the Negro woman with the white man. Can you beat it?
James Cox is the most dangerous human that ever trod Georgia Soil
What does he care for our way of life our tradition? None

Trustingly,
A. . Alden

THIS BIG 200,000

BLOC ■ VOTE

CAN CONTROL GEORGIA

It is now clear that a majority of white Georgians are going to vote for Marvin Griffin for governor; but this is a popular vote race, and a white majority does *not* guarantee Mr. Griffin's election. There is another big force to be considered. That is the 200,000 Negro Bloc Vote. That vote will undoubtedly go to Carl Sanders who has sought it by every means at his command. He is willing to make it the balance of political power in Georgia—if he can.

To get this Big Bloc Vote, controlled by Martin Luther King and his NAACP, a candidate has to promise, promise, promise, and then give, give, give!

EXAMPLES

In Atlanta, the *white* majority voted for another candidate to be mayor, but The Big ■ Bloc Vote, added to a white minority, elected Allen. Since then, this Bloc Vote has demanded concessions out of all proportion to its numbers.

In Macon, the *white* majority voted for another candidate, but The Big ■ Bloc Vote, added to a white minority, elected Wilson mayor. There, too, concessions have been demanded and received.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Here's how it happens. In every town, city, county and, yes, in the state, voters are divided into various factions. This is good, as each faction checks on the other.

This is Democracy. It works when each side plays fair.

It's bad when the weak side wants to win so badly that it is willing to promise, give, concede and trade *anything* to get a bloc vote such as The Big ■ Bloc Vote controlled by King and his NAACP. When such a combination wins, chaos is the result.

WHAT'S THE ANSWER

It's just this—the white factions must forget their differences at the town, city, county and state level. They must decide who best can protect the people of Georgia against domination by this Big ■ Bloc Vote and vote for the man who will be fair to every citizen, but will not be intimidated or coerced by or overly indebted to any bloc vote group.

THE CHOICE IS CLEAR

You can vote for Marvin Griffin and give everyone fair representation, or you can vote with the minority and risk turning the State of Georgia over to control by The Big ■ Bloc Vote which would be the balance of power.

SEPTEMBER 12 IS THE DAY

Georgia's fate rests with you. The decision is yours.
Talk this over with your friends, and let's join together and all vote for

MARVIN GRIFFIN

This ad paid for by friends of Marvin Griffin who believe in him and in the future of Georgia.

THE SUPREME COURT?

Political appointed representatives of the Invisible Government within our government.

The nine-man politiburo operates with the theory that Americans cannot defeat nor overcome that which they cannot see, or understand. However, this wild-eyed theory works as well against its evil and sadistic plan and scheme. In the traffic of life down the highway, traffic also moves in the opposite direction to the Supreme Court's direction of movement.

"Truth shall spring from the earth and righteousness shall look down from heaven." Scripture: Psalms 85:11.

The invisible government operates as a university or college through the media of communications. Its purpose is to educate the Americans as Christians through the psychology of mass thought control to accept its false ideals. This is hypocrisy in the rawest form, designed to proselyte the naive and gullible.

The invisible government's colors: Red, pink, and yellow.

The membership: "Round heads" who think they have the world by the tail with a down-hill pull: So-called-Jews.

The advisers: First generation Americans, descendants of the Huns, and Mongolians. Intermixed and intermingled with Russian, German, Polish, Austrian, and Ethiopian blood for centuries. A miscegenation as is found in New York City and other principal cities.

The invisible governments policies: As "Friends of the Court" to do the "Friends of America" in first.

Their Long Range Plan: To demoralize and immoralize the youth of our land with false doctrines, false phrases, and false ideals contrary to Christian faith of our Fathers.

The representative's method: To use the economic control with which to obtain political control so as to secure the social dictatorship through military directives by their "Charley McCarthy" of the executive branch. Americans apathy, blindness, and dumbness can be depended upon to assist the International Combine of Socialistic-Communistic Alien-so-called-Jews. The majority of Americans, however, are not that dumb, stupid, ignorant, and apathetic as to swallow the crackpot-nutty psychological quackery.

The psycho-theocrats would like nothing better than to modernize the true theologians of Christly men over to their modernistic pseudo-religious ideals and creeds founded in secrecy and deceit by the proselyting hypocrites.

Every loyal American imbued with the tradition and customs of his heritage can through the fraud of "Its the Law of the Land", and the myth of "Equality" be arrested, jailed, and declared insane by the psycho-ceramics, (Crack-pots) and sent to a mental institution for the enemies of the New State. The innocent victim under drugs and helpless might be hospitalized, and undergo an operation of the nerve system controlling the normal thought process. (General Walker's case is a prime example of this Frankenstein monster idea, and trial balloon.)(Not as successful as hoped for, however.)

The court's opinions: Pre-determined and fore-ordained. Masters or deceit have blue-printed the design of action. Every opinion is to be anti-Southern, anti-America, and anti-Christ. All opinions to be pro-Socialisticly Communist. Pro K. K.K.K.'s. (King, Kennedy, Krushev, Kastro)

The Invisible Government Flag: Green currency of Uncle Sam.

Their Motto: In Rothschild's money we trust.

The court flower: Forget-me-not.

A prophesy of the court: Through the infinite wisdom of a truly Supreme Judge, Creator, and Architect of heaven, earth, the seas, humanity, time, and space and everything in between, every member of the court together with each one of the bubble-heads, one-worlders, united-nuts, and assorted psycho-ceramics (Crackpots) will inevitably be buried with, or without, benefit of assistance by "Krushy". For the fearful and faithless minorities the news media of the press, radio, television, and Hollywood distributes un-American propaganda for the purpose of confusing, confounding, complicating, and frustrating the thought processes of the individual mind so that the un-Godly, sadistic, and heathenish Frankenstein monster might rule.

The faithful ones, however, reject the false doctrine of "Inevitability" holding fast to the natural laws of creation, rather than nine-old men's fallible misinterpretations.

J. A. Webb
728 Cobb Street
Athens, Georgia

Feb-14-62

Att Mr Pat Watters-

Dear Sir-

The White Prov-Co- (meat packers-+ect)
on Howell Mill Rd- will close for good

throwing out of work over 700 employess
on Feb-22-62- closing down for good

After all these years in buisness- 50
or more years-

I wish you could go out there and pleas
write a story on this giving both
sides and telling about it- why-+
how-

this would be appreciate + make good
reading in journal

Your Truly
W. Frakes-S.R.

TO Journal Editor FROM: Office or Location FILE NO.

G110

OFFICE Atl. Journal DATE 2/20/63 INSURED

Atl. Journal + Constitution
To the Editor,
Will you please find a small place in your paper for this news.
I am a married man 52 years of age was employed with Southern Railway System since 1929 and was cut off in 1960 since that time I have been to hundreds of places seeking employment two thirds of these places don't want an old man or they either brush you off. So I would like to know what a man 52 years of age going to do sit around and starve to death waiting until he gets 65 years of age.

Treat Our Customers Well — We Need Them!

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TO FROM: Office or Location FILE NO.

G110

OFFICE DATE INSURED

The way it is at this particular time, I am to young to go on a pension and to old to get a job, the Railroad cut me off and because I failed to file my correct mailing address the took my seniority away from me, and now if they did have an opening in the Dept. I was in my age is about 17 years to old they do not hire anyone over 35 yrs. of age regardless of my experience. Will you please print this or at least a part of it maybe someone needs a 52 year old man. I can furnish references, Reccommendations. Have experience in General Clerical Work, Shipping + Receiving for 23 yrs.

Thanking you,

Treat Our Customers Well — We Need Them!

(over)

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

a long time subscriber.

E. E. Fitzgerald
1225 Mary Lou Lane S. E.
Dr. 7-7239
Dr. 3-7088

Excuse the 2 colors of ink

Tenants like these make slums.
I refer to those residing on Trowbolm St SW. a few feet off Wellside Rd SW.
Namely I refer to debris back of the houses. Here lies about 100 empty cans of Solox. This is mixed with water and consumed. It is plainly marked poison with picture of skeleton on can. Those that drink this have a bad offensive odor of breath and their skin deteriorates.
I dont see how one can live drinking this stuff. Occasionaly one cries with pains from this mixture. They may not be violent but do become disorderly. (They become intoxicated)
One house is known as "Solox House" often raided by city police and detectives arrests are made.
There are in this house small children one set of boy twins about 2 years of age.
Overcrowded with adults some that do not reside here in this house.
It is sickening to smell this.
Users should be given medical treatment and if necessary try and find cure for them.
No doubt some deaths have occured by Solox drinkers.

P.S. Solox is used for paint brushes also the thinning of varnish ashellac and paint.

COUNCIL FOR BASIC EDUCATION CBE

BULLETIN

Issued by the Council for Basic Education
725 Fifteenth Street, N.W. *Washington 5, D. C.*

Editor: Mortimer Smith

VOL. 7, NO. 6 **FEBRUARY 1963**

MORE ON THE EDUCATION OF THE SLUM CHILD

The *Bulletin* has pointed out before that in the commendable present desire to "do something" for the slum child, two schools of thought seem to be emerging about what that something should be. One school advances the traditional argument that education should seek to enlarge the horizon of the student wherever he is, to improve and refine him as a human being. The other school advances a more deterministic theory, and is inclined to deal with the slum child within the framework of his slum status, and to assume that this is where he will stay.

A variant of the latter point of view was expressed by Edgar Z. Friedenberg, associate professor of education at Brooklyn College, at a December conference on school dropouts, which was reported by the Washington *Post*. According to this account, Mr. Friedenberg thinks that an important factor in the dropout situation is that schools are trying to teach middle class values to lower class children who don't *like* middle class values. He believes that schools have no right to force such values on pupils, that said schools have "become inherently dishonest" in refusing to deal with the "culture of poverty," or to recognize such lower class values as energy, spontaneity, and direct sense gratification. (Interesting terms, those. What in the context of schools do spontaneity and direct sense gratification include—throwing a book at the teacher, spitting on the floor, wielding a switch-blade, rape?)

At the same conference, still according to the *Post,* Thomas Gladwin of the National Institutes of Health defended such middle class values as gentility, hard work, and planning for the future. He expressed the opinion that we should not get cynical about such values or consider them a fraud: "I don't think they are. We ought not to repeal the middle class but to think of organizing it so that schools can better develop those values."

These days it is considered a little stuffy and "square" to defend middle class values, but nonetheless we think Mr. Gladwin has the better of the argument. Unless one is prepared to say that the "culture of poverty" is just as good as middle class culture, why shouldn't the school try to improve the lot of its students by emphasizing hard work and accomplishment and the value of using the mind?

Many of the slum families of former generations, the Irish and Slavic immigrants of sixty and seventy years ago, wanted passionately to move from a culture of poverty to middle class culture, and they looked to education as the means. Historically, the public school has been the great ameliorative force in American life, the one public institution available for the improvement of all American youth.

A recent book about the late Morris Raphael Cohen, who was once described by Bertrand Russell as America's most significant philosopher and as a more important figure than John Dewey, gives a typical picture of the desire of the immigrant poor of seventy years ago to improve their lot. Cohen's parents, poor Jews from the ghetto of Minsk, lived in poverty in Brooklyn, often without food or money, but they never lost their intense feeling that their children, through education, could move out of the "culture of poverty." (See *Portrait of a Philosopher* by Leonora Cohen Rosenfield.) This was the pattern among thousands of slum parents. There was no feeling among such parents that the schools were imposing alien values; on the contrary, they were touchingly eager that their children be exposed to such values.

It is true that the nature of our slum population is rapidly changing, that the Irish and Jews in the slums have been replaced by Negro and Spanish speaking populations who are forced into a cohesive culture of their own as a result of a racial discrimination much more intense than that directed against the older immigrants. But these barriers of discrimination are breaking down, slowly but inexorably. Certainly thousands of Negroes are constantly moving from a slum or semi-slum status to a middle class status.

Those who remain in the slums will not be helped by a sociological theory that assumes that a slum, or proverty, culture has a dynamic quality that should not be disturbed by an overlay of middle class values. Nor, in our opinion, will children who remain in the slums be helped by current efforts to revise reading materials by (1) simplifying the vocabulary and increasing the pictures, and (2) by confining the content to the milieu of the slums. An inescapable function of true education in any culture is to take the recipient where it finds him and move him on to something better.

ON READING THEORY

An excellent article on reading theory is Reuben A. Brower's "Book Reading and the Reading of Books" (*Daedalus*, Winter 1963). Many articles in recent years have dealt with the inadequate methodology now current in teaching reading, but this one, by a professor of English at Harvard, deals with the larger philosophical questions underlying current reading theories. Says he: "The lack of interest in literature displayed by many of the experts points to severely limited aims for education in reading and for all reading. Titles and recurrent phrases reveal the more serious purposes: 'reading in a changing society,' or 'for effective living,' or 'for keeping abreast of the times,' or for 'child development,' or to meet children's 'interests' and 'needs,' or for 'maturity.'" Mr. Brower believes these are inadequate, or even ignoble, purposes. This issue of *Daedalus* contains several interesting articles dealing with "The American Reading Public."

NEW TEACHING MATERIALS

For those who are looking for clear and simple material dealing with the rudiments of grammar and writing for the second, third, and fourth grades, *Grammar and Orthography, Books I and II,* by Marjorie Kahl Lawrence, should prove useful. Inquiries about these should be addressed to the publisher, Henry Regnery Company, 14 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

In the field of reading instruction, undoubtedly the most important new material for 1963 will be the Lippincott *Basic Reading* series by McCracken and Walcutt. The publishers announce this series as one "incorporating latest discoveries about the functions and value of phonics in reading," and point out that all the reading exercises have been chosen for high literary merit. All materials for Grade 1 will be published in February, including a pre-primer, a primer, two graded readers, a workbook for each, two teachers' editions, and a set of eight filmstrips. The complete program for Grades 2 and 3 will be published in January of 1964, and the remaining books for Grades 4 through 8 will be available in January of 1965. For information about this new series, address Dept. EL-1, Educational Publishing Division, J. B. Lippincott Co., East Washington Square, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

Those happy few who still believe that young children can read and appreciate adult literature will be interested in investigating the new Junior Great Books Discussion Program. The objective of this program is "to introduce youngsters from the fifth through twelfth grade to some of the greatest writings of all time," including unabridged works of Lamb, Chaucer, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Blake, Dickens, and Poe. For information about forming an experimental Junior Great Books Program, address The Great Books Foundation, 5 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago 3, Ill.

NOTICE

We have on hand a limited supply of back issues of the *Bulletin,* beginning with the year 1957. These are available at a cost of 10 cents per copy.

MALCOLM D. JONES
Director

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT of URBAN RENEWAL

Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 20, 1963

Memorandum To: Members of the Citizens Bond Information Committee
and Other Key Citizens

From: Director, Urban Renewal

It is apparent that Urban Renewal needs, and the principle on which Urban Renewal is based, are not clearly understood by the majority of the citizens of Atlanta.

This memorandum is intended to provide you with information as to some of the most pressing needs for Urban Renewal in Atlanta, where these needs are located, proposed order of importance and to show how our current efforts in Urban Renewal are actually paying off.

It should be borne in mind that, except for 210 units of Public Housing for the elderly, to be erected in the Butler Street Urban Renewal Project, through the Public Housing Administration, that all of the redevelopment in Atlanta's current Urban Renewal Projects with exception of Public Schools, Parks, Street and Sewer improvements etc., which in all probability would have been done by the City anyway even if there had been no Urban Renewal, is being done by private enterprise at its own expense and without any bond funds being used therefor.

Furthermore it should also be realized that the City is using the cost of these public improvements as credits to assist in meeting its 1/3 share of the Net Cost of the Projects. This Net Cost is basically the difference between the expense involved in buying up the slum properties, demolishing the dilapidated structures, reassembling the small (and in many instances unusable) parcels and the money received from reselling the readjusted disposal tracts to private enterprise for tax paying new development by them. Current examples of this are Phoenix Tower, Holiday Inn Motel, the newly committed $4½ million Marriott Motel, the 76 units of low cost apartments recently constructed on Boulevard and the 150 units of 221 housing built in the Thomasville Urban Renewal Project.

The tax increase to the City, at current rates, from this new development will be many times that previously received from the same slum areas, and will continue to produce such tax increase for the City for years to come.

Furthermore, to assist in meeting the 1/3 local share, the City is allowed substantial credits for the cost of Public Improvements such as Schools, Parks, Sewers, Street widenings etc. developed in the Urban Renewal Project areas. It should be remembered that most of these Capital Improvements would have been made anyway even if there had been no Urban Renewal. By coordinating their location and timing with Urban Renewal Projects, tremendous financial benefits to the City are thus realized.

Encl. #1 is a condensed proposal for future Urban Renewal Projects in Atlanta, submitted to the Chairman of the Citizens Study Commission, October 25, 1962, by the Chairman of the Urban Renewal Committee of the Board of Aldermen, with the recommendation that for the present, Group A Projects ($6,000,000) be reduced for consideration by the Commission to $4,000,000. This reduction to be accomplished by omitting $1,500,000 of the requirement for Buttermilk Bottoms (to be delayed until a later date) and by eliminating at this time from the Transportation Plaza Project, $500,000 proposed for the southern portion of that area.

Encl. #2 is copy of a page lifted from the report submitted December 1, 1962, to the Federal Government for recertification of Atlanta's Workable Program. This shows the tangible progress that has already been made in Atlanta's Federally assisted Urban Renewal Projects.

Encl. #3 is a summary showing the overall tax advantages anticipated through Urban Renewal in Atlanta's first five Urban Renewal Projects.

Encl. #4 is a recapitulation of actual disposition to date, to private enterprise, of land in Urban Renewal Projects showing area involved, price received, value of new development committed to be placed on this land and the tax benefits to be derived from it.

Encls. #5 and #6 are copies of recent local press comment on tax benefits, at current rates, resulting from new developments by private enterprise in Atlanta's Urban Renewal Projects.

Encl. #7 shows tangible accomplishments through application of the Housing Code throughout the City, in areas other than Urban Renewal Projects.

Encl. #8 is a local press account of the Slum Fight in Atlanta.

Encl. #9 is a comprehensive report of Urban Renewal accomplishments in Atlanta during 1961. This is a factual review of actual accomplishments and future plans for our overall Urban Renewal Program in Atlanta. A similar report for 1962 will also be prepared.

It is hoped that the material contained in this memorandum, and the enclosures attached hereto, will assist in providing a clearer concept of Urban Renewal in Atlanta.

MDJ:lp

9 Encls: As listed

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN RENEWAL

CONDENSED PROPOSAL FOR 6 YR. URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM
(Revised to March 15, 1962, from November 8, 1960, Proposal)

Adopt projects and submit applications for survey and planning advances as follows: (A represents 1st Phase; B represents 2nd phase.)

Priority ***	Year	Location	Approx. Size (Acres)	Principal Reuse	Estimated Net Project Costs: Local Share**	Estimated Net Project Costs: Federal Share
1A	1962	Buttermilk Bottoms	160		$3,500,000 2,000,000	$7,000,000
B	1962	Howard School B (Companion Project to Buttermilk Bottoms)	32	Res.(Pub.Hsg)	100,000	1,000,000
2	1962	East Atlanta	110	Res.	67,000 (a)	1,284,000
3	1962	Plunkettown	48	Indust.	Self Liquidating (b)	
4	1963	West End (GNRP Approved)	50	Rehab.	400,000 (c)	1,000,000
5		Revolving Fund			1,000,000 (d)	
6	1963	Trans. Plaza (FS Approved)				
		Lightning C (1962)	16	Res.(Pub.Hsg)	50,000	500,000
		" B (1963)	55	Indust.	250,000	500,000
		~~" A (1964)~~	~~60~~	~~Indust.~~	~~500,000~~	~~1,000,000~~
7		Contingencies and Current Projects			133,000	1,716,000
		TOTAL GROUP A			$6,000,000**** 4,000,000	$14,000,000
8	1964	Summerhill	100	Res.&Com.	1,000,000	2,000,000
9	1965	Georgia Tech	50	Col. Exp.*	Borne by Ga. Tech	2,000,000
10	1966	Hemphill	60	Com.&Res.	500,000	1,000,000
11	1967	Cooper-Glenn	130	Res.&Com. (Incl.P.H.)	500,000	1,000,000
		TOTAL GROUP B			$2,000,000	$6,000,000
		TOTAL GROUPS A & B			$8,000,000**** 6,000,000	$20,000,000

COMMENT:

Certain Projects should complement each other; i.e.:
Buttermilk Bottoms & Howard School B.
Plunkettown & Public Housing in vicinity of Poole Creek Rd.
Lightning C (north of Herndon Homes) and Lightning B.
Cooper-Glenn & Public Housing (in same area).

NOTES:

* Should cost City nothing and also provide surplus credit.

** Local Share of Net Project Cost may be increased by creditable Public Improvements to be placed in project areas by other Departments.

*** Priorities for Projects, and even changes in location of some Projects, may and probably will occur. However, the over-all monetary requirements should remain substantially as shown.

**** Fulton and DeKalb Counties should assist financially in proportion to amount of taxes each collects from the area, as compared with taxes collected from the same area by the City of Atlanta. This would reduce the cost of the City's share considerably from amounts shown here.

(a) Also $575,000 additional in estimated credits from Public Improvements by other Departments to serve the area.

(b) Could carry out in 3 yrs. as a Non-Assisted U.R. Project under the Georgia Redevelopment Law only, with $600,000 borrowed money. Includes interest and $100,000 for Public Improvements.

(c) Also $100,000 in estimated credits from Public Improvements by other Depts. to serve the area.

(d) $200,000 annually for 5 yrs. (1963-7) for Non-Assisted Projects and for acquiring small areas and individual dilapidated properties under the Ga. Redevelopment Law only; and reselling the parcels for more appropriate and better environmental use.

PROGRESS IN URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS

Rehabilitation:

	June 30, 1961 to Sept. 30, 1962	July, 1959 to Sept.30, 1962
Properties Inspected for Rehabilitation	556	1304
(No. dwelling units involved)	(759)	(2086)
No. units complied	277	583
No. units in progress of rehabilitation		903
No. units demolished as result of rehabilitation efforts		3
Spent by property owners in improvements	$402,000.00	$765,000.00

Redevelopment:

July, 1959 - Sept., 1962
(Extracted from Report to Urban Renewal Committee Sept. 30, 1962)

Project		Acquisition	Demolition
R- 9	(Butler)	91.8%	67.2%
R-10	(Rawson-Washington)	93.5	69.1
R-11	(University	88.5	52.2
R-21	(Rockdale	57.1	35.9
R-22	(Thomasville)	100.0	81.4
R-59	(Georgia State)	0	0
	Total	83.0%	60.0%

Project	Sold	To Sell	Receipts	Families Moved	Families To Relocate
R- 9	31.7 Acres	54.4 Acres	$670,000	780	71
R-10	0.	104.3	0	408	67
R-11	9.1	103.2	356,000	561	252
R-21	0.	200.6	0	185	86
R-22	42.	149.4	281,850	261	15
R-59	0.	4	0		
Total	83.6 Acres	615.9 Acres	$1,308,000	2195 (81.3%)	491 (18.7%)

Constructed: 100 FHA 221 Homes
76 Units of apartments

Under Construction: 50 FHA 221 homes
23-story apartment bldg. (200 Units)
8-story motel (300 rooms)
1000 pupil Elementary School (75% complete)
College dormitory (85% complete)

On Planning Board: 520 unit garden apartment development

1

TAX COMPARISON FIGURES

URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREAS

*(Figures submitted by Atlanta Housing Authority, January 21, 1959)
#(Central Atlanta Association Figures)

ITEM		BUTLER	RAWS.-WASH.	UNIVERSITY	ROCKDALE	THOMASVILLE	TOTAL
* Present Annual Taxes							
(City)		$64,660	$35,203	$44,288	$11,425	$18,026	$173,602
(County)		32,329	17,601	22,144	5,712	9,013	86,799
	Total	96,989	52,804	66,432	17,137	27,039	260,401
* Estimated redeveloped value of taxable properties		$66,696,273	$24,279,345	$11,435,595	$15,945,900	$9,595,080	$127,952,193
# Estimated Future Taxes							
(City)		549,930	199,697	93,914	131,968	78,808	1,054,317
(County)		274,965	99,697	46,957	65,484	39,404	536,507
	Total	824,895	299,394	140,871	197,452	118,212	1,580,824
Annual tax gain	(City)	485,270	164,494	49,626	120,543	60,782	880,715
	(County)	242,636	82,096	24,813	59,772	30,391	439,708
	Total	$727,906	$246,590	$74,439	$180,315	$91,173	$1,320,423

NOTE: Method of tax computation - City: 70% of assessed property evalutation at full rate of 29.25 mills
County: 50% of assessed property evaluation at full rate of 20.75 mills

#Examples:			
21 story Phoenix Corporation Apartment	(land, 2.2 acres - $200,000) (improvements - $3,000,000)	tax before (City & County)	$1,884
		tax after	$42,950
		tax increase	41,066
302 unit Holiday Inn Motel	(land - 3.8 acres - $429,000) (improvements - $3,000,000)	tax before (City & County)	$4,408
		tax after	$48,298
		tax increase	43,890

Prepared by Department of Urban Renewal, 13th Floor, City Hall, Atlanta 3, Georgia

Status of Sale of Parcels in Urban Renewal Projects

March 20, 1963

* Project	Parcel	Acreage	Price Rec'd	Value of New Development	Nature of New Development	Anticipated Tax Return
R-9	A-2	2.19	$200,000	$3,286,000	21 story apt.	$54,380
R-9	A-3	3.85	429,000	3,000,000	300 rm. Motel	53,490
R-9	A-6	.60	78,000	400,000	4 story off.	7,456
R-9	A-7	.27	30,000		bldg. & parking	468
R-9	B-1-9	22.20	450,000	4,000,000	520 unit apts.	71,320
R-9	C-5a,6	2.51	48,150	2,100,000	210 unit P.H. for elderly (C)	none
R-9	C-5	4.17	125,000	250,000	Public Park	none
R-9	C-23a	.19	6,702	See A-6,7	Parking facility	100
R-9	C-25,26	3.47	70,000	342,000	76 unit apts.	6,427
R-9	C-28	1.37	78,100	375,000	20 unit store bldg.	7,066
R-9	D-4,5	4.47	650,000	4,000,000	400 rm. Motel	72,540
R-10	B-10a	.407	17,719	30,000	Off. & Whse.	744
R-11	1,2,3	7.56	295,100	640,100	Public school	none
R-11	4	3.479	65,000	582,000	97 unit apt.	10,093
	41	.06	4,250	18,500	commer. bldg.	350
	58	.183	2,450	8,500	model residence	170
	9a,b	1.42	56,800	564,000	college dormitory	none
	18	7.8	312,000	912,000	college building	none
R-22	Sect.I	30.30	180,136	819,864	100 Residences(s.f.)	12,320
	Sect.II	12.50	101,250	450,000	50 residences(s.f.)	6,150
Totals		108.999	$3,199,757	$21,327,964		$303,074

R-9 Butler Street Project
R-10 Rawson-Washington Project
R-11 University Center Project
R-22 Thomasville Project

4

Butler St. Project Pays Tax Dividend

CONST. By BARBARA MILZ 8-31-62

Tax income for Atlanta and Fulton County will be up $106,817 a year after completion of four projects now under way in the Butler Street Urban Renewal area, Earl Metzger, director of redevelopment, said Thursday.

Metzger said that while the entire 227-acre Butler project area returned only $96,989 a year in city and county taxes before renewal was begun in 1959, improvements on the first four parcels of land alone will result in a $106,817 increase in tax returns.

In the urban renewal program, the Atlanta Housing Authority, as agent for the city, buys sub-standard property in the designated project areas, develops the land with streets and utility systems, then re-sells the land to private enterprise for development.

9 PER CENT MORE

Metzger said the 31 acres already sold or under sales contract in the Butler Street Urban renewal project have brought in $1,219,000, a figure 9 per cent over the expected sales price.

More than a third of the land that will be sold has already been sold or is under sales contract, he said.

In the Thomasville project in Southeast Atlanta, 100 new housing units are occupied or are now ready for occupancy. This area is being developed for individual housing. When the project started, 431 families lived in this neighborhood, mostly in grossly substandard housing.

SERVE 800 FAMILIES

When the project is completed, the area will serve nearly 800 families in new, privately owned housing.

Metzger said the Housing Authority now owns, or has in condemnation proceedings, all of the 266 acres in the Thomasville project.

About one-fifth of the land to be sold in the area is already under sales contracts. These contracts are worth $180,136.

Improvements in the two tracts already developed in the Thomasville project will increase city and county tax returns by $9,415, Metzger said, an increase of one-third.

Metzger said an additional 15 lots for private individual residential building will be offered for bids within the next 15 days in the Thomasville area.

In the 332-acre Rawson-Washington project immediately south of Atlanta's business area, 94 per cent of the property has been acquired or is in condemnation. None of this property has as yet been sold, but 15 industrial tracts on the east side of McDaniel Street are now being advertised for bids.

Construction of new street patterns and installation of utilities is expected to start this fall in the 147-acre Rockdale Urban Renewal Project. The Housing authority now has purchased, or has in condemnation proceedings, more than half of the land to be acquired in the project. Sales of land in this area will start next spring, Metzger said.

This now undeveloped area held 460 families before the project was started. After development, the land will hold 1,666 families.

In the University Center project, 350 acres in the Atlanta University section, the emphasis is on rehabilitation. Work is underway on a new school building in the renewal area.

Metzger said that homeowners working in the project have made expenditures totaling more than $500,000 in bringing their private homes up to Atlanta housing standards.

5

Eugene Patterson

You Won't Pay This $44,000

CONST. 3-21-61

The Atlanta citizen is making a tax break for himself. He is not cutting back on services to do it. Instead he is making a better town while doing it.

He is beginning to see the payoff in urban renewal.

Up to now he has heard about it. Now he can see it.

First, urban renewal clears slums.

Second, it sells the cleared land for better buildings yielding higher taxes.

Third, these higher taxes will help keep the bite off the citizen's own pocketbook.

* * *

Now the citizens can see the plans turning into the payoff.

Take the first renewed area as an example—3.8 acres between Cain and Ellis Streets. Blighted buildings came down. Bids were received. The winning bid for the land came from a group that will build a 302-unit Holiday Inn, six stories tall.

It is estimated that the annual property tax on this property will be $48,000.

Before renewal the property produced just $4,000 in taxes.

That is the break that will keep the bite off the Atlanta taxpayer's little house and lot. When the Holiday Inn people drop a new $44,000 into the city kitty it is bound to spare you some tax pressure on your own purse.

Five areas are presently getting the urban renewal works. Sy Gordy estimates the local tax derived from these five areas was only $260,000 before.

Thus the estimated tax take of $48,000 from the very first lot sold in just one of the five areas already amounts to 20 per cent of the total tax take produced by the whole five areas when they were abandoned to blight.

As more of this land is sold for higher-tax uses, the tax base of Atlanta will obviously broaden enormously. And the growing city will have a place to look for tax revenue besides the small home-owner's hip pocket.

The gross cost of the five urban renewal projects—$40 million—sounded like a lot of money and was. Sale of the cleared land to people like Holiday Inn will get back $15 million of it, making the net cost $25 million, still quite a bankroll.

* * *

But $17 million of that $25 million comes from the federal government, leaving the local government share at only $8 million, with the bulk of that going into schools, streets, sewers and parks to serve the expanding city.

So any taxpayer who hasn't put pencil to paper yet and figured out what urban renewal means to his pocketbook is missing one of life's little pleasures here in the tax season.

And the real beauty is that he is getting something more than tax savings. He is building a better town and creating a better life for slum-dwellers while making a tax break for himself. This is what urban renewal is all about. This is why growth beats retreat as an economic policy. And because Atlanta citizens can see the rewards and surmount all the difficulties of detail and dislocation to achieve them, this city is going places.

URBAN RENEWAL DEPARTMENT

City of Atlanta

November 7, 1962

HOUSING CODE ENFORCEMENT

Some Accomplishments Thru September 30, 1962

(Other than in Urban Renewal Projects)

Housing Code improvement cases made on 4,034 properties, involving 9,337 units.

" " " " complied 2,562 " , " 5,777 " .

Improvements have averaged $1,000 per unit (conservatively estimated).

On the 5,777 units complied, this amounts to $5,777,000.00 in new improvements over a three year period.

In addition, during the same period, dilapidated structures have been demolished under the Housing Code on 433 properties, and new construction has already gone up or is now being built on many of those sites. The estimated value of this new construction amounts to $5,604,908.00. This represents roughly $100,000.00 annually in new taxes, at current rate of assessments, over that which was being derived previously from these same sites with the dilapidated structures on them.

Also, it is estimated that additional improvements, equal to at least 50% of the above figures, has resulted through the indirect influence of the Housing Code, through voluntary efforts of property owners, but without cases actually having been made under the Housing Code against such properties.

In addition to this, 2,887 F.H.A. Insured 221 homes for displaced families of medium income have been built and sold by private enterprise in Atlanta, at an average price of at least $10,000.00 each. All of these homes have been built on land which was previously undeveloped. Even with homestead exemption on every one of these houses, this still represents $217,000.00 annually in tax returns to the City and County, whereas the taxes paid previously on the undeveloped land amounted to only approximately $7,000.00.

The above are only some of the tangible benefits brought about as a result of the City-wide efforts of Urban Renewal, and does not take into consideration the social and environmental benefits which have resulted from these efforts or from improvements being made in Urban Renewal Project areas.

Malcolm D. Jones

Malcolm D. Jones
Director

7

ACHIEVEMENTS . . . PROBLEMS

JOURNAL 2-5-63

Slum Fight Story---the Numbers And the Human Considerations

By PAT WATTERS

IN A sketchy and impressionistic way, this is a presentation on current slum-fighting efforts of the Atlanta Urban Renewal Department.

The situation: In the worst Atlanta slum, Buttermilk Bottoms, 1,200 to 1,600 "dwelling units" where 6,000 human beings live are estimated to be substandard. This is in terms of a bare-minimum housing code, requiring such niceties as hot water, bathing facilities, windows.

(A one-room cave in a typical tenement in the area rents to a couple for $8 a week, according to the occupant, a Negro man who opens the door to a housing inspector without ever asking who he is or why he is looking around. The room has two slits, about one foot high, two feet wide, for windows. They are chinked with cloth against the cold. A radiant gas heater burns. The air is close. The sink is stopped up. Cooking is on a hot plate. Couldn't they find a better place to live? The man shakes his head, indicating either that he can't or he doesn't know or that it doesn't matter.)

LIMITED MANPOWER

Rationale: Buttermilk Bottoms is the worst of eleven remaining slums slated for urban renewal clearance on a map in the office of Oliver Ownby, chief housing inspector of the Urban Renewal Department. It is general policy that these areas are not subject to intensive inspection. The feeling is that if you got them up to standard, you still wouldn't have much, and that it is better to use limited inspection manpower on bordering and borderline slum areas and over the city generally to prevent more slums from developing.

If money were available, it would take until 1970 to get the eleven worst areas cleared out. This and the areas already cleared, and with success of slum-prevention inspections, would make Atlanta virtually slumless. But money is not now available. The bond issue proposal for urban renewal, if approved, would not take care of all of Buttermilk Bottoms.

Mr. Ownby said he felt the only way his job can get lasting results is for the property owners to come to understand why they should want to end slums, not to have to be forced into it.

Meanwhile, there are 6,000 human beings in there, and thousands in the other ten areas.

The work: Last year, 1,691 initial inspections were made by Mr. Ownby's staff. Another 11,290 re-inspections were made. There were 530 minor deficiency cases. There were 1,306 major repairs ordered involving 3,140 units. There were 1,181 compliances in this category affecting 2,681 units. There were 385 orders for demolitions affecting 835 units, and 227 compliances affecting 508 units. Families displaced were 508. There were 185 court cases, 184 of which were won.

You can ride around areas where this work has been going on and see its results. A house among a block of shacks, or a block among an area of shabbiness or whole areas in a rundown section will have shining roofs and fresh paint and an air of wholesomeness. Cleared areas where houses were ordered destroyed are refilled with new, basically decent apartment houses.

(You can also see a big, wooden house, broken into apartments which rent for $30 a month, in a state of general decay, with inadequate patchings, and an under-the-house, unbelievable jumble of filth and scattered junk—old tables, boards, floor furnaces, beds, trunks, rabbit pens—a breeding ground for rats and fires. It has been two years since the owner was notified to bring the place up to standards.)

TWENTY NEEDED

Problems: There are nine inspectors, including the chief. He is not in the field constantly, nor is one man who handles court cases. This leaves seven men to cover the city. Twenty would be more nearly what is needed. They work in a scatter-gun pattern which means a lot of initial inspections, but not enough time for the necessary follow-through actions that would convince recalcitrant slum profiteers that delay in obeying orders is fruitless. It takes an average of six reinspections to get compliance of defects found in the initial inspections. Follow-up caseloads continue to increase.

A hitch in the law is the provision that an owner must be allowed a chance to fix a place not up to standards. In some cases, deterioration is so great that demolition is the only answer. A cut-off point for degree of deterioration beyond which repairs wouldn't be allowed is needed.

8

A REPORT

To The Citizens of Atlanta

On

URBAN RENEWAL

During

1961

URBAN RENEWAL DEPARTMENT
CITY OF ATLANTA
BY
MALCOLM D. JONES, DIRECTOR

PUBLISHED BY
CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
FOR URBAN RENEWAL
J. ARCH AVARY, JR., CHAIRMAN

9

CITY OF ATLANTA

Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor

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URBAN RENEWAL DEPARTMENT

City of Atlanta

REPORT FOR 1961

I. PURPOSE, FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The primary purpose of this report is to bring to the citizens of Atlanta a better concept of Urban Renewal, why we have it, how it works, who is responsible for it, what has been accomplished to date, principal needs for the future and suggestions for accomplishing them.

The Urban Renewal Department performs four major functions, the first and foremost of which is prescribed in ordinance establishing the Department, adopted July 1, 1957 which states, "The functions of this department shall be to study the Urban Renewal requirements of the City of Atlanta, to determine ways and means for their accomplishment and to provide and facilitate timely coordination and orderly development of Urban Renewal plans, projects and other related activities throughout the city . . . and to make recommendations for facilitating progress on Urban Renewal in the City of Atlanta. . ."

In carrying out this function the Urban Renewal Department serves as the staff of the Urban Renewal Committee of the Board of Aldermen and performs the principal coordinating activities on Urban Renewal matters with other Departments and Agencies. This work is performed by the Director, Assistant Director, Rehabilitation Specialist and Secretary.

The second function assigned this Department, as of July 1, 1959, is enforcement of the Housing and Slum Clearance Code of the City of Atlanta. For this purpose the Department is now authorized a Chief Inspector, 8 Field Inspectors and 2 Clerks.

The third function is the city-wide responsibility for providing relocation housing assistance for families displaced by Governmental action, including expressway acquisition, and for issuance of certificates of eligibility to displaced families for purchase of FHA insured mortgage homes under the 221 Program. A relocation Housing Officer and Secretary perform this function.

The fourth and most recently assigned function, since August 1, 1960, is responsibility for enforcement of the City Ordinance requiring that demolitions be accomplished within a prescribed time limit after issuance of demolition permit and that resulting debris, litter and rubble be removed from the premises. This function is performed by the Environmental Improvement Division, in addition to Housing Code enforcement.

The Urban Renewal Department, with advice and assistance of other Departments, especially the Planning Department, initiates and makes recommendations to the Urban Renewal Committee of the Board of Aldermen for new Urban Renewal Projects, reviews Urban Renewal Plans for the Urban Renewal Committee and when appropriate initiates changes in boundaries of existing Projects.

Survey, planning and execution of the City's current Urban Renewal Projects, after selection, designation and adoption of the Projects by the City, has been delegated by Ordinance to the Housing Authority of the City of Atlanta, as the City's Agent.

However, the establishment of broad policies for operation of the entire Urban Renewal program and responsibility for insuring that they are carried out is a duty and function of the City (the Mayor and Board of Aldermen) executed through its Urban Renewal Committee. This responsibility should not and cannot be delegated.

II. SUMMARY—EXISTING URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS:

Atlanta's five Urban Renewal Projects now comprise 1303 acres, originally contained 2,971 substandard residential structures to be demolished, 1500 dwellings to be rehabilitated, will require 4,545 families to move and after redevelopment will house 7,598 families in safe, decent and sanitary standard housing (a gain of 969 families) above the number that were in the areas originally. The net project cost of the first five projects will be roughly $27,000,000, of which the local share is $9,000,000, with $18,000,000 being borne by the Federal Government.

Of the local share, all but $1,500,000 in cash, the total 1957 Urban Renewal Bond funds, is being provided by non-cash grants in aid by other departments for capital improvements which will serve the areas. $4,500,000 of this amount is being provided by the Board of Education in the form of school construction.

Taxes (city and county) derived from the areas before the projects started was $160,000 annually; after redevelopment is complete the value of newly constructed taxable property in the areas is conservatively estimated to be $125,000,000, producing in real estate taxes alone $1,600,000 annually, an increase of ten fold.

The first three (center of town) projects were adopted in February, 1956, and the two outlying projects, for relocation purposes, were adopted in August, 1957. Final plans for Butler, Rawson-Washington and Thomasville Projects were approved July, 1959, and for University and Rockdale June, 1960. Execution is considered to have started in Butler, Rawson-Washington and Thomasville Projects January 1, 1960, and in University and Rockdale January 1, 1961. The redevelopment phase is five years for all projects.

By year end 1961, some 2400 substandard properties had been acquired by the Housing Authority at an expenditure of $17,000,000. 70% of all parcels to be acquired, have been purchased or are under condemnation; all property in the Thomasville Project had been acquired or was in the process of condemnation; over 1,000 substandard structures had been demolished and their occupants rehoused in standard dwellings; 431 dwelling units in the Urban Renewal Projects had been brought up to standards required by the Housing Code and 673 additional units were in the process of being rehabilitated. Six parcels, consisting of 69.43 acres, or 7.5% of the Urban Renewal tracts, have already been sold for redevelopment valued at $12,068,350. This includes a $3,250,000, 21 story, luxury apartment building; a 1,000 pupil elementary school, an 8 story Holiday Motel; 596 medium priced rental apartment units; and 100 units of single family 221 sales housing.

III. PRINCIPAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE URBAN RENEWAL DEPARTMENT:

Housing Code Enforcement:

In order to make the Housing Code felt throughout the entire city, the Environmental Improvement Division has devoted its efforts during 1961 primarily to the worst property in the block or neighborhood basis. However, in addition to city-wide coverage, conservation areas in salvagable, residential neighborhoods have now been selected for concentrated effort in 1962 on a house-by-house basis. This should result in substantial increased production during 1962.

A Summary of Housing Code Enforcement Activities Follows:

As of December 31, 1961

		Initiated	Completed	Sept.-Dec.
**/6. Major Repairs:	Cases	695	82	'59
		793	544	1960
		1509	1046	1961
	Units	3628	1307	1959
		3063	2270	1961
/4. Demolitions:	Cases	111	51	1960
		326	205	1961
	Units	271	216	1960
		712	407	1961
/3. Minor Deficiencies: (Usually clean up of premises)		201	130	1959
		306	329	1960
		974	410	1961
/2. Properties Inspected in Conservation Areas			747	
/2. Cases referred to other Departments			121	1960
			207	1961
/2. Demolition Permits complied			387	
/2. Court cases for non-compliance with Demolition Permits			(9)	
/3. Cases considered by Better Housing Commission			(137)	1960
			(325)	1961
Units Placarded (with approval of B.H.C.)			(242)	1960
			(675)	1961
Families required to move—for demolitions			(192)	1960
Families required to move for other reasons			(465)	1961
			(7)	
/6. Court Cases for Housing Code violations (all won)			36	1960
			47	1961

*NOTES:

Where no dates are indicated, figures pertain to 1961 operations only.
Figures in ( ) also included under other items.
/6. Requires average of 6 inspections each
/4. Requires average of 4 inspections each.
/3. Requires average of 3 inspections each.
/2. Requires average of 2 inspections each.
At year end, Inspectors were carrying an average work load of approximately 225 uncompleted cases each.

The above was accomplished with only 4 Inspectors in 1959 and 1960; in 1961 with 6-1/3 Inspectors; 8 Inspectors are now authorized.

The Better Housing Commission has considered 462 slow moving and difficult cases in an effort to resolve them without court action; and has authorized the placarding of 917 dwelling units.

Relocation Housing:

During 1961, 620 certificates of eligibility (23 to Whites and 597 to Negroes) were issued by the Relocation Housing Division to displaced families for the purchase of FHA insured mortgage homes built by private enterprise. A total of 3,210 certificates (306 to Whites and 2904 to Negroes)

have been issued under this program to date. Since this program started in 1958, building permits have been issued for construction within the City of Atlanta for 2,889 single family, 221 houses (1072 for Whites and 1817 for Negroes). All but 100 of these have been completed and all but 137 of the completed houses have been sold and occupied. This program alone represents $29,000,000 in new construction in Atlanta.

The Relocation Housing office of this Department has relocated 58 displaced families in private rentals and referred 340 families to Public Housing.

Fight Blight:

During April, 1961, the Urban Renewal Department, with the assistance of other Departments and agencies, promoted and spear-headed a very successful city-wide FIGHT BLIGHT campaign. This was closely tied in with and supported by the Women's Chamber of Commerce in connection with its annual Clean Up, Paint Up, Fix Up Campaign.

Exhibits:

During the week of August 21-26, 1961, this Department participated with other City Departments in providing displays at Lenox Square for the "Salute to Atlanta." The Department also had a very substantial and informative Urban Renewal display at the Southeastern Fair.

Recertification of Workable Program:

The Department prepared, with assistance of material furnished by other Departments and Agencies, Atlanta's annual report for Recertification of Progress in Community Improvement (Workable Program). The principal comments by the Federal Government in its Recertification of the Workable Program (to January 1, 1963) were:

(1) That progress in Housing Code enforcement is good, but the City badly needs additional Inspectors and suggestion was made that building permit fees might be increased to finance the cost of the Housing Code enforcement service; and

(2) That activities of the Citizens Advisory Committee for Urban Renewal be more comprehensive and positive in the role of actually accomplishing community improvements.

Apartment Improvement:

Inspection and upgrading major medium rental apartment developments has been undertaken by the Rehabilitation Specialist of the Department.

Revision of Housing Code:

A comprehensive revision of the Housing Code is currently being undertaken, designed to clarify and strengthen certain provisions of the Code, based on our 2½ years actual experience in Code Enforcement.

IV. OTHER MAJOR URBAN RENEWAL ~~REP~~ORTS AND RELATED PROJECTS:
EFF

Buttermilk Bottoms:

The 160 acre Buttermilk Bottoms tract has, since November, 1960, been designated and adopted by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen as a future Urban Renewal Project. This area has long been considered by many as Atlanta's future Number 1 Urban Renewal Project.

West End:

A General Neighborhood Renewal Plan study is underway in a 650 acre area of the "West End": to be completed in June, 1962. It is anticipated that a $1,500,000 Urban Renewal Project will develop in at least 10% of the area being studied.

Transportation Plaza:

A Feasibility Study for future Urban Renewal Projects is being made by the Planning Department in the 500 acre tract known as "Transportation Plaza," which includes the area between Whitehall-Spring Streets and Northside Drive, from McDaniel Street to North Avenue.

Georgia State College:

An Urban Renewal Project for expansion of Georgia State College along Decatur Street, between Central Avenue and Piedmont Avenue, is already definitely underway, with the entire local share of the cost of the project being borne by Georgia State College and the State Board of Regents.

Howard School:

Application has been prepared for submittal to the Federal Government for a small Urban Project

sponsored by the School Department primarily for expansion of Howard High School. The Board of Education has committed itself to defray all but $17,500 of the cost of the local share of this project.

East Atlanta:

An application is being prepared by the Housing Authority for a 110 acre Urban Renewal Project in East Atlanta in the Mayson Avenue-Hardee Street area. About half of this project is contemplated for rehabilitation. There is also sufficient vacant land in this project to provide location within the project for construction of additional public housing units required, before any demolition takes place within the project area.

Bond Issue:

Since 1958 the Urban Renewal Department has been working consistently for adoption of a Long Range Program for future Urban Renewal Projects, has developed such a proposal for consideration by the Urban Renewal Committee and is prepared to present and support the proposal before the Bond Commission. This proposal is for six year program, 1962-7, and, in addition to the projects listed above, includes five other badly needed projects. Two of these are proposed as "companion" projects to complement others. The local share of this proposed six year program amounts to $8,000,000. This includes a $1,000,000 revolving fund for non-Federal-assisted projects. This amount is not excessive, when compared with the needs of the City, and is in keeping with the financial effort being made in Urban Renewal by other cities of comparable size.

Relocation Housing:

Other developments in progress, not a direct part of but closely related to Urban Renewal, are the 650 unit Field Road Public Housing Project for Negroes and 250 units of high-rise Public Housing for Elderly (Whites) now underway on Ashby Street, just South of the Joel Chandler Harris Public Housing Project. Also commitment has been made in the Eastern sector of the Butler Street Urban Renewal Project for 200 units of high-rise Public Housing for the Elderly (Negroes).

V. CITIZENS PARTICIPATION:

The highlight of citizen participation during 1961 was the enthusiastic and effective part played by neighborhood groups, business associations,

trade organizations, clubs and individual citizens in Atlanta's first FIGHT BLIGHT Campaign. The Citizens Advisory Committee for Urban Renewal was particularly helpful in a clerical, financial and advisory capacity. Throughout the year the Acting Director of the Citizens Advisory Committee published and distributed to its membership a very informative weekly newsletter. The Citizens Advisory Committee also provided for publication of the 1960 Report of the Urban Renewal Department, and has offered to publish this report. It has also been very active through the courtesy of the Trust Company of Georgia in arranging informative talks and tours on Urban Renewal for various citizen groups.

The Chamber of Commerce has listed progress in Urban Renewal as one of its seven major objectives during 1962. The first edition of "Atlanta" (January, 1962, edition), a publication sponsored by the "Forward Atlanta" movement of the Chamber of Commerce, contained as its primary feature an excellent article on Urban Renewal.

The Central Atlanta Association and the newly organized Uptown Association have both strongly endorsed and adopted policy supporting Urban Renewal.

The League of Women Voters published during 1961 a special edition of its "FACTS" pamphlet devoted exclusively to Urban Renewal. Both this organization and the Voters Guild prominently featured Urban Renewal in their educational campaigns for voters during the 1961 Primary and General Election. All local candidates for re-election during the 1961 Mayor and Board of Aldermen campaign endorsed and promised support for Urban Renewal.

The local press, radio and television have consistently supported and assisted the Urban Renewal Program.

VI. SPECIAL NEEDS FOR THE FUTURE:

(a) According to the 1960 census, there are 40,000 dwelling units within the City of Atlanta that are dilapidated or deteriorating. These represent areas of the City six times as extensive as our current Urban Renewal Projects. It takes little imagination to see the need for Housing Code Enforcement and Urban Renewal clearance projects in these areas.

(b) A Long Range Program for future Urban Renewal Projects, with some degree of acceptance for future development, is essential to planning areas for Housing Code Enforcement, taking full

advantage of capital improvements by other Departments for Urban Renewal credit purposes and for controlling, or at least influencing, interim developments in various critical areas of the City.

(c) Adequate provision for financing such a program on a continuing basis is a must, if Urban Renewal is to serve the purpose intended in Atlanta, and which it is capable of doing, if given adequate financial support. The City simply cannot afford to fail to take advantage of the opportunity now offered, through the Urban Renewal Program, to rid itself of its extensive festering slums.

(d) Future substantial Urban Renewal Projects cannot be undertaken, however, without simultaneously providing for additional Public Housing to accommodate those displaced families whose income is too low to buy or rent standard dwelling units in the open market.

(e) The adoption by the City of Minimum Standards for existing commercial and industrial properties, similar to those now in the Housing Code for residential structures, is essential if we are to eliminate slums and upgrade neighborhoods.

(f) Violations of the Housing Code are so numerous and extensive, it is doubtful that material progress can be made in corrective measures until the Courts adopt the policy of fining offenders on first notice and summons for Housing Code violations, in much the same manner as is now followed in Traffic Court for traffic violations.

(g) The Sanitary, Health and Fire Departments have been and can continue to contribute tremendously to Environmental Improvement throughout the City by assisting in enforcing clean up of premises and removal of accumulations of trash and litter from occupied properties and vacant lots. This will, at the same time, improve sanitary and health conditions and reduce fire hazards.

(h) Improvement of apartment zoning regulations would greatly assist, from an Environmental Improvement standpoint, prevention of future slums, through new construction .

(i) Greater restrictions and controls on operators of junk yards and salvage dumps throughout the City is very much needed. A requirement for screening *existing* establishments in this category with a woven redwood fence, similar to that now required for *new* establishments would be a

tremendous benefit to the City in its Environmental Improvement effort.

(j) Thorough rehabilitation through Housing Code enforcement is the backbone of the City-wide Urban Renewal effort. Increased emphasis *now* on this phase, with additional Housing Code Inspectors, is far cheaper and more practical for the City than clearance and redevelopment *later*, except in those areas which are already so badly deteriorated that it is not economically feasible to rehabilitate them.

(k) The need urgently exists for some appropriate incentives, probably tax concessions, to encourage private enterprise to redevelop, at no cost to the City, slum areas in accordance with plans and appropriate controls established and approved by the City.

VII. IN APPRECIATION:

The Urban Renewal Department is especially appreciative of assistance and cooperation rendered during 1961 in the overall Urban Renewal effort by the following on various and special occasions, for which space herein does not permit detailed recognition.

Various Departments of the City of Atlanta (especially the Planning and Construction Departments):

Housing Authority of the City of Atlanta
Board of Education
Atlanta-Fulton County Joint Planning Board
State Highway Department
Fulton County Health Department
Federal Agencies
Citizens Advisory Committee for Urban Renewal
Municipal Court
Better Housing Commission
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Women's Chamber of Commerce
Central Atlanta Association
Uptown Association
Atlanta Real Estate Board
Fulton County Grand Juries
Grand Jurors Association
Voters Guild
League of Women Voters
Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta newspapers and local radio and television stations
Trust Company of Georgia
And host of organizations, clubs and individual friends and supporters

The Urban Renewal Department especially

wishes to acknowledge the valuable services and consistent support given this Department and the Urban Renewal Program by two former members of the Urban Renewal Committee, Alderman Jesse Draper and W. A. "Bill" Sims, who chose not to stand for re-election in the 1961 political campaign.

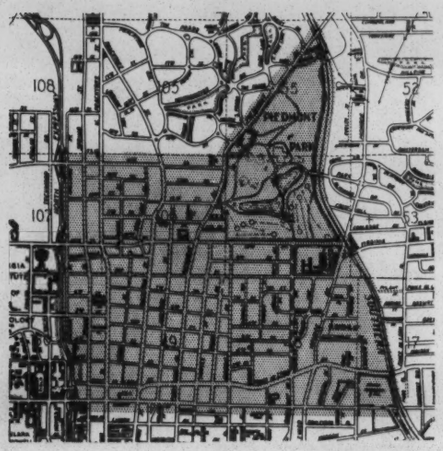
Uptowning -----

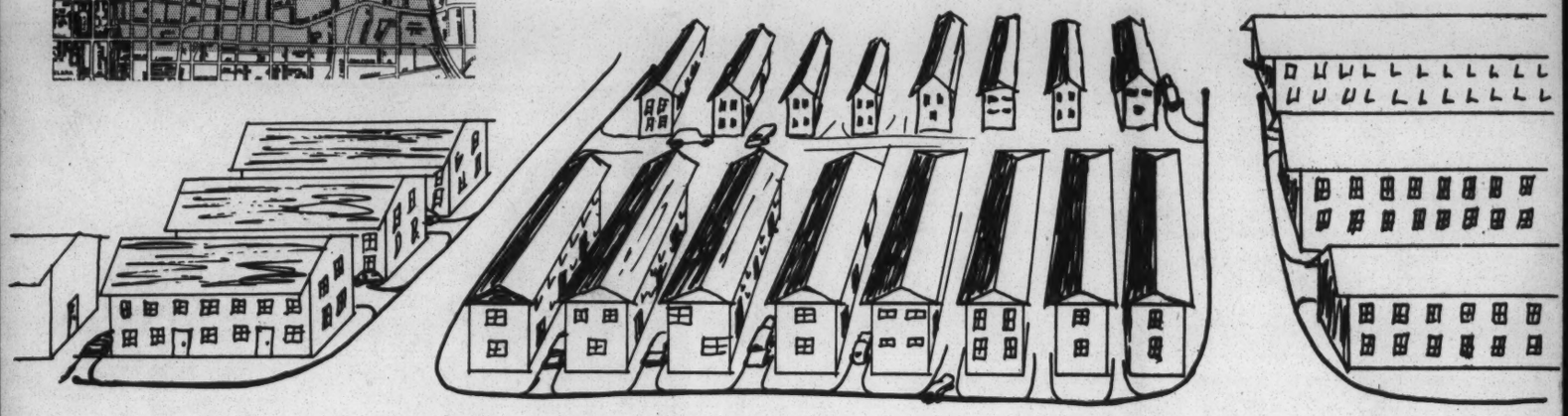
UPTOWN ASSOCIATION of ATLANTA

"Planning for Progress..."

NUMBER 53 JUNE 11, 1963

872-0124 Room 914 615 Peachtree St., Atlanta 8, Ga.





"Shot-Guns"

"Too bad to keep — too good to tear down"

New slums are being built faster than the old are cleared.

Construction of "shotgun" apartments crowded lengthwise onto long, narrow lots, and void of vital amenities of open space, play areas, adequate parking, and pleasant design, threatens to choke this great City with an impenetrable mass of new slums which are "too bad to leave, and too good (expensive) to tear down."

Such apartments will deteriorate ---- rapidly.

The problem originates quite innocently when someone decides to erect "14 units" on a long, narrow lot, present site of an old, deteriorating, single-family home.

The argument: "wouldn't it be a real improvement to tear down that horrible old house and replace it with a fine, new, modern apartment?"

The foot is in the door of that block.

The first "shotgun" is not too bad --- maybe inconspicuous or even superficially pleasant looking --- nestled innocently among its single-family neighbors.

But, then two things happen:

1. Adjacent property owners can't stand the invasion of privacy and overcrowding, and
2. They are approached with offers from opportunists who see their dilemma.

Thus the cancer starts its spread.

After all, if the first person could erect "14 units", why shouldn't the next, ... and the next, ... and the next?

Soon the block rivals wartime army encampments.

The first "dear young couples" find the situation intolerable. ..... fenders are scraped in crowded driveways .... bedroom secrets become public through thin walls .... quality of tenants gets progressively worse.

Slums are on the way.

FOR WHOM DOES THE BELL TOLL?

It tolls for the innocent taxpayer who must unknowingly subsidize this folly.

In failing to provide adequate parking, open space, play areas, and decent planning, these "shotguns" impose themselves heavily not only on the immediate neighborhood, but on the entire City as well.

Doomed to overcrowding and deterioration, these new slums will demand disproportionate police and fire protection. They will be problem centers.

THE BELL TOLLS for downtown property owners and businessmen who would be hurt by such Mediocrity.

IT TOLLS FOR A GREAT CITY.

TOWARD ACTION:

What can be done?

The City Planning Department is working on changes in the Zoning Ordinance, designed to remedy this situation.

Basically, these changes require that adequate open space be provided, that parking be sufficient, and that other basic amenities be provided. Assembly of large parcels for planned, substantial development, is encouraged by these changes. Harmful effects on neighbors are minimized by these changes.

MAY THESE REVISIONS BE ENACTED QUICKLY, AND WITHOUT "GRANDFATHER CLAUSES" WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE LAST-MINUTE BUILDERS TO GET IN UNDER THE WIRE.

And then, it is hoped that Administrators of the Ordinance, the Planning and Zoning Board, the Board of Adjustments, and the public will work earnestly to tighten the belt against this problem which could seriously and permanently hurt Atlanta.

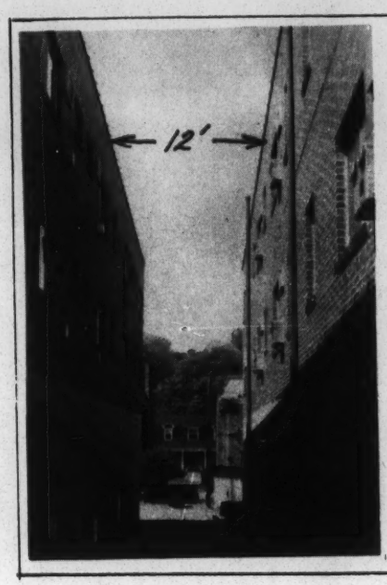
ATLANTA FORWARD ---- THROUGH SOUND DEVELOPMENT.

Uptowning-----

#1 #2 #3 #4

The "line-up"---

---note originality of design as seen from street.



Note the 12' canyon. Has excellent view into next-door apartment.

Main access to basement parking through unpaved alleys.

Dent-conscious tenants----

----park off of narrow, inadequate driveway.

Inspiring front-door view---

Uptowning - - - -

"No visitors allowed"

Sometimes the skill and ingenuity needed to meet zoning requirements are surpassed only by that of tenants trying to make inadequate facilities work.

Parking lot for new, 8-unit apartment - - -

Combination parking lot, playground, landscaping, and garbage dump.

Mouth-watering 20 units - - -

Another one-note drive

Here's hoping that appropriate action will be forthcoming so that we may grow BIGGER & BETTER — NOT BIGGER & WORSE —

Bob Bivens

Eugene Patterson

A Judgment To Be Made

As the owner of some Buttermilk Bottom slum houses talked rapidly of his blamelessness in the Chestnut Way floods, the mind reached beyond the squalor of backstreet Atlanta to Latin America—and further still. Dr. Milton Eisenhower has just written a book about Latin America.

In "The Wine Is Bitter" he describes his first missions down there in the early 1950s. His brother, the President, had asked him to shape a new policy for Latin America. Thinking then was "solely in terms of orthodox economic aid." But what he saw emerge was "a surging, swelling, revolutionary demand, not just for aid, but for rapid social revolution in country after country."

* * *

The Latin America Dr. Eisenhower visited is across the Caribbean Sea. Buttermilk Bottom is within walking distance of this office, and the old, the poor and the blind there had mud in their shanties again. The landlord was talking, but so was Dr. Eisenhower. Latin America, he wrote fervently, is on the edge of revolution, and North and South Americans must recognize the alternatives.

"The real alternatives are between justice and injustice, freedom and enslavement, poverty and plenty—between peaceful revolution leading to progress and violent revolution leading to tyranny."

There was no threat of violent revolution down in Buttermilk Bottom, of course. The Negroes in the wet, ruined shacks were too few, too weak, or too old for that. For the second time in two months there was just mud on the floor, wet baby clothes, ruined food, stagnant water and swarming flies, and an outraged reporter like The Constitution's Barbara Milz to tell us what the barefoot mother of eight children said: "I don't know what we're going to do."

The slum owner was still talking rapidly. No, he didn't really think some of those propped-up shacks of his were fit to live in. Yes, he had sought an injunction against the urban renewal people when they wanted to tear them down. No, he didn't believe the poor people who were paying him as little as $27.50 a month rent could afford to live anywhere else, so he felt he was performing some sort of service by renting such shacks. Yes, he was making $9,000 a year off those rentals.

He pictured himself as filling a necessary need by renting houses where eight or nine people live in a room, because it was the only place they could afford to live unless public housing were to be built for them.

* * *

But many rental property owners oppose public housing as socialism and demand that the whole thing be left to private enterprise. So why didn't the slum owner get his money out of the Buttermilk Bottom slum stuff—cooperate with urban renewal if necessary—and put it into better private enterprise housing at a price those people could afford?

You can't do that, he said. Private enterprise can't build decent places for such poor people to live at prices they can afford. Oh?

Get public housing, was his out. But private enterprise fights public housing. So he goes on making money renting slums not fit to live in. And the city goes on telling why it can't stop the flooding of the shacks. And the barefoot mother says she doesn't know what she's going to do.

The first thing Americans ought to do, if they are serious about their reverence for the American system, is to set some minimum standards as to what kind of life the system is going to yield its poor. Dr. Eisenhower said it for the hemisphere. Atlantans have a local decision to make, if we believe our speeches.

City Relocating 156 From Flooded Area

By JIM BENTLEY

About 30 families in flood-plagued Buttermilk Bottoms will be moved to new homes within a few days, city officials said Wednesday.

A total of 156 persons will be relocated from the flood-threatened area of Chestnut Way and Butler Street NE, officials said. Of these, 78 will be moved to 17 units in city-owned urban renewal projects for temporary residency.

It was also disclosed Wednesday that efforts are underway to obtain funds for an $800,000 sewer from Piedmont Park to just south of Baker.

It was the lack of adequate sewer lines in Buttermilk Bottoms which led to flooded homes, mud-covered clothing spoiled foodstuffs and dangerous sanitary conditions after heavy rains of past months.

Announcement of the city's decision to take action on the matter was made Wednesday at a meeting of Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., city department heads and aldermen.

In addition, plans were made to fight spreading slum conditions in nearby neighborhoods by placarding vacant buildings which are unfit for habitation and possibly cutting off utilities.

Alderman Rodney Cook said some of the 78 persons who are not being moved into city projects will be able to find other housing on their own, and the city will continue its search for additional units.

The cost of moving all 156 persons, and the costs of repair work on the 17 urban renewal units, will be paid by the Protestant Welfare and Social Service, Cook said.

City Engineer Ray Nixon said work on the sewer can begin as soon as arrangements are made to borrow $450,000. Aldermanic approval would be needed to borrow the funds.

Celestine Sibley

An Open Letter to Mayor Allen And the Chamber of Commerce

Gentlemen: This is an appeal from one who loves Atlanta to you who work almost full time to keep it worthy of love. Please drive down and take a look at Chestnut Avenue, NE. Yourselves. Now. Don't call the health department or the welfare department or the city sanitarians or the urban renewal people. As you love Atlanta and care whether it is a decent city, go yourselves and take a look at a horrid little pocket of human suffering on the front of our municipal shirt.

You can't miss Chestnut Avenue. Just go Piedmont to Baker and turn left at Butler. From there on your nose will guide you. You'll smell mud, well flavored with city sewage, stagnant water standing in old basements, the fine aroma of old flooring soaked with human excrement and scrubbed with lye, mouldy mattresses drying in the sun, old quilts covered with mildew, crumbling plaster, rotting sills and spoiled food.

Just another slum, you might say. But this slum is a special one. It is a city-created slum. The houses on little Chestnut Avenue and its neighbor, Chestnut Way, aren't anything the Chamber of Commerce would point to with pride, it's true.

They are tenements. But 20-odd Negro families lived in them with reasonable comfort and decency until three months ago when an overloaded sewer in the area of the new expressway suddenly shot a Mississippi River type flood into the area. That was May.

It happened again last week. Within ten minutes families saw water pour into their yards, rise over their thresholds and climb half-way up the walls of their houses, overturning refrigerators and tables, floating their food and their clothes out the door.

These are poor people, Mr. Mayor and gentlemen. But many of them pay $30 or $40 a month for their hovels and try to keep them clean.

The day I visited there had been a mass hosing down of floors and clothes washing. Everywhere I saw little garden patches and flower boxes—evidence of caring about a home.

Nobody reimburses them for their losses. The landlord blames the city. The city . . . what does the city say? That it can't be helped? I can't believe that, not of Atlanta. It's not the Atlanta way to wait for an epidemic of typhoid to break out before the health department moves in, is it?

I hope it is not the Atlanta way to wait until some child or old and ill person is drowned by flood waters before the city either corrects the faulty sewer system or condemns the area and evacuates its residents to a safer place.

Barbara Milz was my guide to Chestnut Avenue. She and Zenas Sears of WAOK have made trip after trip down there and they know it well. They can show you but I doubt if you'll need help in finding it. It's within full view of all the beautiful big buildings which make our skyline such a heart-lifting sight.

Please go and see.

Celestine Sibley.

THE LOWER DEPTHS

The 'Other America' Is Our Great Failure

By JOSEPH ALSOP

Philadelphia.

FOR ANY fairly prosperous white American, who is also proud of his country, on-the-spot reporting of the civil rights crisis in a big Northern city like this one is an almost unbearably painful experience.

If anything, the situation of the Negroes here in Philadelphia is rather better than in most of the great Northern cities. But go into Philadelphia's Negro slums, with their countless blocks of half-ruinous row houses, in which it is not uncommon to find 20 or 30 people living in six filthy little rooms, with a single, unspeakable common toilet.

You find squalid, teacher-short high schools from which more than three-quarters of the children drop out before completing the course. You are led to one 12-block area where 80 per cent of the young were found to be jobless by a recent survey.

"Things are better," people tell you. But when you ask how much better, you get such an answer as I got from one of the leaders of the Philadelphia Ministers Conference, Rev. Amos Brackeen.

JOBS

"You can't imagine what it means to my people," he said very simply, "to see the gas meter being read or a few cases of soft-drinks being delivered by men of their own race. Those are jobs involving money, receipts, paper work. They weren't jobs for Negroes before just the other day."

The nine Americans in 10 who belong to the affluent America should be sentenced by law to spend one day a week in that other America that you find in the slums of North Philadelphia.

See the situation at first hand, furthermore, and you will learn the bitter truth that although discrimination is being worn away by daily pressure, the underlying problem is still growing more difficult rather than more easy.

Already the earnings of Negro women are estimated to exceed the earnings of Negro men by as much as 80 per cent.

Every building that installs automatic elevators abolishes four or eight or ten Negro jobs. Every industrial process improved to eliminate rough, strong-backed work eliminates 30 or 40 or 50 Negro jobs.

And in Negro ghettos, educational deprivation has always gone hand-in-hand with economic deprivation; so those who lose their jobs as common laborers are never able to find jobs as skilled workers.

This is not just a Negro problem, either. In the other America of economic and educational deprivation the national statistics show that more than half the inhabitants are white men and women and children in depressed areas or unlucky cities or impoverished rural regions.

The time has come — indeed, the time came long ago — for a massive national effort to help all the inhabitants of this other America to escape into normal American society.

ESSENTIAL

For the Negro people, the end of racial discrimination is the most essential part of that effort. For all the inhabitants of the other America, huge investments are also needed, in education above all, but also in job-retraining programs.

Even then, the problem will not be solved for the Negro people unless their leaders quickly begin to recognize an additional duty besides the duty to be militant against discrimination. Resignation, hopelessness, the feeling that "it's no use learning to do jobs that aren't for Negroes," have played and still continue to play as large a role in Negro educational deprivation as the shocking badness of so many segregated schools.

Only the Negro leaders can combat these ingrained attitudes of their own people.

As for the rest of us, our task is to insure that the doors open wide and open fast; and if we fail, we should be derelict in our duties to our country and our God.—(c1963.)

. . . .

I. Exploratory Theme:

Based on present facts, will Atlanta's future growth, both economically and as a responsible vital body politic, be essentially healthy or malignant?

Specific Question:

What are the present dynamics in the reactions between Atlanta's sulms and suburbs, and between the business community and low socio-economic strata?

The focus of the series should be to constructively present the facts concerning the delimma facing modern American cities as the rate of urbanization accelerates. The primary focus should not be on exposing personalities.

II. Present Basic Facts:

A. There are many thousand of slum dwelling units surrounding the five present and projected urban renewal projects in which by policy there is no systematic enforcement of the Atlanta Housing Code.

Research of Implications:

1. These units provide a goldmine of low tax, high income investment for real-estate companies (see Ed Hughes' article in The Atlanta Journal, Spring, 1959).

2. These same areas are of the highest social disorganization in the city. What do they cost the city in manpower and money through police protection, welfare, courts and penal costs, school drop-outs, etc.?

3. Rapid deterioration of the adjoining neighborhoods is taking place daily under present policy.

4. What effect does the race question have on this picture? What is the ratio of Negro to White real-estate land use and population density? What effect does this have on the strength of the Negro block vote at the ward and precinct level? What effect does the land-use pattern and population density have on the present strategy of Negro real-estate - the Empire Realty Board, etc.?

And present times there!

5. What significance do the facts of 1 - 4 above have on the future of central Atlanta (or the present city limits) as a business - commerce - cultural center?

B. The present ineffectiveness of the official Housing Code and its enforcement, given the integrity and competency of Mr. Owenby and his staff of inspectors.

Research of Implications:

1. Number of dwelling units actually brought up to standards relative to the number of initial inspections made over a 4 year period, for instance. → And when these are all left.

2. Is there a lack of centralized authority and coordination at the City Hall which contributes to the ineffectiveness of enforcement?

3. Are there different philosophies, strategies, and official categories used by the different departments at City Hall which make present coordination of enforcement impossible?

4. What type and quality of communication is there between City Urban Renewal and the people of the city through the Aldermanic Urban Renewal Committee of which Rodney Cook is the present Chairman.

5. Is there a break-down of enforcement of the Housing Code at the point of proceedings in the courts.

6. Is there one over-all and coordinated community plan for Atlanta which would set the Housing Code and its enforcement in concrete perspective and provide a rationale for operating enforcement.

7. What are the various relations between the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the City Planning Department, and why are there these two bodies dealing with much the same material? Does the Citizen's Advisory Board of the Metropolitan Planning Commission carry out its proper function as a corrective and guide on the basis of all interests in Metropolitan Atlanta.

III. If A and B of II above provide a general picture of incompetency and unhealthiness, then research is warrented of the division of urban renewal in Atlanta from the 1950's to date as well as its future projections.

Research of Implications:

1. What were the rationale and criteria used for selecting the five initial Urban Renewal projects? Who made the decisions?

2. How was relocation handled, and how has it affected the present picture (II)?

3. Who has made money off of Atlanta Urban Renewal in the last ten years? And how is the Presidential Federal Housing Order affecting present and future Urban Renewal plans?

4. If there is no over-all plan, why not? What of neighborhood conservation? Is there, or will there be, a community re-development plan? Is the newly-approved bi-racial real-estate committee effective without such a plan? And without the plan, what function does this committee actually perform for the city? in light of present structure

5. If 1 - 4 above fit into a fairly disturbing picture, then the question of the effectiveness and competency of City Hall is raised. - So - what is "the role of City Government" in the urbanizing South.

what is role of top community leadership also?

6. Does Atlanta Business (the power structure) take advantage of City Hall for itsown needs in such specific ways that both the structure and the function of Atlanta's City government are seriously weakened.

7. What is needed at the level of City Government to assure a growing, responsible, and healthy Atlanta community for the future?

Possible comparisons of structure and function of city governments of New Haven, Connecticut, or Denver, Colorado, with Atlanta.

And relationship to County, and State govt. — Atlanta is in state in pop & more so in tax return.

BOOKS

Our Invisible Poor

IN his significantly titled "The Affluent Society" (1958) Professor J. K. Galbraith states that poverty in this country is no longer "a massive affliction [but] more nearly an afterthought." Dr. Galbraith is a humane critic of the American capitalist system, and he is generously indignant about the continued existence of even this non-massive and afterthoughtish poverty. But the interesting thing about his pronouncement, aside from the fact that it is inaccurate, is that it was generally accepted as obvious. For a long time now, almost everybody has assumed that, because of the New Deal's social legislation and—more important—the prosperity we have enjoyed since 1940, mass poverty no longer exists in this country.

Dr. Galbraith states that our poor have dwindled to two hard-core categories. One is the "insular poverty" of those who live in the rural South or in depressed areas like West Virginia. The other category is "case poverty," which he says is "commonly and properly related to [such] characteristics of the individuals so afflicted [as] mental deficiency, bad health, inability to adapt to the discipline of modern economic life, excessive procreation, alcohol, insufficient education." He reasons that such poverty must be due to individual defects, since "nearly everyone else has mastered his environment; this proves that it is not intractable." Without pressing the similarity of this concept to the "Social Darwinism" whose fallacies Dr. Galbraith easily disposes of elsewhere in his book, one may observe that most of these characteristics are as much the result of poverty as its cause.

Dr. Galbraith's error is understandable, and common. Last April the newspapers reported some exhilarating statistics in a Department of Commerce study: the average family income increased from $2,340 in 1929 to $7,020 in 1961. (These figures are calculated in current dollars, as are all the others I shall cite.) But the papers did not report the fine type, so to speak, which showed that almost all the recent gain was made by families with incomes of over $7,500, and that the rate at which poverty is being eliminated has slowed down alarmingly since 1953. Only the specialists and the statisticians read the fine type, which is why illusions continue to exist about American poverty.

Now Michael Harrington, an alumnus of the *Catholic Worker* and the Fund for the Republic who is at present a contributing editor of *Dissent* and the chief editor of the Socialist Party biweekly, *New America*, has written "The Other America: Poverty in the United States" (Macmillan). In the admirably short space of under two hundred pages, he outlines the problem, describes in imaginative detail what it means to be poor in this country today, summarizes the findings of recent studies by economists and sociologists, and analyzes the reasons for the persistence of mass poverty in the midst of general prosperity. It is an excellent book—and a most important one.

My only serious criticism is that Mr. Harrington has popularized the treatment a bit too much. Not in the writing, which is on a decent level, but in a certain vagueness. There are no index, no bibliography, no reference footnotes. In our overspecialized culture, books like this tend to fall into two categories: Popular (no scholarly "apparatus") and Academic (too much). I favor something intermediate—why should the academics have *all* the footnotes? The lack of references means that the book is of limited use to future researchers and writers. A pity, since the author has brought together a great range of material.

I must also object that Mr. Harrington's treatment of statistics is more than a little impressionistic. His appendix, which he calls a coming to grips with the professional material, doesn't live up to its billing. "If my interpretation is bleak and grim," he writes, "and even if it overstates the case slightly, that is intentional. My moral point of departure is a sense of outrage. . . . In such a discussion it is inevitable that one gets mixed up with dry, graceless, technical matters. That should not conceal the crucial fact that these numbers represent people and that any tendency toward understatement is an intellectual way of acquiescing in suffering." But a fact is a fact, and Mr. Harrington confuses the issue when he writes that "these numbers represent people." They do—and one virtue of his book is that he never forgets it—but in dealing with statistics, this truism must be firmly repressed lest one begin to think from the heart rather than from the head, as he seems to do when he charges those statisticians who "understate" the numbers of the poor with having found "an intellectual way of acquiescing in suffering." This is moral bullying, and it reminds me, *toutes proportions gardées*, of the habitual confusion in Communist thinking between facts and political inferences from them. "A sense of outrage"

"Well, well, well! Mr. Big!"

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is proper for a "moral point of departure," but statistics are the appropriate *factual* point of departure, as in the writings of Marx and Engels on the agony of the nineteenth-century English working class—writings that are by no means lacking in a sense of moral outrage, either.

These objections, however, do not affect Mr. Harrington's two main contentions: that mass poverty still exists in the United States, and that it is disappearing more slowly than is commonly thought. Two recent dry, graceless, and technical reports bear him out. One is that Commerce Department study, already mentioned. More important is "Poverty and Deprivation in the U.S.," a bulky pamphlet issued by the Conference on Economic Progress, in Washington, whose national committee includes Thurman Arnold, Leon H. Keyserling (said to be the principal author of the pamphlet), and Walter P. Reuther.

IN the last year we seem to have suddenly awakened, rubbing our eyes like Rip van Winkle, to the fact that mass poverty persists, and that it is one of our two gravest social problems. (The other is related: While only eleven per cent of our population is non-white, twenty-five per cent of our poor are.) Two other current books confirm Mr. Harrington's thesis: "Wealth and Power in America" (Praeger), by Dr. Gabriel Kolko, a social historian who has recently been at Harvard and the University of Melbourne, Australia, and "Income and Welfare in the United States" (McGraw-Hill), compiled by an imposing battery of four socio-economists headed by Dr. James N. Morgan, who rejoices in the title of Program Director of the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Dr. Kolko's book resembles Mr. Harrington's in several ways: It is short, it is based on earlier studies, and it is liberally inclined. It is less readable, because it is written in an academic jargon that is merely a vehicle for the clinching Statistic. Although it is impossible to write seriously about poverty without a copious use of statistics—as this review will demonstrate—it *is* possible to bring thought and feeling to bear on such raw material. Mr. Harrington does this more successfully than Dr. Kolko, whose prose is afflicted not only with academic blight but also with creeping ideology. Dr. Kolko leans so far to the socialist side that he sometimes falls on his nose, as when he clinches the inequality of wealth in the Unit-

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THE UNIVERSITY SHOPS
SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

ed States with a statistic: "In 1959, 23% of those earning less than $1,000 [a year] owned a car, compared to 95% of those earning more than $10,000." The real point is just the opposite, as any citizen of Iran, Ghana, Yemen, or the U.S.S.R. would appreciate—not that the rich have cars but that almost a quarter of the extremely poor do. Similarly, although Dr. Kolko has two chapters on poverty that confirm Mr. Harrington's argument, his main point is a different and more vulnerable one: "The basic distribution of income and wealth in the United States is essentially the same now as it was in 1939, or even 1910." This is a half fact. The rich are almost as rich as ever and the poor are even poorer, in the percentage of the national income they receive. Yet, as will become apparent later, there have been major changes in the distribution of wealth, and there has been a general improvement in living standards, so that the poor are much fewer today than they were in 1939. "Most low-income groups live substantially better today," Dr. Kolko admits. "But even though their real wages have mounted, their percentage of the national income has not changed." That in the last half century the rich have kept their riches and the poor their poverty is indeed a scandal. But it is theoretically possible, assuming enough general increase in wealth, that the relatively poor might by now have achieved a decent standard of living, no matter how inferior to that of the rich. As the books under consideration show, however, this theoretical possibility has not been realized.

Inequality of wealth is not necessarily a major social problem per se. Poverty is. The late French philosopher Charles Péguy remarks, in his classic essay on poverty, "The duty of tearing the destitute from their destitution and the duty of distributing goods equitably are not of the same order. The first is an urgent duty, the second is a duty of convenience. . . . When all men are provided with the necessities . . . what do we care about the distribution of luxury?" What indeed? Envy and emulation are the motives—and not very good ones—for the equalization of wealth. The problem of poverty goes much deeper.

"INCOME AND WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES" differs from the other works reviewed here in length (531 big pages) and in being the result of original research; 2,800 families were interviewed "in depth." I must confess that, aside from a few interesting bits of data, I got almost nothing out of it. I

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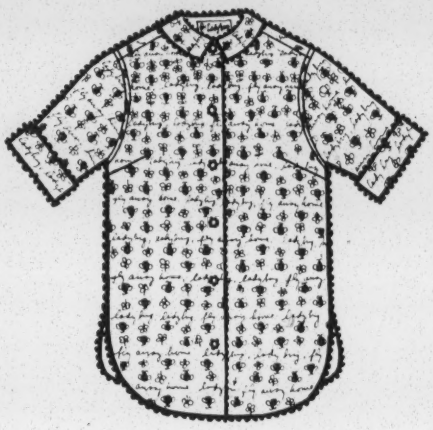

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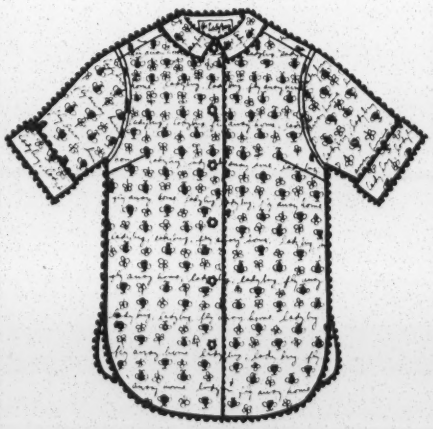

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assume the authors think poverty is still an important social problem, else why would they have gone to all this labor, but I'm not at all sure what their general conclusions are; maybe there aren't supposed to be any, in the best tradition of American scholarship. Their book is one of those behemoths of collective research financed by a foundation (in this case, largely by Ford) that daunt the stoutest-hearted lay reader (in this case, me). Based on "a multi-stage area probability sample that gives equal chance of selection to all non-institutional dwelling units in the conterminous United States [and that] was clustered geographically at each stage and stratified with interlaced controls," it is a specimen of what Charles Lamb called *biblia abiblia*—things that have the outward appearance of books but are not books, since they cannot be read. Methodologically, it employs something called the "multivariate analysis," which is explained in Appendix E. Typographically, Appendix E looks like language, but it turns out to be strewn with booby traps, all doubtless well known in the trade, like "dummy variables," "F ratios," "regression coefficients," "beta coefficients" (and "partial beta coefficients"), and two kinds of "standard deviations"—"of explanatory variable A" and "of the dependent variable."

My experience with such works may be summarized as follows: (alpha) the coefficient of comprehensibility decreases in direct ratio to the increase in length, or the longer the incomprehensibler, a notion that is illustrated here by the fact that Dr. Kolko's short work is more understandable than Dr. Morgan et al.'s long one; (beta) the standard deviation from truism is inversely related to the magnitude of the generalization, or the bigger the statement the more obvious. (Beta) is illustrated by the authors' five general proposals for action ("Implications for Public Policy"). The second of these is: "Fuller employment and the elimination of discrimination based on prejudice would contribute greatly to the independence of non-white persons, women, teenagers, and some of the aged." That is, if Negroes and the rest had jobs and were not discriminated against, they would be better off—a point that doesn't need to be argued or, for that matter, stated. The authors have achieved such a mastery of truism that they sometimes achieve the same monumental effect even in non-magnitudinous statements, as: "Table 28-1 shows that the proportion of parents who indicated that their children will attend pri-

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vate colleges is approximately twice as large for those with incomes over $10,000 as for those with incomes under $3,000." Could be.

WHAT is "poverty"? It is a historically relative concept, first of all. "There are new definitions [in America] of what man can achieve, of what a human standard of life should be," Mr. Harrington writes. "Those who suffer levels of life well below those that are possible, even though they live better than medieval knights or Asian peasants, are poor. . . . Poverty should be defined in terms of those who are denied the minimal levels of health, housing, food, and education that our present stage of scientific knowledge specifies as necessary for life as it is now lived in the United States." His dividing line follows that proposed in recent studies by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics: $4,000 a year for a family of four and $2,000 for an individual living alone. (All kinds of income are included, such as food grown and consumed on farms.) This is the cutoff line generally drawn today.

Mr. Harrington estimates that between forty and fifty million Americans, or about a fourth of the population, are now living in poverty. Not just below the level of comfortable living, but real poverty, in the old-fashioned sense of the word—that they are hard put to it to get the mere necessities, beginning with enough to eat. This is difficult to believe in the United States of 1963, but one has to make the effort, and it is now being made. The extent of our poverty has suddenly become visible. The same thing has happened in England, where working-class gains as a result of the Labour Party's post-1945 welfare state blinded almost everybody to the continued existence of mass poverty. It was not until Professor Richard M. Titmuss, of the London School of Economics, published a series of articles in the *New Statesman* last fall, based on his new book, "Income Distribution and Social Change" (Allen & Unwin), that even the liberal public in England became aware that the problem still persists on a scale that is "statistically significant," as the economists put it.

Statistics on poverty are even trickier than most. For example, age and geography make a difference. There is a distinction, which cannot be rendered arithmetically, between poverty and low income. A childless young couple with $3,000 a year is not poor in the way an elderly couple might be with the same income. The young couple's statistical

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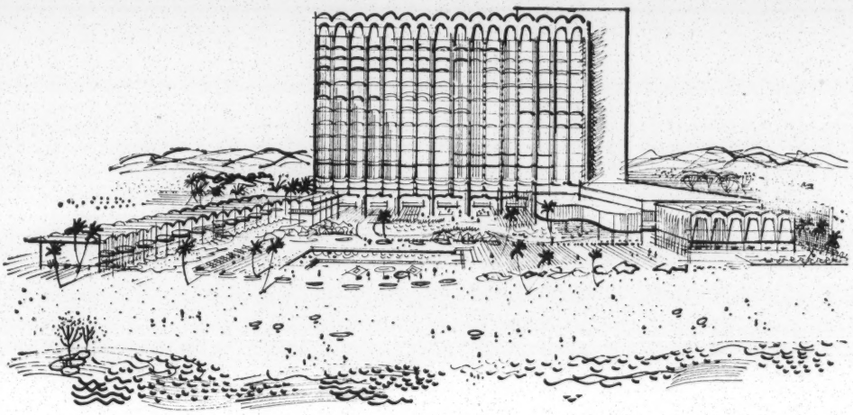

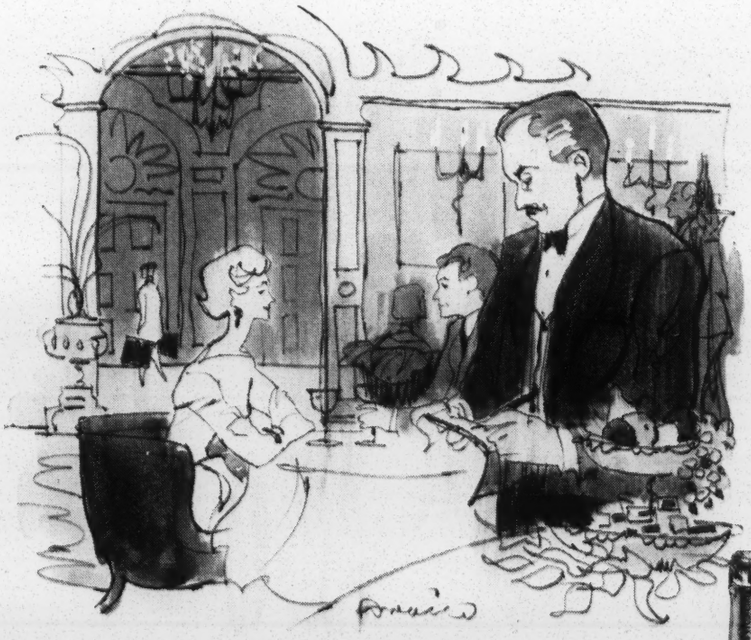

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poverty may be a temporary inconvenience; if the husband is a graduate student or a skilled worker, there are prospects of later affluence or at least comfort. But the old couple can look forward only to diminishing earnings and increasing medical expenses. So also geographically: A family of four in a small town with $4,000 a year may be better off than a like family in a city—lower rent, no bus fares to get to work, fewer occasions (or temptations) to spend money. Even more so with a rural family. Although allowance is made for the value of the vegetables they may raise to feed themselves, it is impossible to calculate how much money they *don't* spend on clothes, say, or furniture, because they don't have to keep up with the Joneses. Lurking in the crevices of a city, like piranha fish in a Brazilian stream, are numerous tempting opportunities for expenditure, small but voracious, which can strip a budget to its bones in a surprisingly short time. The subtlety and complexity of poverty statistics may be discovered by a look at Dr. Kolko's statement that in 1959 "23% of those earning less than $1,000 owned a car." Does this include college students, or are they included in their families' statistics? If the first is true, then Dr. Kolko's figure loses much of its meaning. If the second is, then it is almost *too* meaningful, since it says that one-fourth of those earning less than twenty dollars a week are able to afford a car. Which it is, deponent sayeth not.

It is not, therefore, surprising to find that there is some disagreement about just how many millions of Americans are poor. The point is that all these recent studies agree that American poverty is still a mass phenomenon. One of the lowest estimates appears in the University of Michigan's "Income and Welfare," which states, "Poor families comprise one-fifth of the nation's families." The authors do not develop this large and crucial statement, or even give sources for it, despite their meticulous pedantry in all unimportant matters. So one can only murmur that the other experts put the number of poor much higher. (Though even a fifth is still over 35,000,000 people.) The lowness of the Michigan estimate is especially puzzling since its cutoff figure for poverty is $4,330, which is slightly higher than the commonly accepted one. The tendentious Dr. Kolko is also unconvincing, in the opposite direction. "Since 1947," he writes, "one-half of the nation's families and unattached individuals have had an income too small to provide them with a maintenance standard of living," which he sets at

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$4,500 a year for a family. He does give a table, with a long supporting footnote that failed to make clear to me how he could have possibly decided that 90,000,000 Americans are now living on less than $4,500 a year; I suspect some confusion between a "maintenance" and a "minimum-comfort" budget.

More persuasive estimates appear in the Conference on Economic Progress pamphlet, "Poverty and Deprivation." Using the $4,000 cutoff, the authors conclude that 38,000,000 persons are now living in poverty, which is slightly less than Mr. Harrington's lowest estimate. One reason may be that the pamphlet discriminates, as most studies don't, between "multiple-person families" and "unattached individuals," rating the latter as poor only if they have less than $2,000 a year. But there is more to it than that, including a few things I don't feel competent to judge. Income statistics are never compiled on exactly the same bases and there are all kinds of refinements, which vary from one study to another. Thus the Commerce Department's April report estimates there are 17,500,000 families *and* "unattached individuals" with incomes of less than $4,000. How many of the latter are there? "Poverty and Deprivation" puts the number of single persons with under $2,000 at 4,000,000. Let us say that in the 17,500,000 under $4,000 there are 6,500,000 single persons—the proportion of unattached individuals tends to go down as income rises. This homemade estimate gives us 11,000,000 families with incomes of under $4,000. Figuring the average American family at three and a half persons—which it is—this makes 38,500,000 individuals in families, or a grand total, if we add in the 4,000,000 "unattached individuals" with under $2,000 a year, of 42,500,000 Americans now living in poverty, which is close to a fourth of the total population.

The reason Dr. Galbraith was able to see poverty as no longer "a massive affliction" is that he used a cutoff of $1,000, which even in 1949, when it was adopted in a Congressional study, was probably too low (the C.I.O. argued for $2,000) and in 1958, when "The Affluent Society" appeared, was simply fantastic.

THE model postwar budgets drawn up in 1951 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to "maintain a level of adequate living" give a concrete idea of what poverty means in this country—or would mean if poor families lived within their income and spent it wisely, which they don't. Dr. Kolko summarizes the kind of living these budgets provide:

> Three members of the family see a movie once every three weeks, and one member sees a movie once every two weeks. There is no telephone in the house, but the family makes three pay calls a week. They buy one book a year and write one letter a week.
>
> The father buys one heavy wool suit every two years and a light wool suit every three years; the wife, one suit every ten years or one skirt every five years. Every three or four years, depending on the distance and time involved, the family takes a vacation outside their own city. In 1950, the family spent a total of $80 to $90 on all types of home furnishings, electrical appliances, and laundry equipment. . . . The family eats cheaper cuts of meat several times a week, but has more expensive cuts on holidays. The entire family consumes a total of two five-cent ice cream cones, one five-cent candy bar, two bottles of soda, and one bottle of beer a week. The family owes no money, but has no savings except for a small insurance policy.

One other item is included in the B.L.S. "maintenance" budget: a new car every twelve to eighteen years.

This is an ideal picture, drawn up by social workers, of how a poor family *should* spend its money. But the poor are much less provident—installment debts take up a lot of their cash, and only a statistician could expect an actual live woman, however poor, to buy new clothes at intervals of five or ten years. Also, one suspects that a lot more movies are seen and ice-cream cones and bottles of beer are consumed than in the Spartan ideal. But these necessary luxuries are had only at the cost of displacing other items—necessary necessities, so to speak—in the B.L.S. budget.

THE Conference on Economic Progress's "Poverty and Deprivation" deals not only with the poor but also with another large section of the "underprivileged," which is an American euphemism almost as good as "senior citizen;" namely, the 37,000,000 persons whose family income is between $4,000 and $5,999 and the 2,000,000 singles who have from $2,000 to $2,999. The authors define "deprivation" as "above poverty but short of minimum requirements for a modestly comfortable level of living." They claim that 77,000,000 Americans, or *almost half the population*, live in poverty or deprivation. One recalls the furor Roosevelt aroused with his "one-third of a nation—ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." But the political climate was different then.

The distinction between a family income of $3,500 ("poverty") and

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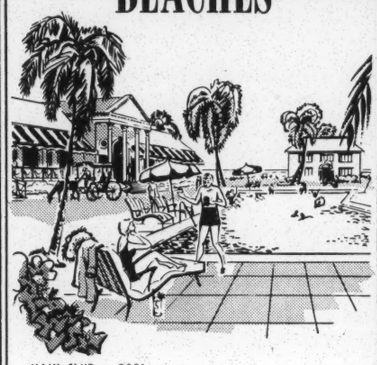

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$4,500 ("deprivation") is not vivid to those who run things—the 31 per cent whose incomes are between $7,500 and $14,999 and the 7 per cent of the topmost top dogs, who get $15,000 or more. These two minorities, sizable enough to feel they *are* the nation, have been as unaware of the continued existence of mass poverty as this reviewer was until he read Mr. Harrington's book. They are businessmen, congressmen, judges, government officials, politicians, lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, editors, journalists, and administrators in colleges, churches, and foundations. Since their education, income, and social status are superior, they, if anybody, might be expected to accept responsibility for what the Constitution calls "the general welfare." They have not done so in the case of the poor. And they have a good excuse. It is becoming harder and harder simply to *see* the one-fourth of our fellow-citizens who live below the poverty line.

The poor are increasingly slipping out of the very experience and consciousness of the nation [Mr. Harrington writes]. If the middle class never did like ugliness and poverty, it was at least aware of them. "Across the tracks" was not a very long way to go. . . . Now the American city has been transformed. The poor still inhabit the miserable housing in the central area, but they are increasingly isolated from contact with, or sight of, anybody else. . . . Living out in the suburbs, it is easy to assume that ours is, indeed, an affluent society. . . .

Clothes make the poor invisible too: America has the best-dressed poverty the world has ever known. . . . It is much easier in the United States to be decently dressed than it is to be decently housed, fed, or doctored. . . .

Many of the poor are the wrong age to be seen. A good number of them are sixty-five years of age or better; an even larger number are under eighteen. . . .

And finally, the poor are politically invisible. . . . They are without lobbies of their own; they put forward no legislative program. As a group, they are atomized. They have no face; they have no voice. . . . Only the social agencies have a really direct involvement with the other America, and they are without any great political power. . . .

Forty to fifty million people are becoming increasingly invisible.

These invisible people fall mostly into the following categories, some of them overlapping: poor farmers, who operate 40 per cent of the farms and get 7 per cent of the farm cash income; migratory farm workers; unskilled, unorganized workers in offices, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, laundries, and other service jobs; inhabitants of areas where poverty is either endemic ("peculiar to a people or district"), as in the rural South, or epidemic ("prevalent among a community at a special time and produced by

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some special causes"), as in West Virginia, where the special cause was the closing of coal mines and steel plants; Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who are a fourth of the total poor; the alcoholic derelicts in the big-city skid rows; the hillbillies from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Oklahoma who have migrated to Midwestern cities in search of better jobs. And, finally, almost half our "senior citizens."

THE only pages in "Poverty and Deprivation" that can be read are the statistical tables. The rest is a jungle of inchoate data that seems deliberately to eschew, like other collective research projects, such human qualities as reason (the reader has to do most of the work of ordering the material) and feeling (if Mr. Harrington sometimes has too much, it is a venial sin compared to the bleakness of this prose). My hypothesis is that "Poverty and Deprivation" was composed on that TX-0 "electronic brain" at M.I.T. This would account both for the vitality of the tables and for the deadness of the text.

And what shall one say about the University of Michigan's "Income and Welfare in the United States"? Even its *tables* are not readable. And its text makes "Poverty and Deprivation" look like the Federalist Papers. On the first page, the authors unloose a generalization of stupefying generality: "The United States has arrived at the point where poverty could be abolished easily and simply by a stroke of the pen. [Where have we heard *that* before?] To raise every individual and family in the nation now below a subsistence income to the subsistence level would cost about $10 billion a year. This is less than 2 per cent of the gross national product. It is less than 10 per cent of tax revenues. [They mean, but forgot to say so, *federal* taxes, since if state and local taxes were added, the total would be much higher than $100 billion.] It is about one-fifth of the cost of national defense." (They might have added that it is slightly more than three times the $3 billion Americans spend on their dogs and cats and canaries every year.) This got big headlines in the press, as must have been expected: " 'STROKE OF PEN' COULD ELIMINATE POVERTY IN U.S., 4 SCIENTISTS SAY." But the authors, having dropped the $10 billion figure on the first page, never explain its meaning—is it a seedbed operation or a permanent dole? They are not clear even on how they arrived at it. At their own estimate of 35,000,000 poor, $10 billion would work out to slightly less than $300 per person. This

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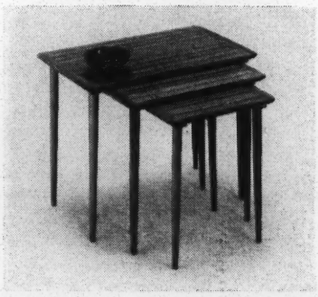

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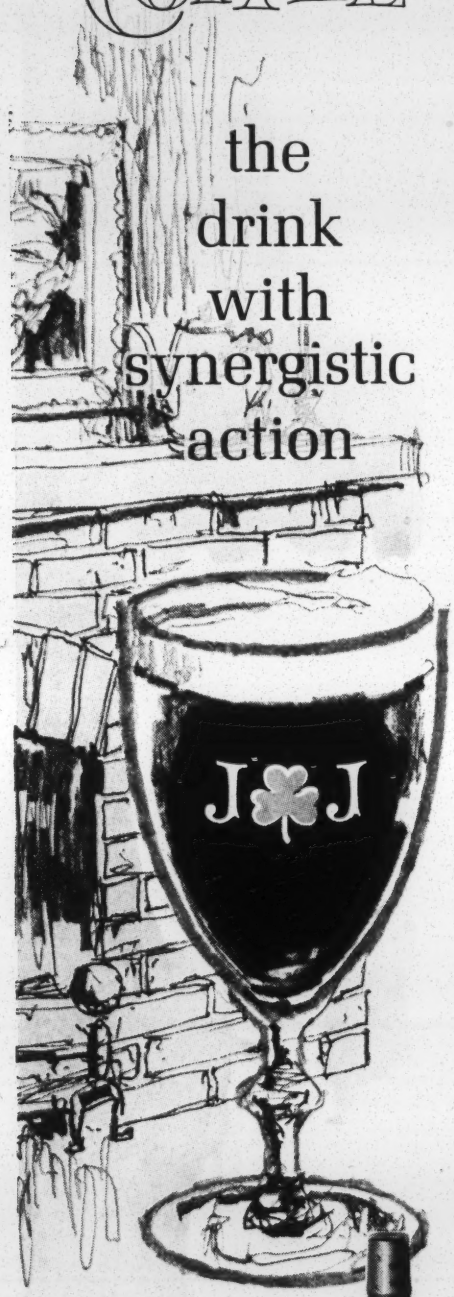

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seems too little to abolish poverty "easily and simply by a stroke of the pen."

There are other vaguenesses: "A careful analysis of the characteristics of families whose incomes are inadequate reveals that they should earn considerably more than they do on the basis of their education and other characteristics. The multivariate analysis . . . indicates that heads of poor families should average $2,204 in earnings. In fact heads of poor families earned an average of only $932 in 1959." I have already confessed my inability to understand the multivariate analysis, but the compilers seem to be saying that according to the variables in their study (race, age, sex, education, physical disabilities, and locale), heads of poor families should now be making twice as much as they are. And why don't they? "The discrepancy may arise from psychological dependency, lack of motivation, lack of intelligence, and a variety of other factors that were not studied." One wonders why they were not studied—and what those "other factors" were, exactly. Also, whether such a discrepancy—the earnings the researchers expected to find were actually less than half those they *did* find—may not indicate some ghastly flaw in that "multivariate analysis." There is, of course, no suggestion in the book that Dr. Morgan and his team are in any way worried.

THE most obvious citizens of the Other America are those whose skins are the wrong color. The folk slogans are realistic: "Last to be hired, first to be fired" and "If you're black, stay back." There has been some progress. In 1939, the non-white worker's wage averaged 41.4 per cent of the white worker's; by 1958 it had climbed to 58 per cent. A famous victory, but the non-whites still average only slightly more than half as much as the whites. Even this modest gain was due not to any Rooseveltian or Trumanian social reform but merely to the fact that for some years there was a war on and workers were in demand, whether black, white, or violet. By 1947, the non-whites had achieved most of their advance—to 54 per cent of white earnings, which means they have gained, in the last fifteen years, just 4 per cent.

The least obvious poverty affects our "senior citizens"—those over sixty-five. Mr. Harrington estimates that half of them—8,000,000—live in poverty, and he thinks they are even more atomized and politically helpless than the rest of the Other America. He estimates that one-fourth of the "unrelated indi-

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viduals" among them, or a million persons, have less than $580 a year, which is about what is allotted *for food alone* in the Department of Agriculture's minimum-subsistence budget. (The average American family now spends only 20 per cent of its income for food—an indication of the remarkable prosperity we are all enjoying, except for one-quarter of us.) One can imagine, or perhaps one can't, what it would be like to live on $580 a year, or $11 a week. It is only fair to note that most of our senior citizens do better: The average per-capita income of those over sixty-five is now estimated to be slightly over $20 a week. That is, about $1,000 a year.

The aged poor have two sources of income besides their earnings or savings. One is contributions by relatives. A 1961 White House Conference Report put this at 10 per cent of income, which works out to $8 a week for an income of $4,000—and the 8,000,000 aged poor all have less than that. The other is Social Security, whose benefits in 1959 averaged $18 a week. Even this modest sum is more than any of the under-$4,000 got, since payments are proportionate to earnings and the poor, of course, earned less than the rest. A quarter of them, and those in general the neediest, are not covered by Social Security. The last resort is relief, and Mr. Harrington describes most vividly the humiliations the poor often have to put up with to get that.

The problem of the aged poor is aggravated by the fact that, unlike the Italians or the English, we seem to have little respect for or interest in our "senior citizens," beyond giving them that honorific title, and we don't include them in family life. If we can afford it, we are likely to send them to nursing homes—"a storage-bin philosophy," a Senate report calls it—and if we can't, which is the case with the poor, they must make do with the resources noted above. The Michigan study has a depressing chapter on "The Economics of Living with Relatives." Nearly two-thirds of the heads of families queried were opposed to having their aged parents live with their children. "The old do not understand the young, and the young do not understand the old or the young," observed one respondent, who must have had a sense of humor. Other replies were "Old people are pretty hard to get along with" and "The parents and the children try to boss each other and when they live with you there's always fighting." The minority in favor gave practical reasons, like "It's a good thing to have them with you so you can see after them" and "The old

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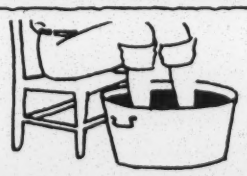

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folks might get a pension or something, so they could help you out." Hardly anyone expressed any particular respect for the old, or a feeling that their experience might enrich family life. The most depressing finding was "People most able to provide support for relatives are most opposed to it. Older people with some college education are eleven to one against it." The most favorable toward including older people in the home were Negroes, and even they were mostly against it.

The whole problem of poverty and the aged is especially serious today because Americans are living longer. In the first half of this century, life expectancy increased 17.6 years for men and 20.3 years for women. And between 1950 and 1960 the over-sixty-five group increased twice as fast as the population as a whole.

The worst part of being old and poor in this country is the loneliness. Mr. Harrington notes that we have not only racial ghettos but geriatric ones, in the cheap rooming-house districts of large cities. He gives one peculiarly disturbing statistic: "One-third of the aged in the United States, some 5,000,000 or more human beings, have no phone in their place of residence. They are literally cut off from the rest of America."

ERNEST HEMINGWAY's celebrated deflation of Scott Fitzgerald's romantic notion that the rich are "different" somehow—"Yes, they have money"—doesn't apply to the poor. They are different in more important ways than their lack of money, as Mr. Harrington demonstrates:

Emotional upset is one of the main forms of the vicious circle of impoverishment. The structure of the society is hostile to these people. The poor tend to become pessimistic and depressed; they seek immediate gratification instead of saving; they act out.

Once this mood, this unarticulated philosophy becomes a fact, society can change, the recession can end, and yet there is no motive for movement. The depression has become internalized. The middle class looks upon this process and sees "lazy" people who "just don't want to get ahead." People who are much too sensitive to demand of cripples that they run races ask of the poor that they get up and act just like everyone else in the society.

The poor are not like everyone else. . . . They think and feel differently; they look upon a different America than the middle class looks upon.

The poor are also different in a physical sense: they are much less healthy. According to "Poverty and Deprivation," the proportion of those "disabled or limited in their major activity by chronic ill health" rises sharply as in-

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come sinks. In reasonably well-off families ($7,000 and up), 4.3 per cent are so disabled; in reasonably poor families ($2,000 to $3,999), the proportion doubles, to 8 per cent; and in unreasonably poor families (under $2,000), it doubles again, to 16.5 per cent. An obvious cause, among others, for the very poor being four times as much disabled by "chronic ill health" as the well-to-do is that they have much less money to spend for medical care—in fact, almost nothing. This weighs with special heaviness on the aged poor. During the fifties, Mr. Harrington notes, "all costs on the Consumer Price Index went up by 12 per cent. But medical costs, that terrible staple of the aged, went up by 36 per cent, hospitalization rose by 65 per cent, and group hospitalization costs (Blue Cross premiums) were up by 83 per cent."

This last figure is particularly interesting, since Blue Cross and such plans are the A.M.A.'s alternative to socialized medicine, or, rather, to the timid fumblings toward it that even our most liberal politicians have dared to propose. Such figures throw an unpleasant light on the Senate's rejection of Medicare. The defeat was all the more bitter because, in the usual effort to appease the conservatives (with the usual lack of success—only five Republicans and only four Southern Democrats voted pro), the bill was watered down in advance. Not until he had spent $90 of his own money—which is 10 per cent of the annual income of some 3,000,000 aged poor—would a patient have been eligible. And the original program included only people already covered by Social Security or Railroad Retirement pensions and excluded the neediest of all—the 2,500,000 aged poor who are left out of both these systems. These untouchables were finally included in order to placate five liberal Republican senators, led by Javits of New York. They did vote for Medicare, but they were the only Republicans who did.

Mental as well as physical illness is much greater among the poor, even though our complacent cliché is that nervous breakdowns are a prerogative of the rich because the poor "can't afford" them. (They can't, but they have them anyway.) This bit of middle-class folklore should be laid to rest by a study made in New Haven: "Social Class and Mental Illness," by August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich (Wiley). They found that the rate of "treated psychiatric illness" is about the same from the rich down through decently paid workers—an average of 573 per 100,000. But in the bottom fifth it shoots up to 1,659 per 100,000. There is an even more striking difference in the *kind* of mental illness. Of those in the four top income groups who had undergone psychiatric treatment, 65 per cent had been treated for neurotic problems and 35 per cent for psychotic disturbances. In the bottom fifth, the treated illnesses were almost all psychotic (90 per cent). This shows there is something to the notion that the poor "can't afford" nervous breakdowns—the milder kind, that is—since the reason the proportion of *treated* neuroses among the poor is only 10 per cent is that a neurotic can keep going, after a fashion. But the argument cuts deeper the other way. The poor go to a psychiatrist (or, more commonly, are committed to a mental institution) only when they are completely unable to function because of psychotic symptoms. Therefore, even that nearly threefold increase in mental disorders among the poor is probably an underestimate.

The poor are different, then, both physically and psychologically. During the fifties, a team of psychiatrists from Cornell studied "Midtown," a residential area in this city that contained 170,000 people, of all social classes. The area was 99 per cent white, so the findings may be presumed to understate the problem of poverty. The description of the poor—the "low social economic status individual"—is blunt: "[They are] rigid, suspicious, and have a fatalistic outlook on life. They do not plan ahead. . . . They are prone to depression, have feelings of futility, lack of belongingness, friendliness, and a lack of trust in others." Only a Dr. Pangloss would expect anything else. As Mr. Harrington points out, such characteristics are "a realistic adaptation to a socially perverse situation."

As for the isolation that is the lot of the American poor, that is a point on which Mr. Harrington is very good:

> America has a self-image of itself as a nation of joiners and doers. There are social clubs, charities, community drives, and the like. [One might add organizations like the Elks and Masons, Rotary and Kiwanis, cultural groups like our women's clubs, also alumni associations and professional organizations.] And yet this entire structure is a phenomenon of the middle class. Some time ago, a study in Franklin, Indiana [this vagueness of reference is all too typical of "The Other America"], reported that the percentage of people in the bottom class who were without affiliations of any kind was eight times as great as the percentage in the high-income class.

Paradoxically, one of the factors that intensifies the social isolation of the poor

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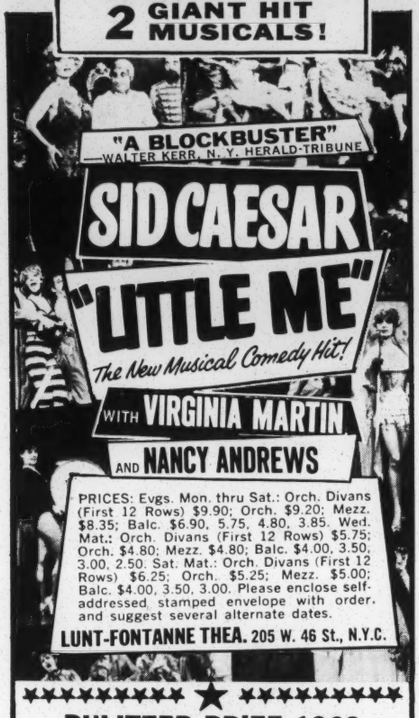

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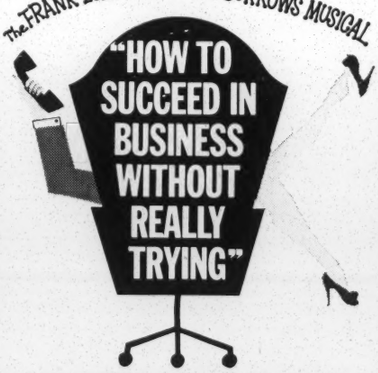

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is that America thinks of itself as a nation without social classes. As a result, there are few social or civic organizations that are separated on the basis of income and class. The "working-class culture" that sociologists have described in a country like England does not exist here.... The poor person who might want to join an organization is afraid. Because he or she will have less education, less money, less competence to articulate ideas than anyone else in the group, they stay away.

One reason our society is a comparatively violent one is that the French and Italian and British poor have a communal life and culture that the American poor lack. As one reads "The Other America," one wonders why there is not even more violence than there is.

THE richest city of all, New York, has been steadily growing poorer, if one looks beyond Park Avenue and Wall Street. Of its 2,080,000 families, just under half (49 per cent) had incomes in 1959 of less than $6,000; for the city's non-white families, the percentage was 71. And a fourth of all New York families in 1959 were below the poverty line of $4,000. These percentages are at present slightly higher than the national average—an ominous reversal of the city's earlier position. In 1932, the average national weekly wage was only 67 per cent of the New York City average. In 1960, it was 108 per cent. The city's manufacturing workers in 1946 earned $11 more a week than the national average; in 1960 they earned $6.55 a week less. The two chief reasons are probably the postwar influx of Puerto Ricans and the exodus to the suburbs of the well-to-do. But whatever the reasons, the city seems to be turning into an economically backward area, like Arkansas or New Hampshire. Even the bankers—the "non-supervisory" ones, that is—are modestly paid: 54 per cent of the males and 78 per cent of the females make less than $80 a week. All these statistics come from John O'Rourke, president of Joint Council 16, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which has 168,000 members in the area. Mr. O'Rourke has been campaigning to persuade Mayor Wagner to raise the city's minimum hourly wage to $1.50. (The Mayor has gone as far as $1.25.) The New York teamsters are motivated by enlightened self-interest: the more other wages stagnate, the harder it will be to maintain their own comparatively high level of pay. They complain especially about the low wages in the highly organized garment trade, to which Mr. Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union replies that if it

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presses for higher wages the manufacturers will simply move to low-wage, non-union areas, mostly in the South, as the New England textile manufacturers did many years ago—a riposte that is as realistic as it is uncheering. However, Mr. O'Rourke has an enterprising research staff, plenty of persistence, and a sharp tongue. "New Yorkers," he says, "are accustomed to thinking of themselves as pacesetters in an allegedly affluent society [but] at the rate we are going, we will soon qualify for the title 'Sweatshop Capital of the Nation.' "

THE main reason the American poor have become invisible is that since 1936 their numbers have been reduced by two-thirds. Astounding as it may seem, the fact is that President Roosevelt's "one-third of a nation" was a considerable understatement; over two-thirds of us then lived below the poverty line, as is shown by the tables that follow. But today the poor are a minority, and minorities can be ignored if they are so heterogeneous that they cannot be organized. When the poor were a majority, they simply could not be overlooked. Poverty is also hard to see today because the middle class ($6,000 to $14,999) has vastly increased—from 13 per cent of all families in 1936 to a near-majority (47 per cent) today. That mass poverty can persist despite this rise to affluence is hard to believe, or see, especially if one is among those who have risen.

Two tables in "Poverty and Deprivation" summarize what has been happening in the last thirty years. They cover only multiple-person families; all figures are converted to 1960 dollars; and the income is before taxes. I have omitted, for clarity, all fractions.

The first table is the percentage of families with a given income:

	1935-6	1947	1953	1960
Under $ 4,000	68%	37%	28%	23%
$4,000 to $ 5,999	17	29	28	23
$6,000 to $ 7,499	6	12	17	16
$7,500 to $14,999	7	17	23	31
Over $15,000	2	4	5	7

The second table is the share each group had in the family income of the nation:

	1935-6	1947	1953	1960
Under $ 4,000	35%	16%	11%	7%
$4,000 to $ 5,999	21	24	21	15
$6,000 to $ 7,499	10	14	17	14
$7,500 to $14,999	16	28	33	40
Over $15,000	18	18	19	24

Several interesting conclusions can be drawn from these tables:

(1) The New Deal didn't do anything about poverty: The under-$4,000 families in 1936 were 68 per cent of

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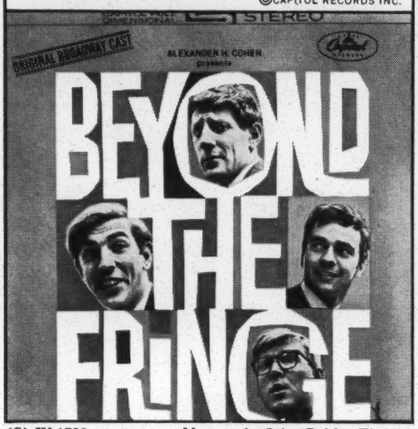

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the total population, which was slightly *more* than the 1929 figure of 65 per cent.

(2) The war economy (hot and cold) did do something about poverty: Between 1936 and 1960 the proportion of all families who were poor was reduced from 68 per cent to 23 per cent.

(3) If the percentage of under-$4,000 families decreased by two-thirds between 1936 and 1960, their share of the national income dropped a great deal more—from 35 per cent to 7 per cent.

(4) The well-to-do ($7,500 to $14,999) have enormously increased, from 7 per cent of all families in 1936 to 31 per cent today. The rich ($15,000 and over) have also multiplied—from 2 to 7 per cent. But it should be noted that the very rich, according to another new study, "The Share of Top Wealth-Holders in National Wealth, 1922-1956," by Robert J. Lampman (Princeton), have experienced a decline. He finds that the top 1 per cent of wealth-holders owned 38 per cent of the national wealth in 1929 and own only 28 per cent today. (Though let's not get sentimental over that "only.") Thus, *pace* Dr. Kolko, there has in fact been a redistribution of wealth—in favor of the well-to-do and the rich at the expense of the poor and the very rich.

(5) The reduction of poverty has slowed down. In the six years 1947-53, the number of poor families declined 9 per cent, but in the following seven years only 5 per cent. The economic stasis that set in with Eisenhower and that still persists under Kennedy was responsible. (This stagnation, however, did not affect the over-$7,500 families, who increased from 28 per cent to 38 per cent between 1953 and 1960.) In the New York *Times Magazine* for last November 11th, Herman P. Miller, of the Bureau of the Census, wrote, "During the forties, the lower-paid occupations made the greatest relative gains in average income. Laborers and service workers . . . had increases of about 180% . . . and professional and managerial workers, the highest paid workers of all, had the lowest relative gains—96%." But in the last decade the trend has been reversed; laborers and service workers have gained 39% while professional-managerial workers have gained 68%. This is because in the wartime forties the unskilled were in great demand, while now they are being replaced by machines. Automation is today the same kind of menace to the unskilled—that is, the poor—that the enclosure movement was to the British agricultural population centuries

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ago. "The facts show that our 'social revolution' ended nearly twenty years ago," Mr. Miller concludes, "yet important segments of the American public, many of them highly placed Government officials and prominent educators, think and act as though it were a continuing process."

"A REDUCTION of about 19% [in the under-$6,000 families] in more than thirty years, or at a rate of about 0.7% per year, is no ground for complacency," the authors of "Poverty and Deprivation" justly observe. There is even less ground for complacency in the recent figures on *extreme* poverty. The authors estimate the number of families in 1929 with incomes of under $2,000 (in current dollars) at 7,500,000. By 1947 there were less than 4,000,000, not because of any philanthropic effort by their more prosperous fellow-citizens but entirely because of those first glorious years of a war economy. Six years later, in 1953, when the economy had begun to slow down, there were still 3,300,000 of these families with incomes of less than $2,000, and seven years later, in 1960, "there had been no further reduction." Thus in the last fifteen years the bottom dogs have remained on the bottom, sharing hardly at all in the advances that the income groups above them have made in an ascending scale that is exquisitely adjusted, by the automatic workings of capitalism, so that it is inversely proportionate to need.

There are, finally, the bottomest bottom dogs; i.e., *families* with incomes of *under $1,000*. I apologize for the italics, but some facts insist on them. According to "Poverty and Deprivation," the numbers of these families "appear to have risen slightly" of late (1953-60), from 800,000 to about 1,000,000. It is only fair, and patriotic, to add that according to the Commerce Department study, about 10,000,000 of our families and unattached individuals now enjoy incomes of $10,000 a year and up. So while some 3,500,000 Americans are in under-$1,000 families, ten times as many are in over-$10,000 families. Not bad at all—in a way.

THE post-1940 decrease in poverty was not due to the policies or actions of those who are not poor, those in positions of power and responsibility. The war economy needed workers, wages went up, and the poor became less poor. When economic stasis set in, the rate of decrease in poverty slowed down proportionately, and it is still slow. Kennedy's efforts to "get the coun-

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try moving again" have been unsuccessful, possibly because he has, despite the suggestions of many of his economic advisers, not yet advocated the one big step that might push the economy off dead center: a massive increase in government spending. This would be politically courageous, perhaps even dangerous, because of the superstitious fear of "deficit spending" and an "unbalanced" federal budget. American folklore insists that a government's budget must be arranged like a private family's. Walter Lippmann wrote, after the collapse of the stock market last spring:

> There is mounting evidence that those economists were right who told the Administration last winter that it was making the mistake of trying to balance the budget too soon. It will be said that the budget is not balanced: it shows a deficit in fiscal 1962 of $7 billion. . . . But . . . the budget that matters is the Department of Commerce's income and product accounts budget. Nobody looks at it except the economists [but] while the Administrative budget is necessary for administration and is like a man's checkbook, the income budget tells the real story. . . .
>
> [It] shows that at the end of 1962 the outgo and ingo accounts will be virtually in balance, with a deficit of only about half a billion dollars. Thus, in reality, the Kennedy administration is no longer stimulating the economy, and the economy is stagnating for lack of stimulation. We have one of the lowest rates of growth among the advanced industrial nations of the world.

One shouldn't be hard on the President. Franklin Roosevelt, a more daring and experimental politician, at least in his domestic policy, listened to the American disciples of J. M. Keynes in the early New Deal years and unbalanced his budgets, with splendid results. But by 1936 he had lost his nerve. He cut back government spending and there ensued the 1937 recession, from which the economy recovered only when war orders began to make up for the deficiency in domestic buying power. "Poverty and Deprivation" estimates that between 1953 and 1961 the annual growth rate of our economy was "only 2.5 per cent per annum contrasted with an estimated 4.2 per cent required to maintain utilization of manpower and other productive resources." The poor, who always experience the worst the first, understand quite personally the meaning of that dry statistic, as they understand Kipling's "The toad beneath the harrow knows/Exactly where each tooth-point goes." They are also most intimately acquainted with another set of statistics: the steady postwar rise in the unemployment rate, from 3.1 per cent in 1949 to 4.3 per cent in 1954 to 5.1 per cent in 1958 to over 7 per cent in 1961. (The Tory Gov-

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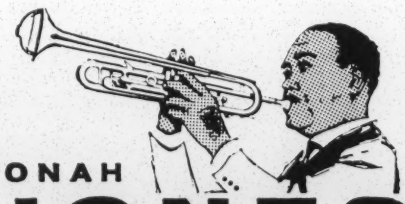

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ernment is worried because British unemployment is now at its highest point for the last three years. This point is 2.1 per cent, which is less than our lowest rate in the last fifteen years.)

Some of the post-1940 gains of the poor have been their own doing. "Moonlighting"—or holding two or more jobs at once—was practiced by about 3 per cent of the employed in 1950; today this percentage has almost doubled. Far more important is what might be called "wife-flitting": Between 1940 and 1957, the percentage of wives with jobs outside the home doubled, from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. The head of the United States Children's Bureau, Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, announced last summer, not at all triumphantly, that there are now two-thirds more working mothers than there were ten years ago and that these mothers have about 15,000,000 children under eighteen—of whom 4,000,000 are under six. This kind of economic enterprise ought to impress Senator Goldwater and the ideologues of the *National Review*, whose reaction to the poor, when they think about such an uninspiring subject, is "Why don't they *do* something about it?" The poor have done something about it and the family pay check is bigger and the statistics on poverty look better. But the effects on family life and on those 4,000,000 pre-school children is something else. Mrs. Oettinger quoted a roadside sign, "IRONING, DAY CARE AND WORMS FOR FISHING BAIT," and mentioned a baby-sitter who pacified her charge with sleeping pills and another who met the problem of a cold apartment by putting the baby in the oven. "The situation has become a 'national disgrace,' with many unfortunate conditions that do not come to public attention until a crisis arises," the *Times* summed up her conclusion. This crisis has finally penetrated to public attention. The President recently signed a law that might be called Day-care. It provides $5,000,000 for such facilities this fiscal year, which works out to $1.25 for each of the 4,000,000 under-six children with working mothers. Next year, the program will provide all of $2.50 per child. This is a free, democratic society's notion of an adequate response. Almost a century ago, Bismarck instituted in Germany state-financed social benefits far beyond anything we have yet ventured. Granted that he did it merely to take the play away from the Social Democratic Party founded by Marx and Engels. Still, one imagines that Count Bismarck must be amused—in the circle of Hell re-

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It's not that Public Opinion doesn't become Aroused every now and then. But the arousement never leads to much. It was aroused twenty-four years ago when John Steinbeck published "The Grapes of Wrath," but Mr. Harrington reports that things in the Imperial Valley are still much the same: low wages, bad housing, no effective union. Public Opinion is too public—that is, too general; of its very nature, it can have no sustained interest in California agriculture. The only groups with such a continuing interest are the workers and the farmers who hire them. Once Public Opinion ceased to be Aroused, the battle was again between the two antagonists with a real, personal stake in the outcome, and there was no question about which was stronger. So with the rural poor in general. In the late fifties, the average annual wage for white male American farm workers was slightly over $1,000; women, children, Negroes, and Mexicans got less. One recalls Edward R. Murrow's celebrated television program about these people, "Harvest of Shame." Once more everybody was shocked, but the harvest is still shameful. One also recalls that Mr. Murrow, after President Kennedy had appointed him head of the United States Information Agency, tried to persuade the B.B.C. not to show "Harvest of Shame." His argument was that it would give an undesirable "image" of America to foreign audiences.

THERE is a monotony about the injustices suffered by the poor that perhaps accounts for the lack of interest the rest of society shows in them. Everything seems to go wrong with them. They never win. It's just boring.

Public housing turns out not to be for them. The 1949 Housing Act authorized 810,000 new units of low-cost housing in the following four years. Twelve years later, in 1961, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. proposed 400,000 units to complete the lagging 1949 program. The Kennedy administration ventured to recommend 100,000 to Congress. Thus, instead of 810,000 low-cost units by 1953, the poor will get, if they are lucky, 500,000 by 1963. And they are more likely to be injured than helped by slum clearance, since the new projects usually have higher rents than the displaced slum-dwellers can afford. (There has been no dearth of government-financed *middle*-income housing since 1949.) These refugees from the bulldozers for the most part simply emigrate to other slums. They also become invisi-

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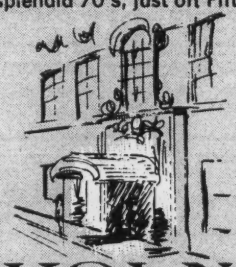

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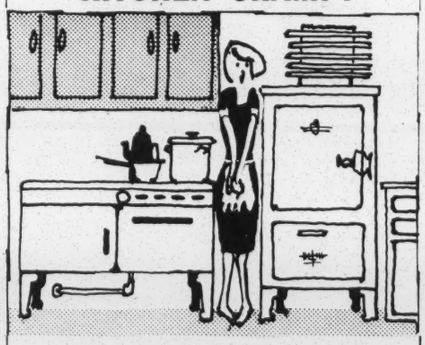

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ble; Mr. Harrington notes that half of them are recorded as "address unknown." Several years ago, Charles Abrams, who was New York State Rent Administrator under Harriman and who is now president of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, summed up what he had learned in two decades in public housing: "Once social reforms have won tonal appeal in the public mind, their slogans and goal-symbols may degenerate into tools of the dominant class for beleaguering the minority and often for defeating the very aims which the original sponsors had intended for their reforms." Mr. Abrams was probably thinking, in part, of the Title I adventures of Robert Moses in dealing with New York housing. There is a Moses or two in every American city, determined to lead us away from the promised land.

And this is not the end of tribulation. The poor, who can least afford to lose pay because of ill health, lose the most. A National Health Survey, made a few years ago, found that workers earning under $2,000 a year had twice as many "restricted-activity days" as those earning over $4,000.

The poor are even fatter than the rich. (The cartoonists will have to revise their clichés.) "Obesity is seven times more frequent among women of the lowest socio-economic level than it is among those of the highest level," state Drs. Moore, Stunkard, and Srole in a recent issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association.* (The proportion is almost the same for men.) They also found that overweight associated with poverty is related to mental disease. Fatness used to be a sign of wealth, as it still is in some parts of Africa, but in more advanced societies it is now a stigma of poverty, since it means too many cheap carbohydrates and too little exercise—which has changed from a necessity for the poor into a luxury for the rich, as may be confirmed by a glance at the models in any fashion magazine.

Although they are the most in need of hospital insurance, the poor have the least, since they can't afford the premiums; only 40 per cent of poor families have it, as against 63 per cent of all families. (It should be noted, however, that the poor who are war veterans can get free treatment, at government expense, in Veterans Administration Hospitals.)

The poor actually pay more taxes, in proportion to their income, than the rich. A recent study by the Tax Foundation estimates that 28 per cent of incomes

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under $2,000 goes for taxes, as against 24 per cent of the incomes of families earning five to seven times as much. Sales and other excise taxes are largely responsible for this curious statistic. It is true that such taxes fall impartially on all, like the blessed rain from heaven, but it is a form of egalitarianism that perhaps only Senator Goldwater can fully appreciate.

The final irony is that the Welfare State, which Roosevelt erected and which Eisenhower, no matter how strongly he felt about it, didn't attempt to pull down, is not for the poor, either. Agricultural workers are not covered by Social Security, nor are many of the desperately poor among the aged, such as "unrelated individuals" with incomes of less than $1,000, of whom only 37 per cent are covered, which is just half the percentage of coverage among the aged in general. Of the Welfare State, Mr. Harrington says, "Its creation had been stimulated by mass impoverishment and misery, yet it helped the poor least of all. Laws like unemployment compensation, the Wagner Act, the various farm programs, all these were designed for the middle third in the cities, for the organized workers, and for the . . . big market farmers. . . . [It] benefits those least who need help most." The industrial workers, led by John L. Lewis, mobilized enough political force to put through Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which, with the Wagner Act, made the C.I.O. possible. The big farmers put enough pressure on Henry Wallace, Roosevelt's first Secretary of Agriculture—who talked a good fight for liberal principles but was a Hamlet when it came to action—to establish the two basic propositions of Welfare State agriculture: subsidies that now cost $3 billion a year and that chiefly benefit the big farmers; and the exclusion of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and migratory workers from the protection of minimum-wage and Social Security laws.

No doubt the Kennedy administration would like to do more for the poor than it has, but it is hampered by the cabal of Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress. The 1961 revision of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which raised the national minimum wage to the not exorbitant figure of $1.15 an hour, was a slight improvement over the previous act. For instance, it increased coverage of retail-trade workers from 3 per cent to 33 per cent. (But one-fourth of the retail workers still excluded earn less than $1 an hour.) There was also a considerable amount of shadowboxing involved: Of the

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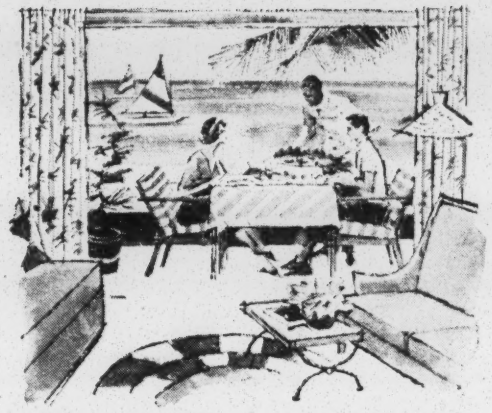

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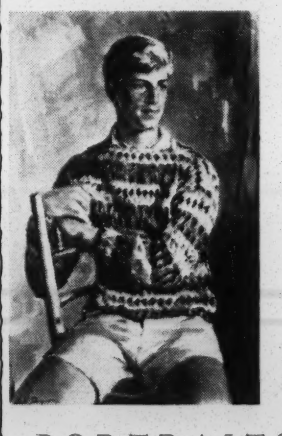

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3,600,000 workers newly covered, only 663,000 were making less than $1 an hour. And there was the exclusion of a particularly ill-paid group of workers. Nobody had anything against the laundry workers *personally*. It was just that they were weak, unorganized, and politically expendable. To appease the conservatives in Congress, whose votes were needed to get the revision through, they were therefore expended. The result is that of the 500,000 workers in the laundry, dry-cleaning, and dyeing industries, just 17,000 are now protected by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In short, one reaches the unstartling conclusion that rewards in class societies, including Communist ones, are according to power rather than need. A recent illustration is the campaign of an obscure organization called Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A. to get a bill through Congress for pensions of about $25 a week. It was formed by older men who think other veterans' organizations (such as the American Legion, which claims 2,500,000 members to their 200,000) are dominated by the relatively young. It asks for pensions for veterans of the First World War with incomes of under $2,400 (if single) or $3,600 (if married)—that is, only for *poor* veterans. The editorials have been violent: "STOP THIS VETERANS' GRAB," implored the *Herald Tribune*; "WORLD WAR I PENSION GRAB," echoed the *Saturday Evening Post*. Their objection was, in part, that many of the beneficiaries would not be bona-fide poor, since pensions, annuities, and Social Security benefits were excluded from the maximum income needed to qualify. Considering that the average Social Security payment is about $1,000 a year, this would not put any potential beneficiary into the rich or even the comfortably-off class, even if one assumes another $1,000, which is surely too high, from annuities and pensions. It's all very confusing. The one clear aspect is that the minuscule Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A. came very near to bringing it off. Although their bill was opposed by both the White House and by the chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, two hundred and one members of the House signed a petition to bring the measure to a vote, only eighteen less than needed "to accomplish this unusual parliamentary strategy," as the *Times* put it. These congressmen were motivated by politics rather than charity, one may assume. Many were up for reëlection last November, and the two hundred thousand Veterans of World War I had two advantages over the

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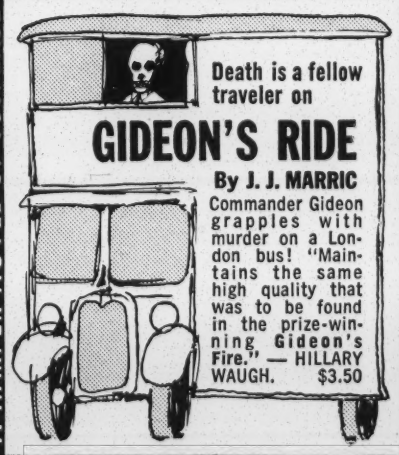

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fifty million poor: They were organized, and they had a patriotic appeal only a wink away from the demagogic. Their "unusual parliamentary strategy" failed by eighteen votes in the Congress. But there will be another Congress.

IT seems likely that mass poverty will continue in this country for a long time. The more it is reduced, the harder it is to keep on reducing it. The poor, having dwindled from two-thirds of the population in 1936 to one-quarter today, no longer are a significant political force, as is shown by the Senate's rejection of Medicare and by the Democrats' dropping it as an issue in the elections last year. Also, as poverty decreases, those left behind tend more and more to be the ones who have for so long accepted poverty as their destiny that they need outside help to climb out of it. This new minority mass poverty, so much more isolated and hopeless than the old majority poverty, shows signs of becoming chronic. "The permanence of low incomes is inferred from a variety of findings," write the authors of the Michigan survey. "In many poor families the head has never earned enough to cover the family's present needs." They give a vignette of what the statistics mean in human terms:

For most families, however, the problem of chronic poverty is serious. One such family is headed by a thirty-two-year-old man who is employed as a dishwasher. Though he works steadily and more than full time, he earned slightly over $2,000 in 1959. His wife earned $300 more, but their combined incomes are not enough to support themselves and their three children. Although the head of the family is only thirty-two, he feels that he has no chance of advancement partly because he finished only seven grades of school.... The possibility of such families leaving the ranks of the poor is not high.

Children born into poor families today have less chance of "improving themselves" than the children of the pre-1940 poor. Rags to riches is now more likely to be rags to rags. "Indeed," the Michigan surveyors conclude, "it appears that a number of the heads of poor families have moved into less skilled jobs than their fathers had." Over a third of the children of the poor, according to the survey, don't go beyond the eighth grade and "will probably perpetuate the poverty of their parents." There are a great many of these children. In an important study of poverty, made for a Congressional committee in 1959, Dr. Robert J. Lampman estimated that eleven million of the poor were under eighteen. "A considerable number of younger persons are starting life in a condition of 'inherited

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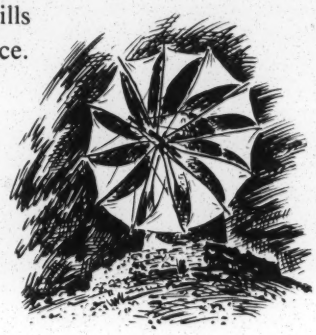

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poverty,'" he observed. To which Mr. Harrington adds, "The character of poverty has changed, and it has become more deadly for the young. It is no longer associated with immigrant groups with high aspirations; it is now identified with those whose social existence makes it more and more difficult to break out into the larger society." Even when children from poor families show intellectual promise, there is nothing in the values of their friends or families to encourage them to make use of it. Dr. Kolko, citing impressive sources, states that of the top 16 per cent of high-school students—those scoring 120 and over in I.Q. tests—only half go on to college. The explanation for this amazing—and alarming—situation is as much cultural as economic. The children of the poor now tend to lack what the sociologists call "motivation." At least one foundation is working on the problem of why so many bright children from poor families don't ever try to go beyond high school.

Mr. Raymond M. Hilliard, at present director of the Cook County (i.e., Chicago) Department of Public Aid and formerly Commissioner of Welfare for New York City, recently directed a "representative-sample" investigation, which showed that more than half of the 225,000 able-bodied Cook County residents who were on relief were "functionally illiterate." One reason Cook County has to spend $16,500,000 a month on relief is "the lack of basic educational skills of relief recipients which are essential to compete in our modern society." An interesting footnote, apropos of recent happenings at "Ole Miss," is that the illiteracy rate of the relief recipients who were educated in Chicago is 33 per cent, while among those who were educated in Mississippi and later moved to Chicago it is 77 per cent.

The problem of educating the poor has changed since 1900. Then it was the language and cultural difficulties of immigrants from foreign countries; now it is the subtler but more intractable problems of internal migration from backward regions, mostly in the South. The old immigrants wanted to Better Themselves and to Get Ahead. The new migrants are less ambitious, and they come into a less ambitious atmosphere. "When they arrive in the city," wrote Christopher Jencks in an excellent two-part survey, "Slums and Schools," in the *New Republic* last fall, "they join others equally unprepared for urban life in the slums—a milieu which is in many ways utterly dissociated from the rest of America. Often this milieu is self-perpetuating. I have been unable to

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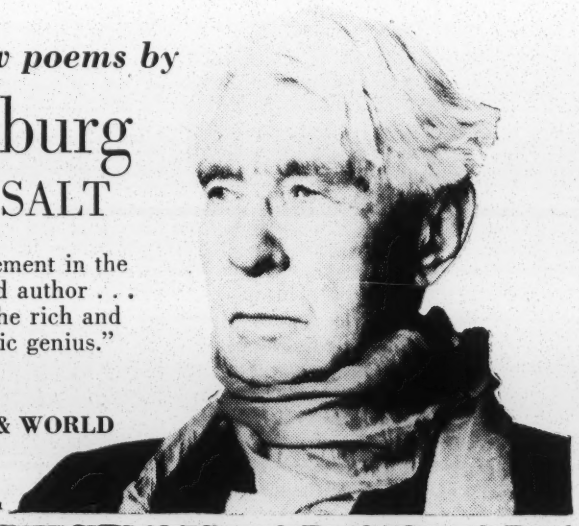

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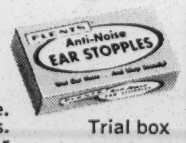

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find any statistics on how many of these migrants' children and grandchildren have become middle-class, but it is probably not too inaccurate to estimate that about 30,000,000 people live in urban slums, and that about half are second-generation residents." The immigrants of 1890-1910 also arrived in a milieu that was "in many ways utterly dissociated from the rest of America," yet they had a vision—a rather materialistic one, but still a vision—of what life in America could be if they worked hard enough; and they did work, and they did aspire to something more than they had; and they did get out of the slums. The disturbing thing about the poor today is that so many of them seem to lack any such vision. Mr. Jencks remarks:

> While the economy is changing in a way which makes the eventual liquidation of the slums at least conceivable, young people are not seizing the opportunities this change presents. Too many are dropping out of school before graduation (more than half in many slums); too few are going to college. . . . As a result there are serious shortages of teachers, nurses, doctors, technicians, and scientifically trained executives, but 4,500,000 unemployables.

"POVERTY is the parent of revolution and crime," Aristotle wrote. This is now a half truth—the last half. Our poor are alienated; they don't consider themselves part of society. But precisely because they don't they are not politically dangerous. It is people with "a stake in the country" who make revolutions. The best—though by no means the only—reason for worrying about the Other America is that its existence should make us feel uncomfortable.

The federal government is the only purposeful force—I assume wars are not purposeful—that can reduce the numbers of the poor and make their lives more bearable. The authors of "Poverty and Deprivation" take a dim view of the Kennedy administration's efforts to date:

> The Federal Budget is the most important single instrument available to us as a free people to induce satisfactory economic performance, and to reduce poverty and deprivation. . . .
>
> Projected Federal outlays in the fiscal 1963 Budget are too small. The items in this Budget covering programs directly related to human improvement and the reduction of mass poverty and deprivation allocate far too small a portion of our total national production to these great purposes.

The effect of government policy on poverty has two quite distinct aspects. One is the indirect effect of the stimulation of the economy by federal spending. Such stimulation—though by war-

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time demands rather than government policy—has in the past produced a prosperity that did cut down American poverty by almost two-thirds. But I am inclined to agree with Dr. Galbraith that it would not have a comparable effect on present-day poverty:

> It is assumed that with increasing output poverty must disappear [he writes]. Increased output eliminated the general poverty of all who worked. Accordingly it must, sooner or later, eliminate the special poverty that still remains. . . . Yet just as the arithmetic of modern politics makes it tempting to overlook the very poor, so the supposition that increasing output will remedy their case has made it easy to do so too.

He underestimates the massiveness of American poverty, but he is right when he says there is now a hard core of the specially disadvantaged—because of age, race, environment, physical or mental defects, etc.—that would not be significantly reduced by general prosperity. (Although I think the majority of our present poor *would* benefit, if only by a reduction in the present high rate of unemployment.)

To do something about this hard core, a second line of government policy would be required; namely, direct intervention to help the poor. We have had this since the New Deal, but it has always been grudging and miserly, and we have never accepted the principle that every citizen should be provided, at state expense, with a reasonable minimum standard of living regardless of any other considerations. It should not depend on earnings, as does Social Security, which continues the inequalities and inequities and so tends to keep the poor forever poor. Nor should it exclude millions of our poorest citizens because they lack the political pressure to force their way into the Welfare State. The governmental obligation to provide, out of taxes, such a minimum living standard for all who need it should be taken as much for granted as free public schools have always been in our history.

It may be objected that the economy cannot bear the cost, and certainly costs must be calculated. But the point is not the calculation but the principle. Statistics—and especially statistical forecasts—can be pushed one way or the other. Who can determine in advance to what extent the extra expense of giving our 40,000,000 poor enough income to rise above the poverty line would be offset by the lift to the economy from their increased purchasing power? We really don't know. Nor did we know what the budgetary effects would be when we established the prin-

*He Needs Help

The walls of Demetrios' house in the slums of Athens are cracked. Icy winds blow right on his face while he sleeps. His blanket is threadbare. He eats one meal a day—bread dipped in oil.

Demetrios' mother has tuberculosis and is hospitalized. His father, a rag man, earns $13 a month. Demetrios does not pray for a blanket or more food. He prays to grow up quickly so that he can help his parents.

XPEIAZETAI BOHΘEIA*

Through Save the Children Federation, you or your group can bring hope and help to a child like Demetrios. You will receive the photograph and story of the child you help and immediately begin a warm person-to-person relationship through an exchange of letters.

Your sponsorship may also enable the child's family and community to initiate self-help plans and provide small grants or loans to help put them into effect. Please fill in the coupon below so that a needy child in Greece, Korea, Lebanon, France, Italy, Finland, West Germany or Austria can look at the world with hope again.

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SHRINKAGE

Henry James once said, "America is too large for any human convenience." Of course, that was before jet planes carried passengers from coast to coast in five hours, before one could sit in Boston and dial a friend in Los Angeles for a long-distance telephone chat, and before radio and television sped information and entertainment across the country and even around the world.

Not that James would have cared for such things. He preferred the more stately pace of life in Europe. But if he had been an investor, he might have appreciated the scientific marvels that make possible the handling of orders to buy and sell most stocks —from the placing of the order to the reporting of the execution —in a matter of minutes, regardless of where the buyer and seller are. Perhaps even James would have wondered at the electric and electronic miracles that are worked every day in the brokerage business as a matter of routine.

The financial community today is, in fact, a combination of the traditional and the modern, of long-established custom and newly developed facilities, and of contrasting points of view that James would have found fascinating if he had subjected it to his scrutiny.

And as for the inconvenient largeness of America, *nous avons changé tout cela.*

MEMBERS N. Y. STOCK EXCHANGE AND OTHER PRINCIPAL STOCK AND COMMODITY EXCHANGES

MERRILL LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & SMITH INC

70 PINE STREET, NEW YORK 5, NEW YORK

ciple of free public education. The rationale then was that all citizens should have an equal chance of competing for a better status. The rationale now is different: that every citizen has a right to become or remain part of our society because if this right is denied, as it is in the case of at least one-fourth of our citizens, it impoverishes us all. Since 1932, "the government"—local, state, and federal—has recognized a responsibility to provide its citizens with a subsistence living. Apples will never again be sold on the street by jobless accountants, it seems safe to predict, nor will any serious political leader ever again suggest that share-the-work and local charity can solve the problem of unemployment. "Nobody starves" in this country any more, but, like every social statistic, this is a tricky business. Nobody starves, but who can measure the starvation, not to be calculated by daily intake of proteins and calories, that reduces life for many of our poor to a long vestibule to death? Nobody starves, but every fourth citizen rubs along on a standard of living that is below what Mr. Harrington defines as "the minimal levels of health, housing, food, and education that our present stage of scientific knowledge specifies as necessary for life as it is now lived in the United States." Nobody starves, but a fourth of us are excluded from the common social existence. Not to be able to afford a movie or a glass of beer is a kind of starvation—if everybody else can.

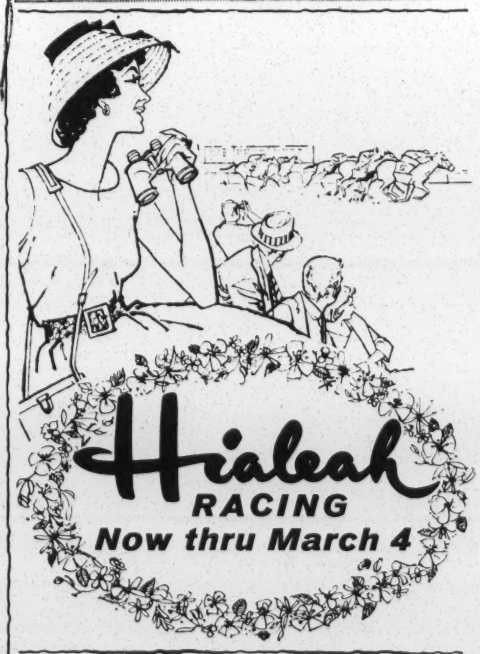
The problem is obvious: the persistence of mass poverty in a prosperous country. The solution is also obvious: to provide, out of taxes, the kind of subsidies that have always been given to the public schools (not to mention the police and fire departments and the post office)—subsidies that would raise incomes above the poverty level, so that every citizen could feel he is indeed such. "*Civis Romanus sum!*" cried St. Paul when he was threatened with flogging—and he was not flogged. Until our poor can be proud to say "*Civis Americanus sum!*," until the act of justice that would make this possible has been performed by the three-quarters of Americans who are not poor—until then the shame of the Other America will continue.

—DWIGHT MACDONALD

•

JAKARTA—(AP)—Indonesia's growing air force has been found near a Judean hill from close to Jerusalem.—*Houston Post.*

And finders is keepers!



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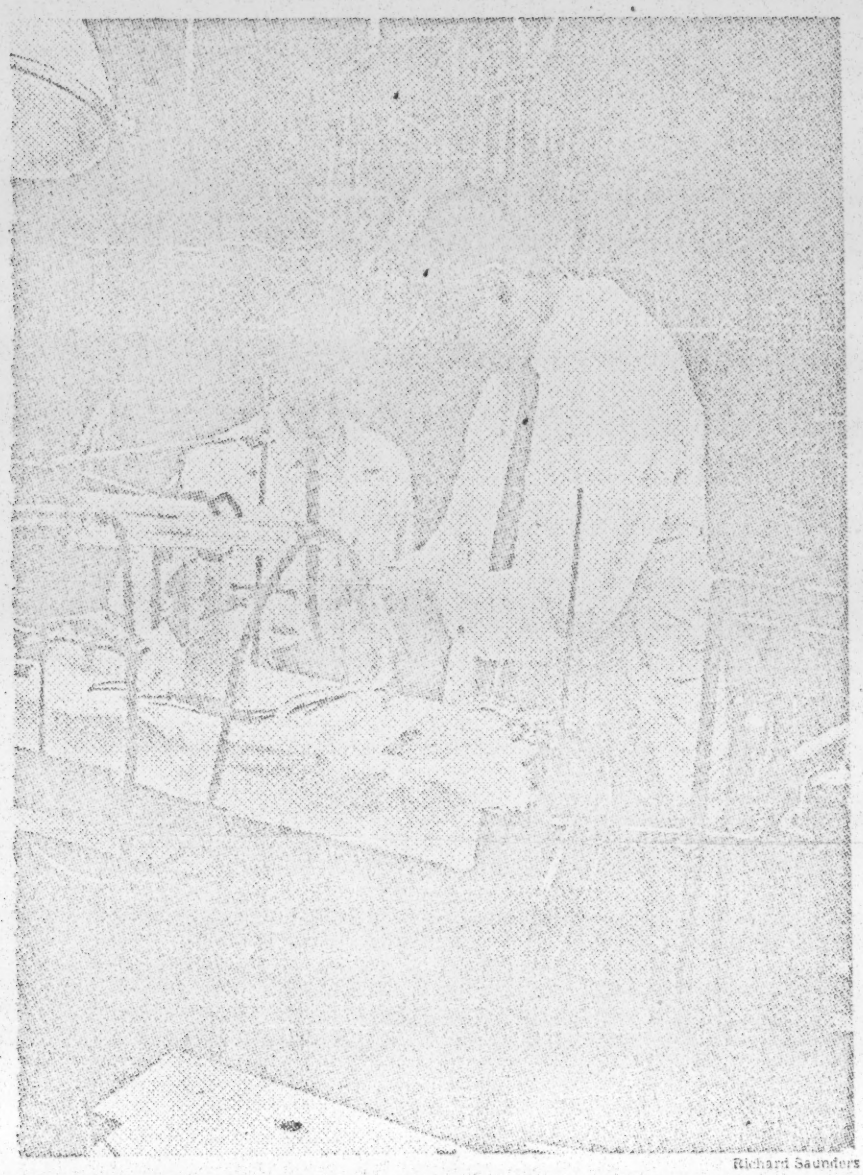

Richard Saunders

: To interest young people New York Heart Association m that has placed 24 high school students in hospital research laboratories for the summer. Here a medical scientist works with one of the youngsters on coronary research.

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uess how cross the the origi- Moreover, for the ollege to original l daring icine to- of fine l motives of edu- record- fair test. who were titutions oday — unt Hol-

yoke. This fact and a similar turnover among the faculty leadership will make it virtually certain that the original proposals will be brought up to date.

Finding Jobs For Negro Teachers

The stepped-up pace of school desegregation in the South under Federal pressure has focused attention on the problem of integrating teachers as well as pupils.

Civil rights leaders have charged that Negro teachers are being dismissed wholesale as their pupils are shifted into formerly all-white schools. They have also charged that threats to dismiss Negro teachers are being used to dissuade Negro pupils from transferring to white schools under voluntary programs.

White school administrators, who have apparently forgotten their earlier hotly defended fictitious claim of "separate-but-equal" education, maintain that many of the displaced Negro teachers are not as competent as their white counterparts because they come from culturally deprived homes, inferior public schools and second-rate teachers colleges.

Estimates of the number of Negro teachers who will be "desegregated" out of jobs this fall range from 350 "documented" by the National Education Association to 5,000.

The latter figure was cited by the New York City Board of Education last week when it proposed a plan to seek out some 500 displaced teachers, to bring them to the city for retraining and then to place them in the public schools.

School officials in New York said that they would enlist the aid of local colleges and universities in devising programs that would enable the teachers to meet the city's rigorous licensing requirements and pass the necessary qualifying examinations. They added that they would seek more than $4 million in Federal and private funds to sustain the teachers and their families while they are being retrained.

The New York planners were undeterred by the disappointing results of their efforts over the last few years to recruit more Negro teachers for the system. These efforts had been spurred by the demands of civil rights groups and have been adopted as official Board of Education policy.

The proposed program will be modeled in part on one that has been in operation for the last year at Yeshiva University, in cooperation with the Urban League and supported by grants from the Federal Government under the Manpower Development and Training Act. This program, which has just been extended for 18 months, has enrolled about 100 persons who meet state licensing requirements but have either failed the city's examinations or have been afraid to take them. In groups of 25 they take a nine-week course that emphasizes improvement in reading speed and comprehension as well as oral and written communication.

Program Noted

President Johnson, in an address last month to the N.E.A. convention in New York, took note of the Urban League-Yeshiva program when he described the steps that he had taken to assure fair treatment of teachers displaced by integration.

Other steps he mentioned were instructions to the Commissioner of Education to guard against any pattern of racial discrimination against teachers in desegregation plans submitted to him for review, the providing of funds available under The Civil Rights Act for teachers institutes to upgrade teachers in newly integrated districts and the providing of reemployment assistance through the U.S. Employment Service for teachers in districts where integration will reduce the number needed. The President said that he would also submit to Congress a bill to provide fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers so they can "replenish knowledge and improve abilities."

The President also commended the N.E.A. for its pledge to raise $1 million to assist Negro teachers who lost their jobs because of racial discrimination in the South. The association plans to support court actions by teachers who feel they have been illegally dismissed, to provide counseling centers for teachers who need additional training, and to assist in placement elsewhere of other teachers.

ROBERT H. TERTE

T I O N

GTEA EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES

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VIRGINIA

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Virginia Teachers Association
Clay Street at Fourth
Richmond, Virginia
AC-703 MI-3-1954

Of Course, GEORGIA

Mr. H. E. Tate
Executive Secretary
Georgia Teachers & Education Assn.
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
JA-2-7512

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PW

File Urban affairs

PUBLIC POLICY AND RACIAL MINORITIES

[Comments and suggested approaches for a memorandum seeking to "isolate and describe the larger, the more basic, the more pressing, the more common issues that confront state and local policy makers," and to develop recommendations for public policy for state and local governments.]

The INTRODUCTION to the memorandum might include comments on the following items:

A. Constitutional rights to political and legal equality and economic and social opportunity must be fully realized forthwith. The urgency of the matter cannot be overstated: democracy in the United States in the last half of the 20th century cannot survive unless overt and covert racial discrimination is purged from American society. The economics of racism presents an immediate political challenge: those racial minorities which presently bear the brunt of the economic consequences of a racist society both in urban and rural areas are the very people most seriously threatened by technological advances in factories and on farms. Unemployment, and the consequent threat to a meaningful life within an ostensibly democratic society threatens — especially in urban areas — the creation of political as well as racial dissidence of serious proportions. (The very success of mass communications in recent years -- especially the television -- calls attention dramatically to the disparity between the lives of the affluent white majority of "haves" and the lives of the impoverished Negro minority of "have-nots", a disparity which cannot fail to be noticed by those deprived by the political system which constantly implores its citizens, regardless of race, to give thanks for the benefits of living in "the greatest country the world has ever known."

B. The future of the federal system as a basic value and as a viable

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political undertaking in American politics may well depend upon the response of state and local governments to this principal domestic problem -- the treatment and assimilation of minority groups, especially, although not exclusively, racial minorities. The record of state and local governments in the South in the field of political rights, education, law enforcement, employment opportunities, public accomodations and medical care, for example, provides little ground for optimism. "Federalism" as a political principle (usually paraded under the banner of "states' rights") has been the chief device by which Southern state and local governments not only have impeded the assimilation of Negroes into Southern society, but also have sanctioned, and in some instances abetted and encouraged, violence and the intimidation of Negroes. The use of the doctrine of "federalism" to deny political rights and economic and social opportunities to American citizens is an obvious and fundamental violation of the letter and the spirit of the American Constitution -- and of the intention of its authors.

Nonetheless, there are some indications that the problems of minority assimilation into American -- and especially into Southern -- society will be more effectively handled, over the long run, by state and local rather than by national agencies assuming principal responsibility for detail direction and enforcement. (The operative phrases here are "effectively handled" and "over the long run"; there would be no necessity to prepare a memorandum of this sort had state and local governments not abdicated their own clearly defined political responsibility, thereby provoking the national government into accepting the primary responsibility for the equal protection of the rights and opportunities of all citizens.) In point of fact, of course, unless the assimilation of Negroes into all phases of Southern life is responsibly accepted and successfully met on the state and local level, the problem will

Could this be done in the United States? Point out that Federal units of Government

remain insoluble by definition -- with the consequent peril of political turmoil, violence, and the increase of anarchy. The fundamental issue here, obviously, is the "inward commitment" of, in the first instance, state and local political authorities to accept the primary responsibility for initiating and implementing programs for equal treatment and assimilation of racial minorities.

(Something might be said here about "regional arrangements " -- following some of the leads of Howard Odum -- as one way in which moribund federalism might be rejuvinated in the South to offer a more dynamic as well as a more relevant approach to problems which ignore and defy state and local boundaries. Here also, however, the precedent offers little ground for optimism. Nevertheless, one possibility would be a regional agency, initiated and supported financially by state governments, to serve as a clearing house ~~for~~ of information, trends, etc., bearing on the problems of minority assimilation.)

At all events, the alternative to responsible state and local activity in this area is manifest: a gradual but inexorable erosion of the "federal principle," initially in the areas of human rights and opportunities, then inevitably into every area of political action — de facto, if not also de jure.

C. It is abundantly clear that public policy on the state and local level cannot be restricted merely to ending discrimination and compulsory segregation, but must move forthrightly to bring about actual integration of all sectors of public life. The natural reluctance of any majority to share wittingly its political and social well-being with a minority (especially a racial minority), the inertia of low-level administrators and bureaucrats to initiate or innovate plans or programs which alter precedent, and the patent failure of the "de-segregated" society (in this sense legal prohibition of discrimination and

segregation) to provide a continuous guarantee and pattern of political rights and "the pursuit of happiness" through the economic well-being of minorities, demand that public policy on the state and local level must directly and without equivocation seek to integrate all areas of public life in America.

D. Sociologists (e. g., Arnold Rose) have often observed that the social system which has blocked integration in theSouth is being changed by social and economic forces which affect the whole of American society. Rose himself gives "greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, both economic and political, sometimes wielded deliberately but more often impersonally in the form of great trends affecting the whole society," viz., "continuing industrialization and technological advance, the high level of mobility among the American people" and to a lesser extent "the organization and political education of minority groups, an increased American awareness of world opinion, consistent support from other branches of the federal government and the Northern state governments, and the propaganda and educational efforts for more equal implementation of civil rights" (ANNALS, January 1965). These "great trends affecting the whole of society," especially the economic and political ones, point to what are possibly the most basic and most common problems faced by policy makers in meeting the task of assimilating racial minorities. It is here, therefore, that the greatest urgency and opportunity for the policymaker lie; consequently, public policy in the first instance ought to be directly related to the problems implicit in these "great trends affecting the whole of society."

There is a measure of agreement that this ought to be the case: For example, Killian and Grigg in their examination of the Racial Crisis in America (1964) observe (p. 130): "It is true that tokenism is 'too little and too late.' But it is also true that token desegregation will be the dominant pattern until the cultural deficit of the Negro masses is reduced or the majority of Negroes

reject integration as a goal, as the Black Muslims would have it. . . The spatial distribution of the Negro population, the cultural deprivation of the Negro masses, and the social organization of the Negro community make it clear that, in the present circumstances, not many Negroes can benefit directly from the Supreme Court's decisions. Only a minority of 'qualified,' highly motivated individuals will be willing and able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the new legal principle. Over and over again it has been demonstrated that plans for 'voluntary desegration' either result in token desegration or, if more than a token number of Negro volunteers appear, in the eventual 'resegregation' of the institution or neighboorhood" (italics added).

And: David S. Coltrane, Chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council granted (in December 1963) that integration of public facilities is important, and that "it is also important to be called 'Sir' rather than 'boy.' But more basic than any of these are education and employment. The great mass of Negroes are more concerned where they work than where they eat; winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who cannot afford the cost of the meal." At that same conference, G. H. Esser, Jr., executive director of the North Carolina Fund noted that half the families in North Carolina exist on less than $1,000 a year, and that surging mechanization in the factory and the farm makes the plight of uneducated, unskilled workers even more desperate: "Unless we face the challenge that is on us and if we don't decide to do something about it immediately, we're going to wind up by 1970 with more unemployables than a democratic nation can afford to have."

These basic and common problems facing policymakers are closely related, one to the others. Recommendations for public policy in these areas would seem to involve inevitably an attempt to coordinate problems and policy at least on the state level, suggesting the establishment of commissions on human rights --

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a question that will be deferred for later discussion.

I. EDUCATION

A. Prerequisite to meeting the problem of education is the immediate integration of the public school system, possibly by a statewide plan permitting final responsibility to be borne by the relevant state agency. It also seems clear that the problem of de facto segregation raised by the concept of "neighborhood schools" must be faced and solved immediately. An emergency program is undoubtedly in order in each (Southern) state to bring the school systems abreast of other systems inthe nation. Public school systems also have the responsibility for supplementing the education of those who have suffered under a segregated school system. Any number of means ought to be employed: extra sessions; summer sessions, etc. The enthusiasm of Negro pupils to improve their educational status will go a long way to making this program successful.

B. An overt program is required to educate the white majority ((pupils and parents)about basic constitutional rights, and that economic opportunity and well-being without regard to race is, as far as their immediate situation is concerned, the essential feature of the American system of democracy.

C. Trade, and retraining, schools must be established to:

1. reach those presently disinherited economically and socially by the segregated years;

2. relate those school systems dislocated by integration;

3. gurantee technical preparation in an integrated atmosphere for skills needed for wholesome and permanent employment in an integrated society in the last half of the twentieth century (i. e., electronics; computor

operation, etc.).

D. A graduated and integrated program of adult education is essential and urgently needed to aid the victims of inadequate and/or segregated school systems.

E. Higher Education:

1. Through special sessions, tutorials, institutes, and other means, colleges and universities must for a long time to come accept a major share of the responsibility to overcome the educational deficit of inadequate and segregated school systems so that equality of educational opportunity will be guaranteed by this effort. Colleges and universities -- public and private -- cannot evade their responsibility by piously accepting "all properly qualified applicants without regard to race or creed." To do so is to continue the essentially segregated system of higher education throughout the nation, and to engage as well in a mammoth fraud that no one has the time to afford.

2. The future and the role of public and private Negro colleges in the context of an open society must be examined. (See "Future of the Negro College" ?? Report)

3. Professional schools — especially in medicine and law — and graduate schools — especially the various and emerging sciences — must seek out potential Negro students and by specific training programs, loans, etc., to encourage their enrollment.

4. An immediate and substantial program of retraining Negro public school and college teachers is inorder. (This might be related to #2,above)

F. Farm Training (Possibly coordinated with federal government) (See SRC #23, "A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina" and SRC report by M. Hayes Mizell, "Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities.")

II. EMPLOYMENT

(See SRC The Federal Executive and Civil Rights (Jaunary 1961); D/ H. Pollitt, "Racial Discrimination in Employment: Proposals for Corrective Action," January 1963)

1. Equal employment opportunities in all state and local agencies of government, and on every level, and in organizations having state contracts, could provide the most important leadership and example for the private sector of the economy.

2. The various sorts of segregation devices in the state operated (and federally financed) employment agencies should be eliminated by specific and detailed directions.

((3. State Fair Employment laws and Commissions))

4. An established relationship between state employment services and trade schools, colleages and universities should be provided by specific directives.

((5. Private employment agencies; campus interviewers))

III. LAW: ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT

1. Discrimination in employment in state and local police forces and courts must be abolished.

2. Continuous instruction should be maintained, at all levels of law enforcement agencies, of basic civil rights of all citizens. This program should be used to try to change the outlook of law enforcement officers on racial minorities and the place of minority communities to the total community.

3. A bi-racial citizens' panel on various levels (state, county, city) should be established to hear, investigate and act upon charges of police brutality insult, molestation, etc. Officers with a pattern of racially prejudicial outlook should be denied promotion; racial prejudice manifested in overt action should automatically terminate employment.

4. Prison reforms should be undertaken, leading to an integrated and therefore more approximating a humane penal system -- a particularly acute problem for Negroes.

5. The likely possibility that capital punishment is a form of racial vengeance or intimidation should be investigated.

((IV. PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS AND HOUSING

(Inquire into any significant areas left uncovered by 1964 Civil Rights Act, which should be the responsibility of States, or more effectively handled by the States)))

((V. VOTER REGISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION

(Inquire into impediments to registration and voting -- racial and otherwise; Universal registration?; vote by mail; registration and Sunday elections, etc.)))

VI. MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES.

1. State agencies to investigate and enforce discrimination in hospital and medical services are needed -- supplementing 1964 Act. (See Federal Executive, pp. 30-31; Executive Support, pp. 41-42.)

2. Negroes should be encouraged by early training, loans, and other means to enter the various medical professions. Medical schools should be directed to qualify Negroes to enter their programs.

3. All discrimination in organizations of the medical professions should be eliminated.

((VII. FARM EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND OWNERSHIP.

(See I, F, above, p. 7.)))

VIII. STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The experience of the existing commissions on the problems of the assimilation of minority groups should be examined. Should these commissions be staffed with full-time "commissioners" having responsibility for setting

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence and information on SRC's Urban Planning Project under Moreland Smith,

SEE:

Personnel: Smith, Moreland.

White Man Dies In Negro Fight At New Orleans

New Orleans (AP) — A fist fight between a group of young whites and Negroes at a bus stop in New Orleans Saturday resulted in the fatal stabbing of one of the white men.

Frederick Riehm, 21, of New Orleans died in a hospital a short time after being stabbed in the chest.

Three white teen-agers said they drove past a bus stop where six young Negroes were standing when one of the Negroes threw a rock through the car's rear window.

They told police they got out of the car and approached the Negroes when the fight started shortly after midnight. They said they retreated to their car before Riehm told them he had been stabbed.

Police said they searched the bus stop area, but could find no trace of the six Negroes.

Houston Chron 5/13/67

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 24, 1965

MEMO TO: LWD

FROM : SA

For New South, any time at all, we might publish a rundown on deaths related to civil rights. Barbara Patterson has been keeping a log of them.

We might add a squib on how each was killed.

See Tobbie Simon's letter

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of St. Johns
St. Augustine, Florida

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victim -- killed October 18, 1963, in St. Augustine, Florida, was William Kinard. Can you supply us with the names of persons charged with the crime and the status of the cases? If there have been convictions, please tell us on what charge and the length of the sentence.

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

Dear Sir:

Cases in this office are indexed in the names of defendants and not under name of victim. If you have names of defendants on which you wish information, please furnish same and I shall be pleased to forward information as to status of case. Otherwise, I suggest that you write Honorable Dan R. Warren, State Attorney, DeLand, Florida

Oliver Lawton

Oliver Lawton
Clerk Circuit Court

Nov. 15, 1965

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of Madison
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and need your yelp in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occured in your county.

The victim was C. H. Baldwin, killed April 22, 1956 at Huntsville, Alabama. The defendant -- Doc Hill -- was convicted. Can you tell us if the case was appealed of if he has begun to serve or has served the sentence?

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

No answer in
so he serving

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of Yazoo
Yazoo City, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victim -- Charles Brown -- was killed June 25, 1957, near Yazoo City, Miss. The defendant -- Raiford Walton, was charged with the slaying. Can you tell us if Walton was convicted or acquitted? On what charge was he tried? What was his sentence, if any?

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

No answer

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of Covington
Andalusia, Alabama

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victim -- Mrs. Bessie McDowell -- killed June 14, 1956, at Andalusia, Alabama. The defendants, Claude Inglo, and his son, Bobby Ray, were indicted. Can you tell us if they have stood trial? Were they convicted or acquitted? Of what charge? And if convicted, what were their sentences?

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

No answer
Call?

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Courts
County of Alcorn
Corinth, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victim -- William Roy Prather, was killed November 1, 1959 -- at Corinth, Mississippi. One defendant -- Darnell Glidewell -- was indicted on a manslaughter charge. Please supply us with the name of the other defendant. Also tell us the charge on which each was convicted or acquitted, and the sentence, if any.

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

File
Gen: Violence

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of Barbour
Eufaula, Alabama

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and we need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victim was Richard King, killed January 6, 1956 at Eufaula, Alabama. The defendant, O. B. Mann, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Can you tell us if the conviction was appealed or if the defendant has begun serving the sentence?

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

Rec'd

Related death

November 2, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of Ouachita
Monroe, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victims were Albert and David Pitts, Ernest McPharland, and Marshall A. Johns, killed July 23, 1960, at Monroe, La. The defendant -- Robert Fuller, was charged with manslaughter. Can you tell us on what charge he was tried, whether he was convicted or acquitted, and what the sentence (if any) was?

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

Read Nov. 8, 1965
File
Gen. Violence

OFFICE OF
BILL SHAW
DISTRICT CLERK
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

November 4, 1965

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Billy Wayne Wallace, killed
August 9, 1964

Dear Sir:

Our records show that Melvin Joe Hicks was indicted on October 26, 1964, for the murder of Billy Wayne Wallace. This is Case No. E-8093-JK, styled The State of Texas vs. Melvin Joe Hicks, and is still pending in Criminal District Court No. 4 of Dallas County, Texas. The offense is Murder.

Leonard McPherson was no-billed by the Grand Jury on the same charge on October 26, 1964.

If we can be of any further service to you, we will be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Shaw

BILL SHAW
Clerk of the District Courts
Dallas County, Texas

BS/mam

November 11, 1965

Mr. Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Mr. Moon:

The information you are seeking on the ninety-three civil rights related deaths is incomplete at this time, and is scheduled for late November publication. While we are able to, at this time, give you a list of the victims in these cases, we are still in the process of up-dating legal activities, which in some cases are still pending.

As you know, the matter is rather sensitive and must be handled carefully and cross-checked. This is why we have moved so slowly.

As soon as the article is off the press, you will get copies in accordance with your need.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

November 4, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would greatly appreciate your sending us as many copies as you can spare of your recently published report documenting 93 deaths attributable to race of civil rights activities between May, 1957 and September, 1965.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

HLM:cj

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRESTOR

Ck ret'd - wrong address

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 12, 1965

Clerk of County Court
County of Smith
Taylorsville, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

We are completing a report on some selected homicide cases at the request of several Atlanta-based news bureaus, and we need your help in supplying information on the outcome of legal procedures in the following case that occurred in your county.

The victim -- Cpl. Roman Duckworth, Jr., -- was shot by a policeman on April 9, 1962, in Taylorsville, Mississippi. We would highly appreciate your sending us the name of the policeman who was accused of the slaying.

Since we have only a few days in which to complete this report, we would appreciate an immediate reply. You may wish to answer the inquiry at the bottom of this letter. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

LAW OFFICES

TOBIAS SIMON

INGRAHAM BUILDING ANNEX
223 SOUTHEAST FIRST STREET
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA
TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 7-4627

PLEASE REPLY NUMBER

November 16, 1965

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

Following the death of William Kinard, a number of people were arrested, but charges were dropped against all persons except the following four persons, who, with their charges, are as follows:

Name	Charge
Goldie Eubanks, Sr.	Accessory after the facts
Harold Jenkins	Murder in the second degree
Richard Alvin Eubanks	Murder in the second degree
Carl Wilson Ginn	Murder in the second degree

On behalf of the defendants, we moved for a change of venue on the grounds that because of the racial tensions in St. Augustine Negroes charged with the killing of a white man (and possibly a Klansmen) could not receive a fair trial. When this was denied, we sought removal of the cause to the Federal Court under the appropriate Federal Statute (28.U.S.C.A.1443). Admittedly, the possibilities are not strong, see Rachel v State of Ga. and Peacock v City of Greenwood, Miss.

It came as no surprise that the United States District Court in Jacksonville (McRae) remanded the cases to

the State Court. We have taken an appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and a Federal stay of State proceedings has been entered pending determination of the appeal.

At this point, we are still in the process of preparing the record. Briefs should be written within 60 to 90 days.

I trust this information is satisfactory to you.

Very truly yours,

Tobias Simon

TOBIAS SIMON

TS:ev

NEW SOUTH

NOVEMBER 1965

VIOLENCE

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Margaret Long, whose "Strictly Subjective" usually appears in this space, has been on vacation.

NEW SOUTH

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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Paul Anthony . . . . Exec. Director
Margaret Long . . . . . Editor

New South is published 11 times a year. Subscription cost is $2.50 a year. Single copies are 25 cents each, or less in quantity.

AT A TIME WHEN many are optimistic and self-congratulatory about the very genuine progress that is being made in southern race relations, this issue of *New South* is concerned with the terrible.

As long as the conditions which have created lawlessness exist, race relations progress—and indeed, all social progress in the true sense—is periled. This is not alarmist sentiment.

What, we asked ourselves, was the warning of Watts to the South? And what out of the South's travail can be known that might help prevent further Watts-type riots in the nation?

Out of the latter question rose consideration of that other tradition of lawlessness, unchecked killing and terrorism against Negroes and white civil rights workers in the South. And that leads to the potential of jungle lawlessness of armed bands of white terrorists facing armed defense units of Negroes in the Black Belt.

The conditions which have created white racist murderousness and the conditions which set off a ghetto riot of rampaging destruction are probably not at their essence greatly different. They are the conditions with which the poverty program and other efforts are battling. Law enforcement, lacking and thereby encouraging the white racist lawlessness, and inept or oppressive and thereby contributing to the riot lawlessness, is a basic problem.

Much that civilization means is involved in the difficult dictum that somehow we must see lawlessness, even murder, in the individual human being with compassion. But this dictum does not apply to a society. The only answer to murderousness in society is that it be scotched, or else, there is no civilization. We continue to struggle. It is late into the evening of our day of grace.

The Fire That Time

By Samuel Adams
Director of Research, Southern Regional Council

THE FIERCE HOT FIRES annealing and tempering the South's racism always have held the danger that they could burn out of control.

In 1959, James Baldwin, in "Nobody Knows My Name: A Letter From the South," wrote: "When a race riot occurs in Atlanta, it will not spread merely to Birmingham, for example . . . The trouble will spread to every metropolitan center in the nation which has a significant Negro population . . . It is because the nation, the entire nation, has spent a hundred years avoiding the question of the place of the black man in it."

Since Baldwin wrote that, of course, the nation has almost obsessively considered the question, and has made a great effort to find an honorable answer. Much of the reason for this is that instead of a race riot spreading out of the South, there came the nonviolent movement, spreading across the region relentlessly and prodding both the conscience and the pragmatism of America.

Nevertheless, with a good portion of the substantive goals of the nonviolent movement now written into federal legislation, Negro discontent and anger is, if not larger, more volatile, more outer-directed than back when Baldwin talked of a riot in terms of *when* it comes, not *if*. Ironically, it is in the North and the Far West that the riots have occurred, and a plausible question is whether they will spread to the South.

The lessons from the rioting that has occurred outside the South make it clear that violence is not due solely to race troubles. In Los Angeles, there were elements of a class war; the hopeless class rose in arms against the controlling class. The warring provided an opportunity for the have-nots to take much of what they needed and an abundance of what they did not need without getting caught. But racism was a factor, too.

While only small sparks like a traffic arrest were needed to ignite the blaze in the Watts ghetto of Los Angeles, backlogs of injustice and discontent were main ingredients. The fire this time found combustion in such facts as:

Only five of the 205 policemen hired to serve Watts are Negro, despite the fact that Watts is 98 per cent Negro.

The Watts ghetto (part of the North Compton-Watts-Avalon-Florence area where 277,960 people live) has Negroes living on top of each other with 27.2 people per acre compared with the Los Angeles County average of 7.4.

Two-thirds of the adults in Watts have less than a high school education and one in every eight is illiterate.

Parents of nearly 30 per cent of the youths under 18 are divorced, and the school drop-out rate in Watts is more than two times the city as a whole. Almost two-thirds of those who enter seventh grade will drop out before finishing.

Watts harbors 400 parolees from the California Youth Authority, and the area's incidence of crime in one three-month period, according to police, was above 1,000, including 87 robberies.

The County Welfare Planning Council reported that 87 per cent of the

houses in the Watts-Willowbrook area were built before 1939, and 17 to 22 per cent are deteriorated or dilapidated.

Watts is the home of many refugees from Mississippi and elsewhere in the South who came to California looking for hope they did not find and jobs for which they were not trained.

Squabbling Los Angeles officials refused to plan a federally-supported anti-poverty program until after the riot and reacted negatively to involving poor people in any war against poverty.

The adult unemployment rate is 34 per cent, and 66 per cent of the total population is on some sort of welfare.

On joblessness and hopelessness turn the main problems. A better job was the dream of thousands of Negroes who migrated to Los Angeles and found themselves trapped, jobless in Watts. Many obviously agree with the Watts resident who, when asked about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, "I Have a Dream," said: "Hell, we don't need no damn dreams; WE WANT JOBS."

Many of the jobless came from southern farms where they at least could eke out a living from the land. How many of those from Mississippi now find themselves unable to earn enough to send money back home to pay the $250 school fee that the state is, in an anti-desegregation move, requiring of school children who do not live with their natural parents or legal guardians? Some of the southern fugitives living in Watts simply get liquored up and forget the past and present troubles.

Generally, those moving from the South to such areas as Watts fall into three classes: The talented 7 per cent of the Negro population who went in search of jobs not then open to them in the South, a mass of unskilled Negroes who went to join relatives or friends who had moved, and more than a few who were forced to leave on orders of lawmen or others or who abandoned their families in the face of economic problems that seemed hopeless. If they are different from the Negroes who remained in the South, perhaps the difference lies in their lower propensity for accommodation.

But that difference might itself be a state of mind acquired from their new setting and the surface "freedom" of the northern and western states. This is illustrated by the action of a former Mississippi sharecropper who accepted with a respectful, "Yas, Suh," all the indignities dealt him back home, but after moving North poked a white man in the nose for letting slip a racial slur.

In the rest of the nation, in the South, would not surveys of the areas in cities where Negroes are jammed together, isolated, show much the same patterns that bred disaster in Watts?

For the jobless who've turned to stealing, policemen are the enemy. For those living by their wits or eking out existences through vice, the law is the enemy. He who wants in most ghettos and Negro slums has only to look and learn that "Whitey" owns the area; whites own most of the businesses and much of the real estate.

If you gamble, it's likely to be a white policeman breaking up your crap or skin game, or insisting on a slice of lottery profits. Nobody likes being arrested. And when the arresting officer is contemptuous and mean, Negroes in the South and throughout the nation equate him with images of the Bull Connors and Jim Clarks of Alabama and of Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and Deputy Cecil Price of Philadelphia, Mississippi.

The civil rights movement enables

southern Negroes to act out their antagonisms in nonviolent protests. Locally these were met with sometimes meaningful and sometimes meaningless concessions, the latter like the patting or kissing a baby where it hurts. (The naming of a biracial committee in St. Augustine, Florida, for example, has had no meaning to that city's poor race relations.)

The summer torches outside the South were lit where there was little or no organized civil rights movement. They were sparked by persons who have gained ostensibly nothing from recent civil rights breakthroughs.

Those who believe that Negro religion, alone, could cause the South to escape violent uprisings like those of the North and West seem to ignore the fact that there are hundreds of churches in Harlem and in Watts. But there also was discontent and rioting.

One cannot overemphasize the violence that slum living breeds into an individual's personality. The slum dweller generally settles his battles by physical power. He often directs his violence to other powerless people in the slums, and sometimes against whites who go to the slums on illicit missions. Occasionally he arises up against police whom he believes are constantly nettling him. There is no evidence that the southern slum dweller is appreciably different from the northern one in these respects.

The danger is greatest when hope goes. Discontent is most explosive when pent up and where local power-controllers deny its existence. Incidents which could serve as triggering devices occur frequently sometimes in cities which are considered quite liberal. Here are some little known examples:

ITEM: The day after the September 20, 1965, Parent-Teacher Association meeting at Atlanta's desegregated Southwest High School, about 50 white teenagers threatened to drag a Negro boy from a bus because of heated words he and a white youth had exchanged the preceding day. The Negro calmly remained on the bus as the irate boys called him a "nigger," and a "yellow-bellied coward" for refusing to get off the bus and face them. Another Negro boy on the bus challenged the white boys crowding around the vehicle to meet them in recently integrated Peyton Forest. That did it. The whites tried to storm the crowded school bus. The driver pulled away amid catcalls and warnings that "the nigger better not come back to school tomorrow."

ITEM: Opposing Negro gangs in the sedate retirement city of St. Petersburg, Florida, in 1964 joined together against a common enemy after white toughs roughed up two Negro girls who sought service at a desegregated drive-in restaurant adjacent to a Negro slum community. Confrontations of whites and Negroes in mobs ranging up to about 600 threatened to erupt into open battle before the local police chief sought Negro help to forestall it. Although there were isolated instances of violence—rock throwing by Negroes at passing cars and some shooting into Negro homes—the control of Negro retaliation by pulling the involved gangs into organized activity turned the tide.

Those who wanted to meet the threat of violence with violence were not persons engaged in any organized civil rights activity. They had collected an arsenal of guns and were awaiting the word of their gang chief when a woman civil rights leader infiltrated their ranks and gained their respect. When the smoke cleared, the chief of police expressed his appreciation in a letter to her.

On October 2 at a statewide meeting

sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations to discuss voter registration, the meet-violence-with-violence attitude was described by some civil rights organization workers in attendance. They spoke bitterly in the wake of the acquittal of Deputy Sheriff Thomas Coleman, accused of slaying the Rev. Jonathan Daniels, a white Episcopal seminarian who had been aiding desegregation efforts.

After the main session of the meeting was over, at an informal discussion, with consultants from the federal government listening, the Negro civil rights workers were candid:

"Men are beaten time after time; nobody cares," said one, "but whenever somebody says 'riot,' the nation becomes concerned. We can feel something growing up under our feet. You hear 'get Whitey' in bars. Groups like this (interracial meeting) are needed because, very seriously, there's going to be more brutalizing and more killing." He made it clear he hoped violence from either race could be averted.

"How am I going to tell a lady to go down and register and get shot in the head? How do you protest? Get shot?" a young woman asked the U. S. Government consultants invited to the meeting. Several times, disillusionment with demonstrations was expressed; however, a civil rights worker who suggested demonstrations for more effective enforcement of the voter rights law was applauded. The discussion underscored how remarkable an achievement non-violence has been in the Negro revolution, and how much courage and sacrifice it has taken.

Part of the background there and of the current swell of Negro anger is the knowledge that in nearly a century, courts—while giving stiff sentences to Negroes for petty thefts—very seldom have convicted a white man on a murder charge in the South for slaying a Negro.

In parts of the South, this lawlessness of terrorism has given rise to something quite different from the spectre of unorganized, incoherent violence of protest that stalks the city slums and ghettos. One of the potentials for violence in the South rests with a desperate segment of Negroes who are disillusioned over the powerlessness of federal, state, and local government to halt white terrorist violence against Negroes and, in recent years, their white sympathizers, and who are determined to protect themselves, taking the law by default in their own hands. Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana and other armed self-defense units in other parts of the Black Belt are an ominous sign of the unwillingness of some Negroes to endure any longer terrorism unbridled by effective law enforcement.

There are many southern seeds of racial violence which could germinate summers more violent than those of 1963, 1964, and 1965. So far in the South, the violence has been almost entirely one-sided. Even in an explosion like that of Watts, the violence was against property rather than human life. (Of the 34 persons killed there, 27 were rioters or bystanders; only one of the other seven deaths has been attributed to rioters, and this one was accidental.) The action in Watts was for the most part spontaneous and not premeditated, whereas many of the civil rights killings appear to have been premeditated assassinations.

The sort of self-defense violence exemplified by the Deacons appeals more to those who have given up on all other means of satisfying primary, universal needs—the need for food, clothing, and shelter, and for social interaction with others who care. All

They Hated Policemen, Disliked School Teachers

MY KNOWLEDGE of the St. Petersburg gangs involved my wife, Elenora, who infiltrated their ranks the night after 600 people squared off spoiling for a fight. Police Chief Harold Smith asked for her help in reversing the trend toward violence. She was chosen because she successfully had led desegregation drives to open up theatres and public accomodations and had been leader of one of the community's most successful voter registration campaigns.

She was able to gain their confidence. A 16-year-old school dropout showed her a cache of crude guns. After a lot of wrangling, we got a promise from two key leaders to call off that night's action and give us a chance to get two teenage girls they felt were innocent released from jail. A mass meeting was announced for that weekend, and nightly meetings were held with the gang throughout the period of tension.

At the meetings the boys were able to act out their antagonisms. They hated policemen, disliked school teachers, and were suspicious of us until we began to prove a genuine interest in their welfare. Other St. Petersburg leaders joined us and were of inestimable help.

The younger boys worshiped their gang leaders. They tried to dress and walk like them. Criteria for leadership included abilities to frustrate police, to talk back to the meanest cop, to be slick, to steal and get away by outrunning or out-smarting the law, and to talk the special gang lingo.

In redirecting their activities, never did we talk in high platitudes. We discussed jobs denied them, teachers who misunderstood them, police who refused to come when they called to complain about whites shooting up their homes, a socio-economic system which ignored or mistreated them. We later were able to begin interpreting and suggesting positive things they might do to help themselves to better lives.

—SAMUEL ADAMS.

other needs are related, the power to vote and influence political decision-making on one level being only one of the methods of achieving primary goals.

To placate the discontent that leads to rioting means knowing the answer to a question often raised in the wake of rioting by southern whites: "What do they want?" The replies from the slums are simply, "We are cramped," "We are hungry," "We are cut off," "We are ignored."

The answers were reemphasized in late October by a 91-year-old invalid Negro in Green County, Georgia. A bright Sunday morning sun filtered light through the roof of her shack; a flickering fire glowed in the fireplace. The woman was curled under five layers of cover. "I am cold, and the hard winter ain't come yet," she said. "When it rains, I get wet. They collect the rent but won't do nothing for this old house . . . The paper (cardboard ceiling on inside walls) stays damp when there's rain or snow. One day I pulled a piece off and the backside was covered with ice."

What the old lady didn't say was that she was lonely and that it seemed that few people really cared about her. She hadn't received a welfare check for several months. She poses no dan-

ger as a potential rioter. However, many resentful ones who have seen and shared this kind of suffering do pose such a threat.

The reply to the question of what do they want by the modern civil rights movement is much the same as it was in 1906, when the men of the Niagara Movement made their pilgrimage to the Harper's Ferry shrine. There, they repudiated Booker T. Washington's "future of the humble way" and in an historic "Address to the Country" demanded:

"First, we want full manhood suffrage and we want it now. Second we want discrimination in public accommodations to cease. Third, we proclaim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them that wish to be with us. Fourth, we want the laws enforced against the rich as well as the poor, against capitalist as well as laborer, against white as well as black. Fifth, we want our children educated."

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, though of tremendous importance, obviously haven't automatically stemmed the tide of Negro resentment. In one sense, it is as though the recent advances have stripped away many of the barriers that kept America from seeing the real place in which it had put the Negro; and more importantly, perhaps, that kept the Negro himself from seeing in full what has been and still is being done to him.

The *Amsterdam News* stated editorially recently: "The news that the Mayor of Bogalusa, Louisiana, is ready to 'negotiate' with Negro leaders in his community does more than anything else to illustrate the cleavage in black and white relations in the United States. Negotiate. Negotiate for what? For the right to be considered an American? Herein is revealed the cold sore of America. Here in all its glaring inequities shows this country's Achilles Heel. Americans, because they are black, must 'negotiate' for their rights to be Americans, equal under the sun. And the really sad picture to arise out of the Bogalusa mayor's agreement to 'negotiate' with the Negroes is the fact that many people will consider this progress."

The new laws, offers of city officials to negotiate and other concessions forced by the civil rights movement are too often, still, thought of as favors granted to Negroes. Consequently, when there are riots people wonder why. Donald S. Harrington, white minister of the Community Church of New York, answers in his church bulletin:

"When you're passed by continually, disregarded, treated as invisible, why wouldn't you riot if only to call attention to yourself? A New York *Herald Tribune* letter writer states that in 1863 there were terrible riots in New York by poverty striken Irish. These riots were triggered by the Conscription Act which permitted well-to-do citizens to hire substitutes for the Union Army, while requiring poor men to fight and die. Poverty, miserable housing and racial prejudice were at the root of the seething discontent of the Irish residents of New York's slums."

The irony is that discontent becomes more intense once the inertia is removed and some progress is attained. It is something like a hungry lion who suddenly awakes to the smell of food but finds himself chained and blind. The new manifestations of Negro anger are in part an expression of frustration from disqualifications of the slum dweller as he attempts to take advantage of new opportunities.

Negro leaders Whitney Young, Jr.,

(Continued on page 10)

Self Respect in the Alley

By Bill Beardslee

THE GHETTO in Atlanta: You walk with a policeman on his beat. A woman comes down the street swearing at the teenagers who, she says, tried to rape her. Maybe they did, but she must be locked up anyway, because she is drunk and unable to take care of herself. He walks fast on the beat, breaking up trouble before it starts, breaking up groups of people. He comes down hard and quickly on people who are drunk and swearing, backing up his words with the threat of arrest. The alleys often are between empty houses with broken windows, and the path between the houses on the hill is between two high walls of grass. He talks about the trouble spots that these places are and about how the city should tear the houses down. He tries to give the people a break and does not like to lock them up. Two men come racing down the street, one chasing the other. The lead man trips and falls on the sidewalk, and the other, seeing the policeman, turns and walks away very quickly. It was a fight about a woman, and one of the men had a knife. The other: "I knocked him down once and I'll knock him down again. I am mad. There ain't no harm in saying 'hey' to a man's girl friend. I wish he'd come and I would knock him down again. I started to run when someone shouted that he had a blade." He keeps shaking his fist and breaking into the conversation. The man with the knife is long gone, and there is nothing else to do but let this one go.

The policeman spends a lot of time in the stores, passing the time of day with the shopkeepers, who are friendly. He has to keep moving and anticipating all the night.

* * *

"You've only got one time to die." The men in overalls and dirty shirts, the corner loungers, are inconspicuous downtown as they watch the police and the Klan prepare for the civil rights marchers. The Klan is ready to forcibly block the path of the march. Fortunately, the marchers take another route. The loungers return to the ghetto, taking home their weapons.

* * *

I see a young boy in the evenings who can't seem to be quiet in a group. When I am alone with him, he talks and talks about the fights he has been in, the kids he has beaten up. He says he can beat grown men three times his size. Two of his older brothers have been killed in fights, one with a shotgun, one with a knife. He has four younger siblings. His mother keeps discipline in her house with a switch, because that's the only way to do it. And yet, she is a wonderful person, warm and friendly, very hard working. She reads, and she takes sewing in night school. We talk in the evenings when I pick the boy up or bring him home. She doesn't like to gossip and she can see that many others are in a worse situation than she is. She tells

Mr. Beardslee, a student at Haverford College, worked in the Southern Regional Council Research Department during the summer, and spent much of his free time working with residents of Vine City, a low-income Negro area in Atlanta, on various of their civic projects.

me about the funeral of a friend and how sad it was.

* * *

There is no barrier against violence here—at least not the way there is in most communities.

The man in the ghetto is pushed to the wall; he has very little that he can take pride in. He, like anyone else, must be able to respect himself. No other thing to fall back on, he fights when he is challenged. His willingness to fight is the reflection of the desperate need to respect himself. The ghetto leaves this as the only way for many men.

That is why the key to Los Angeles is in the terror that we feel, and not in the world of complex causes and solutions, necessary as it may sometimes be to think that way. There is a desperate cry, an appeal, that has to be heard. Human beings calling for self-respect. I do not mean that the pillaging and killing gave the rioters self-respect. I mean that what drove them on was the fact that they felt they could get self-respect in no other way. Blind fury, hopelessness, and utter contempt for others were expressed in the rioting.

The only way to meet terror is to understand that the people in the ghettoes are human beings, who must be able to respect themselves. A love corresponding and answering the terror, balancing it, is the only way to approach. That is precisely what was absent in L. A. and what is absent in many other ghettoes. One must first learn deeply and honestly to respect the people in the ghetto, and only then begin to plan a program, or to talk about causes.

The Fire That Time

(Continued from page 8)

executive director of the National Urban League, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., both have called for special effort on behalf of Negroes to remedy the economic and employment problems compounded by centuries of under-education and under-employment. Such special effort, supported by government and private agencies and businesses, would be like a sort of domestic Marshall Plan and would be promoted not as preferential treatment but as payments on a debt to a people whose slave forebears without pay helped to build America's wealth.

An important first step must be reforms in the South's system of dual justice. The reforms are urgently needed to impede white lawlessness against Negroes, a prerequisite to real enforcement of legislation intended to improve the welfare and insure the constitutional rights of minorities, including those of the slums.

Some positive work for coping with the problems of slums and ghettos, North and South, already has been started. Among the approaches are a variety of programs instituted under the Johnson administration's War on Poverty, and the community work of private agencies. Starting point for many of these programs has been concern with the structure of the family and the social disintegration of the slum community.

In seeing and wrestling with problems of humanity in the ghetto, the anti-poverty work helps to dissipate violent resentments bred by basic needs for psychological and physical security. The movement toward goals, when seen and clearly understood by de-

(Continued on back cover)

Am I My Brother's Keeper?

By Helen Howard

AM I MY BROTHER'S keeper? I have to be. The poor people, who live just above the welfare and relief, have to live by that old saying, "I can see farther over the mountain than the man who is standing atop of it." We know and see the problems, because we *have* to live so close to them. We know that we have a sense of responsibility, and we (some of us) have tried to instill some of the ambitions we could not realize into our children. Some of us feel that the entire situation is just hopeless, and it would be easier to just forget the whole thing, and live each day as it comes.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. Have you ever tried to send two children to college? At the same time? Well, I have, and most of the time I prayed during the day as I worked, and cried and prayed at night when I went to bed.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. We (the poor) know what the "nitty-gritty" poor is like. The "nitty-gritty" poor is the hopeless and bleakness we have to face night and day. You, the so-called middle class, and the rich, cannot begin to know how much harder we have to work, and still not accomplish a thing. How much braver we are, to withstand the hardships that are forced upon us. Did you know that the suicide rates among us, the poor people, are far less than those of the middle class or rich people? Sure we fight, curse, cut, shoot and kill each other, but this is just another way for us to try to release some of the pressures of our everyday living.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. When we apply for aid from the relief or the welfare, we get turned down. Why? Because we make *too much money,* so they say, or our husbands haven't been gone three months, or we haven't starved to death or been put outdoors yet. When we try to better ourselves, and apply for government jobs like the E.O.A., we get turned down because of our "poor credit ratings," or "our previous jail records." They expect us to have lived a spotless life, but how can we, living in places like these? We have to rob Peter to pay Paul, then we get undesirable credit ratings. We have to steal sometimes to keep the family from starving to death. We make the same mistakes other people make, but ours are held against us. You, who have never had to experience this, cannot begin to imagine what this hell is really like. You, middle class or rich people, can't know how hard it is to have to accept this fate; you can't imagine what we people who are just above the welfare and relief have to do just to try to meet some (not all) of our daily obligations. We try to make it, honestly we do; it's not a case of being "lazy" or not wanting things for ourselves, no matter what you have heard or what you may think. We do have dreams. We do have ambitions.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have

(Continued on back cover)

Mrs. Howard is a resident of Vine City in Atlanta, a low income Negro section. She is a housewife, and sometimes does domestic work.

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(1955-1965)

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Billy Wayne Wallace (W) 8-9-64	Dallas, Tex. Shot during racial row in city park. Two Negroes arrested. One indicted for murder with court action pending; the other suspect was no-billed by the grand jury on same charge.
Charles E. Moore (N) 7-12-64 **Henry Hezekiah Dee (N)**	Meadville, Miss., near Tullulah, La. Both bodies mutilated. Recovered from Mississippi River. Had been missing since May 2, 1964. Charges against two white men dismissed without prejudice Jan. 12, 1965. Prosecution said lacked enough evidence.
Lemuel Penn (N) 7-11-64	Near Colbert, Ga. Victim was Washington, D. C., educator. Shot by whites while returning from Army reserve duty at Fort Benning, Ga. Four Klansmen arrested; three indicted for murder; two tried and acquitted. Federal indictments against six white men charging conspiracy to deprive Penn of civil rights dismissed in district court, appealed to U. S. Supreme Court.
James E. Chaney (N) 6-21-64 **Andrew Goodman (W)** **Michael H. Schwerner (W)**	Philadelphia, Miss. Three civil rights workers slain after their release from jail. 21 white men arrested, charges dismissed by U. S. Commissioner. Federal grand jury later indicted 18 white men on felony and misdemeanor charges of conspiring to violate the victims' civil rights. Federal judge voided felony charges against 17. Misdemeanor charges pending. Justice Department is appealing the rulings. Trial of the 18th suspect pending in federal court in Atlanta.
Mrs. Johnnie Mae Chappell (N) 3-23-64	Jacksonville, Fla. Shot while walking along street during racial unrest. Young white man sentenced to 10 years in the shooting.
Louis Allen (N) 2-1-64	Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker slain some time after testifying against a white man charged with killing another Negro. No arrests.
1963	
William Kinard (W) 10-18-63	St. Augustine, Fla. Victim slain as he and two other whites drove with shotgun through Negro area. Two Negroes arrested on murder charges. Court action pending.
E. B. Bryant (W) 10-18-63	Jackson, Miss. White gas station attendant slain after squirting water from hose on Negro drinking from "white" fountain. Negro suspect charged with murder, sentenced to life imprisonment.
Virgil Ware (N) 9-15-63	Birmingham, Ala. Thirteen-year-old youth killed by two white teen-agers while riding his bicycle in suburban area following downtown church bombing. Defendants received probated seven-month sentences and a stern lecture on second-degree manslaughter charges.
Johnny Robinson (N) 9-15-63	Birmingham, Ala. Killed by police after church bombing and rioting. No arrests.
Denise McNair (N), age 11, 9-15-63 **Addie Mae Collins (N) age 14** **Cynthia Wesley (N), age 14** **Carol Robertson (N), age 14**	Birmingham, Ala. Killed while attending Sunday School by exploding bomb at church where civil rights rallies were held. No arrests.
John L. Coley (N) 9-4-63	Birmingham, Ala. Suffered fatal wounds from shotgun pellets during rioting after a race bombing. No arrests.
Andrew Lee Anderson (N) 7-17-63	Near Marion, Ark. Slain by group of white citizens and sheriff's deputies after white woman said he had molested her 8-year-old daughter. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. No arrests.

Medgar W. Evers (N) 6-12-63	Jackson, Miss. Shot in back as he arrived home from civil rights rally. He was field secretary for NAACP. White man tried twice, but hung juries brought mistrials. Accused Byron de le Beckwith now free.
Frank G. Link (W) 6-7-63	Lexington, N. C. Killed during rioting. Three Negroes convicted—one sentenced to serve four to seven years for second-degree murder, and two sentenced to six-month terms on charges of engaging in a riot.
William L. Moore (W) 4-23-63	Near Attalla, Ala. Mailman from Baltimore, Md., making one-man protest march across Alabama slain by bullet. Grand jury failed to indict white suspect.
1962	
Paul Guihard (W) 10-30-62 **Ray Gunter (W)**	Oxford, Miss. Guihard (news reporter from France) and Gunter (local TV repairman) slain during white rioting over admission of James Meredith to University of Mississippi. No arrests.
Leroy Parks (W) 9-6-62	Dallas, Ga. Victim was among masked nightriders calling on a Negro woman who was charged in the slaying. Coroner's jury ruled shooting justifiable homicide. Suspect moved North after release from jail.
Cpl. Roman Ducksworth Jr. (N) 4-9-62	Taylorsville, Miss. Shot by white policeman when the Negro refused to move to rear of interstate bus. No arrests.
1961	
Eli Brumfield (N) 10-31-61	McComb, Miss. Shot by policeman during racial unrest. No arrests.
Herbert Lee (N) 9-25-61	Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker shot by a white state legislator. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide.
Frank Coleman Dumas (W) 6-1-61	Shot to death in his home. Preston Cobb, Jr., 15 year old Negro, found guilty of murder Aug. 16, 1961, and sentenced to die. Case retried, ending in sentence to life imprisonment. Motion for new trial pending.
1960	
William Nance (N) 8-27-60	Near Winchester, Tenn. Body found in Lakeview Lake with slugs from three different guns and weighted with large rock. No arrests.
Albert Pitts (N) 7-23-60 **David Pitts (N)** **Ernest McPharland (N)** **Marshall A. Johns (N)**	Monroe, La. White employer arrested, then released in the shooting of five of his employees; four died. Victims accused of making threats. Records of Dist. Court, Parish of Ouachita, Monroe, La., reveal that no bill of indictment or information was ever filed.
Mrs. Mattie Greene (N) 5-20-60	Ringgold, Ga. Died under falling debris when her home was dynamited. No arrests.
1959	
William Roy Prather (N) 11-1-59	Corinth, Miss. The 15-year-old boy was killed in anti-Negro "Halloween prank." Eight white youths charged with the slaying, six of whom were turned over to juvenile court. One indicted on manslaughter charge.
Tommy Dwight (N) 6-13-59	Dalton, Ga. Four white men fired supposedly over the heads of a group of Negroes intending to "scare" them, but four fatal buckshots hit the 11-year-old victim. The four were indicted on charges of involuntary manslaughter. Charges reduced to misdemeanor and three of the men sentenced to serve one year. One of these permitted to serve the year outside jail.
Jonas Causey (N) 5-10-59	Clarksdale, Miss. NAACP requested investigation and action against 15 policemen accused of the slaying. No arrests.
Mack Charles Parker (N) 4-25-59	Poplarville, Miss. Abducted from unguarded jail cell and shot to death. No arrests.
1958	
James Henry Ellison (N) 9-20-58	Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot from a passing car occupied by two white couples. No arrests.
Ernest Hunter (N) 9-13-58	St. Mary's, Ga. Slain while in jail. White policeman accused of shooting reported that he and victim engaged in a struggle. No arrests.
Joe Franklin Jeter Sr. (N) 9-13-58	Atlanta, Ga. Shot by white policeman who said victim was resisting arrest. Grand jury returned "no bills" on three charges.

Richard Lillard (N) 7-26-58	Nashville, Tenn. Died after a beating in local workhouse by three white guards. They were indicted on murder charges on Aug. 15, 1958. Each was acquitted on Jan. 16, 1959.
Woodrow Wilson Daniels (N) 7-1-58	Water Valley, Miss. Died of brain injury nine days after beating. White sheriff acquited of manslaughter charge.
Willie Countryman (N) 5-25-58	Dawson, Ga. Shot in his backyard by white policeman. Federal grand jury failed to indict the policeman, who had been accused in another death one month earlier.
John Larry Bolden (N) 5-3-58	Chattanooga, Tenn. The 15-year-old boy was shot by white policeman. No court action.
James Brazier (N) 4-25-58	Dawson, Ga. Victim died a few days after beating at hands of white policemen. Federal grand jury refused to indict four accused officers.
George Love (N) 1-8-58	Ruleville, Miss. Killed by 25-man posse. No arrests.
1957	
Willie V. Dunigan (N) 11-18-57	Lomax, Ala. Shot by sheriff's deputies outside his home. Deputies were looking for person(s) who earlier wounded another deputy. No arrests.
Charles Brown (N) 6-25-57	Near Yazoo City, Miss. White man charged with shooting the victim, a young airman, who was visiting at the home of the suspect's sister.
James Hollis (N) 2-3-57	Griffin, Ga. The 17-year-old boy was slain and a white housewife wounded by husband who found them together partially clothed in his home. A grand jury failed to indict the husband.
1956	
Mrs. Maybelle Mahone (N) 12-5-56	Near Molena, Ga. Shot by white man for "sassing" him. The 71-year-old suspect was first given a life sentence on a murder charge, Aug 1, 1957, but was found "not guilty for reasons of insanity" the following March 21, 1958.
Mrs. Bessie McDowell (N) 6-14-56	Andalusia, Ala. Killed by white father and son, who were indicted on first and second degree murder counts.
Rev. C. H. Baldwin (N) 4-22-56	Near Huntsville, Ala. Victim struck by heavy rock. White man convicted of second-degree manslaughter, sentenced to 12 months at hard labor.
Dr. Thomas H. Brewer (N) 2-18-56	Columbus, Ga. Prominent physician and NAACP leader shot by white man. Grand jury refused to indict.
Milton Russell (N) 1-21-56	Belzoni, Miss. Burned to death in his home. Whites suspected of foul play. No arrests.
Richard King (N) 1-6-56	Eufaula, Ala. White man given life sentence for pistol slaying. He was later paroled, violated his parole and "might be back in prison," according to Barbour County's court clerk.
Edward Duckworth (N) 1-56	Raleigh, Miss. White man reportedly admitted the shooting but claimed self defense. Suspect died of heart ailment while awaiting grand jury action.
1955	
James E. Evanston (N) 12-24-55	Near Drew, Miss. Body of school principal found in Long Lake with neck broken and no water in lungs to indicate drowning. Negro press called it civil rights slaying. Death officially ruled suicide.
Clinton Melton (N) 12-3-55	Glendora, Miss. White suspect was indicted on a murder charge and later acquitted.
John Earl Reese (N) 10-22-55	Near Longview, Tex. The 16-year-old boy died of injuries from shotgun blast into cafe from a moving car. Two whites indicted for murder, one given a five year suspended sentence.
Emmett Till (N) 8-28-55	LeFlore County, Miss. The 14-year-old boy from Chicago was slain after "smart-alec" talk to a Mississippi white woman. Body found in a river, beaten and shot. Two white men indicted for murder and acquitted.
Lamar Smith (N) 8-17-55	Brookhaven, Miss. Victim was shot down on lawn of county courthouse in broad daylight. A grand jury failed to indict three accused white men.
Rev. George W. Lee (N) 5-7-55	Belzoni, Miss. Killed by a shotgun blast from a car carrying several whites. No arrests.

My Brother's Keeper

(Continued from page 11)

to be. You wonder who sells the liquor, and who writes the numbers? We do! The poor people who can't find jobs that pay enough to feed us, we, the poor people, who have ambitions and refuse to be pushed down any farther than we already are, we, the poor people, who have ambitions for our children, and are trying every way we know how, even by "Hook or crook" to make it. Many of our Negro doctors, lawyers, nurses, school teachers, and professional people have become what they are because their parents did all these things to make the world a better place for them and possibly for their children.

When I was a little girl, I used to sit and watch the stars at night, and I would wonder what the future held for me. Nothing, I guess. But I am trying to make the future hold much, much more for my children.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. Middle class and rich people take things for granted, things that we would call heaven, your nice painted walls for instance, while we, as I heard a little boy say, "Lay down in bed at night, look through the ceiling and see shooting stars." You have your nice wall to wall carpets, while we have our little 9 by 12 linoleums, that will not cover half of the floor, and will wear out before long because of the awful floors that they cover.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. I see all these things going on around me, things like selling liquor, writing numbers, boys gambling on the street corners, and transient houses. No . . . I don't and I won't call the police to these people, because the people who are doing these things are the people with ambitions, the people who are making a better life for themselves, and their family. These are the people who will be able to send their children to colleges, who will be able to pay their bills, buy their homes and move to a higher economical, as well as social status. These are the people who want to and will get a little respect. This is why I am, Why I have to be my brother's keeper.

The Fire That Time

(Continued from page 10)

prived people, tends to keep the community from violent revolts. The bottom segments of society must be moved along if the middle and upper portions are not to trip up in their sprint toward the American dream.

The greatest danger to progress lies in the prevalent thinking that the problems of racial justice may now be forgotten because certain laws were passed. Racial discrimination and the inequities and poverty facing slum dwellers must be kept in the center of the attention of America. The mere avoidance of violent revolts is the most base of reasons why we must act to solve these problems.

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Billy Wayne Wallace (W) 8-9-64	Dallas, Tex. Shot during racial row in city park. Two Negroes arrested. One indicted for murder with court action pending; the other suspect was no-billed by the grand jury on same charge.
Charles E. Moore (N) 7-12-64 **Henry Hezekiah Dee (N)**	Meadville, Miss., near Tullulah, La. Both bodies mutilated. Recovered from Mississippi River. Had been missing since May 2, 1964. Charges against two white men dismissed without prejudice Jan. 12, 1965. Prosecution said lacked enough evidence.
Lemuel Penn (N) 7-11-64	Near Colbert, Ga. Victim was Washington, D. C., educator. Shot by whites while returning from Army reserve duty at Fort Benning, Ga. Four Klansmen arrested; three indicted for murder; two tried and acquitted. Federal indictments against six white men charging conspiracy to deprive Penn of civil rights dismissed in district court, appealed to U. S. Supreme Court.
James E. Chaney (N) 6-21-64 **Andrew Goodman (W)** **Michael H. Schwerner (W)**	Philadelphia, Miss. Three civil rights workers slain after their release from jail. 21 white men arrested, charges dismissed by U. S. Commissioner. Federal grand jury later indicted 18 white men on felony and misdemeanor charges of conspiring to violate the victims' civil rights. Federal judge voided felony charges against 17. Misdemeanor charges pending. Justice Department is appealing the rulings. Trial of the 18th suspect pending in federal court in Atlanta.
Mrs. Johnnie Mae Chappell (N) 3-23-64	Jacksonville, Fla. Shot while walking along street during racial unrest. Young white man sentenced to 10 years in the shooting.
Louis Allen (N) 2-1-64	Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker slain some time after testifying against a white man charged with killing another Negro. No arrests.
1963	
William Kinard (W) 10-18-63	St. Augustine, Fla. Victim slain as he and two other whites drove with shotgun through Negro area. Two Negroes arrested on murder charges. Court action pending.
E. B. Bryant (W) 10-18-63	Jackson, Miss. White gas station attendant slain after squirting water from hose on Negro drinking from "white" fountain. Negro suspect charged with murder, sentenced to life imprisonment.
Virgil Ware (N) 9-15-63	Birmingham, Ala. Thirteen-year-old youth killed by two white teen-agers while riding his bicycle in suburban area following downtown church bombing. Defendants received probated seven-month sentences and a stern lecture on second-degree manslaughter charges.
Johnny Robinson (N) 9-15-63	Birmingham, Ala. Killed by police after church bombing and rioting. No arrests.
Denise McNair (N), age 11, 9-15-63 **Addie Mae Collins (N) age 14** **Cynthia Wesley (N), age 14** **Carol Robertson (N), age 14**	Birmingham, Ala. Killed while attending Sunday School by exploding bomb at church where civil rights rallies were held. No arrests.
John L. Coley (N) 9-4-63	Birmingham, Ala. Suffered fatal wounds from shotgun pellets during rioting after a race bombing. No arrests.
Andrew Lee Anderson (N) 7-17-63	Near Marion, Ark. Slain by group of white citizens and sheriff's deputies after white woman said he had molested her 8-year-old daughter. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. No arrests.

Medgar W. Evers (N) 6-12-63	Jackson, Miss. Shot in back as he arrived home from civil rights rally. He was field secretary for NAACP. White man tried twice, but hung juries brought mistrials. Accused Byron de le Beckwith now free.
Frank G. Link (W) 6-7-63	Lexington, N. C. Killed during rioting. Three Negroes convicted—one sentenced to serve four to seven years for second-degree murder, and two sentenced to six-month terms on charges of engaging in a riot.
William L. Moore (W) 4-23-63	Near Attalla, Ala. Mailman from Baltimore, Md., making one-man protest march across Alabama slain by bullet. Grand jury failed to indict white suspect.
1962	
Paul Guihard (W) 10-30-62 **Ray Gunter (W)**	Oxford, Miss. Guihard (news reporter from France) and Gunter (local TV repairman) slain during white rioting over admission of James Meredith to University of Mississippi. No arrests.
Leroy Parks (W) 9-6-62	Dallas, Ga. Victim was among masked nightriders calling on a Negro woman who was charged in the slaying. Coroner's jury ruled shooting justifiable homicide. Suspect moved North after release from jail.
Cpl. Roman Ducksworth Jr. (N) 4-9-62	Taylorsville, Miss. Shot by white policeman when the Negro refused to move to rear of interstate bus. No arrests.
1961	
Eli Brumfield (N) 10-31-61	McComb, Miss. Shot by policeman during racial unrest. No arrests.
Herbert Lee (N) 9-25-61	Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker shot by a white state legislator. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide.
Frank Coleman Dumas (W) 6-1-61	Shot to death in his home. Preston Cobb, Jr., 15 year old Negro, found guilty of murder Aug. 16, 1961, and sentenced to die. Case retried, ending in sentence to life imprisonment. Motion for new trial pending.
1960	
William Nance (N) 8-27-60	Near Winchester, Tenn. Body found in Lakeview Lake with slugs from three different guns and weighted with large rock. No arrests.
Albert Pitts (N) 7-23-60 **David Pitts (N)** **Ernest McPharland (N)** **Marshall A. Johns (N)**	Monroe, La. White employer arrested, then released in the shooting of five of his employees; four died. Victims accused of making threats. Records of Dist. Court, Parish of Ouachita, Monroe, La., reveal that no bill of indictment or information was ever filed.
Mrs. Mattie Greene (N) 5-20-60	Ringgold, Ga. Died under falling debris when her home was dynamited. No arrests.
1959	
William Roy Prather (N) 11-1-59	Corinth, Miss. The 15-year-old boy was killed in anti-Negro "Halloween prank." Eight white youths charged with the slaying, six of whom were turned over to juvenile court. One indicted on manslaughter charge.
Tommy Dwight (N) 6-13-59	Dalton, Ga. Four white men fired supposedly over the heads of a group of Negroes intending to "scare" them, but four fatal buckshots hit the 11-year-old victim. The four were indicted on charges of involuntary manslaughter. Charges reduced to misdemeanor and three of the men sentenced to serve one year. One of these permitted to serve the year outside jail.
Jonas Causey (N) 5-10-59	Clarksdale, Miss. NAACP requested investigation and action against 15 policemen accused of the slaying. No arrests.
Mack Charles Parker (N) 4-25-59	Poplarville, Miss. Abducted from unguarded jail cell and shot to death. No arrests.
1958	
James Henry Ellison (N) 9-20-58	Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot from a passing car occupied by two white couples. No arrests.
Ernest Hunter (N) 9-13-58	St. Mary's, Ga. Slain while in jail. White policeman accused of shooting reported that he and victim engaged in a struggle. No arrests.
Joe Franklin Jeter Sr. (N) 9-13-58	Atlanta, Ga. Shot by white policeman who said victim was resisting arrest. Grand jury returned "no bills" on three charges.

Richard Lillard (N) 7-26-58	Nashville, Tenn. Died after a beating in local workhouse by three white guards. They were indicted on murder charges on Aug. 15, 1958. Each was acquitted on Jan. 16, 1959.
Woodrow Wilson Daniels (N) 7-1-58	Water Valley, Miss. Died of brain injury nine days after beating. White sheriff acquited of manslaughter charge.
Willie Countryman (N) 5-25-58	Dawson, Ga. Shot in his backyard by white policeman. Federal grand jury failed to indict the policeman, who had been accused in another death one month earlier.
John Larry Bolden (N) 5-3-58	Chattanooga, Tenn. The 15-year-old boy was shot by white policeman. No court action.
James Brazier (N) 4-25-58	Dawson, Ga. Victim died a few days after beating at hands of white policemen. Federal grand jury refused to indict four accused officers.
George Love (N) 1-8-58	Ruleville, Miss. Killed by 25-man posse. No arrests.
1957	
Willie V. Dunigan (N) 11-18-57	Lomax, Ala. Shot by sheriff's deputies outside his home. Deputies were looking for person(s) who earlier wounded another deputy. No arrests.
Charles Brown (N) 6-25-57	Near Yazoo City, Miss. White man charged with shooting the victim, a young airman, who was visiting at the home of the suspect's sister.
James Hollis (N) 2-3-57	Griffin, Ga. The 17-year-old boy was slain and a white housewife wounded by husband who found them together partially clothed in his home. A grand jury failed to indict the husband.
1956	
Mrs. Maybelle Mahone (N) 12-5-56	Near Molena, Ga. Shot by white man for "sassing" him. The 71-year-old suspect was first given a life sentence on a murder charge, Aug 1, 1957, but was found "not guilty for reasons of insanity" the following March 21, 1958.
Mrs. Bessie McDowell (N) 6-14-56	Andalusia, Ala. Killed by white father and son, who were indicted on first and second degree murder counts.
Rev. C. H. Baldwin (N) 4-22-56	Near Huntsville, Ala. Victim struck by heavy rock. White man convicted of second-degree manslaughter, sentenced to 12 months at hard labor.
Dr. Thomas H. Brewer (N) 2-18-56	Columbus, Ga. Prominent physician and NAACP leader shot by white man. Grand jury refused to indict.
Milton Russell (N) 1-21-56	Belzoni, Miss. Burned to death in his home. Whites suspected of foul play. No arrests.
Richard King (N) 1-6-56	Eufaula, Ala. White man given life sentence for pistol slaying. He was later paroled, violated his parole and "might be back in prison," according to Barbour County's court clerk.
Edward Duckworth (N) 1-56	Raleigh, Miss. White man reportedly admitted the shooting but claimed self defense. Suspect died of heart ailment while awaiting grand jury action.
1955	
James E. Evanston (N) 12-24-55	Near Drew, Miss. Body of school principal found in Long Lake with neck broken and no water in lungs to indicate drowning. Negro press called it civil rights slaying. Death officially ruled suicide.
Clinton Melton (N) 12-3-55	Glendora, Miss. White suspect was indicted on a murder charge and later acquitted.
John Earl Reese (N) 10-22-55	Near Longview, Tex. The 16-year-old boy died of injuries from shotgun blast into cafe from a moving car. Two whites indicted for murder, one given a five year suspended sentence.
Emmett Till (N) 8-28-55	LeFlore County, Miss. The 14-year-old boy from Chicago was slain after "smart-alec" talk to a Mississippi white woman. Body found in a river, beaten and shot. Two white men indicted for murder and acquitted.
Lamar Smith (N) 8-17-55	Brookhaven, Miss. Victim was shot down on lawn of county courthouse in broad daylight. A grand jury failed to indict three accused white men.
Rev. George W. Lee (N) 5-7-55	Belzoni, Miss. Killed by a shotgun blast from a car carrying several whites. No arrests.

ADDITIONAL RACE RELATED DEATHS IN THE U. S.

(1965-1967)

1965

Frederick Riehm (W) 5/22/65
New Orleans, Louisiana. New York Times 5/23/65. The young man was fatally stabbed during a fight with Negroes at a bus stop.

Moses E. Jackson (N) 6/8/65
Deland, Florida. Miami Herald 2/3/66. Two white men, Charles A. Cirack and Richard V. White, were found guilty of first degree murder. The jury recommended mercy for White, but not for Cirack. "It was the first time in Volusia County history thataa white man was found guilty of the first degree murder of a Negro," Circuit Clerk Jess Mathas said.

John David Farer (W) 10/16/65
Knoxville, Tennessee. Chattanooga Times 5/18/66. Two Negro youths were sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder. Leonard Dickerson and Melvin Lockett admitted stabbing Farer "because he was the first white person they saw after watching a white boy slash a Negro boy in a street fight."

1966

David Colston (N)
Camden, Alabama. Atlanta Constitution 1/24/66. The young Negro man planned to attend what was described as a political meeting by an SCLC field secretary and what the local sheriff thought to be a funeral at Antioch Baptist Church. As he tried to turn off the highway into the church parking lot, his car was struck from the rear by another vehicle driven by a white man. The white pulled a pistol and shot the Negro in the head, leaving his body lying on Highway 41. The white man turned himself in to the sheriff, who said that by the time he got to town, several Negroes, "upset by the killing," had begun to gather around the body. The sheriff reported that the white man was "real upset."

Ralph M. Wilson (W) 3/26/66
Louisburg, North Carolina. Raleigh News and Observer (no date). A white Charlotte grill operator was cleared of a murder charge in Wilson's slaying. In a statement to

police just after the incident, Mullis testified he had taken an order for food from Nathaniel Everett, a Negro, when Wilson came in and told Everett to get out. Wilson then vaulted the counter and attacked Mullis. Mullis drew a pistol and shot Wilson in the chest.

Ben Chester White (N)
Natchez, Mississippi. New York Times 7/8/66. The 65-year-old Negro was killed in June. Three alleged Ku Klux Klansmen were charged with the murder.

Willie Junior Self (W)
Athens, Georgia. Atlanta Constitution 7/12/66. The 44-year-old white man was killed during a rock-throwing incident in a predominantly Negro section of the city. A young Negro man was charged with the murder.

George Burnett (N)
Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta Constitution 7/18/66. The Negro policeman was shot by a young white man who muttered that he was "tired of nigger police running over everybody." (The above is testimony of Burnett's partner.)

Clarence Triggs (N) 8/1/66.
Bogalusa, Louisiana. New York Times 8/2/66. "The police charged two white men today with the weekend murder of Clarence Triggs, a Negro." (Body was found 7/30.)

James Arthur McCaulley (N) 8/13/66.
Nashville, Tennessee. Atlanta Daily World 8/16/66. Nashville police were searching for a white man in connection with the slaying. McCaulley was sitting in a local bar when the white man walked over, put a pistol under the Negro's chin, and said, "This is the way it's done," and shot him.

Sylvester Patterson (N) 8/14/66.
Charlotte, North Carolina. Raleigh News and Observer 8/15/66. Police charged a white man with murder in the shooting, which occurred in a predominantly Negro area.

Herbert Vorner (N)
Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta Constitution 9/12/66. The youth, 16, was shot by whites from a passing car. Constitution 2/9/67: All-white jury found white man, William Haywood James, guilty of murder -- sentenced him to life imprisonment.

Reba Delphenia Yancey (N) 11/22/66.
Portsmouth, Virginia. A white man was charged with murdering the 12-year-old girl -- "latest in a long series of

apparently aimless shootings in a middle-class Negro section of Portsmouth."

James Earl Motley (N)
Montgomery, Alabama. New York Times 12/3/66. "A state autopsy report made public today confirmed that James Earl Motley, a 27-year-old Negro who was taken dead from a Wetumpka, Alabama, jail November 20, died of severe head injuries. "Negro friends of the man have said that he had been beaten by a white deputy sheriff and state troopers a few hours earlier."

1967

Charlie McCastle (N)
Greenville, Alabama. Southern Courier 1/14-15/67. Charlie McCastle was shot to death last Saturday (1/7) by Edmond Carter, a white landowner, who was later arrested and charged with second-degree murder. Carter fired at McCastle and companions from his (Carter's) home while they were walking nearby. Later Carter "approached the group of hunters, said McCastle (cousin of the dead man) he 'told Charlie to throw down his gun. Charlie said he wasn't throwing down anything.' The witness said Carter shot once, and a bullet struck Charlie McCastle in the right temple. 'Charlie fired one shot and stumbled backward,' said C. B. McCastle, Jr. According to the witness, Carter shot again, and a bullet hit the victim 'dead center of the forehead.'"

Anthony Shelton (N)
Bessemer, Alabama. Southern Courier 1/28-29/67. Anthony Shelton, Negro, from Detroit, was shot to death (1/19) by an Alabama state trooper when he was arrested for drunk driving. "According to the Shelton family, witnesses to the incicent said Anthony Shelton lay on the ground, bleeding, for an hour before an ambulance took him to Memorial Hospital in Bessemer."

Robert Lacey (N)
Birmingham, Alabama. Southern Courier 2/4-5/67. "Holy Jesus, They Kill My Child for a Dog." "Robert Lacey, the father of six children, was shot to death last week by a Jefferson County sheriff's deputy while members of his family watched in horror. "Lacey had been charged with failing to take his dog to a veterinarian." . . . "Please don't shoot again, I said (wife) and my little girl came running to see what was happening to her daddy, laying there, bleeding, and I said again, 'Please don't,' and that's when they shot him through the head."

James E. Small (N)
Birmingham, Alabama. Birmingham News 2/17/67. James E. Small, 18-year-old Negro, was shot and killed by police when he failed to obey orders to halt. Police said "a window had been forced open and confronted Small running out a door."

Griffin, Georgia. Atlanta Constitution 2/14/67. "Five Negro brothers have been charged with the murder in the shooting death of a white man during a wild pre-dawn gun battle on a dirt road near here, Sheriff Dwayne Gilbert said Monday. "The brothers, held in jail on murder warrants, met four white men for a showdown in the early hours of Saturday after a truck stop argument, the sheriff said."

William Cranmore (W)
Prattville, Alabama. New York Times 2/18/67. "A Negro man was charged here today with the murder of a white man during a dispute on Tuesday over an automobile mortgage. "Another Negro who had been charged with the same murder died yesterday as a result of being shot by a policeman during his arrest."

James Huffman, Negro, "had been arrested in a VA hospital in Montgomery on a murder charge in connection with the fatal shooting of William Cranmore, 43, a white automobile dealer in Prattville. "Mr. Huffman, who was himself shot during the argument with Mr. Cranmore, was placed in the hospital unit of the state prison at Montgomery.

"Earlier, the sheriff had charged Charles Raspberry, 42, with the murder of Mr. Cranmore. Mr. Raspberry died at the veterans hopsital yesterday after lingering in critical condition with a bullet wound suffered while in the Prattville police station." He was shot once in the back.

Wharlest Jackson (N)
Natchez, Mississippi. New York Times 2/28/67. Wharlest Jackson, treasurer of the local NAACP, was killed 2/27 when an explosion shattered his truck.

Louis Kuba (W)
Houston, Texas, New York Times, 5/18/67. The victim, a rookie policeman, was among regular policemen and sheriff's deputies who, according to the New York Times, "fired rifles and carbines into [a freshman dormitory on the campus of predominantly Negro Texas Southern University]. Students had fired on police after a rock throwing incident, according to Houston police.

Elton Brayboy (N)
Columbia, South Carolina. The State (Columbia, South Carolina), 7/6/67. An inquest jury charged a white policeman with murder, ruling that he "did shoot and kill Elton Brayboy in a willful and felonious manner." Brayboy was shot five times; twice after he fell to the floor.

Fred Hodges (N)
Knoxville, Tennessee, Chattanooga Times, 7/11/67. The 18-year-old youth died of stab wounds received in a scuffle with whites outside an amusement park. One of the whites was charged with murder.

Mike Erdey (W) 8/19/67.
Livingston, Louisiana, New Orleans Times-Picayune 6/18/68. A white man was charged with murder in the shooting, which followed an argument over a civil rights march that passed through the parish.

McDaniel McCoy (N)
Smithfield, North Carolina, Raleigh News and Observer 9/9/67. Two white men were charged with murder. A deputy sheriff testified that the two men beat McCoy, then, "after stopping for a pint of white whisky near the Johnston-Harnett County line . . . drove to a ridge and . . . threw the Negro over the bridge into the creek."

Robert E. Townsend (N)
Okolona, Mississippi, Delta Democrat Times, 10/3/67. A white Okolona policeman was freed by a three-man justice of the peace tribunal. He was charged with murder in the pistol slaying of Townsend, who was handcuffed at the time of the shooting.

John A. Langdon (N)
Selma, Alabama, Alabama Journal, 11/8/67. Three white men were charged with first degree murder in the rifle slaying. The men had driven through Selma in a truck firing into Negroes' homes. Langdon was discovered near one of the homes.

Mary Margaret Talley (W)
Roanoke, Virginia, Richmond News Leader, 11/20/67. A 17-year-old Negro youth was charged with murder in the shooting death. The 13-year-old victim was walking home from a cheerleaders rally. Moments before the shooting, according to police, a group of white youths nearby had been beaten and robbed by a broup of young Negroes. The child apparently was struck by a stray bullet.

Archie Lee Wooden (N)
Snow Hill, Alabt

Archie Lee Wooden (N)
Snow Hill, Alabama, Southern Courier, 6/7/68. The 18-year-old youth was found in a ditch near Snow Hill. He bled to death from a small wound in his side, caused, according to the Wilcox County sheriff, by his falling "on a stake." Wooden's mother asked "if the body was down in the ravine, why was there blood up by the road near the telephone pole?" According to the Courier, "friends said Wooden knew a white girl in town, but they would not elaborate."

A. C. Huggins (N)
Monticello, Florida, Atlanta Constitution, 2/28/68. The 18-year-old Huggins died when white men opened fire with an automatic rifle on a car in which he was riding. According to the sheriff, "It wasn't provoked, . . There was no racial problem involved."

Larry Wainwright (N)
El Dorado, Arkansas, Arkansas Gazette, 3/4/68. The prosecuting attorney charged that a 17-year-old white youth, "obsessed with the idea of killing Negroes," had shot Wainwright, 19, from a moving automible after "boasting that he was going to throw a Negro off the Ouachita River Bridge." Warning that failure to convict would "show the futility of the courts," the prosecutor said, "Your verdict will determine the conscience of the community." The all-white jury found the accused NOT GUILTY.

A. J. Boruss (W)
Knoxville Tennessee, New York Times, 3/10/68. Boruss' body was found near the charred remains of his taxicab in a field near Knoxville College. Negro students on the predominantly Negro college campus had earlier protested what they felt to be excessive police response to a minor complaint.

Martin Luther King, Jr. (N)
Memphis, Tennessee, New York Times, 4/5/68. The victim, a minister and philosopher of nonviolence, was shot on the eve of a demonstration in support of striking garbage workers.

Rudolph Hargett (N)
Jacksonville, Florida, Miami Herald, 4/13/68. A young white man was charged with first degree murder. The 18-year-old Hargett, home on leave from the Air Force, was sitting on a bicycle talking to a group of Negroes when he was shot between the eyes with a weapon fired from a slow-moving automobile.

Winston Tracy (N)
Salisbury, North Carolina, Charlotte Observer, 5/11/68.
A white man was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. The man saw Tracy, who was 14 years old, scuffling with his son. The man fired one shot and Tracy fell to the street,

and according to one witness, the man then walked up to him and shot him in the head as the youngster pleaded for his life.

Kathy Ainsworth (W)
Meridian, Mississippi, Birmingham News, 7/1/68. The victim, who accompanied an "underground fighter" member of the Ku Klux Klan when he attempted to "place a box of dynamite beside the home of a prominent Jewish businessman," died in a hail of machine gun bullets fired by Meridian police. The episode was described by police officers as "the wildest gun fight in recent Mississippi history."

Curtis Ingram (N)
Little Rock, Arkansas, Arkansas Gazette, 7/25/68. A white prison trustee was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter (defined in Arkansas law as "accidental killing of a person without intent), in the slaying of fellow-prisoner Ingram. Ingram was beatm to death.

Robert Davis (N)
Cayce, South Carolina, Charlotte Observer 9/1/68. Two whites were charged with murder in the pistol slaying. Davis was standing at a restaurant lunch counter when the two whites, who were seated at a nearby table, opened fire. He was shot in the back.

Luther L. Cole (N)
Savannah, Georgia, Atlanta Daily World, 9/4/68. A white motel manager was held for the grand jury. Cole, a marine corporal, requested a room. The manager told him there was only one vacancy left. Cole replied that "One of these days the NAACP is going to fix people like you." The manager shot Cole, later telling police that Cole had cursed him.

E. C. DeLoach (N)
Pritchard, Alabama, New Orleans Times-Picayne, 9/22/68. The body with an eight-inch slash across the stomach was found hanging head-down from the roof of an abandoned school in the "Negro section" of Pritchard. "As far as we know, there are no racial overtones," said the mayor. According to the Associated Press, Prichard "has been the scene of a number of protest demonstrations and meetings by whites because of court-ordered integration."

Sammy Lee Malone (N)
Metcalfe, Mississippi, Delta Democrat-Times, 9/27/68. According to the Delta-Democrat Times: "After a smoke bomb was set off in (a white-owned general store), the owner ordered the boys out. The four leftrbut later walked by the

front of the store on their way home. [The son of the defendant store-owner] cursed them and told them to come across the road into his yard 'so I can beat some of that black off of you.' "One of Malone's companions replied" 'If I come over there, the police can arrest me. If you want me, come and get me.' "The four waited while the white youth went behind the store and returned with a dob on a chain. "The youth, his wife, his sister, and his dog then lined up facing Maone [and Malone's three companions]. More cursing occurred. "At this point [the storeowner] walked from the store, hands in pockets, and joined the group across the road. "Which one of you is the bad son-of-a bitch out here?" he asked, then he reached into his pocket, pulled out a pistol and shot Malone."

Malone was 15-years-old.

NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION FOR SELECTIVE YEARS
AND VOTING AGE POPULATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

STATE	1952		1956		1960		Spring 1966		1950 CENSUS	1960 CENSUS
	# Registered	%VAP Reg.	# Registered	%VAP Reg.	# Registered	% VAP Reg.	# Reg.	% VAP Reg.	NEGRO VAP	NEGRO VAP
ALABAMA	25,224	21.9 ~~9.5~~	53,366	10.3 ~~20.1~~	73,272	15.2	235,572	48.9	516,275 ~~265,458~~	481,320
ARKANSAS	61,413	26.4	69,677	30.0	72,604	37.6	104,000	54.0	232,191	192,672
FLORIDA	120,900	32.9	148,703	40.5	163,128	34.7	288,069	60.2	366,797	470,306
GEORGIA	144,835	23.3	163,389	26.2	180,000	29.3	256,346	41.8	622,703	612,910
LOUISIANA	120,000	24.9	161,410	33.5	156,938	30.4	228,073	42.3	481,284	514,589
MISSISSIPPI	20,000	4.0	20,000	4.0	22,000	5.2	125,000	29.6	497,354	422,256
N. CAROLINA	100,000	18.2	135,000	24.5	172,166	31.3	269,328	48.9	549,741	550,929
S. CAROLINA	80,000	20,5	99,890	25.6	58,122	15.7	186,752	50.3	390,024	371,104
TENNESSEE	85,000	26.6	90,000	28.2	185,000	58.9	225,000	71.7	318,790	313,873
TEXAS	181,916	31.2	214,000	36.7	226,818	34.9	400,000	61.6	582,944	649,412
VIRGINIA	69,326	16.4	82,603	19.5	100,100	23.8	185,000	44.0	422,670	421,051
TOTAL	1,008,614	21.3	1,238,038	26.2	1,410,148	28.2	2,503,140	50.1	4,729,956	5,000,376

Clarence A. Bacote
James E. Conyers
Atlanta University

TABLE I

The 15 precincts have a total of 34,069 Negro registrants. This is 50.18 per cent of 67,895 Negro registrants in Fulton County as of July 25, 1966

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NEGRO VOTE FOR GOVERNOR IN THE FULTON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1966

(Based on 15 [redacted] Selected Negro Precincts)

Ward and Precincts	Negro Registrants	White Registrants	Total Registrants	Total and Per cent of Votes Cast for Governor: Arnall	%	Byrd	%	Carter	%	Gray	%	Maddox	%	O'Kelly	%	Totals	% *
1C	2758	111	2869	910	87.9	58	5.6	52	5.0	8	0.8	6	0.6	1	0.1	1035	36.1
3A	1512	33	1545	692	93.0	24	3.2	19	2.6	4	0.5	4	0.5	1	0.1	744	48.2
3B	1663	23	1686	807	92.5	35	4.0	21	2.4	6	0.7	0	0.0	3	0.3	872	51 51.7
3E	3023	51	3074	1324	91.5	61	4.2	47	3.2	10	0.7	1	0.07	4	0.3	1447	47.1
3H	2190	42	2232	1072	93.1	23	2.0	45	3.9	9	0.8	2	0.2	0	0.0	1151	51.6
3K	1339	32	1371	483	89.8	25	4.6	22	4.1	6	1.1	2	0.4	0	0.0	538	39.2
3N	2596	28	2624	919	89.2	43	4.2	55	5.3	8	0.8	2	0.2	3	0.3	1030	39.3
3P	1134	23	1157	555	92.5	14	2.3	27	4.5	0	0.0	3	0.5	1	0.2	600	51.9
3S	3110	44	3154	1168	91.3	36	2.8	61	4.8	6	0.5	3	0.2	5	0.4	1279	40.6
3T	1106	14	1120	486	91.9	16	3.0	19	3.6	7	1.3	1	0.2	0	0.0	529	47.2
4I	2900	26	2926	1012	85.4	33	2.8	129	10.9	8	0.7	3	0.2	0	0.0	1185	40. 40.5
6I	2568	28	2596	875	93.1	18	1.9	36	3.8	7	0.7	1	0.1	3	0.3	940	36.2
6J	2128	50	2178	882	94.6	18	1.9	27	2.9	2	0.2	2	0.2	1	0.1	932	42.8
7A	3160	51	3211	1340	93.1	30	2.1	57	4.0	9	0.6	2	0.1	2	0.1	1440	44.8
7N	2882	44	2926	1314	92.7	32	2.3	61	4.3	6	0.4	3	0.2	1	0.1	1417	48.4
Total	34,069	600	34,669	13,839	91.4	466	3.07	678	4.48	96	0.6	35	0.2	25	0.2	15139	43.7

*This per cent represents the actual votes cast as a per cent of total registrants in the [redacted] Precinct.

TABLE II

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NEGRO VOTE FOR LT. GOVERNOR AND COUNTY COMMISSIONER IN THE FULTON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1966

(Based on 15 Randomly Selected Negro Precincts)

Ward and Precincts	Negro Registrants	White Registrants	Total Registrants	TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR								TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR COUNTY COMMISSIONER											
				Bedgood	%	Geer	%	Smith	%	Totals	%	Brooks	%	Brown	%	Carpenter	%	Peavey	%	Smith	%	Totals	%*
1C	2758	111	2869	19	2.4	158	20.3	601	77.3	777	27.1	208	30.1	345	50.0	28	4.1	10	1.4	99	14.3	690	24.1
3A	1512	33	1545	21	3.7	86	15.1	463	81.2	570	36.9	320	45.8	257	36.8	32	4.6	37	5.3	52	7.4	698	45.2
3B	1663	23	1686	13	1.8	90	12.4	625	85.8	728	43.2	208	36.1	264	45.8	29	5.0	12	2.1	63	10.9	576	34.2
3E	3023	51	3074	32	3.0	216	20.5	805	76.4	1053	34.3	175	42.5	143	34.7	23	5.6	10	2.4	61	14.8	412	13.4
3H	2190	42	2232	35	3.7	134	14.0	789	82.4	958	42.9	235	27.7	457	53.9	35	4.1	18	2.1	103	12.1	848	38.0
3K	1339	32	1371	13	3.4	84	21.8	289	74.9	386	28.2	116	22.4	168	32.4	101	19.5	62	11.9	72	13.9	519	37.9
3N	2596	28	2624	7	0.8	94	10.6	784	88.6	885	33.7	139	48.3	70	24.3	17	5.9	21	7.3	41	14.2	288	11.0
3P	1134	23	1157	11	2.2	72	14.1	427	83.7	510	44.1	85	38.5	92	41.6	11	5.0	10	4.5	23	10.4	221	19.1
3S	3110	44	3154	29	3.0	191	19.7	751	77.3	971	30.8	457	34.7	556	42.2	66	5.0	34	2.6	204	15.5	1317	41.8
3T	1106	14	1120	6	1.6	76	19.9	300	78.5	382	34.1	271	35.6	309	40.6	54	7.1	35	4.6	92	12.1	761	67.9
4I	2900	26	2926	26	2.8	151	16.0	766	81.2	943	32.2	127	25.3	156	31.1	54	10.8	40	8.0	145	28.9	502	17.2
6I	2568	28	2596	26	3.8	203	29.9	449	66.2	678	26.1	166	39.2	163	38.5	28	6.6	14	3.3	52	12.3	423	16.3
6J	2128	50	2178	17	2.3	110	14.8	614	82.9	741	34.0	121	38.1	136	42.8	10	3.1	11	3.5	40	12.6	318	14.6
7A	3160	51	3211	29	2.5	245	21.0	891	76.5	1165	36.3	259	57.3	128	28.3	23	5.1	10	2.2	32	7.1	452	14.1
8N	2882	44	2926	46	3.8	199	16.6	956	79.6	1201	41.0	175	15.3	747	65.4	60	5.3	41	3.6	119	10.4	1142	39.0
Total	34,069	600	34,669	332	2.8	2,109	17.7	9,510	79.6	11,948	34.5	3,062	33.4	3,991	43.5	571	6.2	365	4.0	1,198	13.1	9,167	26.4

*This per cent represents the actual votes cast as a per cent of total registrants in the Ward and Precinct.

SOME NOTES ON THE FULTON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION,
SEPTEMBER 14, 1966

Data for this analysis is based on the official count as reported by the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee on September 19, 1966 (Atlanta Journal, September 19, 1966, p. 32)

1. In Fulton County, as of July 25, 1966, there were 233,932 registered voters; 166,037 (71%) were white and 67,895 (29%) were Negro. When we consider that there are now over 220,000 Negroes in Fulton County, we suspect that Negroes are grossly under registered. An age breakdown of Negro voters indicate that a very crucial, strategic, but under registered group is the young Negro male.

2. The Governor's Race: The total vote cast in the Governor's race in Fulton County was 102,988, which is 44 per cent of total registered voters. We estimate that 72,722 or 43.8 per cent of the white registered voters, and 30,266 or 44.7 per cent of the Negro registered voters participated in this bracket.

   a. Arnall's Vote in Fulton County was 46,630 or 45.3 per cent of all votes cast for governor. We estimate that 27,678 of this total, or 59.4 per cent, came from Negro votes, while only 18,952, or 40.6 per cent came from whites. We further estimate that Arnall received 91.4 per cent of the Negro vote and 26 per cent of the white vote.

   b. Carter's Vote in Fulton County was 23,159 or 22.5 per cent of votes cast in this bracket. Of this total, we estimate that 1,326, or about 5.8 per cent of his votes came from Negro voters. Of the Negroes who voted in the Governor's race, we estimate that only about 4.5 per cent voted for Carter. On the other hand, Carter received 21,815 or 28.06 per cent of the white vote which represented 94.2 per cent of his total.

   c. Maddox Vote in Fulton County totaled 19,505, or 19 per cent of the vote cast. We doubt very seriously whether many of the 70 or more votes cast for him in predominantly Negro precincts actually came from Negroes, since a few whites are located in these areas also. We feel rather confident in estimating that less than two-tenths of one per cent of the Negroes who voted in the governor's race voted for Maddox. An interesting note about Maddox vote in Fulton County is that he received more white votes (19,435) or 26.7 per cent than Arnall (18,952) or 26 per cent.

   d. Gray's Vote in Fulton County was 9,188 or 9.04 per cent of the total. We estimate that about 192, or 2 per cent, came from Negro voters. But as in the case of Maddox above, we believe that this estimate could well be over that of the actual number of Negroes who voted for Gray. On the other hand, we estimate that he received 9,100 or 11.5 per cent of the white vote.

   e. Byrd's Vote in Fulton County was 3,295. Of this total, we estimate about 932, or 28 per cent, came from Negro voters. The per cent of Negroes who voted for Byrd was about 3.7 per cent of all Negroes who voted in the Governor's race. The 2,363 white votes he received represented about 3 per cent of the white who voted in the Governor's race.

   f. O'Kelley's Vote in Fulton County was 1,211, of which we believe less than 50 came from Negro voters.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor's Race: The total vote cast for this office in Fulton County was 94,617, or 40.4 per cent of the registered voters. This means that 8,371 more people voted in the governor's race than the Lt. Governor's. Of citizens voting for Lt. Governor, we estimate that 70,715, or 42.6 per cent of the white registered voters participated. On the other hand, we estimate that 23,902, or 35.2 per cent of the total Negro registered voters in Fulton County voted in this race. This means that 6,364, or 9.5 per cent fewer Negroes voted for Lt. Governor's than for Governor!

a. Smith's Vote in Fulton County was 59,034 or 62.4 per cent of all votes cast for this office. We estimate that Smith received 19,020 Negro votes. This represents nearly 80 per cent of all Negroes voting in this race and about 32.2 per cent of his total vote. There were 40,014 or 56.6 per cent of the whites voting for Smith .

b. Geer's Vote in Fulton County was 29,939 or 31.6 per cent of the total cast for this office. We estimate that Geer received 4,218, or about 14 per cent of his vote came from Negroes, and that about 17 per cent of Negroes who voted cast their ballots for Geer.

c. Bedgood's Vote in Fulton County was 5,644 or 6 per cent of the total. In addition to receiving far fewer votes than the other two candidates for office of Lt. Governor, Bedgood received fewer votes from Negroes as a per cent of his total vote than the other two candidates. We estimate that Bedgood received about 664 votes from Negroes, which is about 13 per cent of his total vote. We suggest that less than 3 per cent of the Negroes voting in this election voted for Bedgood.

A RUSH REPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RUN-OFF ELECTION OF FULTON COUNTY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1966. BY PROFESSORS CLARENCE A. BACOTE AND JAMES E. CONYERS. ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

The total registration in Fulton County as of July 25, 1966 was 233,932, of which 166,037, or 71 per cent, were whites, and 67,895, or 29 per cent were Negroes. This analysis is based on the election returns from the 15 predominantly Negro precincts listed in the table. These precincts have 50.18 per cent, or one - half of the total Negro registration in Fulton County. The number ~~of votes~~ a vote cast in these precincts was multiplied by 2 in order to determine the total Negro vote received by each candidate in the County.

1. The Governor's Race- the total vote cast in the run-off between Arnall and Maddox was 123,523. This figure represents 52.8 per cent of the total registered voters in Fulton County - of this total about 79,573 (which represents 47.9 per cent of white registered voters) were whites, and approximately 44,000 (which represents 64.8 per cent of Negro registered voters) were Negroes. ~~In contrast to the election of September 28 run-off election.~~

   A. Total Votes Cast for Arnall in Fulton County was 80,278, or 64.9 per cent of all votes cast for the office of governor. We estimate that 36,452, or about 45.4 per cent of this total, came from white votes, whereas 43,826, or about 54.6 per cent, came from Negroes. But whereas Arnall received practically 100 per cent of the Negro vote, he only ~~garned~~ got 45.8 per cent of the white vote.

   B. Total Votes Cast for Maddox in Fulton County was 43,295. This is 35.1 per cent of all votes cast for this office. We estimate that 100 per cent of this vote came from whites. Again, as in the September 14 race, Maddox got more white votes in Fulton County than Arnall. It was the Negro vote that made Arnall carry Fulton County.

2. Lt. Governor's Race - the total vote cast in this run-off election was 120,059. This figure represents 51.3 per cent of all registered voters in Fulton County. In this race, 79,231 white (which is 47.7 per cent of the total white registrants), and 40,828 Negroes (which is 60.1 per cent of Negro registrants) voted.

   A. Total Votes Cast for Geer in Fulton County was 32,359 (27 per cent of the total votes) of which we estimate that 29,437, or 91 per cent, came from white votes, and about 2922, or 9 per cent, from Negro votes. The Negro vote here probably is an overestimate by at least 1.0 per cent. Geer received approximately 7.1 per cent of the Negro vote.

   B. Total Votes Cast for Smith in Fulton County was 87,700, or 73 per cent of all votes cast in this bracket. We estimate that 49,794 or 56.8 per cent of his total came from white votes, leaving 37,906 or about 43.2 per cent, coming from Negroes. This means that Smith got about 62.8 per cent of the white vote, and 93 per cent of the Negro vote.

3. The Felton-Turner Race for the Ga. House of Representatives (at large). The total vote cast in this run-off election was 98,590, which represents 42.0 per cent of the total registered voters in Fulton County. We estimate that about 71,318 whites voted in this election, which is about 43.0 per cent of registered white voters in Fulton County. The Negro vote in this election is estimated to be about 27,272, or approximately 40.0 per cent of the Negro registered voters in Fulton County.

   A. Felton's total vote was 49,268, or 49.97 per cent of the total votes cast in this election. Of this total, we estimate that about 39,460, or about 80.0 per cent came from whites, whereas about 9,800, or 20.0 per cent came from Negroes. Mr. Felton received about 55.0 per cent of the total white votes cast in this election.

B. Turner's total vote was 49,322, or 50.03 per cent of the total votes cast in this election. Of this total, we estimate that about 31,858, or about 65.0 per cent came from whites, while 17,464, or about 35.0 came from Negroes. Mr. Turner received about 45.0 per cent of total white votes cast in this election, and about 65.0 per cent of the total Negro votes cast in this election. We might add that this legislative race is the only race under analysis which has shown some variability in the voting patterns of the Negroes. We suspect that this was due to a lack of consistent or unamious endorsement by Negro leaders, as well as a lack of any clear cut objection to the candidates Mr. Turner and Mr. Felton.

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1967

STATE	WHITE VAP*	NEGRO VAP*	WHITE REGISTERED	% WHITE VAP REGISTERED	NEGRO REGISTERED	% NEGRO VAP REGISTERED
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,211,000	89.5	255,000	53.1
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	616,000	72.4	121,000	62.8
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,169,000	82.8	304,000	64.6
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,450,000	80.6	334,000	54.5
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,130,000	87.6	273,000	53.2
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	641,000	85.7	199,000	45.1
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,603,000	79.9	277,000	50.3
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,104	730,000	81.6	189,000	50.8
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,434,000	80.6	225,000	71.7
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	53.2	400,000	61.6
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,190,000	63.4	243,000	55.6
TOTAL	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,774,000	73.5	2,820,000	56.2

*VAP= Voting age population

1968 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

BY PERCENTAGE

State	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace
Alabama	14.2	19.7	66.1
Arkansas	30.8	30.3	38.9
Florida	39.6	31.5	28.9
Georgia	30.2	26.9	42.9
Louisiana	23.3	28.5	48.2
Mississippi	13.9	22.9	63.2
North Carolina	39.5	29.2	31.3
South Carolina	38.9	29.4	31.7
Tennessee	37.7	28.3	34.0
Texas	38.0	39.3	22.7
Virginia	43.3	32.8	23.9

EXPLANATION AND DIGEST
of the
1966 KENTUCKY CIVIL RIGHTS ACT
covering
EMPLOYMENT
and
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

ENACTED JANUARY 27, 1966

EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1966

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INTRODUCTION

Among the first considerations of the 1966 Kentucky General Assembly was a civil rights Act, with coverage in the areas of public accommodations and employment. This Act had the support of the Governor of Kentucky, the bi-partisan support of legislators around the State, the editorial support of leading Kentucky newspapers, and the support of individuals and groups recognizing the moral necessity for state civil rights legislation. This digest is written to help individual citizens become acquainted with the major facets of the civil rights Act.

The Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 emphasizes that its enforcement should be through state agencies which function under state laws compatible with the federal statute. When the state assumes its responsibility for the protection of the rights of its citizens, federal enforcement of the Civil Rights Act becomes unnecessary.

The Kentucky Civil Rights Act will meet the requirements of the Federal Law and will provide more sensitive, more efficient, and less remote enforcement procedures than the federal law. This act uses as a model the Uniform State Civil Rights Act which is being drafted by a special committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This group is composed of outstanding judges, lawyers, and law professors from all sections of the United States including the South.

While the heart of the bill is contained in the three articles covering public accommodations, fair employment practices, and enforcement; there are seven articles in the bill as follows:

1. Declaration of Purpose; Construction; Severability
2. General Definitions
3. Discrimination in Employment
4. Discrimination in Public Accommodations
5. Enforcement; Judicial Review
6. Miscellaneous
7. Local Human Rights Commissions

Purpose of the Act

The purpose of this Act is to safeguard all individuals within the state from discrimination because of race, color, religion, and national origin in connection with employment and public accommodations. Discrimination is a matter of state concern because it involves an individual's personal dignity and freedom from humiliation. Such discrimination deprives the state of the full productive capacities of individuals, foments strife and unrest, menaces the democratic institutions of the state, and damages the interests, rights, and privileges of all persons within the state.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Equal access to employment opportunities is the greatest need of minority persons today. Persons who are unemployed or under-utilized because of their race, color, religion, or national origin do not have the opportunity to contribute their full productive capacities toward a better life for themselves, their families, and for the whole society. Discrimination in employment practices is a continuing problem in Kentucky and is a problem which a Kentucky fair employment practices law can help remedy. Certainly, the continuation of Kentucky's business and industrial growth without racial friction is one reason for passage of the Act.

Coverage

Employment discrimination is covered by article three of the Act. Basically Sections 302 through 306 state that race, color, religion, and national origin are not lawful criteria for making employment decisions. Like the Federal Law, employers, employment agencies, and labor organizations will be covered by the Act. Employers hiring 8 or more employees within the State in each of twenty or more weeks in the calendar year will be covered. Thus, 80% of Kentucky's employees and 22% of employers will be covered.

The smaller employees of the state will not be covered by the Act. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will cover employers hiring 25 or more employees, to be fully effective in 1968. This would exclude most of Kentucky's employers (93%) and a very large percentage of Kentucky employees (40%). Kentucky should act to protect as many employees from discrimination as possible.

Equal Treatment Based on Individual Merit

It is made clear in the Act that an employer can use seniority and merit systems and can make employment decisions on the basis of professionally developed ability tests. One section makes its doubly clear that nothing in the Act requires preferential treatment for any person or group; all that is required is equality of treatment based on individual merit.

Reasonable Provisions for Exemptions

Religious institutions, including church related or supported educational institutions, will be able to exercise a religious preference in choosing their employees where religion is a reasonable occupational qualification. However, race, color, and national origin will not be considered valid qualifications in these cases.

Similar provisions allow the exercise of preferences based on religion or national origin for an employer, employment agency, or labor organization where such qualifications are reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the enterprise.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS PROVISIONS

The Kentucky Act will apply generally to places of public accommodation which serve the public. Its clear coverage will be fair to proprietors because it will apply equally to all businesses. This Uniform rule will help to eliminate anxiety and avoid incidents.

With certain exceptions it will cover places of public accommodation, including ". . . any place, store or other establishment, either licensed or unlicensed which supplies goods or services to the general public or which is supported directly or indirectly by government funds."

In Title II of the Federal Act of 1964, services, places of active amusement and recreational facilities such as bowling alleys, skating rinks, and driving ranges are not all covered. Under the state Act, these loopholes will be eliminated.

Experience with state public accommodations laws has shown that it is best to word coverage provisions in general terms. Earlier laws contained detailed lists of the kinds of covered establishments. No list can possibly name all of the changing forms of enterprise created by American business ingenuity. As a result, the detailed coverage sections have required frequent amendments.

Chapter Four of the Kentucky Act covers discrimination in places of public accommodation. The places which are required not to discriminate are defined in Section 402 (a). Exceptions are made in Section 402 (a) for barber shops, beauty shops, owner occupied tourist homes of 5 rooms or less, and bona fide private clubs (where policies are actually determined by members and admission is limited to members and their guests). These exemptions are provided in the light of practical, political conditions in Kentucky today and are similar to those in the Federal Act.

IMPLEMENTATION AND EMFORCEMENT

Persuasion the Key to Compliance

The legislation will emphasize efforts at persuasion and conciliation by the Commission on Human Rights. Only where these methods failed will the Commission be required to hold hearings. The whole enforcement procedure in Article 5 is based on the best available methods followed by

other state agencies. Many of the procedures are taken from the Model State Administrative Procedure Act.

The duties and obligations of the Commission are spelled out in detail in Section 502. The procedure for complaint, investigation, and conciliation is covered in Section 503. Section 502 (a) states who may file a complaint and sets a limit of six months within which a complaint must be filed. Employment complaints have an even shorter time limit of 90 days.

Upon receiving a complaint, the Commission will conduct a preliminary investigation to determine if there is probable cause to believe that an unlawful discrimination has occurred. If probable cause is found, the Commission must proceed to encourage complaince by conference, conciliation, and persuasion.

Experience has shown that conciliation activities effectively settle nearly all cases. If these efforts fail, the Commission would serve a complaint upon the respondent (Section 504), hold a hearing, and subpoena witnesses and documents. All hearings are to be conducted in accordance with strict procedures specified by the Act.

Advantages of Commission Procedures

Based on experience in other states most of the Commission's work will continue to be devoted to educational efforts to encourage voluntary compliance. The Commission would facilitate smooth change by sharing with employers and proprietors the wide-spread experience of other Kentucky businessmen who have successfully desegregated. When complaints are filed, the preliminary investigations under the Act can help screen out baseless charges and protect businessmen from harassment, and from unjustified legal defenses. When the complaint is justified, a mandatory conference, conciliation

and persuasion procedure must be followed. The conciliation efforts are strictly confidential, and the vast majority of complaints are settled at this stage without publicity.

Kentuckians who are familiar with problems throughout the State make up the Commission. They have been working for five years to encourage voluntary equal treatment and have built up a large body of experience in these matters. Four Commission members, including the Chairman, are to be appointed by the Governor in 1966, and the bill provides new language to insure bi-partisan representation of employers, proprietors, trade unions, religious groups, human rights groups, and the general public.

Protection of Employer's and Complainant's Rights

A member of the Commission who filed a complaint or who endeavored to eliminate the alleged discrimination will be barred from participating in a hearing or subsequent deliberation in that case (Section 504 b). This separation between the investigative and hearing functions of the Commission will assure the fairness of the procedure. After hearing, the Commission could issue a cease and desist order upon a finding that the law had been violated. The final orders of the Commission could be reviewed and enforced in the local circuit courts.

If, on the other hand, the Commission staff determines after investigation that there was no probable cause, then the complaint will be dismissed (Section 503 b and c). The complainant has a right to appeal this decision to the full Commission and to appeal a decision of the Commission to the courts. Safeguards to protect the rights of employers and complainants from arbitrary action by the Commission at any stage of the process are included in Section 507. The availability of judicial review is an integral part of the process and is available to any party who feels that he has been aggrieved by a decision of the Commission.

Avoidance of Record Keeping Burdens

To avoid undue burdens on persons subject to the Act, Section 508 (e) provides that necessary information keeping will conform to similar records and reports already required by federal law and government contract regulations. For the purpose of uniformity and in the interest of multi-state employers, the state could adopt the regulations of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on this matter. A public hearing must precede adoption of such regulations. Under Section 508 (d) an employer who believed the provisions would result in "undue hardship" could ask the Commission for relief or bring an action in circuit court.

Procedures for Subpoenas

The Act provides subpoena procedures for the Commission in Section 502 (i) and upon application to parties to a Commission hearing in Section 509. Subpoenas are necessary to enable all parties to present their evidence. All the normal judicial safeguards surround this process. Careful limits on relevancy are written into the Act. Before a court would enforce a subpoena the Commission would have to prove that the witnesses or documents sought pertain to possible unlawful discriminatory practices. Thus, general fishing expeditions can not be made. In Kentucky, other state commissions which exercise similar functions, (such as the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the Department of Health), can issue subpoenas and they have proven necessary.

Article 6 makes retaliation and conspiracy to retaliate against anyone exercising rights guaranteed by this Act an unlawful practice punishable by a fine and/or imprisonment. The Act as a whole provides for civil remedies and this sanction is only for situations where a person is not otherwise covered.

LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS

All levels of government have an obligation to protect their citizens from the evils of discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and this Act provide for local implementation of non-discrimination policies where local agencies have sufficient enforcement power and staff for good faith implementation.

Enabling legislation for the highly desirable local efforts to eliminate discrimination is provided in Article 7. It will supplement the Act passed by the General Assembly in 1962 to encourage establishment of local human rights commissions and permit local governing bodies to give them additional duties. Counties will be authorized to create commissions and cities and counties could then legally cooperate to eliminate discriminatory practices. Cities and counties could pass ordinances which will be enforceable in circuit courts of the state. Before the Act, a city could only use criminal sanctions in police courts.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Act contains several features which experience in other states has shown to be significant. The employment section applies to "the State, any of its political or civil subdivisions or agencies;" (Section 201). Discriminatory advertising is prohibited in employment, (Section 306) and in public accommodations (Section 403). Commission members can initiate complaints under the provisions of Section 502 (h) and 503 (a). The Commission can provide by regulation for the posting of notices regarding coverage of the Act, Section 502 (n). Efforts to weaken the Act by requiring a trial de novo, and a showing of "intentional" discrimination were not successful.

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

Edward T. Breathitt, Governor

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Chairman
The Very Reverend Robert W. Estill
Louisville

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STAFF

Galen Martin, Executive Director

James C. Hickey,
Assistant Director
Pierre W. Jackson,
Assistant Director

Archie E. Allen,
Field Representative
Henry C. Tribble,
Field Representative

The 1960 General Assembly created the Commission and directed it, among its other powers and duties, to recommend ways of eliminating injustices occasioned by discrimination. On the basis of its five years of efforts to eliminate discrimination by voluntary methods, the Commission recommended the enactment of a public accommodations and employment law. This digest seeks to explain that law.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
172 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

BULK RATE
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BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY 40403
Department of Philosophy & Religion

March 21, 1966

Rec'd 3/23/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Enclosed is my memorandum on public policy and racial minorities.

I make the following suggestions, for what they are worth, in order of importance.

a) Because I am not a professional in the areas of public policy, civil rights, and state and local government, I strongly urge that you submit this memorandum (or relevant portions to the relevant people) to such professionals when you and the other specialists, in research and elsewhere, at SRC finish with it. Facts, and interpretations of those facts, are especially important to be checked out. I would be especially pleased if the Research staff at SRC would fill in specific details, such as statistics, charts, etc., which it seems to me would enhance the argument.

b) In that regard, it seems to me that the most important part of this memorandum is the fact that it is an effort to try to see the problem of minority assimilation in the South, complex as it is, in a total context <u>and</u> to direct a series of coordinated public policy proposals to that total context. The chief virtue in the memorandum, therefore, is to call attention to the integral and interrelated character of the problems of minority assimilation, and to tentatively, at least, suggest an integral and interrelated public policy to meet these problems. Hence, the professionals and specialists should not be too detailed in their specific recommendations, and not too picayunish in their objections to the synoptic character of the memorandum, which inevitably means generalization and lack of balance.

c) I have not submitted drafts to such professionals or specialists, but I have talked with a couple of them

about the project and the recommendations as a whole, and they support the argument I have tried to summarize in paragraph b) above. I have let several people who have been involved in problems of integration in the South for a number of years as protagonists (white and Negro) see drafts, and I have incorporated a number of their suggestions in the memorandum.

d) I am not pleased at the precision with which I have stated the recommended policies at a number of places, but I feel sure this is due to the fact that I am not a professional, and welcome all efforts at improving the precision of the memorandum. The same is true for my lack of detailed knowledge and information about state government and public administration. No amount of time and study by me can overcome this handicap, which is a further reason for submission to additional specialists inside and outside SRC.

e) Related to this is my lack of enthusiasm with the phrase "minority assimilation." I hope you will feel free to employ alternatives.

f) The description on the title page is taken from Les Dunbar's letter describing the project to me.

I hope things are well with you.

Sincerely,

Jim

James Y. Holloway

Enclosures: Holloway's Report
Form for noting date selection
"Explanation + Digest of the 1966 Kentucky Civil Rights Act Covering Employment + Public Accommodations" mailed separately 4/1/66

March 31, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

We have received Jim Holloway's manuscript on state public policy and racial minorities, a subject of vital interest and importance to you and to us here. If you can find time to write your reactions and critical insights on any part of the subject -- whether covered or not covered in the report -- we would be happy.

Les, I hope you will do this within the next two weeks because we wish to schedule a work conference in the near future to further develop recommendations for the kind of program covered in Mr. Holloway's report. Your comments will be helpful.

We also look forward to having you attend the work conference to help us fashion program and policy guidelines that will have great value to the region. Needless to say should you attend it would be at our expense. In this connection, please number on the enclosed form in order of your preference, dates on which you might come to Atlanta for this purpose.

An immediate answer on the dates you are available will be helpful. Meanwhile, please keep as many of these as you can open until we have had a chance to determine the time most convenient to those we are inviting.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js
Enclosures- 2.

COPY

PLEASE CHECK AND RETURN:

Sunday, May 1	_____	Thursday, May 5	_____
Monday, May 2	_____	Friday, May 6	_____
Tuesday, May 3	_____	Saturday, May 7	_____
Wednesday, May 4	_____	Other preferred date	_____

Attached letter also sent to the following:

	Acknowledgments
Mr. Donald Strong University of Alabama Tuscaloosa, Alabama	4/5/66
Mr. Elliott H. Levitas Attorney at Law Fulton Federal Bldg. Atlanta, Georgia	_____
Mr. Frank Smith, Director Tennessee Valley Authority Knoxville, Tennessee	4/4/66
Mr. Edward E. Haddock 1133 West Franklin St. Richmond 20, Virginia	_____
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook 736 Beckwith Street, SW Atlanta, Georgia	5/2/66
Les	5/2/66

Rec'd 4/4/66

PLEASE CHECK AND RETURN:

Sunday, May 1		Thursday, May 5	✓
Monday, May 2	✓	Friday, May 6	
Tuesday, May 3	✓	Saturday, May 7	
Wednesday, May 4		Other preferred date	

Frank Smith

Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Rec'd 4/3/64

PLEASE CHECK AND RETURN:

Sunday, May 1		Thursday, May 5	2
Monday, May 2	out	Friday, May 6	1
Tuesday, May 3		Saturday, May 7	
Wednesday, May 4	3	Other preferred date	

Donald J. Strong
U. of Ala

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 28, 1966

Rec'd 5/2/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

I finally got around to reading the memo you sent me March 16 about Atlanta housing. I am returning it with some flyspecks. I don't know just how NCDH will be using it, but it seems to me a very promising beginning. What I am missing in it particularly is fulfillment of the promise made when on page three you speak of "field trips to hard-core poverty pockets". Why could not there be in the report some indication of what was found?

I assume Paul has given you my message about the Holloway report. I do not see why you have to wait on me. As I said to Paul, I have reluctantly decided both in regard to this matter and some other things as well, it would be irresponsible of me to commit myself to anything for mid-June.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

April 30, 1966

Rec'd 5/2/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Please forgive my long delay in responding to your letter concerning Mr. Holloway's manuscript. Perhaps you will understand that, in spite of my sabbatical leave, I seem to be running more than ever.

I am quite impressed by the report and its emphasis--initiative and positive action.

I think, though, that the author is a bit weak on the matter of housing. A strong "open occupancy" law is, I am convinced, an urgent necessity.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel DuBois Cook

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

PLEASE CHECK AND RETURN:

Sunday, May 1	_____	Thursday, May 5	1
Monday, May 2	_____	Friday, May 6	2
Tuesday, May 3	_____	Saturday, May 7	3
Wednesday, May 4	_____	Other preferred date	_____

May 4, 1966

Dr. James Y. Holloway
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Jim:

We are sending letters to some key persons inviting them to attend a conference here to develop further our state governmental policies study. We also would like to have you attend.

Present plans are to hold the working sessions in the offices of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. Needless to say, the Council will pay the transportation and per diem expenses of conferees. The conference will begin at 10 a. m. and will end in time for those who wish to take an evening flight home to do so.

For persons who plan to stay in Atlanta overnight or over the weekend of June 17, it is advisable to make early hotel reservations because the city might be crowded with baseball fans. The Atlanta Braves will be beginning a weekend of home games at that time against Pittsburgh.

Please return the enclosed self-addressed card so we may know of your plans.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosure - 1.

May 4, 1966

Mr. John Ehle
104 Cascade Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ehle:

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., is calling upon a few of the nation's best political minds to help develop a blueprint which might prove beneficial to state and local government administrators seeking to effect progressive state policies and programs. You are among a dozen leading politicians and political scientists we would like to have attend a working conference for this purpose. The one-day session will be Friday, June 17, 1966. Please mark your calendar if you will be available.

The document resulting from the conference will be a dequel to the Federal Executive, an earlier SRC report found to be extremely useful to federal policy-makers during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The current study and report will deal specifically with policies and programs for the assimilation of racial minorities into the mainstream of American life.

Present plans are to hold the working sessions in the offices of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. Needless to say, the Council will pay the transportation and per diem expenses of conferees. The conference will begin at 10 a. m. and will end in time for those who wish to take an evening flight home to do so.

For persons who plan to stay in Atlanta overnight or over the weekend of June 17, it is advisable to make early hotel reservations because the city might be crowded with baseball fans. The Atlanta Braves will be beginning a weekend of home games at that time against Pittsburgh.

As background for the conference, Dr. James Y. Holloway of Berea (Kentucky) College, has prepared a 60-page working paper, the result of several months of research. We will send you a copy of the paper as soon as we learn whether you are available for the conference. If you have a prior commitment but are willing to review the papers and react independently, we will send you a copy.

Please return the enclosed self-addressed card so we may know of your plans.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosure - 1.

Similar letters sent to the names on attached list.

LIST OF INVITEES TO JUNE 17, 1966 WORKING CONFERENCE:

Mr. Donald Strong
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama _____

Mr. Elliott H. Levitas
Attorney at Law
Fulton Federal Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia _____

Mr. Edward Haddock
1133 W. Franklin St.
Richmond 20, Va. _____

Mr. Frank Smith, Dir.
Tennessee Valley Auth.
Knoxville, Tenn. _____

Dr. James Y. Holloway
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky _____

Mr. John Ehle
104 C scade Avenue
Winston-Salem, NC _____

Dr. Paul Gaston
Professor of History
U. of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va. _____

Mr. McNeill Smith
Attorney at Law
700 Jefferson St. Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C. _____

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Exe. Vice Pres.
Potomac Institute
1501 18th St., NW
Washington, D. C. _____

The Hon. Horace Ward
859½ Hunter St., NW
Atlanta, Georgia _____

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
736 Beckwith St., SW
Atlanta, Ga. _____

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga. _____

Mr. James Youngdahl
~~The Power Bldg.~~
711 W. 3rd St.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201 _____

Mr. Russell Sugarman
Attorney at Law
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee _____

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Tennessee CHR
1106 19th Avenue So.
Nashville, Tennessee _____

Mr. Gordon Henderson
Adm. Asst. to Gov.
of Arizona
State Capitol
Phoenix, Arizona _____

The Hon. Herman Goldner
Mayor of St. Petersburg
Florida; chairman of Conference of Mayors _____

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Yale University
2015 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.
06520 _____

Mr. Donald Baldwin
Exe. Editor
St. Petersburg Times
& Evening Independent
St. Petersburg, Fla. _____

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atl. Const.
10 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303 _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Can attend _____

Can't attend _____

Will review
paper _____

TOTAL _____

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403

JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY
BOX 936 COLLEGE STATION

May 11, 1966

Rec'd 5/13/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

I have delayed a response to your letter of May 4 letting me know the date of a conference you have scheduled on state governmental policies in order to look at the situation here. The fact is, that is a particularly bad time at the College because it is the first week of the abbreviated summer session which involves both extended daily sessions and Saturday classes.

Hence, I do not believe that I will be able to make it, but if the possibility develops, I shall let you know.

Sincerely,

James Y. Holloway

cc. Mr. Paul Anthony

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

May 13, 1966

Rec'd 5/16/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

I am sorry I am going to be out most of the month of June and will not be available for the meeting on June 17. I hope to send you some comments about Dr. Holloway's paper within a few days. I have some reservations about some of his premises.

Cordially,

Frank Smith

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

NOTE: Mr. Esser was written upon the recommendation of Mr. John Ehle, who will be unable to attend the conference.
js

May 13, 1966

Mr. George Esser
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Esser:

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., is calling upon a few of the nation's best political minds to help develop a blueprint which might prove beneficial to state and local government administrators seeking to effect progressive state policies and programs. You have been recommended to us, and we would like for you go attend a working conference for this purpose. The one-day session will be Friday, June 17, 1966. Please mark you calendar if you will be available.

The document resulting from the conference will be a sequel to the Federal Executive, an earlier SRC report found to be extremely heeful to federal policy-makers during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The current study and report will deal specifically with policies and programs for the assimilation of racial minorities into the mainstream of American life.

Present plans are to hold the working sessions in the office of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. Needless to say, the Council will pay the transportation and per diem expenses of conferees. The conference will begin at 10 a. m. and will end in time for those who wish to take an evening flight home to do so.

For persons who plan to stay in Atlanta overnight or over the weekend of June 17, it is advisable to make early hotel reservations because the city might be crowded with baseball fans. The Atlanta Braves will be beginning a weekend of home games at that time against Pittsburgh.

As background for the conference, Dr. James Y. Holloway of Berea (Kentucky) College, has prepared a 60-page working paper, the result of several months of research. We will send you a copy of the paper as soon as we learn whether you are available for the conference. If you have a prior commitment but are willing to review the papers and react independently, we will send you a copy.

Please return the enclosed self-addressed card so we may know of your plans.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosure - 1.

May 20, 1966

Mr. McNeill Smith
Attorney at Law
700 Jefferson Street Bldg.
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for the response to our letter of May 4. We are happy that you will be able to join us for the working conference on June 17, and hope that nothing will come up that will make it necessary to change your plans.

The working paper is being forwarded to you under separate cover, and you should be in receipt of it very soon.

As per your request, I have reserved a single room for you at the Dinkler Motor Hotel located at 98 Forsyth Street, N. W. They expect your late arrival on the night of the 16th.

Looking forward to seeing you at the conference, I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Adams

jcs

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

May 23, 1966

Rec'd 5/25/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I very much regret that I am going to be out of the country at the time of your conference on June 17 on state and local government. This is a subject of deep interest to me, and I would be very pleased to review the working paper and send you my reactions soon after my return.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
(ARW)

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr:jcm

Similar letters also sent to: George Esser, Russell Sugarman, Donald Baldwin, Ralph McGill.

Elliott Levitas, Horace Ward will be called by SA.

May 24, 1966

Mr. Donald Strong
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Strong:

We have sent you the background paper on public policy and minorities which we hope you will have time to reflect on prior to attending our working conference June 17, 1966, in Atlanta. Because we have not received any contrary indication from you, we are assuming you will be able to attend and have listed you as a tentative conferee. The list of those expected either to attend or to review the background paper independently is attached.

For those who will be visiting our office for the first time, the following information is provided.

Airport limousines which come to the Dinkler Hotel in downtown Atlanta will bring you within two blocks of our office. We occupy the fifth floor of 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., across from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Persons driving will find inside parking across the street from the office. The railroad stations and bus stations also are within close proximity to the office.

The telephone number of SRC (522-8764) will be useful to anyone needing additional help.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js
Enclosure - 1.

Similar letters also sent to: George Esser, Russell Sugarman, Donald Baldwin, Ralph McGill.

Elliott Levitas, Horace Ward will be called by SA.

May 24, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have sent you the background paper on public policy and minorities which we hope you will have time to reflect on prior to attending our working conference June 17, 1966, in Atlanta. Because we have not received any contrary indication from you, we are assuming you will be able to attend and have listed you as a tentative conferee. The list of those expected either to attend or to review the background paper independently is attached.

If you desire us to purchase your round trip ticket on this end, please advise us of the time you wish to leave and the time you would like to return.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js
Enclosure - 1.

May 24, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE STAFF

FROM: SAMUEL L. ADAMS

On June 17, 1966, Southern Regional Council, Inc., will be host to a Working Conference on Public Policy and Minorities. The day-long event will be in our conference room and about fifteen (15) guestsparticipants are expected.

Since all of SRC's programs relate to this subject, all project and department directors probably will want to attend. Certainly, all are invited. Some persons will be asked to assume special responsibilities. Janet Shortt will ask some smiling, outgoing ladies to work with her as hostesses.

The schedule will be:

9:00 a. m. to 10:00 a. m. - Social hour for early arrivals in Director's office.

(1st Session)

10:00 a. m. to 12:00 noon - Summary review and discussing of background paper. - Jack Fleishman

12:00 to 1:00 p. m. - lunch in office

1:00 p. m. to 4:00 p. m. - Analysis, changes, and development of policy statement.

4:00 p. m. to 4:15 p. m. - Break.

4:15 to 5:30 p. m. - Tying loose ends, discussion of methods of projecting and effecting program.

5:30 p. m. - Social hour.

SLA:js

St. Petersburg Times
AND
Evening Independent
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

DONALD K. BALDWIN
Executive Editor

May 26, 1966

Rec'd 5/27/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I will be on vacation in June and therfore will be unable to attend your working conference.

We are delighted to see that you had won the Fellowship to Wisconsin. I will take care of extending your leave of absence.

Sincerely,

Don

Donald K. Baldwin

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

May 31, 1966

Rec'd 6/3/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I am sorry that my more than usual involvements here have delayed my responding sooner to your invitation to attend the working conference on public policy on June 17.

As matters now stand, it does appear that I can attend, and I will read the background paper at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Director
BURKE MARSHALL, Director
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Director
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Rec'd 6/3/66

June 1, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I doubt that I shall receive this year's Southern Regional Council's award for prompt and gracious handling of my correspondence. Nonetheless, you are correct in assuming that I will attend. Please be assured that I appreciate the invitation.

I find myself generally in agreement with your well-written background paper, although I have the greatest difficulty imagining the Alabama Legislature concurring in many of the recommendations. However, I suppose that conflicts like this can be brought out in our discussions.

Very truly yours,

Donald S. Strong

Donald S. Strong
Professor

DSS/dp

Airmail

EDWARD E. HADDOCK, M. D.
1133 WEST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

June 6, 1966

Rec'd 6/8/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Adams:

I have just learned that I will be involved in connection with my daughter's graduation from college on Friday, June 17, the day I had promised to attend your conference in Atlanta. Please accept my regrets.

I am returning the printed matter you so thoughtfully forwarded to me in this connection.

My best wishes to you and your colleagues for a successful conference.

Sincerely yours,

Ed Haddock

Edward E. Haddock, M.D.

Encl.

EEH/ca

Note: Mr. Haddock had ret'd card earlier saying he could attend.

June 7, 1966

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Corcoran Department of
History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Gaston:

Thank you for your letter of June 6.

As per your request, I have reserved a single room for you at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, 98 Forsyth Street, N. W., located within two blocks of our office. They expect you to arrive on the evening of the 16th.

Looking forward to seeing you at the conference, I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Adams

jcs

Janet — pls do SH

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville

524-2461

6 June 66

Dear Sam:

I would greatly appreciate it if you would have your secretary reserve a single room for me at a hotel near SRC for the nights of June 16 and 17 — and have her drop me a note confirming the reservation.

I look forward to seeing you on the 17th

Yrs

Paul

PAUL M. GASTON

June 9, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Anthony

FROM: Samuel L. Adams

Paul, shall we write a letter to Mr. Bryant advising him that his name was erroneously included among those we want to attend the conference, or shall I telephone him and explain?

js

June 10, 1966

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Director
Tennessee Council on
Human Relations
1106 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bryant:

In the mad rush to get out the background paper on State Public Policies and Minorities and to set up a conference for several outside guests, we goofed by including you on the wrong list. The conference next week is intended purely for persons not connected with SRC or the state councils and whom we otherwise would not be able to talk to. Since we will be able to talk to you on your visits here as a state director, it would clearly be a waste of money to bring you here for the conference.

We do want the thinking of you and other members of our corps of state directors, as well as key members of the board. We intend for you to have a copy of the background paper to stimulate thinking in this area, and we expect to discuss the matter with you later. And, if time permits, we would appreciate written as well as oral responses from those who have received copies of the paper.

I am sorry we goofed, and I am sorry we are unable to justify the expense of bringing you here next week.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

St. Petersburg, Florida *The Sunshine City—P. O. Box 2842*

From the Office of the Mayor

June 10, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I sincerely regret that the pressure of business will make it impossible for me to attend the working conference being held in Atlanta Friday, June 17.

I leave tomorrow for Dallas and will not return until late Wednesday night. I find that it will not be possible for me to catch up with the many matters that will be pending in the one day.

I appreciate the invitation to participate and am sorry it is not possible at this time.

Sincerely,

Herman W. Goldner

Herman W. Goldner
Mayor

HWG/jb

OK! Sam

June 13, 1966

MEMORANDUM 3:45 p. m.

TO: Ed Lewis

RE: Conference on State Public Policies and Minorities Luncheon

The official count on persons who will be in attendance for the conference and/or luncheon is 38. Since there is almost always too much food left over, 35 would be a good count to give the restaurateur.

Since the conference will last from 9 a. m. to after 5 p. m., a hot meal is preferred, although a "mixed" one would be acceptable -- with cookies provided for the afternoon break.

There will be extra coffee needed. Some extra should be bought beforehand so that Cordelia can have it made in the morning for early arrivals and the "Get Acquainted Hour" that is scheduled.

As of now, Mr. Hamburger has not returned the call made to him this morning. His telephone answering service number is 233-4155.

JSHORT

6/14/66
Note: Informed by E L this morning everything taken care of.
P.

6/13/66

Mr. Youngdahl:

As per your request, reservations have been made for you at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, 98 Forsyth Street, N. W., located within two blocks of our office.

They expect your late arrival on the night of the 16th.

Looking forward to meeting you at the conference, I remain

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Adams

jcs

PS: You have single accommodations.

6/13/66

Mr. Pearce:

Mr. Adams asked me to send you the enclosed. It should serve to bring you up-to-date on the conference to be held in the SRC office June 17.

I hope that you have received your copy of the working paper by now. We mailed it to you on Friday.

Looking forward to meeting you, I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Adams

jcs

Encl: Letter sent to individuals about conference.

June 14, 1966

Mr. James Y. Holloway
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Jim:

This letter comes on the last minute hope that you will be able to come to the conference on Friday, June 17. As you can see on the enclosed schedule, we have included you as one of the discussion leaders in case you can make it.

Also enclosed is a list of persons expected to attend.

If we can help you in any way with reservations, etc., don't hesitate to call.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Encls. - 2.

June 14, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

I sure do hope you will be able to attend our working conference Friday, June 17, 1966. Harold Fleming will be among our guests.

If you do come and can spare the time, I'd like you as my guest for an evening of baseball, both to show off our Atlanta Stadium and to say thanks to you for having brought me to SRC. It has been a good experience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Same ltr sent to:

Harold Fleming, Gordon Henderson, James M. Holloway,
John Ed Pearce, Donald Strong, Russell Sugarman

June 14, 1966

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Yale University
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Mr. Fleishman:

This letter comes as a last minute reminder of the June 17, 1966 Working conference on Public Policy and Minorities, which you are expected to attend.

We are enclosing a list of the conferees and a schedule of activities.

If we may help you in any way with reservations, etc., don't hesitate to call.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Encls: 2

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 15, 1966

Rec'd 6/17/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

I have your letter of June 14 and I don't believe that there is any chance that I can be down Friday. I told Paul on the phone the other day, however, that I would some time get some written comments to you about the memo. I am terribly sorry about this, but I have just run out of gas.

I'll hold you to that Braves invitation another time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

June 16, 1966

Mr. Elliott H. Levitas
807 Fulton Federal Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Levitas:

We welcome your attendance at the June 17 conference should you, at the last minute, discover you have the time.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

ELLIOTT H. LEVITAS
DISTRICT 118, POST 4
1352 JODY LA., N.E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30329

Reply to:
807 Fulton Fed. Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

MEMBER COMMITTEES:

BANKS & BANKING
EDUCATION
JUDICIARY
SUB-COMMITTEES
(EDUCATION)
COMMON SCHOOLS
(JUDICIARY)
GENERAL LAW & PROCEDURE

House of Representatives

House Chamber
Atlanta

June 15, 1966

Rec'd 6/15/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Adams:

I appreciate the reminder of the June 17th conference, and I hasten to respond.

Much to my regret, I do not think I am going to be able to participate. I am scheduled to leave town tomorrow afternoon and am not due back until Sunday morning.

In reviewing the materials enclosed with your letter, I readily see what a significant and interesting meeting I shall be missing. If my out-of-town affairs are altered so that I can be in Atlanta, I trust that you will permit me to attend at the last minute.

Very truly yours,

Elliott H. Levitas

EHL:mc

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

WORKING CONFERENCE

STATE PUBLIC POLICIES AND MINORITIES

June 17, 1966

Atlanta, Georgia

File

SCHEDULE

9:00 a. m. to 10:00 a. m. - "Get Acquainted Hour" -- Coffee for early arrivals in the office of the Director.

FIRST SESSION

10:00 a. m. to 12:00 noon - Opening statement, summary, and discussion of background paper.

Presiding - Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Greetings - Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Summary of Background Paper - Joel L. Fleishman,
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

Discussion Leaders - James Y. Holloway, Berea College,
Berea, Kentucky; Samuel D. Cook, Atlanta
University, Atlanta, Georgia.

LUNCH - 12:00 noon to 1:00 p. m.

SECOND SESSION

1:00 p. m. to 4:00 p. m. - Analysis, changes, and development of policy statement.

Discussion Leaders - Pat Watters, Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council; Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director, the Field Foundation,
New York, New York.

BREAK - 4:00 p. m. to 4:15 p. m.

THIRD SESSION

4:15 to 5:30 p. m. - Tying loose ends, discussion of methods of projecting and effecting program.

Discussion Leaders - Robert E. Anderson, Managing Editor,
SRC Publications; John Ed Pearce, Editorial
Writer, Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal.

5:30 p. m. - Social Hour

This is an informal working conference. Discussion leaders have been named for each session. Their function will be to prod and start, rather than to dominate the discussion.

Office file copy

STATE PUBLIC POLICIES AND MINORITIES WORKING CONFERENCE

June 17, 1966

BRIEF RESUMES ON CONFEREES

Blackwell, Randolph T. - Attorney; Program Director for Southern Christian Leadership Conference; former Field Director, Voter Education Project; Atlanta, Georgia.

Cook, Samuel DuBois - Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University; former consultant, Voter Education Project; Atlanta, Georgia.

Dunbar, Leslie W. - Executive Director, the Field Foundation; former Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, Inc.; New York, New York.

Fleishman, Joel L. - Director of the Southern Teaching Program; Director of Yale University High School; New Haven, Connecticut.

Fleming, Harold - Executive Vice President, Potomac Institute; former Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, Inc.; Washington, D. C.

Gaston, Paul - Professor of History, University of Virginia; Charlottesville, Virginia.

Henderson, Gordon - Administrative Assistant to the Governor of Arizona; former professor of Political Science at Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi; Phoenix, Arizona.

Holloway, James Y. - Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Berea College; Berea, Kentucky.

Levitas, Elliott H. - Attorney, Georgia State Representative, Decatur, Georgia.

Pearce, John Ed - Editorial writer, Louisville Courier-Journal; Louisville, Kentucky.

Smith, McNeill - Attorney; board member, Southern Regional Council, Inc.; Greensboro, North Carolina.

Strong, Donald - Professor of Political Science, University of Alabama; Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Sugarman, Russell - Attorney; Memphis, Tennessee.

Ward, Horace - Attorney and Georgia State Representative; noted for unsuccessful attempt to desegregate the University of Georgia in 1950; Atlanta, Georgia.

Youngdahl, James - Attorney; board member, Southern Regional Council, Inc.; Little Rock, Arkansas.

Southern Regional Council Participants:

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Mr. Samuel L. Adams, Director of Research
Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Managing Editor, SRC Publications
Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director, Voter Education Project
Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

WORKING CONFERENCE

STATE PUBLIC POLICIES AND MINORITIES

June 17, 1966

Atlanta, Georgia

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Writer, Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal.

5:30 p. m. - Social Hour

This is an informal working conference. Discussion leaders have been named for each session. Their function will be to prod and start, rather than to dominate the discussion.

R. B. SUGARMON, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
588 VANCE AVENUE
MEMPHIS, TENN. 38103
PHONE 525-8333

June 17, 1966

Recpt date wrk

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of June 14, 1966, I wish to advise you I will be unable to anticipate in the subject conference.

The subject matter seems interesting to me but, unfortunately, I do not think it advisable that I take an over night trip because I have a cast on my right leg, which makes it difficult for me to do any of the usual things that one normally does without assistance. For that reason I should not be in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

R. B. Sugarmon, Jr. (ybg)
R. B. SUGARMON, JR.

RBG:ybg

Same ltr. also sent to:

Samuel DuBois Cook, Elliott H. Levitas, and Horace Ward, local attendees.

Also to James Youngdahl, Paul Gaston, and McNeill Smith, whose reservations have already been made earlier.

June 14, 1966

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
S C L E
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

This letter comes as a last minute reminder of the June 17, 1966, working conference on Public Policy and Minorities which you are expected to attend.

We are enclosing a list of the conferees and a schedule of activities.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosures - 2.

Note: Speech was not given to js for filing. SA says it was probably marked for research.

June 21, 1966

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee (ORIGINAL RE-TYPED)

Dear Mr. Smith:

It was a good speech. Thanks for sending it to us for our files.

We were very sorry you were unable to attend our June 17, 1966, conference on public policies and minorities.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

June 22, 1966

Mr. James E. Youngdahl
Attorney at Law
711 West Third Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Youngdahl:

Thank you for your letter received here today, and for sharing your time, experience, and good thinking at our June 17 conference on public policy and minorities. We look forward to sharing with you the results of our study. Meanwhile, if new pertinent and related thoughts occur to you, please write us so they may be included.

Your expense account with attachments have been turned over to Mrs. Alexander, and you should be receiving a check from her shortly. Your way of handling the matter is more than satisfactory and proves you a gentleman in every respect; it is a pleasure and honor to know you.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
711 WEST THIRD STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

JOHN P. SIZEMORE
SILAS H. BREWER, JR.

AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-3021

June 20, 1966

OK
Rec'd 6/22/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I want to again express my appreciation for the chance to participate in the conference on state public policy and minorities last Friday. I look forward to seeing the final draft of the paper.

I am enclosing the information on my expenses. The total is what I actually spent, but it is higher than what I might have spent had I economized. Therefore, I am enclosing a check for $30 as a contribution to the Southern Regional Council which should more than make up that difference. I hope this way of handling it is satisfactory with you.

Sincerely,

James E. Youngdahl
B.L.W.

James E. Youngdahl

JEY:blm
ENC.

Given to Pla
6/22/66

opeiul05aflcio

Vouchers attached to original

ok

CONFERENCE ON STATE PUBLIC POLICIES AND MINORITIES

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Held June 17, 1966, at Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Atlanta, Georgia

Submitted: June 20, 1966

TRAVEL (Type of Transportation)

Delta airlines

$ 83.16

(Auto @ .08 per mile)

TAXICABS, LIMOUSINES, ETC.

Atlanta limo, taxi, LR parkinh $ 7.50

HOTEL (Dates & places)

Atlanta, night of June 16

$ 9.79

OTHER EXPENSES (Itemize)

Telephone, meals, tips

$ 12.50

TOTAL -- $ 112.95

Signed: James E. Youngdahl

Mr. James Youngdahl

Address ~~The Tower Building~~

711 W. Third Street

City & State Little Rock, Arkansas

PLEASE ATTACH VOUCHERS SUPPORTING EXPENSES.

No. 4605

81-25
820

JAMES E. OR PATRICIA L. YOUNGDAHL
37 Lamont Drive
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

DATE JUNE 20 1966

PAY TO THE ORDER OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL $30.00 DOLLARS

THIRTY & NO/100

THE COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK OF LITTLE ROCK
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

FOR CONTRIBUTION

James E. Youngdahl

⑆0820⑈0025⑆

Same ltr also sent to: Paul Gaston, Gordon Henderson, Jamey Holloway, John Ed Pierce, McNeill Smith, Donald Strong, Horace Ward, and James Youngblood.

June 22, 1966

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
736 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Cook:

Thank you for sharing your time, experience, and good thinking at our June 17 conference on public policy and minorities. We look forward to sharing with you the results of our study.

Meanwhile, if new pertinent and related thoughts occur to you, please write us so they may be included.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

SA: FYI

MEMORANDUM 6/27/66

TO: RHA

FROM: JS

RHA:

After checking the names of persons who attended the June 17 conference, I found that all of the out of town participants have returned their vouchers. There were seven from out of town; the other two I mentioned were Atlantans -- that's why the figure nine stuck in my mind.

js

THOSE IN ATTENDANCE:

Samuel DuBois Cook, Paul Gaston, Gordon Henderson, James Y. Holloway, John Ed Pearce, McNeill Smith, Donald Strong, Horace Ward, James Youngdahl.

From staff: Samuel Adams, Paul Anthony, Pat Watters, Robert Anderson, Marvin Wall, Vernon Jordan (briefly).

OFFICE OF
THE GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA
SAMUEL P. GODDARD

THE CAPITOL
Phoenix

EXECUTIVE STAFF

June 27, 1966

Rec'd 6/29/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

Many thanks for asking me to attend the discussion-meeting on public policy and minorities. I believe it was one of the best things for my morale that has happened in a long time, and I know I got out of it much more than I put in to it.

Last week-end while I was still in Jackson I sent you a bill for about two hundred and thirty eight dollars as I recall, being air fare plus certain expenses for food and lodging amounting to twenty dollars approx. I got so much out of the meeting I wish I could offer to pay the whole thing and say to you just forget about my expenses. I do believe in what the SRC is doing; I have believed in it for a long time. Therefore I hope you will acdept the enclosed check for twenty dollars. I know you can put it to good use.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon G. Henderson
Special Assistant

p.s. See over.

I have had a good many thoughts about the whole subject of last week's meeting since I left Atlanta. Some - a few - of these thoughts I would like to share with you. Do you have some notion of a rewrite schedule? I'd like to know what it is so that I may have my ideas to you before your first deadline, whatever it is, comes up.

VALLEY NATIONAL BANK

295

June 21 1966

CAPITOL OFFICE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

91-130
1221

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Southern Regional Council, Inc. $20 xx/100

twenty and xx/100 DOLLARS

MR. OR MRS. GORDON G. HENDERSON
32 EAST KEIM DRIVE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85012

Gordon G Henderson

⑆1221⑈0130⑆ 556⑈4147⑈

Check turned over to LK for processing
GH

June 27, 1966

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Directoe
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Mr. Fleishman:

Thank you for your letter received here June 24. Paul told me of the accident that caused you to miss your flight to Atlanta for our conference. I do appreciate your interest and the sincere effort you made on our behalf.

I had so wanted to meet and talk with you. Perhaps I will get the opportunity soon. Also, we are still very much interested in having your reaction in writing to the background paper, as I mentioned earlier. Could we get this at the earliest possible date?

With warmest regards.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Rec'd 6/24/66

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL

An Upward Bound Program — Supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by the National Science Foundation

2115 Yale Station New Haven, Connecticut 06520

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director* Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

June 21, 1966

Dr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Adams:

I hope Paul managed to convey to you both the fact that I would not appear and some sense of my anguish resulting from that change. That's the first time I've missed a plane, and will certainly teach me a lesson about traveling.

Let there be no question in your mind about my overwhelming desire to join the discussion. The topic alone was interesting enough; the opportunity to meet the other participants was golden both personally and with respect to two other projects on which I am now working.

As I told Paul on the telephone I surely hope you will understand my absence as one of those unavoidable accidents and clearly not any hint of disinterest. I trust you will call on me when appropriate in the future.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:mfc
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Same ltr also sent to: Leslie Dunbar, Harold Fleming, Herman Goldner, [redacted] Frank E. Smith.

[redacted]

June 22, 1966

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Yale University
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Mr. Fleishman:

We are sorry you were not available for our June 17, 1966, conference on public policies and minorities, but we deeply appreciate your having tried to spring yourself loose from your many pressing activities.

If you find time to react in writing to the background paper, we would like to hear from you before completing our study.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

Rec'd 7/15/66

July 13, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thanks for your understanding letter inviting my post-conference comments on "Public Policy and Minorities." I am most sorry that I couldn't be there for the discussion, but as Paul will have explained I was hopelessly trapped in the Washington maze.

I have read the paper with interest and, for the most part, found it a useful basis for discussion of the issues. For whatever they are worth, here are a few observations:

1. The paper might well have emphasized more explicitly the state-city relationship. One of the biggest factors in the withering away of state influence has been the failure of the states to supply leadership, funds, and priority for the problems of the growing urban areas. Both federal and local officials tend to look with impatience and distrust upon the states, and to prefer a direct relationship. This is not surprising, since the states have tended to be indifferent and often hostile to the interests of the urban areas. Legislative reapportionment promises some improvement, but it may be coming too slowly and too late. In any case, the vitality of state governments is going to depend heavily on their success in becoming relevant to urban needs and an integral link in the federal-local chain.

2. With particular respect to minority groups, the states are inviting their own demise in federal-local relationships. For example, it is quite clear that many problems of Negroes in the central cities can be solved only by metropolitan area-wide planning and development. The racial problems of the cities simply cannot be solved within the context of the core city alone while the suburbs continue as bastions of

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Director
BURKE MARSHALL, Director
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Director
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice-President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director

white middle-class exclusiveness. Yet the power to require the multiplicity of local jurisdictions to plan and work together for adequate and integrated schools, housing, and so on, on a metropolitan basis, is constitutionally vested in the states. And, of course, the states have shown almost no inclination to use that power affirmatively. (Some would be more inclined to use it negatively.) If these circumstances persist, I believe that the federal government will necessarily have to fill the power vacuum by conditioning a wide variety of federal grants on metropolitan-wide cooperation. That trend is already evident in a small way.

3. While the draft paper was fine for discussion purposes, the published report will be more effective with state officials and other decision-makers if it is more pragmatic in tone. The arguments of urgency and morality should be made at the beginning, forcefully and succinctly, and the remainder of the document should deal with specific recommendations discussed in very practical terms. And, obviously, a tight plan of organization, with generous use of subheads, will make it more useable.

Again, my regrets that I couldn't take part in the discussion. If there is a subsequent draft, I will be glad to be among those willing to review and comment on it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403

JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY
BOX 936 COLLEGE STATION

October 4, 1966

MARVIN WALL
(Gener copy 10/10/66)
jo

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Thanks for your note of August 29, and for the information on the "phenomenon." I want to talk with you some more about that.

Weltner agreed to do the article for us on his bill, and it is no doubt due to Vernon's help, so please thank him for me. I think we are about to get that issue lined up. In that connection, however, I hope that it was a mis-dictate, or mis-type in your August 29 note, about getting the article from you to us by the end of November; I hope you meant the end of October. But, at any event, please let me know how the end of October would fit your schedule. (Weltner has promised for mid-October, even after a recent trip to Atlanta!) XX

I hope the Maddox-event will somehow get interpreted into your piece. If you think it significant enough, wait till the general elections, but I don't see any more significance to a Maddox-Callaway election than a Wallace-Martin one -- or do you? But the point I'd especially like to get you to dwell on is the fact that the laws are now on the books, etc., so now where do those go now who believe that that would "cure" our sickness in the South?

Would it be possible for you to send me some figures on the Maddox-Arnall run-off -- any kind you might have. Would also like some on the general elections in Alabama and Georgia, but in the meantime I'd sure like to see any figures -- and analysis -- you have. This may be more in Marvin Wall's dept., but would appreciate it if you'd send him a note on this.

Have no fresh news on the Church Peace Mission conference in November, but have written Peachey (also about Bob Coles).

Will see that you get a copy of the journal -- it is now in the bindery. I think Will's piece is an important one. Thanks again for your help, and hope to see you soon.

Cordially,

J.

P. S. Do you by any chance have a complete text of SNCC's "memo"? I note that the NYTIMES thing is only an excerpt.

XX I dictated this before Weltner's announcement. This may alter things, so if you folk hear anything would appreciate your passing it along.

August 29, 1966

Mr. James Holloway
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Jim:

I am still kicking myself for messing you up like I did. All I can do is what I did the other day -- tax your Christian charity.

Enclosed are some key stories on the black power thing. I think as pertinent a thought on it as I've heard is one by Les Dunbar -- that if there is anything new at all in the slogan, it is racism.

I am pleased you want me to write something for the next issue, and will have the copy in by the end of November.

Vernon Jordan has promised to vouch for you with Charles Weltner. It might be good to mention Vernon's name when you write him.

I hope you will let me know the details about that peace meeting here.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encls.

PUBLIC POLICY AND MINORITIES

The purpose of this memorandum is to isolate and describe the larger, and the more basic, pressing, and common issues that confront state policy-makers about minority assimilation and to develop recommendations for public policy for state governments.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

The "racial crisis" is merely the most striking symptom of a complex malady in American society which must be recognized in public policy recommendations for the assimilation of racial and other minorities.

An honest call by political authorities for full rights and opportunities is a necessary first step. The discrepancy between full rights and opportunities and the present status of minorities is widening, thus creating an even more serious and complex problem.

The federal system poses a threat and a promise to minority assimilation. An alternative and parallel arrangement might be found in "regionalism."

Initiative and positive action must, on the administrative as well as on the policy level, supersede the negativism of legal prohibitions against segregation, and must be related to and in part supported by a maximum participation at the local and neighborhood level.

The areas of greatest and most immediate concern to policy-makers dealing with minority assimilation are education, employment, housing, law enforcement, medical services, farm opportunities.

An important requirement for public policy-makers is the recognition of "the limits of public policy" in the area of minority assimilation.

The nature and the magnitude of the problem of minority assimilation requires an over-all, exhaustive, and coordinated program of state resources. This might be done at four levels:

1. A State Civil Rights Act;
2. A series of other, related, public policy recommendations, plus
3. An invigorated administration and bureaucracy led by a "Resources Office," and
4. Maximum participation of minorities themselves in these policies and programs.

A state Civil Rights Act should:

1. Serve as and therefore include an "earnest" from the state government to minorities;
2. Prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, or

national origin, and in membership in professional, business, commercial, or labor organizations;

3. Eliminate discrimination in public accommodations by a very broad and general definition of "public accommodations," with a minimum of exclusions;
4. Direct enforcement to an agency of the "Resources Office" (a commission on human rights), with clearly specified procedures for initiation and receipt of complaints, on hearings, etc., with persuasion and education as the initial effort;
5. Provide for punishment of retaliation and threats of retaliation, and
6. Encourage civil rights efforts on county and local levels, including the creation of local commissions on human rights.

The enforcement, coordination, and direction and initiative of the program of minority assimilation should be vested in a "Resources Office" whose executive is responsible directly to the governor and legislator.

The specific public policy recommendations for areas suggested are:

1. Education

   a) Beginning with the immediate and total integration of the public school system. The problem of "neighborhood schools" and the integration of faculties must be faced.
   b) Upgrading of the total educational system is an essential factor in minority assimilation as are the problems of
   c) Adult and pre-school education;
   d) "Desegregation" and "integration" of textbooks;
   e) Education of the majority about equal rights in American democracy, and
   f) Trade and re-training school expansion;
   g) Higher education is the keystone and final test of the effectiveness of educational policy in minority assimilation.
      1) Deficiencies in preparation for higher education should be met in several ways;
      2) Public institutions have a responsibility in this regard as do

3) Private colleges and universities.
4) Studies of predominant Negro colleges within the state are necessary in order to plan for their future in both the long and short run.
5) Professional schools should be required to actively recruit students.
6) The continued training of Negro public school teachers, especially those discharged by integration, is essential, and provisions thereon must be made.

h) Public policy regarding education is a test of the integrity of the seriousness of programs to assimilate minorities: May the minority student exercise his option to a complete education without impairment because of race, color, religion, or national origin?

2. Employment

a) Covered in part by the State Civil Rights Act, should also be the concern of
b) The "Resources Office," by establishing relationships and liaisons between federal and local services and colleges, universities, the public school system, and trade schools, etc., and by
c) Attracting industry on an integrated basis.

3. Law: Enforcement and Administration

a) As a problem may find that the key problem is the political commitment of leaders at every level to educate employees and citizens about equal protection of the laws in American democracy.
b) Discrimination in the employment of law enforcing agencies and courts is essential.
c) Licensing of law enforcement officers is necessary.
d) Restrictions on minority law enforcement officers must be removed.
e) Instruction in civil rights, periodically, of all law enforcements is necessary.
f) Committees to deal with policy misconduct should be established.
g) Inquiries into the racial element in capital punishment is in order.

h) Prison reforms should pay heed to any racial problems.

4. Housing

a) The Resources Office should, with state planning commissions, plan for the elimination of ghettos.
b) Discrimination in housing projects might be handled through enforcing the guidelines on the contractors.
c) Rentals, on a non-discriminatory basis, by public housing authorities in established neighborhoods should be undertaken.

5. Voter Registration

a) Universal registration should be inaugurated.
b) Times for registration should be expanded.
c) Absentee voting should be made easier.
d) Election commissioners should heed racial overtones in irregularities.

6. Medical and Hospital Services

Should be guaranteed on a non-discriminatory basis through an agency of the Resources Office, paying particular attention to the practices in emergency situations. Discrimination in professional medical organizations should be prohibited. Negroes should be encouraged and prepared by special efforts to enter the medical professions.

7. Farm Employment, Training, and Ownership

The indictment of the United States Department of Agriculture by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1965 demonstrates the plight of farm workers in the South and the importance of federal-state cooperation. These problems should be met by loans, training, and re-training, and by the creation of a special agency of the Resources Office to coordinate these programs and services.

The choice before the South and the nation is whether or not this crucial test of the American system of democracy will be met democratically.

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Domestically, the political system of the United States is facing the most severe test of its capacities since the Civil War. That test is usually referred to as "the racial crisis." But it is now abundantly clear that the crisis of racial assimilation is merely the most striking symptom of a malady that touches every phase of American political, social, and economic life. The malady strikes at the heart of the system of American democracy in our time, because previously it has been possible to rationalize, by the western frontier, wars, and the challenge of external foes, the hiatus between our professions about democracy and our performance thereon. The demand for racial equality and opportunity has not only called attention to the plight of racial minorities, but has provided the enthusiasm and the excuse for the examination of the plight of what Michael Harrington has called "The Other America," a plight in which race has an integral, but neither exclusive nor necessarily essential part. Indeed, an increasing number of commentators are suggesting that the "racial" aspect of the problem is almost accidental -- that, essentially, the crux of the domestic political crisis centers around the extent to which this and the next generation will honor or pervert the tenets about the universality and equality of rights and opportunities that American democracy has so brashly proclaimed for 150 years. Thus, to cite only one example from (an essentially conservative source) THE SATURDAY REVIEW: Emile Capouya, in his review of the recent

autobiography and biography of the late Malcolm X, observed:

> Right now, in this country, every man stands between the devil and the deep blue sea. The ideals we profess as a people have scarcely any other function than to color greed at home and violence abroad. We are in a moral and political crisis. Almost alone, Malcolm X knew it and declared it; his doctrine was cast in terms of race, but that was very nearly an accident. Those who responded to his intuition of what was happening to us understood him whether they were Negroes or whites. I think that any reader who is at all accessible to the message must be moved by his autobiography -- ingenuous, often mistaken about elementary facts, sometimes less than charitable, but mostly true and mostly very important.

It is necessary to make these observations at the outset so that the heart of the matter of this report will not be ignored by concentrating upon recommendations, techniques, procedures, and programs, etc. The recommendations, techniques, procedures, programs contained herein are, at best, a belated start on a chronic problem in the life of the South and nation. For that reason, a -- if not <u>the</u> -- fundamental purpose of this report is to call attention to the context of urgency and complexity of the problem about which we present a number of recommendations, general enough to be adaptable, but specific and relevant enough, we trust, to commence a reasonable and intelligent retreat from the dead-end journey down which the states of our region have been headed for over one hundred years.

The "crisis of confidence" that exists in this country about equality of legal, political, and economic rights and

especially opportunities -- without regard to racial, social, or economic status -- while obviously more subtle and complex than the problem with which this report is concerned, is just as obviously related to it. Proposals directed toward public policy in the field of minority assimilation in the South will be little more than short term crisis-oriented palliatives unless those responsible for public policy recognize the relationship between these two sets of crises. Any attempt to otherwise assimilate cultural and economic and racial minorities will be ephemeral and seriously compound the sense of frustration and alienation already experienced by these minorities. And it is questionable just how far American society -- and southern society in particular -- can sustain and assimilate this frustration and this alienation without doing irreparable injury to that society. It is clear, therefore, that in the final analysis, success in meeting the problems of assimilating racial and cultural minorities will be determined by the willingness and the determination, in the first instance, of national and state political leaders to meet this broader crisis in American democracy.

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Possibly the most direct way to meet the crisis with which this report is chiefly concerned is to issue a call for honesty -- viz., to insist that the constitutional rights to political and legal equality and economic and social opportunity must be realized fully and forthwith by all citizens. To so insist is to openly admit that several

minority groups (in the South) do not at present fully enjoy these rights and opportunities. Such an open admission at the statehouse level might well be the most important initial step in a program of minority assimilation. In all probability, some such step is the sine quo non, for two reasons: to convince minorities of the sincerity of the political establishment, and to convince state agencies of the determination to face the problems of minorities. Such an insistence would also direct attention to the fact that the discrepancy between full rights and opportunities and the present status of economic and racial minorities is widening, not closing. The crises in Mississippi and Alabama occurred after the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964; the Watts street riots occurred after passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, after Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Bill and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 had had opportunity to remove the most obvious source of the riots -- hopelessness and meaninglessness.

The urgency of the widening discrepancy cannot be overstated and must not be overlooked. The discrepancy between the present situation of racial and economic minorities and the legal minimums prescribed by the Constitution of the United States is obvious, alarming, and unless alleviated, will become, in the affluent society, a fixed pattern that will continually ignite Watts streets and Selmas. Democracy as professed in the United States cannot survive the last half of the 20th century unless this overt racial and economic discrimination is purged from American

society. The economics of racism presents an obvious consequence of this discrepancy and an immediate challenge to political entities on every level of government. Those racial minorities which presently bear the brunt of the economic consequences of a racist society both in urban and rural areas are the very people most seriously threatened by technological advances in factories and on the farms. Unemployment, living on welfare doles and charities -- and the consequent threat to a meaningful life within an ostensibly democratic society -- threatens, especially in urban areas, the creation of political as well as racial dissidence of serious proportions. The most recent figures released by the Department of Labor (January, 1966), show that twice as many non-whites are unemployed as whites. /These are figures for the entire nation and vary for each region, which we might include in a chart about southern states at this juncture./ What happened in Los Angeles in August, 1965, is a portent of things to come. Every qualified observer who has studied the causes of the present situation in Watts streets has predicted further trouble. The uneasiness in Chicago, East Harlem, Rochester, and in several areas of the South is well known.

The increasing "affluence" of the majority of American society and economy highlights the discrepancy between economic and political possession and opportunity for possession, and nowhere more obviously than in the programs of mass communications. The programming and the advertisements direct attention dramatically to the disparity between the

lives of the white majority of established American "haves" and the lives of the impoverished Negro, dis-established "have-nots." This disparity cannot fail to be noticed by those deprived by the political and economic system which persistently implores its citizenry to loyalty and thanksgiving for the benefits of living in "the greatest country the world has ever known."

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This report is concerned with public policy recommendations for state and local governments. Federalism, therefore, as a political method and a political value is a presupposition to the recommendations. And the fact is that the future of the federal system as a basic value and as a viable political undertaking in American politics may well depend upon the response of state and local governments to this principal domestic problem -- viz., the treatment and assimilation of minority groups. (The impact of technology -- especially in the bloated "defense" economy -- may well pose the most serious threat to federalism, but this falls for the most part outside the scope of this paper.) The record of state and local governments in the South in the field of political rights, education, law enforcement, employment opportunities, public accommodations and medical care, for example, provides little ground for hope that the federal system can succeed here and stave off national control. Further discouragement about the capacity of local political units to deal forthrightly with the problems of minority assimilation is found in the responses of the administrations

of certain large cities (Chicago and Los Angeles the most notable examples) to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. When the very instrument designed to overcome minority deprivations is used by local political units (and local politicians) to increase their own power at the expense of the dispossessed, the despair and hopelessness that ignite riots and insurrections can be expected.

In the South, particularly, "Federalism" as a political principle is usually connected with the value of "states' rights." But this, in turn, has been the chief device by which southern state and local governments have not only impeded the assimilation of Negroes into southern society, but have also sanctioned, and in some instances abetted and encouraged, violence against and the intimidation of Negroes. To suggest that "states' rights" permits the thwarting of the republican form of government in the United States, to suggest that "Federalism" is the principle by which political rights and economic and social opportunities can be denied to American citizens is an obvious and fundamental violation of the letter and the spirit of the American Constitution and of the intention of the authors of the Constitution.

"Federalism," however, provides both threat and promise in the effort to effectively assimilate minorities. It can be, as it has been, used to thwart the legitimate legal and economic opportunities of minorities. It can, on the other hand, be a positive and healthy principle by which the national government may work effectively with local political sub-divisions to meet a problem that can be resolved,

finally and effectively, only on the local level. What needs to be urged, however, is that there is no guarantee in the success of "Federalism," or the rejection thereof. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 recognizes and accepts the importance of effective cooperation between national and local governments. Early experiences in the administration of funds under Title II must be carefully studied (in the ensuing years) in order to learn the possibilities and the pitfalls. At the present time the more obvious errors are apparent (the Johnson administration's decision to channel funds through Mayor Daley in Chicago and, even after the Watts street riots, through Mayor Yorty in Los Angeles), and, unhappily may suggest the trend for future O.E.O. programs. Policy planners must study reports (including newspaper reports) on several experiences of the working relationships between national and local political units. Here is an instance where state and local officials might rescue the initiative from federal agencies.

The importance of "Federalism" to the effort of assimilating cultural minorities, and especially for this report on policy recommendations, is seen in the fact that one of the major recommendations of this report is the necessity of a neighborhood and individual participation by minorities in the decision-making process and administration of these programs themselves. There are sufficient indications that the problems of minority assimilation into America, and especially into southern society, will be more effectively handled and finally resolved on the local level. With the

one-man one-vote decision of the United States Supreme Court, "local" political units are undergoing a profound change throughout the nation, and especially in the South. This change itself can, and ought to be used by national, state, and local political leaders to assimilate the previously politically and economically disfranchised who make up the very minorities which must be brought into all phases of American life. The Negro's central problem," writes Charles E. Silberman in CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE, "is to discover his identity or <u>to create an identity for himself</u>. What history suggests is that when the Negro solves his problem of identity, he will have gone a long way towards finding the means of relating himself to every other American group." Self-identity is not found apart from active participation in and determination of one's life and destiny. Welfarism and paternalism can no longer be used to delay the integration of minorities into the American system, even at the price of a radical change in the system.

The old ways of southern Stoic-type paternalism and northern welfare-paternalism, while perhaps not deliberately designed to keep the Negro from creating "an identity" for himself, had precisely that effect. The real beginning of a solution of minority assimilation will occur whenever minorities are permitted to design their own solutions to their own problems in precisely the same manner in which the majority groups in American social and economic establishment does. Federalism here can be a positive device to encourage

and sustain just such a movement, for the problem of minority assimilation will not only be ultimately resolved but will be more effectively handled over the long run by local rather than national direction. Clearly, however, the operative phrase here is "effectively handled" and "over the long run." The necessity for such a memorandum as the present one demonstrates the fact that heretofore state and local governments have largely abdicated their own clearly defined political responsibility, and thereby invited the intervention of national government into guaranteeing equal protection of the rights and opportunities of all citizens.

And, in point of fact, unless the assimilation of Negroes into all phases of southern life is accepted and successfully met on state, county, city, and township level, the problem will remain, by definition, insoluble. The consequent peril of prolonging a solution to this problem is, of course, continued political turmoil, violence, and the increasing threat of anarchy and insurrection.

Needless to say, one of the fundamental issues involved in this discussion is "inward commitment." In the first instance, state and local political authorities must accept the primary responsibility for initiating and implementing programs for equal treatment and assimilation of racial minorities. Visible proof of the above mentioned "inward commitment" of state and local political authorities will be seen when these same authorities initiate and maintain as one of their chief political responsibilities leadership of their people to interest in and support of programs for minority

assimilation. Such assimilation is a basic value and goal of political democracy. It will provide an acid test over the next several decades about the dedication of southern political units to the values of political democracy.

One possible alternative to the current moribund Federalism that has made a measure of achievement over the past three or four decades is "regional arrangments." The insights of Howard Odum, an important figure in the early history of the Southern Regional Council, might well be applied to the regional character of the South's racial as well as economic and social and political problems. Indeed, such regional arrangemnts might well rejuvinate Federalism and offer to the South a more dynamic as well as a more relevant approach to problems which so obviously defy state and local boundaries. The partial and potential successes, for example, of arrangements among the states of the Appalachian region in meeting the problems of strip coal mining, water pollution and deforestation offer a precedent and a promise. /The definition of "community action program" in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 would seem to permit such regional arrangements: cf. Section 202: "The term 'Community Action Program' means a program (1) which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public or private, of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this part as a "community"), including <u>but not limited to a state</u>, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multicity unit, or multicounty unity in an attack on poverty."/7 But a further source of strength

can be found through regional arrangements among the states in overcoming local intransigence and prejudice as well as intrenched interest -- economic and social -- that is not presently available in arrangements between the federal government and state and local political authorities. The political traditions as well as the legal arrangements of this nation -- for good or ill -- have been geared toward local responsibility (and irresponsibility) in facing local problems. Perhaps a satisfactory and an important half-way house between localism and central initiative and control would be these regional arrangements.

The alternative to responsible state and local and regional activity in facing the problems of minority assimilation is clear: the "federal principle" (in this sense, state and local initiative and responsibility) in the areas of human rights and opportunities will continue to deteriorate at an even more rapid rate than has been the case during the past quarter decade. The pressure for and the urgency of the problems of minorities in this nation will not be thwarted by an appeal to an illegitimate Federalism. Indeed, if it is clear that if Federalism -- in the strictest legal sense -- becomes a barrier to the realization of minority rights, then Federalism will be swept away, de facto, if not not also de jure.

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The principal lesson that the past twenty-four months has provided is that public policy on either the national, or the state and local, level cannot be restricted merely

to seeking an end to existing discrimination and compulsory segregation. Something far more positive than the mere legal prohibition against discrimination and segregation is obviously necessary. The President of the United States pays some homage to this truism, and in recent months has insisted that the most difficult and complex problem about minority rights that faces the federal government is transfering legal equality into human brotherhood. In the system of American democracy, however, this goal cannot be achieved -- and possibly even successfully initiated -- apart from full, active and committed participation on the state and local level. A principal concern and recommendation of this report consequently is that present commissions, boards, agencies, which by statute or administrative decision have been involved in problems of minority rights and opportunities, to receive or initiate and act upon complaints must move from this largely negative function to the more positive one of searching out the ways and means whereby minorities may be more effectively assimilated into southern society. Perhaps this task, more than any, points to the tentative and initial quality of this report: in the first place, most of the "complaint-centered" agencies in the South have scarcely had time to learn their function of receiving and acting upon complaints before these new demands are put upon them to become initiators and innovators rather than reactors. And some states have few, if any, of the complaint-centered agencies to eliminate discrimination. But surely it is not premature to suggest that these agencies be ready

to move into a more positive role before they become victims of their own precedents and prejudices -- in much the way that complaint-centered agencies of the North have become -- and functionally unable to move from a negative to a positive role.

With that particular recommendation in mind, therefore, it is necessary to insist that state and local policy must move, forthrightly, to bring about an actual integration of all sectors of public life. The complexity of modern American society and economy is such that this integration and assimilation will not come about apart from a determined and dedicated drive by state and local governments to make it come about. And, as we shall continue to insist throughout this report, unless minorities are assimilated, the American system will undergo a change so radical as to deny the concepts of its founders.

There are a number of reasons that public policy must be geared into an active and positive role of assimilating minorities instead of a restrained, negative role of eliminating current discrimination and segregation. It is necessary that public policy-makers be aware of these reasons. In the first place, any political or economic or racial majority is fundamentally reluctant to wittingly or reasonably share its political and social and economic well-being with a minority. This is especially true in the case of a racial minority in a political tradition which offers few if any precedents for rationally sharing political and economic power. Especially in the South, the Voting Rights Bill of

1965 could provide a rational channel for the political adjustments necessary to bring about minority assimilation (even through the bill itself was not reasonably induced: one thinks of Mississippi in 1964, and Birmingham, and Selma, and Montgomery). Further, low-level administrators and bureaucrats are notorious for inertia, for an unwillingness to initiate or innovate plans or programs. Any alteration and innovation -- to begin at the most obvious level -- breaks the routine of the past, whether the past be five years or fifty years. Bureaucracies, regardless of their origins or aims, are by nature and profession conservative. The responsibility for breaking the stranglehold of conservatism in the area of minority assimilation resides with the elected officials in whom, finally, responsibility for policy planning and implementation will ultimately lie.

But perhaps the most compelling argument for the necessity of positive initiative in the area of public policy for minority assimilation is the patent and ominous failure of the "desegregated" society of the North to lead to a continuous and gradual elimination of the barriers to political rights and economic opportunities. Legal prohibition of discrimination and segregation has been a fact of life in most northern states for a century. Their commissions and agencies were structured to "receive and act upon complaints," in order to eliminate existing discrimination. But oppor-

tunities for assimilation into the predominate society of the North decreased, rather than increased, with the growth of the minority population in the North. No initiative was taken to avoid the development of new structures of discrimination. The vast ghettos of the North (and the intransigent and self-righteous insistence upon "neighborhood schools") are testimony to the failure of political legal arrangements geared merely to performing the largely negative function of eliminating existing discrimination and segregation. Small wonder that minorities see the law as the instrument whereby "segregation" is prohibited, but which in fact prohibits them -- in the name of "desegregation" -- from integrating into American society. Small wonder that minorities see law and legal arrangements as simply the instrument of the northern liberal to preserve both his ideology and his predominance in the social structure.

Public policy in the South, therefore, ought to learn from the northern failures. Public policy in the South must directly and without equivocation and with "inward commitment and outward determination" assimilate minorities into all areas of American society.

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What, then, are the areas that are of greatest and most immediate concern to public policy-makers on the state and local level determined to assimilate minorities into all segments of southern society? The fact is, there is little disagreement in the areas that demand the most immediate attention of public policy and minority assimilation. Racial

and economic minorities, their leaders, and social scientists share some measure of agreement that education, employment, housing and law enforcement are chief problem areas. But the further fact is that, including such restricted -- politically, legally, socially, and economically -- efforts as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, and the Uniform State Civil Rights Act currently under consideration by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, no thoroughgoing approach to the problem of minority assimilations at present exists. The chief purpose of this study is to provide at least a first step in the direction of a synoptic or over-all approach to this problem. The first step in this task, therefore, is of fundamental importance: to isolate and direct attention to those areas in which it is generally agreed that public policy must center its energies and intelligence in seeking to assimilate minorities. We shall make suggestions for the direction public policy might take within these areas, but these suggestions must be deliberately general -- not only because of the difficulty in projecting suggestions for thirteen distinct political entities and economic areas, but also because of the importance attached to the conviction already discussed: that the most reliable, long-term solution to public policy minority assimilation will develop out of an honest and genuine dialogue between public policy-makers, executives, administrations, legislators, and state agencies on the one hand, and "residents of the areas and members of the groups served" (to use the language of the

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964).

Many sociologists have directed attention to the fact that the very social system in the South which blocked integration is being radically and fundamentally changed by social and economic forces affecting the whole of American society, forces having little to do with "the racial crisis." Arnold Rose, for example, believes in giving the "greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, both economic and political, sometimes wielded deliberately but more often impersonally in the form of great trends affecting the whole society," viz., "continuing industrialization and technological advance, the high level of mobility among the American people" and, to a lesser extent, "the organization and political education of minority groups, an increased American awareness of world opinion, consistent support from other branches of the federal government and the northern state governments, and the propaganda and educational efforts for more equal implementation of civil rights" (THE ANNALS, January, 1965).

The "great trends affecting the whole of society" (in Rose's phrasing), and more especially the economic and political ones, point to what are unquestionably the most basic and the most common problem areas which public policy-makers must face in meeting the tasks of assimilating minorities. In these areas -- the areas in which "the great trends affecting the whole of society" -- are both the urgency and opportunity for the policy-maker. A chief emphasis of this report is that in the first instance public

policy must be directed to the minority problems implicit in these "great trends affecting the whole of society." These trends ought to be viewed not as harbingers of crisis but as seeds of opportunity in dealing with minority assimilation.

In their examination of the Racial Crisis in America (1964), Killian and Grigg make an often-repeated observation (p. 130): "It is true that tokenism is 'too little and too late.' But it is also true that token desegregation will be the dominant pattern until the cultural deficit of the Negro masses is reduced or the majority of Negroes reject integration as a goal, as the Black Muslims would have it . . . . The spatial distribution of the Negro population, the cultural deprivation of the Negro masses, and the social organization of the Negro community make it clear that, in the present circumstances, not many Negroes can benefit directly from the Supreme Court's decisions. Only a minority of 'qualified,' highly motivated individuals will be willing and able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the new legal principle. Over and over again it has been demonstrated that plans for 'voluntary desegregation' either result in token desegregation or, if more than a token number of Negro volunteers appear, in the eventual 'resegregation' of the institution and neighborhood." ([illegible] .

The chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, as far back as December, 1963, made much the same point, and it is as germane, and all the more urgent, two years later. He granted that the integration of public facilities was important, and that it was "also important

to be called 'sir' rather than 'boy.' But more basic than any of these are education and employment. The great mass of Negroes are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat; winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who cannot afford the cost of the meal." George H. Esser, Jr., the executive director of the North Carolina Fund, noted (at that same conference in December, 1963) that half the families in North Carolina exist on less than $1,000 a year, and that surging mechanization in the factory and the farm makes the plight of uneducated, unskilled workers even more desperate. "Unless we face the challenge that is on us and if we don't decide to do something about it immediately, we're going to wind up by 1970 with more unemployables than a democratic nation can afford to have."

Education and employment are, from the point of view of public policy, the crucial and interrelated factors that form the crux of the problem of minority assimilation. There will be no substantial solution to any of the other, perhaps equally frustrating but individually less basic, problems that form the heart of the problem of minority assimilation. Public policy recommendations must, inevitably, seek to coordinate the problems in and policy for these areas with related yet distinct problems in law enforcement and administration, voter registration and participation, medical and hospital services, farm employment, and training and ownership.

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The premise upon which this study is based is: Political, social, and economic disaster can be avoided only by a determined coordination of every resource of state government into an exhaustive effort to bring about the assimilation of minorities. But planning for this task will itself be doomed to failure unless the "limits of public policy" are recognized at the outset of the effort. The fact is that public policy recommendations, political activity, fresh judicial and administrative decisions are insufficient to meet the problems of minority assimilation. What is meant here is far more than the hackneyed expression of moribund conservatism that "morality cannot be legislated." Rather, the point is twofold: first, public policy recommendations must take into consideration the fact that without active acceptance by the majorities and full participation by the minorities, the division of minority and majorities, along currently existing lines, will continue indefinitely. Second, as the periodic attacks upon the problems of Appalachia have demonstrated over the past thirty years, programs which do not have a built-in awareness of their specific limitations are doomed to discouragement and sometimes abandonment because of early failures that could be only temporary.

The consequences of this are clear. Public policy must encourage and solicit the active support of both majorities and minorities, especially with a view to developing the relevant responses of the minorities to programs for their assimilation into areas providing for the maximum

expression of options and opportunities. The coordinated program to eliminate minority injustices and inequality must be drafted with full recognition of the long-range, ongoing nature of the task it seeks to meet, and legislators, administrators, and the public at large must understand this aspect of the program and the policy. False optimism and early discouragements can only compound the existing problem by increasing the feeling of frustration and despair by minorities and of frustration and recklessness by the majority. A recognition of the "limits" of public policy, therefore, should assist the framing of a more viable and relevant series of public policy recommendations, by developing programs designed to encourage types of efforts which, by definition, are beyond the possibility of direct political influence.

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We envision, therefore, a coordination of all resources of state government into an exhaustive effort to assimilate minorities in the earliest yet most effective and permanent manner. There are four major aspects to this task from the point of view of public policy.

1) A State Civil Rights Act (patterned after the Kentucky Civil Rights Act and the Uniform State Civil Rights Act currently being drafted by a special committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws). Such an act is necessary for two principal reasons. First, it will serve as an earnest to those racial and economic minorities in the South who, for over one hundred years,

have seen the political instrumentalities of their states used to keep them locked in a minority status. A great deal has been made about the fact that the pattern of state (and federal) government activities toward minorities has in the past generation shifted from outright hostility toward minorities and preserving the status quo of the existing power structure through the use of the machinery of government, to the use of that machinery as a neutral, an umpire, between majority and minorities. We contend, therefore, that the machinery of government must now be used positively and actively to assimilate minorities into the mainstream of southern life. A State Civil Rights Act would be a highly significant gesture of government to Negro minorities, indicating that their governments now intend to meet the obligations of providing equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. Similarly, a State Civil Rights Act would bind future state administrations to the goal of minority assimilation, and have a cleansing effect upon state politics.

About the 1966 Kentucky Civil Rights Act, Martin Luther King said: "The passage of this legislation comes as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of human captivity. We in SCLC, in conjunction with our affiliate organization, the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, will cooperate in every way to implement this all-important bill . . . [the bill contains] strong and enforceable public accommodations and fair employment legislation. This is a milestone for a southern state, and indeed, a

great step forward in any state. The passage of this bill will serve as a great beacon light of hope for all men of goodwill and hopefully inspire other states to follow suit."

Secondly, there are some aspects of public policy and minority assimilation which are best covered in a Civil Rights Act, especially the declaration of intention to bind the machinery of the state's government toward equality, the elimination of discrimination in employment, public accommodations, possibly law enforcement, in the establishment of a state agency having principle responsibility for directing the coordinated program for minority assimilation, and for coordinating federal and state programs concerned with Civil Rights.

2) We envision a series of other public policy recommendations related in some cases to the State Civil Rights Act but which require specific and immediate attention because of their importance and urgency in the field of minority assimilation -- notably education and employment, law enforcement, medical and hospital services and farm employment.

3) We envision the need of public policy to address itself to bureaucracies dealing with the problems of minority assimilation. While this is a common problem in every phase of the coordinated program, it requires specific mention at this juncture. The importance suggests that a special study of bureaucracy might be undertaken by each state on various levels of administration. The

problem is concerned not merely with the agencies and commissions concerned with problems of equal rights and opportunities being gradually shifted from complaint-centered to initiators of positive programs, but to what seems to be a built-in conservatism peculiar to American bureaucracies. Restrictions are already on record in the projects encouraging Community Actions Programs to exert external pressure upon state and federal bureaucracies. Some plans must be devised to enable the bureaucracies directly involved in minority assimilation to re-orient and reorganize themselves to meet the current challenges.

4) We envision that every phase of these public policy recommendations must have as its central task the effective and genuine participation of the minorities in programs designed to assimilate them into the mainstream of our society. This should be done in every plan and program (including the drafting of a Civil Rights Bill) and especially in giving advice and effectiveness to programs of education, employment, medical services, neighborhood activities, law enforcement and farm programs. This policy has become axiomatic with those who have identified themselves most closely with problems of racial and economic minorities. It has been regarded as an ever-present danger to a number of city and state political leaders and even local administrators employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The relation of the maximum participation of minorities to the issue of the "limits" of public policy in assimilating minorities ought to be obvious. Without such maximum participa-

tion, the area delineated by the "limiting" line of public policy will be narrower than it need be. Nathan Glazer recently made an important observation about the necessity for instrumentalities other than political ones to guarantee the success of any programs designed to meet the related evils of poverty and racism:

> And since the problem of poverty is so largely concentrated in our Negro population, I am convinced that much of the effort and manpower involved in overcoming it must come from the Negro community, even if funds that power it come from the federal government [and we may add, "state governments"]. It is axiomatic to me that Negro organizations -- whether they educate, train, advise, employ, organize, or whatnot -- can potentially do far, far more with Negro clients than can governmental organizations. It is in the stimulation of individual and group effort -- whether motivated by profit, charity, group pride, or the desire for individual fulfillment or salvation -- that I see the most productive courses we can follow to overcome poverty.

But the issue of minority participation in a democracy relates, in a very practical and very immediate way, to the majority. Saul Alinsky has eloquently reminded us that:

> From the beginning, it has been self-evident that the point of mortality of the democratic way of life has been in the people. This way of life cannot work unless most of the individuals work at it. The price is daily participation by the populace. One hundred and twenty-five years ago De Tocqueville gravely warned that unless individual

citizens were regularly involved in the action of governing themselves, that self-government would pass from the scene. Citizen participation is the animating spirit and force in a society predicated upon voluntarism.

We are not here concerned with the ever-present numbers of people who profess the democratic faith, but basically yearn for the dark security of dependency where they can be spared the burdens of decisions, fearful of personal responsibilities. Reluctant to, or incapable of growing up, they desire a constant childhood with others caring for them. Those who can should be encouraged to grow; for the others, the fault lies not in the system but in themselves.

Here, we are desperately concerned with the vast mass of our people who, thwarted through lack of interest or opportunity, or both, regularly partake of the frequent duties and responsibilities of citizenship and are resigned to a destiny determined by others. Loss of identification as a citizen in a democracy is but a step from loss of identification as a person. The sense of not belonging produces a political and social numbness. If no one cares for you then you don't care for anyone. People react to this situation by not acting. The divorce of the people from the routine daily functions of citizenship become the heartbreak of democracy.

It is a grave situation when a people have reached a point of resignation of citizenship. Even when a resident of any great metropolis may have a desire to take a hand, he lacks the instrument by means of which he can translate his desire into active participation. And so the local citizen sinks further into apathy, anonymity, and depersonalization. The end is his complete dependence on public authority and a state of civic-schlerosis.

> From time to time there has been an enemy at our gates; this time the Soviets, east and west; all the time, however, there has been and is the enemy within us; that hidden, malignant inertia carrying more certain destruction to our life and future than that in any nuclear warhead. There can be no darker or more devastating tragedy than the death of man's faith in himself, in his power to direct his future.

What public policymakers face in the effort to assimilate minorities, therefore, is the possibility of a genuine renewal or an inevitable disintegration of the democratic way of life. The possibilities of public policy -- if the "limits" are recognized -- in renewing American democracy by assimilating minorities is the most important domestic political challenge of the second half of the twentieth century.

We shall concern ourselves first with an outline of broad but essential features of a civil rights bill before turning to a sketch of the agency which might direct and coordinate the principal efforts in minority assimilation, and conclude with some specific recommendations for public policy in particularly acute areas.

We have already called attention to the two principal factors which call for the enactment of a state Civil Rights Law. Attention should also be directed to the fact that the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964 acknowledged the desirability of implementing the public policy of the United States -- i.e., non-discrimination on

the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin -- at the state and local level. That act emphasized that its own enforcement could be through state agencies functioning under state laws which were compatible with the federal statute.

In this connection, a state Civil Rights Act would not only meet the requirements of federal law, but would provide more sensitive, more efficient, more relevant, more effective, and less remote enforcement procedures than the federal law. It should, thereby, provide a more viable approach to and enforcement of the civil rights of all citizens, and thus provide the bulwark for minority assimilation.

The general outline of a state Civil Rights Act which follows uses as its principal model the Kentucky modification of the model of the Uniform State Civil Rights Act. It is suggested that the final draft of the model of the Uniform State Civil Rights Act be consulted, when completed.

The first article declares the purpose of the act, the importance of the earnest the act provides to all, but especially to citizens of minority race or economic class. "To safeguard all individuals within the state from discrimination because of race, color, religion, and national origin in connection with employment and public accommodations; thereby to protect their interest in personal dignity and freedom from humiliation in places of public accommodation, to make available to the

state their full productive capacities in employment, to secure the state against domestic strife and unrest which would menace its democratic institutions, to preserve the public safety, health, and general welfare, and to further the interests, rights, and privileges of individuals within the state."

The article covering definitions should include under "person" not only "one or more individuals, labor unions, joint apprentice committees, partnerships, associations, corporations, the state and its subdivisions," but also specify chambers of commerce, real estate dealers, organizations of professional and commercial persons, including medical associations, and teacher associations. The necessity for this specification is obvious; the reasons for it equally so, upon review of the consequences in medical practice, teaching, and business operations, of segregating these professional and commercial associations.

The article concerning Equal Employment Opportunity should have as its goal the elimination of employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin, for, as a minimum goal, 90% of a state's employees. This, rather than the percentage of employers covered, should be the determinative figure, although the percentage of employers covered should be the maximum, in line with the aims of the bill. Definitions within this article should specify professional and commercial organizations along with labor organizations.

"Employer" should mean a person who has five (5) or more employees with the state in each of fifteen (15) or more calendar weeks.

This article should make it unlawful for an employer to fail or refuse to hire any employee, to discriminate against an employee in wages, working conditions, and other privileges or to limit or segregate employees in any way which would deprive or adversely affect his status as an employee because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Employment agencies, public or private, should also be covered in this article in their referring for employment individuals who seek their services. Labor, professional, and commercial organizations should no longer, under this article, be permitted to limit membership, segregate, or classify membership, or cause employers or agencies with which they deal to discriminate against individuals on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. Employers and others, including individuals seeking employment, should be prohibited from publishing advertisements specifying race, color, religion, or national origin in matters concerning employment or employer-employee relationships. The obvious provisions for dealing with equal treatment based on individual merit, and for a "reasonable exercise" of religious preference to church-related educational institutions also should be included in this article.

The article covering Public Accommodations should draw on the experience of state laws, and the federal

Civil Rights Act of 1964, on this subject. Clarity and uniformity are best achieved by making the coverage provisions as general as possible, and this clarity, in turn, eliminates both anxiety in the minds of owners and customers and the possibility of subterfuge. It should be made unlawful (in the words of the Kentucky act) "for a person to deny an individual the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of a place of public accommodation, resort or amusement" on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. Place of public accommodation, resort, or amusement would include "any place, store or other establishment, either licensed or unlicensed, which supplies goods or services to the general public or which solicits or accepts the patronage or trade of the general public or which is supported directly or indirectly by government funds." Exclusions should cover only private clubs, defined "not as a place of public accommodation if its policies are determined by its members and its facilities or services are available only to its members and their bona fide guests"; barber shops and beauty shops grossing less than $5,000 a year; rooming or boarding houses containing no more than four rooms for rent or hire, within a building occupied by the proprietor as his residence. Publications and advertisements indicating discriminatory practices or services should be prohibited in this article.

Enforcement of the act should be in the hands of an appropriate agency of the Resources Office, possibly incorporating within such office any existing Commission on Human Rights. Its initial, and chief, work would, hopefully, be educational, persuasive, and conciliatory. But the Commission should have the "power to receive, initiate, investigate, seek to conciliate, hold hearings on, and pass upon complaints alleging violations of" the state Civil Rights Act. The Commission would conduct preliminary investigations upon receipt of or initiation of complaints, determine if there is sufficient cause to believe that unlawful discrimination is being practiced. If so, it would proceed first to encourage compliance by conciliation and persuasion. If this fails, the commission would then serve a complaint upon the party charged with discrimination, hold a public hearing, subpoena both witnesses and documents, barring the commission member who filed or received and investigated and sought to conciliate the complaint. If the law is found to be violated, a cease and desist order should be issued, subject to review and enforcement in the state courts. Complaints are dismissed when staff investigation finds no probable cause, although the complainant can appeal this decision to the state courts. (Procedures found in the Model State Administrative Procedure Act should serve as a guide to protection of complainants, respondents, use of subpoenas and avoidance of general "fishing expeditions" in the conduct of hearings.)

Retaliation, and conspiracy to retaliate, against

anyone exercising rights guaranteed by the State Civil Rights Act should be made an unlawful act punishable by fine and/or imprisonment.

Finally, the act should provide for the establishment of local commissions on human rights to encourage all levels of local government to protect citizens from discrimination, permitting counties to create such commissions, and cities and counties to cooperate with them in order to eliminate discrimination, and to pass ordinances enforceable in state courts.

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The commission whose duties are summarized in the Civil Rights Act to enforce the act and to receive, initiate, investigate, conciliate, hold hearings on and pass upon complaints alleging violations of the act should, we believe, be a part of a broader state agency or office whose chief responsibility would be to initiate and implement public policy dealing with minority assimilation, and to direct and coordinate the programs in existing agencies on the state and local level having to do with this problem. The details of such an agency, commission, or office should, of course, be determined by specific states, but the chief functions of such an agency are fairly clear. (We shall refer to this agency hereafter as the Resources Office.)

(We believe that the task of assimilating minorities is so urgent and so complex that a specially created, permanent office is required to effectively initiate and

and direct the program.) Quite possibly the office should have several divisions, one being concerned with the enforcement of provisions of the Civil Rights Act, and the other to include all of the other activities of the minority assimilation program. The immensity of the task of minority assimilation is so great that piece-meal, ad hoc programs are doomed to failure. The office should be composed of those whose task it will be to continue to search out ways in which to implement, improve, speed minority assimilation, as well as implement the programs of initial legislative efforts. We suggest that the importance of this office be established in many ways: the appointment of a director whose prestige is assured by his designation as an officer of the state administration who is responsible directly to the governor and to the legislature.

One function that should be performed by this office is the collection and dissemination of information relative to problems of minority assimilation. It should be in possession of progress reports on such programs. It should be ready to distribute by a number of means information that would effectively counter the work of hate groups and racists, simply by puslishing straightforward and factual information. This office should also have responsibility for directing studies to be made of problems peculiar to minority assimilation in each state and, in cooperation with other states, in their regions. For example, the economic cost of unassimilated minorities should be an initial and integral part of the work of this agency and this study should

be kept up to date. Other such studies which immediately come to mind would be possible effect of reapportionment; of urban decay; of rural migration; of birth control; of the relation of cultural deprivation and non-verbal "sub-cultures" and the possibilities of maximum educational attainment.

One of the reasons for urging an over-all and comprehensive program for minority assimilation is the fact that there has never existed, on either federal or state level, planning which takes seriously into account the problem with which we are here concerned. The over-all planning for this task should be done closely with state planning agencies (largely concerned with economic matters; indeed, no plan should be regarded as completed until it had gone through the office concerned with minority assimilation and relevant state agencies such as education and finance.)

Another activity of this office would be concerned with the establishment of a code -- possibly leading to legislation -- covering the mass media. Perhaps an agency in this office could administer such a code. In any event, some sort of code of fair practices is needed, especially in the coverage of news relating to "race relations," and also to matters of the sponsorship of certain types of "devotional" and/or "educational" programs by well-known economic-racial conservatives.

This office should also have responsibility for dealing with problems of state-local relationships and programs dealing with minority assimilation. Assuming that the Civil

Rights Act was effectively drawn, the state responsibility should supersede local perogatives in cases of minority discrimination. Indeed, the office could well provide a clear delineation of authority from the federal Civil Rights Act, through state efforts (summarized in Article I of the state act), and to the local level. This would insure not only that the office serve as a clearing house of information, but would insure as well that minorities received the full resources -- legal, economic, and otherwise -- of the state, federal, and local governments in the abatement of their problems.

The office which we have described here will bear the principal governmental burden for the ongoing problem of assimilating minorities. It should be characterized by integrity and determination, for one of its chief tasks will be to create, and maintain, an atmosphere of openness and willingness throughout the state to complete the tasks facing all of the people of the state. The constitution of the office should be framed in such a way that it be free of political tug-of-war and campaign pot-shots. The executive should probably be appointed by the governor, with appropriate legislative approval, and a board of directors with over-lapping terms, whose appointments are determined by their insight into the urgency of the problem and ability to cope with it, plus experience in the state in various capacities, without regard to political affiliation. The constitution of the office should make it clear that the office is central in the state's administration, and that

its tasks are second to none performed by the state.

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Education, with employment, are the two areas in which public policy recommendations are most likely to meet with success, and they are the areas which require the most immediate attention.

I. EDUCATION

A. The first step in meeting the problem of education faced by a determination to assimilate minorities is the immediate integration of the public school system, all grades, all phases. The gradualism and evasiveness, and in some instances fear, that have accompanied compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court decision suggests that an over-all state plan to integrate school systems immediately and completely is needed -- quite independent, therefore, of specific plans made by localities at the behest of the federal district courts. We believe that such a plan, and the implementation thereof, should be put into the Resources Office of the state agency just described rather than in the state department of education. Officials in the state department should share a responsible part of the planning to complete the integration of the school system. But final responsibility for the program, and for its implementation, should reside with the Resources Office.

Among the issues that must be faced in planning the end of minority isolation is the problem of de facto segregation in the concept of "neighborhood schools." This obvious subterfuge must be faced and solved in the

plan to complete integration of the school system. Another issue that the plan should cover is the integration of public school faculties, which is essential in assimilation of minorities, and would provide in most cases a positive example of such assimilation. Similarly, provisions must be made for the integration of school administrations and school boards as well as of faculties and students. Possibly some form of a quota system should be used in the initial stages to insure that Negro teachers, administrators, and school board members are appointed.

B. Related to the integration of student bodies, faculties, administrations, and school boards is the fact that an emergency program is in order in each southern state that would bring the school system abreast of other systems in the nation. This involves, in the first instance, an up-grading of the teaching professions in public education by increased salaries and benefits, with the corresponding increase in requirements for teacher qualification and certification. These qualifications should be maintained through renewal of certificates upon continued work and study.

C. Public schools have a responsibility today to educate other than young people, and this task is one that touches one of the central problems of minorities -- adult illiteracy, and pre-school deficiencies. Public school systems must supplement the education of those who have suffered under a segregated system, and this means primarily adult general education programs, begun immediately and

offered in the evening hours and, for those unemployed, daytime hours. The program should be tuition free, and textbooks provided without cost. Related to this is the problem (isolated by Martin Deutsch and others) of the permanent effect in the formative years of ages 1-5 of "non-verbal" and non-reading environments. (To meet this problem, public schools must commence "head-start" programs on a year-round basis, as early as four years old, introducing children to the rudiments of education, socialization, reflection.)

D. School text books ought to be "desegregated" and "integrated." This notorious problem in American education must be met immediately. The influence -- politically, economically, militarily, socially, culturally -- of minorities must become a part of the instruction of young people in the traditions of their democracy.

E. Related to a task already discussed for the Resources Office is the necessity of an overt program to educate the white majority of Southerners about the basic constitutional rights of all citizens. The legal egalitarianism of the Constitution must be made obvious. Furthermore, the white majority must be made to realize that economic opportunity and well being, along with political and social equality, is as far as <u>their own immediate situation is concerned</u>, the essential feature of the American system of democracy. This program can be carried out in several ways which relate it to the work of the

Resources Office. Members of the Resources Office could prepare material for use by the governor in speaking on the urgency of the problem of minority assimilation.

F. Trade and retraining schools are in need of creation and/or expansion. Those who are presently disinherited economically and socially by the centuries of segregation have a right to be prepared by education and trade to be assimilated into this society. Those presently suffering the greatest hardship through lack of skills and training in the South are Negroes who have suffered under, at best, an inadequate educational system. Trade and retraining should not be restricted to young people. The public education system has a responsibility to prepare all citizens capable of earning a living for a trade.

Another function of trade and re-training schools would be to work particularly with those schools whose student bodies have been most severely dislocated by integration -- particularly those students in them who have been unwilling or unable to continue in an integrated school system.

This preparation in trade and technical schools should be carried out in an integrated atmosphere as part of the education of moving into integrated employment.

Finally, this preparation should be in skills that are relevant to the last half of the twentieth century, and not restricted to automobile mechanics and plumbing -- that is, in electronics, computor operations, etc.

G. There are a number of specific recommendations

dealing with the field of higher education.

1. The fact is that equality in higher education is still a distant goal in the South (and through most of the nation) because of the continuance of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from adequate preparation for college and university work. Because of this, all segments of higher education have a special responsibility for instituting programs to overcome this educational deficit produced by inadequate and segregated school systems. A variety of means ought to be employed: special sessions, tutorials, institutes -- in every corner of the state -- should be undertaken, under the auspices of the institutions of higher education to prepare Negro students for higher education. Otherwise, claims about equality of education in both public and private institutions will continue to be fradulent, despite clauses about acceptance of "all properly qualified applicants without regard to race or creed."

2. Public institutions have a special responsibility to initiate programs designed to overcome the deficiencies of segregated school systems. Two procedures seem most obvious: first, the boards of control of state institutions of higher education should establish remedial and preparatory programs physically accessible to all citizens, designed to overcome past and present deficiences of public school education, and enable all students to have the opportunity to enter institutions of higher education. Such programs should be offered at convenient hours, in

excess of regular programs of public education, designed specifically to prepare students for college work. Wherever possible, these programs should be conducted on the campuses of institutions of higher education, and instruction should be given or led by college faculty. Second, the Resource Office, in coordination with state departments of education and board of control of state institutions of higher learning, should institute a permanent program to encourage students of minority groups to plan their high school careers so that they will be able to exercise the option of choosing or rejecting higher education, rather than have circumstances make that decision for them.

3. Similarly, private colleges and universities should be encouraged to institute similar programs in their admission programs. Perhaps part of that encouragement might consist of matching funds from the state to prepare students in special summer and after-hour sessions to meet admission requirements. (Private colleges unwilling to participate in such programs should face re-examination of charter and/or tax-exempt status.)

4. A study patterned after the Teachers College, Columbia University, The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition (1965) should be prepared under the auspices of the Resources Office, with the cooperation of the state boards of education and board of control of state institutions of higher education. (Of particular interest should be the findings with regard to the phasing out of graduate, technical, medical, and law

schools; on the possibility of using these facilities for compensatory education for young people and for the general education of adults -- both on an integrated basis; finally and most important, on measures necessary to strengthen the existing predominantly Negro colleges.) The guideline for this latter recommendation should be the realistic appraisal found in the Teachers College study by Earl J. McGrath: "Any reasonable estimate of the speed of desegregation suggests that these institutions for the foreseeable future are likely to provide the major source of educational opportunity for Negroes who continue their education beyond high school."

5. Professional schools must themselves assume the major burden of responsibility for actively seeking out potential Negro students in their particular fields. This is especially true in schools of medicine, law, and in graduate schools of the natural and physical sciences. These schools should have a permanent program designed to acquaint freshmen and sophomore college students with their disciplines, with requirements for entrance, and engage in specific training programs and institutes in summer and after-school hours preparing Negro students to meet entrance requirements. Professional schools (with certain exceptions) are notoriously conservative about such matters. Nevertheless, the degree of their public financial support today lays upon them the special responsibility to undertake such programs. Such financial support also provides a basis for a coordinated program of federal and state authorities to

require that such professional schools undertake such programs as a condition for continued support.

6. An immediate and substantial program of continuing the education of Negro public school teachers is in order. This program should be geared to the problems of continued integration of public school systems. Negro (and white, for that matter) teachers who lose their positions because of integration should be fully supported financially for a minimum of two years to continue their education and to develop skills especially needed in their particular area or state.

Throughout this report, we have reiterated the crucial factor of education in minority assimilation. While it is clear that "education alone" will not eliminate the problem of minority assimilation, it is clear that it is the key that <u>is</u> in the power of public policy-makers.

The successful <u>beginning</u>, therefore, of public policy to assimilate minorities might be geared by its success in the very area of its greatest and, in the long run, its best hope: education. Furthermore, the success of this endeavor in education can be judged easily: by the degree and the ease to which minorities are able to pass from the first to the last stages in education, public and private, within the state, and the degree to which the public policy of a state has successfully eliminated all barriers to complete education based on minority status alone. In the culture and society and economy of the United States in the last half of the twentieth century, the importance of

education cannot be overemphasized. Education is, perhaps, assuming the nature of a fetish in our country; if so, it is a fetish which has become the key to entrance into, and alteration of, the mainstream of American society. This situation is stated deliberately and provocatively in the report by Earl J. McGrath on Negro colleges. His statement makes it clear that if as we have agreed a state Civil Rights Act is necessary to convince minorities that state governments are now, after more than a century, serious about their plight, public policy regarding to education will be a test of the endurance and the integrity of that seriousness.

> Without . . . greatly magnified support much of the present heartening public concern about the inequalities the Negro has suffered in American society and efforts to eradicate them will regrettably be abortive. For as a number of economists, sociologists, and generally well-informed persons have observed, economic well-being, job opportunities, social status, and general public acceptance today depend on the amount and kind of education the individual has. This will be increasingly true, regardless of race.
>
> Opening the doors to higher education for the Negro is an indispensable step, indeed, the sine qua non in his personal and social advancement. The right to vote, the right to work, the right to live where he chooses, the right to move freely anywhere in American society -- these rights are all dear to the man who knows what freedom is and wants it. But the right to education is no less precious than these, and to a growing degree it is the single

right without which a man cannot fully obtain the others. Negroes and all citizens who want to gain for them the full benefits and privileges of living in this society ought to pour their energies into efforts to expand the opportunities for higher education among Negroes and to improve its quality.

II. EMPLOYMENT

A. Article III of the state Civil Rights Act covers the basic elements of equal access to employment opportunities. It should be noted that the Resources Office has power not merely to receive, but also to initiate, violations of the act, which includes employers of more than five (5) persons, and labor organizations and private as well as public employment agencies. (The state Civil Rights Act would also empower the Resource Office to work with the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created by Title VII of the 1965 Civil Rights Act.)

B. The Resources Office should be responsible for establishing and maintaining a relationship between federal, state, and private employment services and colleges, universities, trade schools, and high schools and locally based minority organizations (social, fraternal, political organizations). The purpose of this relationship would be to activate and encourage compliance with Article III (and Title VII) of the state (and federal) Civil Rights Acts; to make a special effort to acquaint Negro and other minorities of available employment opportunities; to report to the Resources Office opportunities for which qualified

persons are not available so that steps might be taken to institute training programs for these openings; and otherwise relate the problems of employment and unemployment, training and the lack thereof, to the Resources Office.

C. The Resources Office should have the responsibility to guarantee that industry is attracted to the state on an integrated basis.

III. LAW: ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT.

A. Possibly the key to long-term success in the area of law enforcement and administration is to couple policy recommendations with an ongoing commitment of state political leaders to educate their citizens in the meaning of "equal protection of the law." Political campaigns are a proper forum for such education; political leaders speaking to service clubs, etc., should direct speeches around such themes. State and local bar associations should be encouraged by the Resources Office to undertake projects dedicated to an elucidation of the significance of "equal protection of the law" to American democracy.

B. The most obvious place to begin a program designed to equitably enforce and administer the law is to eliminate discrimination in the employment of state and local police forces and in the courts of law. State and local enforcement agencies should undertake campaigns to equalize the distribution of employees by education and training.

C. Given the present status of law enforcement in the South, especially the rural South, some system of statewide licensing of law officers, to be renewed periodically, should be instituted. The revocation of such a license would prevent the individual from being an enforcement officer anywhere in the state.

D. All restrictive clauses on classes of officers -- especially those prohibiting a Negro officer from arresting white people -- should be eliminated.

E. A continuous system of instruction should be maintained at all levels of law enforcement about the basic civil rights of all citizens. Licenses should be granted only to those persons who had received such instruction and had satisfactorily passed an examination on the subject. This program should be the primary instrument to alter the attitude of law enforcement officers in areas strongly inclined to racial prejudice.

F. Committees on various levels empowered to hear, investigate, and act upon charges of police misconduct are necessary. The problem of the constitution of such a panel is well known. One possibility is a panel composed of citizens elected for this duty, the law enforcement officers, and members appointed from the local bar association.

G. An investigation should be launched leading to the publication of data on the question that capital punishment in the South is a form of racial intimidation, or vengeance.

H. Investigations should be made into specific problems of racial segregation in prison systems or within specific prisons. The movement toward a more humane effective prison system is a particularly important problem for Negroes in the South, and this work should be encouraged by periodic investigations from the Resources Office.

IV. HOUSING:

A. The Resources Office should be empowered by law to work with the state planning commission, and with local housing authorities, to eliminate existing ghettos, to prevent the creation of new ones, and to approve plans submitted by localities to the federal and state governments for urban renewal and resettlement.

B. Close supervision of public housing to avoid discrimination should be vested in the Resources Office. The proof of non-discrimination in new public housing would be actual residence of Negroes at completion. This can be done by having contractors accept the responsibility to recruit minorities in reasonable quantity as tenants. When recruitment lags, or fails, the contractor might be penalized by suspension of additional funds or cancellation of the existing contract.

C. Federal-state ventures into non-discriminatory housing should also consider renting existing housing and subletting it on a non-discriminatory basis.

(Note: Eugene Feingold and Robert J. Harris have in preparation a study of "cease and desist agencies" concerned with public housing, and their tentative conclusions argue against such agencies insofar as housing discrimination is concerned. Presumably their study, when completed, will suggest alternatives. I have embodied two of their tentative suggestions in #2 and #3 above.)

V. VOTER REGISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION.

A. Universal registration of all citizens eighteen years and older. Only those actually serving prison sentences should be barred from registration.

B. Provision for regularly scheduled evening and weekend registration should be made. Volunteer deputy registrars should be recruited in the event of shortages of funds on the local levels.

C. Provisions for absentee voting should be simplified and these ballots more widely used.

D. Election Commissions should be established having control over both primary and general elections. These commissions should also investigate abuses in registration procedure.

VI. MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES.

A. A state agency, possibly from the Resources Office, should be empowered to investigate and enforce non-discrimination in all hospital and medical services. This should be coordinated with recent directives from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare seeking

to eliminate remaining segregation in federally supported hospitals and medical services.

Particular attention should be paid to practices in emergency rooms, ambulance services, and receiving rooms where, in the past, discriminatory practices have been responsible for unwarranted embarrassments, suffering, and even death. Possible fine and imprisonment amendments to the state Civil Rights Act might be considered in the event of prolonged non-compliance.

B. Discrimination in organizations of the several medical professions should be prohibited by law. (Cf. state Civil Rights Act.)

C. Negroes should be encouraged by programs launched by the Resources Office, but supported by local organizations of physicians, hospital associates, nurses, etc., to enter the various medical professions. Information about type of pre-medical training, loans, special training outside regularly scheduled high school and university work, should be inaugurated in communities of minorities.

VII. FARM EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, OWNERSHIP.

A. The Resources Office should assume the responsibility, in conjunction with but superior to the State Department of Agriculture, of problems of assimilation of minorities of farm populations, by the establishment of a special section devoted exclusively to the problems of farm employment, training and re-training, rural-to-urban area migration, and farm ownership. The first and

most obvious task of this section would be to coordinate state problems in this area with the many relevant programs of the federal government.

B. The indictment of the United States Department of Agriculture by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in March, 1965 ("Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs") makes plain the fact that a large measure of the success of meeting the crisis of minority assimilation of farm population must be largely born by state activities. While the Civil Rights Commission statement is valid -- "few of the economic problems now burdening the rural South can be solved until basic changes are made in the federal programs designed to bring about solutions -- the chronic nature of the problem -- again as stated by the Commission -- demands the immediate attention of policy-makers in the state:

> For decades the general economic, social, and cultural position of the southern Negro farmer and rural resident in relation to his white neighbor has steadily worsened. Whether measured in terms of value of products sold, level of living, land and home ownership, or schooling, most of the 47 million Negroes living in southern rural areas are seriously disadvantaged when compared with rural white Southerners.
>
> Each census enumeration of population and agriculture has reflected the fact that the Negro farmers have not participated fully in the benefits of government programs and the progress of American agriculture. The continuing reliance

of Negroes on cotton, tobacco, and peanuts in an economy where white farmers are rapidly diversifying to other farm enterprises has been shown in government reports issued every five years. Statistics have attested to the shrinking acreage farmed by Negroes. Every ten years the census has reported a widening gap in income, education and housing, between southern rural whites and Negroes.

Although small farmers, without regard to race, are rapidly decreasing in number and although economic pressures appear to be forcing a reduction in number and an increase in size of farms, there is unmistakable evidence that racial discrimination has served to accelerate the displacement and impoverishment of the Negro farmer.

For more than 100 years -- and particularly during the past 30 years -- the U. S. Department of Agriculture has administered federally financed programs designed to improve almost every aspect of the lives of low-income farm and rural families. Although other political, social, and economic factors have simultaneously operated to the disadvantage of the rural southern Negro, it should be a matter of national concern that the gap between Negro and white rural residents in the South has increased during the very period when the programs of the department were helping thousands of rural white families to achieve substantial gains in income, housing, and education. As the group most depressed economically, most deprived educationally, and most oppressed socially, Negroes have been consistently denied access to many services, provided with inferior services when served, and segregated in federally financed agricultural programs whose very task was to raise their standard of living.

The commission's analysis of four major U. S. Department of Agriculture programs has clearly indicated that the department has generally failed to assume responsibility for assuring equal opportunity and equal treatment to all those entitled to benefit from its programs. Instead, the prevailing practice has been to follow local patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in providing assistance paid for by federal funds. At the same time, the department has not developed adequate procedures for evaluating the degree to which its programs reach Negro as well as white rural residents.

One result of this failure of responsibility has been the perpetuation of a double standard for southern Negroes and whites affected by the department's programs. In the Cooperative Extension Service this has led to the creation of separate and unequal administrative structures providing inferior services to Negro farmers, youth, and homemakers. In the Farmers Home Administration, it has meant a different kind of service to the two races, with Negro farmers receiving for the most part subsistence loans with limited supervision, while white farmers received supervised loans for capital expenditures. In the Soil Conservation Service, the result has been little service at all to many Negro landowners in areas where no Negro staff members are employed.

As applied to staff, the double standard has taken various forms in the programs studies. These have included failure to recruit, employ, or upgrade Negroes, or to permit them to serve white farmers; isolation of Negroes in separate offices or at segregated meetings; and providing Negro staff members with inservice training of shorter duration and inferior content than that given white staff

members. In state extention services Negro staff members have often been required to provide to Negro farmers technical services outside their area of training, while white farmers have received assistance from specialists in these areas.

The discriminatory record of the U. S. Department of Agriculture memely writes in large letters the activities of state departments of agriculture in the South. We believe that the most immediate, effective, and permanent resolution of the problems of minority farm populations will probably come about through federal-state-local cooperation, given the large stake -- financially, politically, and otherwise -- that the federal government has in the farm economy.

C. The most practical ways in which to meet the problem of minority farm populations are, first, by easing of availability of long term loans for land purchase and improvement, and short term loans for operating costs, diversification, and for meeting emergency expenses. Second, by making available, in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, to farm owners, workers, youth, and homemakers in rural communities the educational services of the departments on state and federal levels, through 4-H clubs, and other such activities.

D. The Resources Office should assume the responsibility, in conjunction with but nevertheless superior to the state department of agriculture, of coordinating the problems associated with the assimilation of minorities of farm populations, chiefly by the establishment of a special section devoted exclusively to the problems of farm employment, training and re-training, rural-to-urban

migration, and farm ownership. This section of the Resources Office would take responsibility for coordinating state problems, and programs, with the relevant agencies and programs of the federal government.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

While the problem of the "inward commitment" of political leaders and policy-makers concerning the assimilation of minorities is obviously fundamental, and the magnitude of the task with which this report is concerned is transparent, neither of these factors should be permitted to impede the efforts to face these issues of crisis with determination, intelligence, and goodwill. The first and irrevocable step that must be taken, we believe, is an over-all and coordinate plan to exploit existing state programs, and to create new ones, to meet this crisis. In this, the South might even provide leadership to the federal government, which has so far been unable or unwilling to accept the necessity of a coordinated plan and program to deal with minority (racial and economic) assimilation.

The honest and effective and permanent assimilation of minorities, especially racial minorities in the South, into the mainstream of American life, hope, and opportunity is a matter about which this democracy has neither option, nor a great deal of time. The failure to bring about this assimilation immediately and democratically will toll the one failure this democracy cannot afford. The failure to do so, democratically, will be the irretrievable failure of the system of democracy in the United States of America.

And <u>that</u> is the choice which is clearly before us.

GEORGIA

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1967 AT 7:00 P. M.

(Text of remarks by Governor Carl E. Sanders at an appreciation dinner for the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government held at the Dinkler Motor Hotel on Thursday, January 5, 1967 at 7:00 P. M.)

MR. MCDONOUGH, MR. AVERY, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION FOR EFFICIENCY AND IMPROVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This is one of the most pleasant tasks I have had since becoming Governor. The four years of this Administration in a very real sense started with the appointment of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government, and it is fitting that in our closing days we pay tribute to the magnificent accomplishments of these men.

Too often the appointment of a committee to study problems, no matter what kind of exalted name we give that committee, is nothing but a political tactic to give the impression of concern and progress while allowing the same old conditions to continue. I know that some people expected that the Efficiency Commission would turn out to be another of these groups that writes a report destined to be filed away in a dusty closet and forgotten.

But the objective record shows that the recommendations of this Commission have not been forgotten. Let us briefly review what they have accomplished.

First of all the Commission has to this date submitted ten reports on the operations of different agencies of Georgia's state government. With these ten reports have come eleven consultant reports and several interim or supplemental reports by the Commission. In addition, four more reports will be issued before the last day of this Administration.

I might point out that the final report will be an objective summary of the extent to which the Commission's recommendations have been implemented.

Even before seeing that report I can say to the Commission and to all of you here tonight that the work of these men has been a major force in the extensive remodeling and modernization of state government that has taken place in the last four years.

Some people have been skeptical about how much we have accomplished in putting the recommendations of the Commission into effect. Such people are simply uninformed and have not taken the trouble to examine the record.

The recommendations of the Efficiency Commission have not been revolutionary.

They have not called for a restructuring of all of state government.

They have not torn down everything that we have or demanded a new fresh start.

But this does not mean that these recommendations have been mild or weak. To the contrary, they have been both realistic and demanding.

The Commission avoided the easy method of giving dramatic and generalized advice that would grab momentary headlines.

Instead, it took on the herculean task of developing the exact and specific recommendations that would enable each department it studied to make direct progress toward modernization.

It is very easy for politicians -- and as a politician I can say this -- to gloss over broad and general recommendations with fine words, while ignoring their implementation. But when we are presented with a blueprint for specific action, and when that blueprint is imminently reasonable, there is no excuse for inaction.

And there has been plenty of action in the past four years. Department after department has been reorganized and has instituted modern business-like procedures to keep up with the demands of the times. Georgia's government has discovered that it cannot get along with adding machine procedures in the age of the computer.

To the entire Efficiency Commission and its staff the people of Georgia owe their thanks. As Governor of this State during the years in which this Commission has operated, it has been my privilege to get to know these outstanding men who have given such service. Each member has been active in the Commission's work and all members of the Commission

have been regular in attendance at meetings. This is one blue ribbon commission where the members have taken an active, personal role. They have done so entirely at their own expense and have not even drawn travel expenses for their criss-crossing of the state.

You know who these men are, but I want to call each by name so that I can thank him in front of this distinguished audience for his contribution to the welfare of this state.

But first I would like to pay tribute to the late Robert J. Marshburn. Colonel Marshburn was an original member of the Commission and was named vice chairman. A native Georgian and graduate of the University of Georgia, he developed a successful business in Florida and after retirement came back to his home state where he devoted the last years of his life to the service of his fellow man. The character of this service is demonstrated by the fact that his neighbors in Banks County and the city of Homer elected him to the State Senate, without his knowledge, while he was on a trip out of the country. Col. Marshburn did not live to see the work of the Commission completed, but he made sure that it got a firm foundation and was off to a good start.

My good friend William R. Bowdoin has served as Chairman and the indelible mark he has put on the Commission is easy to see because it is known all over Georgia as the Bowdoin Commission. Bill Bowdoin is already Vice Chairman of the Board of the Trust Company of Georgia. And he has climbed to the top of the corporate ladder while also finding time to serve his state.

Before taking on this post Bill had served as Supervisor of Purchases in the Vandiver Administration and also conducted studies on streamlining governmental operations for that Administration. So he came into his chairmanship with considerable experience and brought his extensive knowledge of both state government and business operations to the Commission.

I can say without fear of contradiction that without Bill Bowdoin's inspired leadership and determination, the Efficiency Commission could not have accomplished half as much as it has.

Of course, he had considerable help from the other members of the Commission.

W. Clair Harris of Winder is a prominent industrialist who has served , and is serving, as president of a number of firms. He is President of the Bank of Barrow in Winder and is on the board of the First National Bank here in Atlanta. He at one time was president of the Associated Industries of Georgia and his considerable background in finance and business management has been invaluable.

Julian T. Hightower of Thomaston is a graduate of the Georgia Institute of Technology and has been a leader in the textile industry of Georgia. He became President and Treasurer of the Thomaston Mills in 1952 and has served as President of the Georgia Textile Manufacturers Association. His experience in this highly important Georgia industry has also been of great value to the Commission's work.

Alfred W. (Bill) Jones is one of those enviable people who has discovered the lure of the South and who came to Georgia from Dayton, Ohio many years ago. He is Chairman of the Board of the Sea Island Company which is a business connection many of us would like to have, especially during these bleak winter days in North Georgia. He is also President of the Talbott Corporation in Dayton, Vice-President of the Seaboard Construction Company in Brunswick and a director or officer in a dozen other Georgia and national companies.

I know that by now all of you are getting a good idea of the caliber of men we were able to persuade to serve on this Commission. From your own experience you know how hard it is to find time away from your business responsibilities, but these gentlemen did find the time, and they have done a truly outstanding job.

The next member of the Commission that I will name has one outstanding characteristic lacking in the other members, and that is a medical degree.

Dr John B. O'Neal, III of Elberton, Georgia, has been a great asset to the Commission because of his combination of medical knowledge

and a deep interest in governmental affairs. He has served as Mayor of Elberton where he installed the city manager system and has been active in civic affairs of the State.

William P. Simmons of Macon is Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank and Trust Company there, as well as director of a number of other firms. He also serves as treasurer of the Bibb County Board of Education and knows from personal experience the problems of education. On a national level he has served on the Industry Advisory Committee of both the War Production Board and the Office of Price Administration.

Together these seven members of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government have focused public attention, and the interest of public officials, on the vital need to modernize every aspect of the administration of our State.

Of course, they have had an able staff, and I would certainly be remiss if I did not pay tribute to Dr. M. W. H. Collins, Bill Collins, Director of the Institute of Government at the University of Georgia, who served as Executive Director of the Commission. Bill is a graduate of the University of Georgia and Harvard University. He has an unparalleled knowledge of the details of administration in this state combined with the academic background needed to draw comparisons with what other states across the Nation are doing.

As Executive Director of the Commission he has worked wonders in overseeing the multitude of detail that is involved. He has been of invaluable assistance in all aspects of the work of the Commission.

Another young man should be mentioned also. This is Mr. William H. Islar, Jr., who served as General Counsel to the Commission and put many hours into its labors. He is certainly one of the most promising young attorneys in this state.

Finally, I am going to have to confine myself to a general statement of thanks to the many other individuals who made the work of this Commission a success. They are located in state government, in private industry and in our institutions of education. Without their full-fledged

cooperation, advice, suggestions, and criticisms, the Commission could not have performed its tasks.

I would like to point out again that the crucial element in modern government is qualified people within that government. All of the forms and procedures and machines and computers we have are worthless if we cannot attract able, intelligent and dedicated citizens into government service.

I firmly believe that one of the most important contributions of the Efficiency Commission has been the work it has done in the area of personnel administration, and the many ways in which state government employment has been made more attractive through its activities.

The life of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement expires with the end of this Administration sometime next week. But I firmly believe that the inspiration of the Efficiency Commission will continue to motivate the actions of state government for many years to come.

Yet we all know that without constant pressure, progress tends to lag, and innovations begin to stop.

Out public officials are too often so close to the crises of the moment that they do not have the time to take a longer and broader view of their responsibilities.

For these reasons, I believe that we need in the next Administration and the next and the next another independent citizens group. These outstanding citizens should be charged with the responsibility to look at out State government with a critical and experienced eye. Such a group would help any chief executive solve the many problems that he faces.

I urge my successor and his successors to establish such a blue-ribbon commission.

Certainly, any such Commission could have no better preceptor and model than the Commission whose members we honor tonight.

To them, and to the State of Georgia, I say that they deserve much of the credit for any good that has been done by the Sanders

Administration, while upon the heads of myself and the other politicians must lie the blame for those things that were not possible to accomplish.

I thank the members of the Efficiency Commission for the great work they have done our State. And as Chief Executive of Georgia, I wish now to present them with a small token of our appreciation for their services.

Thank you very much.

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Executive Department
State of Georgia
201 State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia 30334
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MADDOX SOUNDS MODERATE NOTE

GEORGIA

Georgian Vows to Respect Authority of Washington

NYT 1/12/67

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 11—Gov. Lester G. Maddox surprised his segregationist friends and amazed his liberal opposition today by formally beginning his administration on a moderate note.

Although he built his political reputation by defying Federal desegregation laws, the 51-year-old Democrat said in his inaugural address that he would respect the authority of the national Government and would not give extremist groups a voice in the state Government.

He also assured the state that he would sponsor a constitutional referendum to insure that no Governor in the future was elected the way he was yesterday—by a vote of the legislature rather than by a vote of the people.

At another point in his speech, he praised the outgoing Governor, Carl Sanders, a moderate, and declared that "the people do not want any undue change in the direction or policy of their state government."

"It was a remarkable speech," said Eugene Patterson, editor of the liberal Atlanta Constitution. "The man was elected like a

Continued on Page 22, Column 3

THE GYPSY ROSE LEE SHOW—Now in color weekdays 8:30 a.m. Channel 7—advt.

MADDOX SOUNDS MODERATE NOTE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

demagogue, but he spoke like a Governor.

Mr. Maddox, his face red from a chilly wind, urged Georgians to unite with him in "building a greater and more prosperous Georgia with expanded horizons of education for all."

Not once during the 10-page speech eid he use the word "segregation."

He said he was convinced that the people of Georiga "do not want a single school closed, or the right of a child to be edcuated or a teacher to teach to be impaired."

"They do not want riots in the streets or breaches of the peace in public places or injstitutions," he went on, "and above all, they do not want any extremist organization or group to have any voice or any influence in any state programs.

"There is no necessity for any conflict to arise between Federal - state Authority," he said.

",We should—and we can — solve any disagreements under the framework of the constitution," he said, "respecting the authority of the national government and being ever mindful of protecting the rights of Georigia and Georgians."

"Law and order will be upheld in Georgia," he declared, "during the Maddox administration."

'Full Freedom'

He said that "there is room enough for every faith, every ideal and every shade of opinion —and room enough for full freedom to express them by the individual citizens as well as by the press and communications media."

Then he pledged a program of improvement for the state's school system and its penal and mental institutions.

"My friends," he declared, "you now have a Governor who knows what it is to be poor."

Mr. Maddox, who dropped out of high school in the 11th grade to help support his family, worked his way into the ownership of an Atlanta fried chicken restaurant, the Pickrick, then closed it rather than abide by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Having lost two races for Mayor of Atlanta and one for Lieutenant Governor of Georgia. he was given no chance last year of winning the governorship.

But persistent campaigning and the backlash from Negro rioting in Atlanta and from the development of the "black power" movement helped him win the Democratic nomination for Governor.

And yesterday, although Mr. Maddox had trailed his Republican opponent, Howard H. Callaway by more than 3,000 votes, the overwhelmingly Democratic State Legislature voted 182 to 66 yesterday to make him Governor.

Under Georgia's Constitution, the Legislature chooses between the top two candidates in the event that neither receives a majority of the vote in the general election. A write-in campaign in November for formr Gov. Ellis Arnall siphoned away enough votes to prevent any candidate from receiving a majority.

Within minutes after Mr. Maddox left the flag-draped inaugural platform at the west wing of the State Capitol, politicians were asking, "What's happened to Lester?"

Former State Senator James Carter of Plains, one of five opponents Mr. Maddox defeated to capture the Democratic nomination, believes the new Governor is trying to develop a consensus behind his administration after failing to win a majority of the popular vote in the November general election.

"He needs and wants the approval and support of the people of Georgia, and knows that the type of speech he gave today is what would appeal to the majority of them," Mr. Carter said.

Businessmen Cited

Another political source said that Mills Lane, president of the Citizens and Southern National Bank, and several other moderate Atlanta businessmen had persuaded the Governor that four years of defiance would wreck the state's economy.

A state official noted that Mr. Maddox "hasn't even talked to Roy Harris in a week," but has consulted frequently with former Governor Sanders and his aides. Mr. Harris, a key Maddox supporter and a militant white supremacist, publishes an anti-Negro weekly, "The Augusta Courier."

Although they applauded his speech today, many Georgia liberals and moderates were not yet convinced that Mr. Maddox had changed permanently. They noted that two of the South's most militantly segregationist former governors — Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Marvin Griffin of Georgia—were seated on the inaugural platform with Governor Maddox.

A group of liberal college students carried a black coffin around the State Capitol shortly before the inaugural, with a sign that said "Here Lies the New South."

Segregationists at the inaugural address gave Mr. Maddox only sporadic applause today, but did not appear to be concerned over the possibility that Mr. Moddox might suddenly have become a moderate.

"He's my Governor," said State Representative James H. Floyd, a segregationist from Trion, after the speech was over.

Other segregationists joked that they saw something symbolic in the direction in which the inaugural cannon was pointing when it fired off a 19-gun salute for Governor Maddox.

The cannon was aimed toward City Hall and the offices of Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., a racial moderate, who declared after Mr. Maddox won the Democratic gubernatorial primary that it was a victory for "the rabble of prejudice, extremism, buffoonery and incompetency."

1/18/67

GEORGIA

Wildlife Board Tables Maddox Choice While Seeking Pro Director

Bagby Appointment Hits A Snag in Commission

By DUANE RINER

Gov. Lester Maddox's list of appointments ran into a snag Tuesday when a balky state Game and Fish Commission declined to go along with Maddox's choice for director and started combing the fields for a professional as recommended by the Bowdoin Commission.

Meanwhile, there was something for everybody in the Department of Corrections as Maddox announced at an afternoon news conference that his choice of former Albany Mayor Asa Kelley as director to succeed R. H. Burson had been accepted by the state Board of Corrections.

CONNER TRANSFER

Maddox also confirmed that Burson would replace Col. Lowell Conner as director of the Department of Public Safety and that Conner would transfer to the Department of Corrections as assistant director.

Conner, who has been the target of intermittent blasts from some coastal Georgia sheriffs who have resented his vigorous entry into their counties in clip joint cleanup operations, earlier was believed out in the cold with two years to go before completing his necessary 20 years for Peace Officers Association of Georgia retirement benefits.

A PARADE

Maddox's announcement followed a day in which Corrections Board members, Game and Fish commissioners and members of the seven-man Public Safety Board paraded in and out of his office to receive what normally is a routine revelation of the governor's choices for key positions. The choices in the past have been routinely rubber-stamped.

However, Maddox's selection of veteran former Rep. George Bagby of Dallas to succeed Game and Fish director Rosser Malone of Albany ran into a stumbling block as the commission held off on a decision, reportedly in order to contact professionals in wildlife management in accordance with the Bowdoin Commission's call for "a trained professional."

"One of the main things we're considering is the Bowdoin report," declared commission chairman Harley Langdale of Valdosta. "We're trying to follow good advice," Langdale commented as he left a lengthy closed-door meeting of eight

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

TO HEAD PATROL
H. R. Burson

GEORGIA

Maddox Must Face Up to Negro Hiring, Redwine Warns

AC 3/29/67

By The Associated Press

The former executive secretary of Gov. Lester Maddox said Tuesday night that Maddox must come to grips with the problem of hiring Negroes in state government before the summer.

Morgan R. Redwine of Athens, who resigned Friday, said Maddox doesn't want to "mess up his folk hero image with the rednecks" so he won't give jobs to Negroes in state government or make any other "reasonable concessions."

"The governor told me he'd be letting a million people down if he hired any Negroes," Redwine said in an interview with Bob Cohn, Capitol correspondent for the Augusta-Savannah newspapers. Redwine has advocated the hiring of Negroes in state positions such as the State Patrol.

He sees the problem of dealing with Negroes and reaching some middle ground as the toughest thing facing the governor in months ahead.

"He hasn't faced up to it yet, but I think he'll have to before this summer," Redwine said.

Maddox said the Redwine statements came as a "complete surprise" to him.

"I just don't understand it," the governor said. "I never made statements like that to anyone."

If Maddox can't satisfy moderate Negroes like Atlanta Sens. Leroy Johnson and Horace Ward and Rep. R. A. Dent of Augusta, Redwine warned, "he'll have to satisfy Julian Bond, Snick and CORE and that might be a little more difficult."

He referred to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, militant civil rights groups, and to Rep. Bond, former publicity chairman of the SNCC.

Redwine said he believes if reasonable Negroes who now hold public office can't deliver for their people, the mantle will fall to the militant civil rights organizations and the battle will be fought in the streets.

The former executive secretary said he asked Negro leaders to give the administration six months to demonstrate its willingness to meet Negro problems head-on.

Redwine said he didn't think Maddox would do it "because he's got to satisfy the redneck element."

Redwine quoted Dent, the only Negro legislator who voted for Maddox when he was elected by the legislature, as asking the governor to appoint just one Negro to a state job in Augusta as a show of faith. Dent reportedly will personally appeal to Maddox Wednesday after having met with no success before.

The former secretary then listed his impressions of Maddox.

"He is concerned with furthering his folk hero image with excursions . . . sorties . . . into southeast Georgia.

"He shows an over-concern for his own image.

"He's willing to spend money and he's quick-minded.

"The governor will grab at things without seeking advice and make rash decisions.

"He wants everything that happens in state government to cross his desk and that's impossible . . . He's got to delegate some authority."

The two men closest to Maddox at this point, Redwine said, are Budget Director Wilson Wilkes and Senate President Pro Tem Julian Webb of Donalsonville.

"He doesn't consult anyone . . . he wants to make all the decisions by himself . . . but he'll pay more attention to Wilkes and Webb than anyone," Redwine said.

Maddox Protests Hire-Negro Push

AJ 3/30/67

By DAVID NORDAN

Gov. Lester Maddox said Thursday he does not intend to be "shoved around" by pressure groups pushing for more Negro employment in state government.

The governor served notice on the groups, primarily moderate Negro leaders, that "if they continue to push, I'm going to start to push back."

He said he has been under continuous and mounting pressure to place more Negroes in responsible places in state government and added that "the more the pressure increases, the more I'm likely to resist."

The chief executive appeared to be aroused by reported statements from some Negro leaders that they would give him 60 days to take some positive action.

"We already have them (Negroes) in state government, and we're going to have more if they'll leave me alone and let me do my job," he promised.

"THIS SORT of pressure can cause nothing but an unnecessary confrontation."

State Sen. Leroy Johnson of Atlanta, who became the first Negro to serve in a Southern legislature in 50 years when he was elected five years ago, had already promised a "confrontation" with the governor in the near future, stating that the governor's "true face would be revealed."

Another Negro spokesman, Rep. J. E. Grier of Atlanta, who is affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, threatened "to see that there are Negroes in state jobs even if it means going to the federal courts."

The pressure the governor spoke of has been applied gently, and mostly behind closed doors, since his election in January. Sen. Johnson and other Negro leaders paid numerous visits to Gov. Maddox, and reports were that no overt pressure was to be exerted for a six-month "trial period."

THE MATTER was brought to the surface this week, however, with the forced resignation of Gov. Maddox's executive secretary, Morgan (Bucky) Redwine.

The Negroes had considered Mr. Redwine as a friend and spokesman in the governor's office, and when he was "fired" some of the leaders said they had lost their "last hope" in the Maddox administration.

Mr. Redwine, who resigned after a group of minors were arrested for possessing beer and whisky while driving his car, left the capital Wednesday.

Before leaving, however, he contributed to the Negroes' fears by stating that the governor was "too concerned with keeping up his folk hero image with the rednecks to make any reasonable concessions to the Negroes."

The departing state official, the second highest in the administration, quoted the governor as having said that he "would be letting a million Georgians down if he hired Negroes." Gov. Maddox denied the statement emphatically and said he was "amazed" that Mr. Redwine attributed it to him.

Mr. Redwine said Gov. Maddox faces serious problems unless he hires Negroes for state jobs by this summer.

However, his replacement, ex-Rep. Tommy Irvin of Habersham County, scoffed at Mr. Redwine's role as spokesman for the Negro.

"He's a bigger segregationist than Lester Maddox," Mr. Irvin said.

2-13-64

School Defends Attack on Kennedy

CHAMPAIGN, Ill., Feb. 13 (UPI) — The right of a University of Illinois classicist to attack the late President John F. Kennedy in a John Birch Society periodical was upheld Wednesday by a top school official.

Dr. Jack W. Peltason, dean of the college of liberal arts and sciences and acting provost of the university, said he considered the attack by Prof. Revilo P. Oliver "in bad taste and offensive."

But Peltason said his own reaction was "irrelevant."

The editor of the student newspaper, an Illinois congressman and the president of the university Board of Trustees all defended Oliver's right to make the attack on Kennedy, which appeared in the current issue of the John Birch Society magazine, American opinion.

OLIVER, a professor of the classics, a member of the Birch Society's national council and a frequent book reviewer for the Birch magazine, said in his article that Kennedy was assassinated because he fell behind in a Communist timetable for turning over the United States to the Russians.

Oliver said Kennedy's memory would be "cherished with distaste."

Howard W. Clement, president of the university's board of trustees, said he disagreed with Oliver "head on" but added that Oliver "has the right as a private citizen to express himself and is so guaranteed those rights by the statutes of the university."

REP. Melvin Price, D-Ill., said Oliver's ideas were "regrettable" but that as long as the professor's political views did not color his teaching, his job should not be in jeopardy.

Robert Ebert, editor of the Daily Illini, said Oliver's article was a "base and unwarranted attack" against Kennedy but said he saw "nothing wrong with his speaking out."

"Only a strong and free society could permit Prof. Oliver his own freedom," Ebert said in an editorial.

NEARLY four years ago, a University of Illinois biologist was fired after he wrote a letter to the student newspaper advocating premarital sexual relations for "mature" persons.

The biologist, Leo Koch, submitted his views in reply to a published letter from two male students objecting to what they claimed was widespread necking on campus.

Koch said he had not voiced his views in his classroom.

The American Association of University Professors censured the university for firing Koch, University President David D. Henry was twice hanged in effigy and a mass demonstration of students followed Koch's dismissal.

18 Teachers Quit, Protest Birchism

PLEASANTVILLE Iowa, March 5 (UPI)—More than half the schoolteachers in this small Corn Belt town had their resignations on file Thursday in an uproar over what subjects they could teach their students.

A six-member delegation of parents went to the Statehouse Wednesday to plead for help. They said the John Birch Society was "taking advantage of the situation."

The entire five-member faculty of one elementary school resigned Wednesday and joined 13 others in the system who handed in their notices in January.

School Supt. Fred C. Nus, who has been told by the school board that he will not be rehired, said part of the rhubarb involved the teaching of communism.

NUS SAID ONE teacher was told by school board members that he could teach about communism out of a text book but could not say anything except what was in the text.

On another occasion, he said, a junior high school teacher was reprimanded by a board member for discussing menstruation in a class of both boys and girls.

Two ministers supported the teacher and she was "completely exonerated," Nus said.

Domenic Grasso, a high school history teacher who submitted his resignation, said ultra-conservatism was making inroads among some of his students.

He said one of his students criticized President Johnson for "being on friendly terms" with United Auto Worker President Walter Reuther.

Another student, Grasso said, told him federal aid to public schools was communistic.

REV. WILLIAM MILLER, one of the ministers who supported the junior high school teacher, was attacked at a meeting of a group called "Iowans for Effective Citizenship" as a "rabble rouser" and one who "speaks the line."

The meeting took place in a local cafe which distributes pamphlets questioning the loyalty of Chief Justice Earl Warren and Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and attacking the United Nations, urban renewal and the manager form of city government.

Rev. Miller told a school board meeting last month that he read the group's literature and "there's an amazing correlation between what I read and what I have seen and heard happen here in our schools."

"I am concerned and I wonder if perhaps this influence has penetrated our community and our schools here," he said.

The Iowa State Education Association last month praised the teachers who resigned for standing up for academic freedom and warned job applicants for Pleasantville school openings to do so at their own risk.

The teachers' resignations were effective at the end of the school year.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Birchers Back Anti-Rights Ads

By DREW PEARSON

Washington.

MOST LETTER writers who have been flooding Congress with mail against the civil rights bill don't know that their letters have been inspired by a Mississippi lobby and indirectly by the John Birch Society.

This small lobby, operating out of the Carroll Arms Hotel just across the street from the two Senate office buildings, has a small staff but plenty of money — a budget of over $260,000. It is also close to the John Birch Society. It has had remarkable impact on Northern thinking.

Officially, the lobby is called "Fundamental American Freedoms," and gets its money from the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, which is a sort of quasi-official White Citizens Council supported by Mississippi state funds.

IN PAPERS

The letters which have been pouring in on Congress show that thousands of Northerners have paraphrased the astute arguments and false information about civil rights issued by this lobby.

At first the committee bought space in small rural newspapers to preach the idea that civil rights would increase federal control over agriculture. Though untrue, the committee had startling success in persuading small town editors to carry these planted stories. Next, the committee spent $63,000 on full-page ads in big city newspapers.

The two most effective operators for this lobby are John Synon, who is paid a salary, and Dr. Melchior F. R. Savarese, a local John Birch leader, who lends a hand without salary. Synon is on an annual retainer from the crack public relations firm of Selvage & Lee, which represents Portugal, Katanga, and various conservative Republican groups. Synon contributes anti-race articles to various newspapers.

On the evening of Feb. 23, a group of John Birch leaders met at the home of Dr. Savarese in Washington. A few of the doctor's affluent friends were also invited, and the doctor, a charming and persuasive talker, announced to them that he proposed running an ad in the Washington Post attacking the civil rights bill, but since the ad would not be effective if run under the name of the John Birch Society, he would get permission from the coordinating committee for Fundamental American Freedoms to use its name.

HUSTLE

Dr. Savarese urged his guests to get out and hustle for contributions to finance the ad. He told the donors to make out their checks to the coordinating committee but cautioned them not to send the money to the coordinating committee but direct to him, so the John Birch Society could have an accounting. In addition to the full-page ad in the Washington Post he suggested they raise enough money for a half page in the Washington Star.

The drive was successful. The full-page ad was published.

When this column asked Dr. Savarese point-blank whether the John Birch Society was buying ads under the name of the "Fundamental American Freedoms," he denied it.

—(c1964.)

RALPH McGILL

Birch

4-16-64

A Name Out of the Past

Horace Greeley, an editor of the Civil War period, is recalled chiefly for having said, "Go West, young man, go West," and for his continuous efforts to create and direct Abraham Lincoln's policies. Lincoln had no animus for him, but in August of 1864, worn out by Greeley's demands, told the cabinet: "Greeley is an old shoe . . . good for nothing now, whatever he had been . . . when a shoe gets old the stitches pull out—Greeley is like that . . . he is not truthful . . . the stitches all tear out. . . ." (Reported by Gideon Welles, of Hartford, for many years a distinguished public figure, editor and member of the Lincoln cabinet, in his published diary.)

After a Century

After a century the name appears again in a story from Brooklyn. The great-grandson of the Civil War editor made news as a spokesman for the John Birch Society. In his speech, Dr. Horace Greeley:

1. Said we are losing the Cold War "because our leaders either lack the guts to use their power or are plain traitors."

2. Suggested that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy had planted a "tree of treason" in Panama.

3. Accused Secretary of State Dean Rusk and columnist Walter Lippmann of "cackling senilely over each surrender."

4. Condemned the "half-baked and semi-cannibal" nations of the underdeveloped area of the world.

5. Said schools now teach "sex" and prepare children for integration "instead of Armageddon."

At this point, the reporter said, Dr. Greeley referred to the Birch Society as an educational organization and said, "We make no wild and no unsubstantiated charges." Of those who attack the Birch Society, he said, most are "actually Communists and the rest Communist dupes." (The founder of the Birch Society, it may be remembered, declared President Eisenhower a Communist.) Dr. Greeley suggested that politicians supporting civil rights are helping "the ends of their Communist masters."

As for politics, Dr. Greeley suggested he favored Senator Goldwater over all others who would be president.

Great Puzzle

One of the greatest puzzles is the seeming irrational fear that possesses the ultra-right political wing in this country. In some persons encountered, it appears to be the product of some sort of neurosis.

There is no valid reason to fear the Communists will take over America. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has done, and is doing, an excellent job of surveillance, exposure and capture of subversive agents.

would be president.

Great Puzzle

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There is no valid reason to fear the Communists will take over America. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has done, and is doing, an excellent job of surveillance, exposure and capture of subversive agents.

It is recommended that we be informed and aware of Communist tactics, propaganda, and attempts to infiltrate legitimate organizations and causes. This is being done very well, indeed. One of the surprises has been that the massive and often spontaneously organized civil rights demonstrations have contained as few leftist or Communist personalities as they have. J. Edgar Hoover, the esteemed head of the FBI, has said that it is wrong to say the Negro drive for rights is a Communist movement. That the commies always seek to attach themselves to mass movements is, and has been, a part of Mr. Hoover's warning.

That any organization should regard our leaders as lacking guts or being traitors; that suggestions should be made that Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles were Communist tools, and that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy planted a tree of treason in Panama or anywhere else, are examples not merely of unreasonable fears, but of something else much more serious—a lack of faith in this country's political leadership and its system of government.

7-13-64 *The John Birchers* Natl Observer

Mr. Welch's Society

The John Birch Society gained national attention again last week when Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania asked the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention to denounce the society and other extremist organizations.

The Birch Society was founded in 1958 in an Indianapolis hotel, where Robert H. Welch, Jr., a retired candy maker, had called together 10 men to discuss a means of fighting communism. "In summary, gentlemen," he told the group, "we are losing a Cold War in which our freedom, our country, and our very existence are at stake." The society took its name from Army Capt. John Birch, a young fundamentalist Baptist preacher from Macon, Ga., who was killed by Communists in China in 1945. Mr. Welch refers to him as the first victim of World War III.

Most of the society's doctrine is explained in *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society,* a compilation of the addresses made by Mr. Welch at the Indianapolis meeting. To fight communism, the society believes, the following actions are necessary: Discontinuance of foreign aid, abolition of the Federal Reserve System, withdrawal from the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, withdrawal of recognition from the Soviet Union, and repeal of social and welfare legislation.

The organization first began receiving national attention in early 1961, about three years after its founding. Many critics cited an article Mr. Welch had circulated privately among friends in which he called Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower knowing instruments of the Communists. The article has never been adopted as the official view of the society.

The organization is autocratic; Mr. Welch has final authority over all society matters and can expel any member without appeal. The society's national council, composed of 27 educators and business and professional men from throughout the nation, can only advise him. He has said he will permit members to disagree with him so long as they do not act contradictory to his plans. His control of the society, in which he bears the title "Founder," was self-assumed.

Membership names and figures are confidential; Mr. Welch will not say how close he has come to his 1958 goal of 1,000,000 members. Dues are $24 for men and $12 for women annually, or $1,000 for life. The society publications are the Bulletin, containing a monthly agenda, and the American Opinion, edited by Mr. Welch. Home offices are in Belmont, Mass.

Byrnes' Challenge Is After the Fact

By EUGENE PATTERSON

San Francisco.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY had its finest hour at a Republican National Convention that refused to condemn it for what it is, an extremist rightwing group of very unpleasant implications.

Nelson Rockefeller had his finest hour when he rose to speak against it. The convention staged one of the ugliest political scenes of this generation when it answered Rockefeller with savage gales of boos.

America has seldom seen an outburst like this one. The storm broke with the hot flash of a summer lightning bolt—

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

fierce, blinding, jolting. The convention had long smoldered in carefully disciplined silence. Once given voice, its passions spread and grew like the swift fever of some killing illness. Nobody checked it.

SOPHISTRY

Instead Wisconsin Rep. John Byrnes typified the slippery sophistry by which the Goldwater supporters tried to justify their skittish refusal to name the extremist group for what it is. Let the Birchers try without hindrance to infiltrate the GOP, he cried. "Infiltrate us. We'll meet you head-on."

The fact was, of course, that the Birchers already had infiltrated the party as it was represented here. Admitted members sat in delegate chairs on the convention floor supporting Goldwater. And the party under Goldwater had not met them head-on, but had met such delegates with its hand out.

Colorado Sen. Peter Dominick, another Goldwater man, outdid Byrnes in transparent evasion. "How do we know what is or is not an extremist?" He demanded and was defending an organization whose head had called President Eisenhower a "conscious, dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy."

DUCKED

It became apparent quite early that the controllers of the Goldwater convention had no intention of offending the society by name, and that the convention and the galleries didn't want to. They even ducked George Romney's impassioned plea for the party to repudiate extremist groups without actually naming any.

Some of these delegates will honestly insist they so voted because they didn't think Birchism was the issue—that Scranton had raised the subject to create an issue unfavorable to Goldwater. That was true.

But no man could have seen, heard and felt what happened to Rockefeller, and to other anti-Birch speakers, in this hall—the spontaneity of it and the hot fervor of it—without recognizing the presence of an explosive hatred, and without feeling a chill of anxiety at the political values this convention found acceptable.

The fact that Scranton, Rockefeller and Romney were so brutalized for their bravery may turn out to have been the principal story of San Francisco.

The Goldwater convention did not only refuse to fight the John Birch Society, but accepted its delegates and then doubletalked to rationalize their infiltration.

It was an act of profound danger not only to the party but to the intellectual and political integrity of the country.

Birchism---America's Hard Right Rudder: I

8-6-64 - C

Far-Right Theme Loud, Militant, Drum-Like; An Analysis of the John Birch Society

By MARVIN WALL

The sign on a church lawn in Missouri caught the eye of the county leader of the John Birch Society and a colleague. Said the sign: "The Worst Sin Towards Our Fellow Creatures Is Not To Hate But To Be Indifferent To Them."

Obviously Communistic, said the Birch leader. About midnight, the two went to the church to tear the sign down.

Police observed them, however, and arrested them before they got to the sign. The Birch leader was put on probation for a year because he had a loaded revolver and some brass knuckles in his car.

But like most Birchers, the Missourian demonstrated, in the course of the incident, an almost uncanny ability to sniff out Reds.

"You would be surprised," he told the police, "to know how many policemen are Communists."

* * *

In Los Angeles, a radio station scheduled a week-long series of programs about the Birch Society which included readings by Hollywood personalities from the Society's Blue Book. An anonymous caller telephoned this threat:

"If you commies broadcast the Blue Book, we're going to bomb you out of business."

Actor Robert Ryan had taped his reading and had gone to Europe. His wife received a call saying that "something might happen" to Ryan if he took part in the readings. Mrs. Ryan hired two guards to protect her home.

Just a few days earlier, the homes of two San Fernando Valley ministers had been bombed while they participated, in the Westwood section of Los Angeles, in a panel discussion of right-wing movements.

With Far Right movements sweeping the country like wildfire, it is unsurprising that the fanaticism occasionally boils over. The theme of the movements is persistent, militant and high-tempered. Here's how the theme goes:

It is five minutes to midnight. America is being squeezed to death by communism.

How did the strongest country in the world get in this plight? There can be only one answer: America's leaders are selling her out.

Communists are everywhere — in schools, libraries, churches, the news media, labor unions and government.

We are being encircled from without, but the most ominous danger is from within.

If our leaders are not outright Communists, they must be dupes—and that is just about as bad. America is rotten to the core with communism. It's treason, and the traitors must be exposed and purged. Only the true "patriots" will save us.

But the time is short, and the remedies must be swift and sure.

The real Americans will join in. If some of the others get a bad time of it, they deserve it.

This is the Far Right "line." And nobody peddles it with more vigor—or success—than the Birchers.

* * *

Thus whipped into a "patriotic" fury, extremists sometimes hit below the belt.

In his now-famous speech to the Republican national convention, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller listed some of the extremist tactics: anonymous calls, threatening letters, hate literature, strong-arm methods, bomb threats, infiltration and take-over of established political organizations.

The extremists, said the New York governor, spread distrust, engender suspicion and encourage disunity.

"There is no place in this Republican party," Rockefeller added, "for those who infiltrate its ranks, distort its aims, and convert it into a cloak of apparent respectability for a dangerous extremism.

"And make no mistake about it—the hidden members of the John Birch Society and others like them are out to do just that."

But the Cow Palace, it long will be remembered, was in no mood to denounce extremism. The New York governor was booed to the rafters.

And 100 of those present as GOP delegates and alternates, said a Birch spokesman, were Birch Society members.

* * *

Birchers deny having any truck with out-of-bounds activities. They can point out—quite correctly—that some of their membership comes from what might be termed the "solid citizenry."

Birch chief Robert Welch maintains that Society members would never "engage in such childish and futile nonsense as anonymous phone calls."

But, adds J. Allen Broyles in "The John Birch Society: Anatomy of a Protest":

"The tragically illustrated fact remains that inflammatory charges such as the ones Welch and his followers have made . . . can, to the mentally unstable, serve as an incitement to violence—even though the inflammatory language was never intended to inflame but only to 'shock' and to 'alert' the 'apathetic.' "

Next: What is the Birch Society?

Birchism—America's Hard Right Rudder: III

8-8-64-c

$2 Million-a-Year Society Bombards U.S. With Rash Charges of Reds in High Places

By MARVIN WALL

A young Midwesterner, out of curiosity, attended a chapter meeting of the John Birch Society and was amazed by the absurdities tossed out by the Birchers. In a letter to The Kansas City Star, he listed several.

One Birch "fact": Fifty per cent of all adult Americans work for the federal government.

Another: There are 4,000 Communists in the U.S. State department.

Ridiculous as such assertions are, however, they can be more than matched by Birchism's higher echelons.

It was a member of the Birch Society's council who wrote in the society's monthly magazine, American Opinion, that President John F. Kennedy was assassinated because he was falling behind in the Communist timetable for the takeover of the United States.

And Birch chief Robert Welch owes a large share of his fame to the fact that it was he who once called President Dwight D. Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Birchers are out to "shock" and "alert" America, and the drumbeat of rash charges is part of the shock treatment.

* * *

It is tactics such as these that have caused Birchism's approach to be compared with the approaches of totalitarian systems—including that of Birchism's archenemy, communism.

J. Allen Broyles, a Methodist minister from Maine, recently wrote a small book on the John Birch Society as a product of his post-graduate work at Boston University.

He interviewed Birch officials who drew attention to the parallels between their approach and that of the Communists. First, a climate must be created in which people are disillusioned about existing social, political and economic conditions—in other words, fed up. Then a utopian dream must be supplied as a substitute to attract the disillusioned. The difference between the two approaches is the difference in the substitutes.

Many Americans, says Roger Burlingame in "The Sixth Column," have felt "that, except for the Communist Party U. S. A., the nearest thing to a Communist organization in America is the John Birch Society." Other Birch critics have charged that Birchism, by spreading doubt and suspicion about American leadership, actually assists communism.

* * *

Beneath the anti-Communist fervor, Birchism actually is a very special and very elaborate political, economic and social program.

Richard Dudman, in "Men of the Far Right," lists some of the items (in addition to the United Nations and fluoridation) that Birchers oppose: the graduated income tax, Social Security and all sorts of welfare measures, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, urban renewal, federal aid to housing, and all programs "regimenting" farmers.

Broyles probably would add workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation and medical care for the aged.

With such a program, it's not surprising that the Birch Society attracts a fairly large number of well-to-do business and professional men with an acute distaste for taxes. Also attracted, it is worth mentioning, are retired military and naval officers.

Moreover, Birchism has a strong fundamentalist religious pull. Birch converts speak of being "born again." And Robert Welch has said:

"Our deepest motivation for turning back the Communists must be not that communism is politically a fraud and economically a mirage, but that it is morally wrong. . . ."

Sen. Barry Goldwater, Birchism's political hero, has expressed the conflict with communism in somewhat similar terms.

* * *

Birchers are repeatedly hit with charges of anti-Semitism, and society officials have issued strong denials. Nevertheless, several authors have found more than a trace of anti-Semitism in the Birch movement. And in discussing the race views of Birchers, Broyles reports the members he interviewed "were significantly more prejudiced than is our population as a whole."

In any event, one joke going around now describes the Birchers as "a Klansman with $50,000."

But Birchism now is a $2-million-a-year business and the time for joking, suggests the Kansas City letter-writer, has passed.

"The key to the Birchers' rising political power," the Midwesterner wrote, "lies in their organization and the complacency with which America views them.

"The Birchers may be extremists, some of their accusations may be nothing less than idiotic, but it would be folly for Americans not to recognize their complete dedication to the fallacies which they label as the truth."

(End of series. Monday: Gov. Rockefeller's statement on extremism.)

Gov. Rockefeller on Birchism and Extremism

8-10-64 C

'Hawkers of Hate, Fabricators of Fear... Have Nothing in Common with Americanism'

Last week The Constitution printed a three-part series on the John Birch Society —what it is, its program and its operations. Finally, for a view of the Birch Society as seen by a political candidate of whom the Birchers very much disapprove, here is the speech which Gov. Nelson Rockefeller delivered, amid considerable booing, at the Republican convention last month:

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates. . . . The time has come for the Republican party to face this issue realistically and take decisive action. It is essential that this convention repudiate here and now any doctrinaire, militant minority, whether Communist, Ku Klux Klan or Bircher, which would subvert this party to purposes alien to the very basic tenets which gave this party birth.

Precisely one year ago today I issued a statement wherein I warned that "The Republican party is in real danger of subversion by a radical, well financed and highly disciplined minority."

At that time I pointed out that the purposes of this minority were "wholly alien to the sound and honest conservatism that has firmly based the Republican party in the best of a century's traditions, wholly alien to the sound and honest Republican liberalism that has kept abreast of human needs in a changing world, wholly alien to the broad middle course that accommodates the mainstream of Republican principles."

During this year, I have criss-crossed this nation fighting for these principles, fighting to keep the Republican party the party of all the people—and warning of the extremist threat, its danger to the party and its danger to the nation.

The methods of these extremist elements I have experienced at first hand. Their tactics have ranged from cancellation by coercion of a speaking engagement before a college audience to outright threats of personal violence.

These things have no place in America, but I can personally testify to their existence. And so can countless others who have also experienced:

Anonymous midnight and early-morning telephone calls.

Unsigned threatening letters.

Smear and hate literature.

Strong arm and "goon" tactics.

Bomb threats and bombings.

Infiltration and take-over of established political organizations by Communist and Nazi methods.

These extremists feed on fear, hate and terror. They have no program for America, no program for the Republican party. They have no solutions for our problems of chronic unemployment, of education, of agriculture, of racial injustice or strife.

These extremists have no plan and no program to keep the peace and bring freedom to the world.

On the contrary, they spread distrust. They engender suspicion. They encourage disunity. And they operate from the dark shadows of secrecy.

They have called President Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

They have labelled a great Republican Secretary of State, the late John Foster Dulles, "a Communist agent."

They have demanded that the United States get out of the United Nations and that the United Nations get out of the United States.

There is no place in this Republican party for such hawkers of hate, such purveyors of prejudice, such fabricators of fear, whether Communist, Ku Klux Klan or Bircher.

There is no place in this Republican party for those who would infiltrate its ranks, distort its aims, and convert it into a cloak of apparent respectability for a dangerous extremism.

And make no mistake about it—the hidden members of the John Birch Society and others like them are out to do just that!

These people have nothing in common with Republicanism.

These people have nothing in common with Americanism.

The Republican party must repudiate these people.

8-10-64

Eugene Patterson

What Is the Birch Society?

Marvin Wall wrote a series of articles on this page last week analyzing what the John Birch Society is—ostensibly an anti-Communist group. Today we are printing on this page Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's statement on what went wrong with it.

This Rockefeller statement is the speech he tried to deliver to the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. He tried, and was repeatedly drowned out by a storm of jeers and boos from delegates and galleries. So it is here now in quiet print for all who are inclined to ponder it.

* * *

The John Birch Society was the real issue in the Republican convention fight over extremism. The Scranton-Rockefeller-Romney forces meant Birchists when they tried to condemn extremists. The Goldwater forces knew it and refused to censure extremism; the nominee instead lauded it. Subsequent arguments that Barry Goldwater might have intended some entirely different context are not convincing when one considers that he was addressing a convention that had locked in combat on one principal kind of extremism—Birchism.

The Republican party is flirting with fire when it permits itself to be infiltrated by these people. If Goldwater does not publicly disentangle himself from such association, he will be wandering on a dangerous path.

Perhaps much of the general public simply notes in passing that the Birchists call themselves anti-Communists, and wonders what can be wrong with that.

As Mr. Wall, and Gov. Rockefeller, have now indicated in these pages, plenty can be wrong with their methods. McCarthyism should have taught us that. It could be you who gets pushed around. History shows the radical right can destroy liberties just as surely as the radical Communist left. Any radicalism, of the right or of the left, eventually decides its ends justify foul means —be they brainwashing, dialectical trickery, intimidation, demagoguery, character assassination or worse.

Radicalism of the right or of the left is the opposite of Americanism because it is bent on destroying the individual liberty of people to differ with its own ruthlessly imposed domga. It is a farce perpetrated on patriotism because it seeks, like communism, to undermine confidence in U.S. leadership.

This newspaper has steadily fought, and will go on fighting, against efforts in recent years to fasten such dogma onto the uncomprehending minds of children in Georgia schools.

* * *

But teachers alone cannot defend your children against this intellectual pollution in the name of "patriotism" when right-wing political power and money are brought to bear upon them alone. So grownups owe it to their young to go to the trouble of instructing themselves, and of comprehending the peril of lopsided political indoctrination in the name of American civics.

Trying to confiscate the word "conservatism," right-wing extremists led by the Birch Society have attempted since 1960 one of the most sustained campaigns of mental conditioning this nation has known. They have been rather effective, playing on prejudice, uncertainty or unease with a drumfire of quack quick cures.

The only defense against them in America—and it has always prevailed in the past—is the horse sense of individual free men who decline to be pressured or to have their minds manipulated. That first requires some independent thinking.

GRAY MATTER

Birchists Blast Series on U.N.

By DICK GRAY
Journal Television-Radio Editor

You may wonder what the noble John Birch Society—that self-styled group of superpatriots—has to do with television. Not much, really, but they're trying.

At the moment, the Birchists are waging an all-out letter-writing campaign in an attempt to suppress a forthcoming series about the United Nations.

Dick Gray

The public-spirited Xerox Corp. is backing the series to the tune of $4.5 million. The six 90-minute dramas, telling the story of U.N. activities, will be telecast in prime time, one a month, beginning in January.

Four of the shows will appear on ABC-TV, and two on NBC-TV. Xerox invited CBS-TV to take two of the programs, but CBS-TV refused to participate—living up to its growing reputation as the "fun and games network."

A NUMBER of top Hollywood stars reportedly are eager to appear in these dramas.

Producers and directors include some of Hollywood's best: Otto Preminger, Stanley Kubrick, Joseph L. Mankiewicz, Peter Glenville, Robert Rossen, Sam Siegel and Fred Zinneman.

Writing the scripts are such prominent names as Reginald Rose, Tad Mosel and Peter Stone. Composers Elmer Bernstein, Henry Mancini, Alex North, Andre Previn and Richard Rodgers are contributing music—without compensation.

So this series looks like one of the better things in the season ahead—which will be all too cluttered with innocuous situation comedies and other trivia.

SO WHERE do the befuddled Birchists enter the picture?

Well, the July issue of the John Birch Society Bulletin issued a call for a "flood of 50,000 to 100,000 letters of protest" on the series.

In a recent two-week period, Xerox received some 1,200 anti-U.N. letters, and the letters still are coming in.

The San Francisco Chronicle ran a front-page story on this Birch drive on July 31 [illegible] television can do without them very well.

TONIGHT'S TIPS: Rod Steiger stars in "A Slow Fade to Black" rerun on Bob Hope's "Chrysler Theatre" at 8:30 on WSB-TV. . . . Ann Blyth, Tab Hunter and Aldo Ray are guests on the rerun of "Who Killed Andy Zygmunt?" on "Burke's Law" at 8:30 on WAII-TV. . . . Sylvan Meyer will be host of a special one-hour "Preview of the Democratic Convention" at 9 on WGTV. Mr. Meyer will interview a number of Georgia delegates, including Gov. Sanders.

SATURDAY NIGHT, the top show looks like "The Woman's Touch in Politics," hosted by ABC's top news gal, Liza Howard. Time is 7:30 p.m. Miss Howard will interview such people as Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Mrs. Humphrey and Mrs. Eugene McCarthy, wife of Humphrey's fellow senator from Minnesota.

Following Miss Howard's show, WAII-TV will broadcast "A Conversation With the First Lady" at 8 p.m., with Howard K. Smith interviewing Mrs. Johnson in the Oval Room of the White House.

WAKE RADIO will repeat "The Apathetic American," special documentary with Mike Wallace on the slaying of Kitty Genovese, Saturday afternoon at 3:30. It was first broadcast Monday, Aug. 10, late in the evening.

WAKE operations manager Buddy Moore says, "The mail and telephone response was greater than for any other program WAKE ever has presented." Thus the rebroadcast.

GINGER ROGERS, who currently is wowing Atlanta crowds in "Tovarich" at Theatre Under the Stars, just signed a contract with CBS-TV to be one of the stars of the new 90-minute colorcast of "Cinderella." Scheduled for next spring, the show also will feature Walter Pidgeon, Jo Van Fleet and 17-year-old Lesley Warren in the title role.

ture?

Well, the July issue of the John Birch Society Bulletin issued a call for a "flood of 50,000 to 100,000 letters of protest" on the series.

In a recent two-week period, Xerox received some 1,200 anti-U.N. letters, and the letters still are coming in.

The San Francisco Chronicle ran a front-page story on this Birch drive on July 31.

The Chronicle quoted John Rousselot, national director of public information for the Birchists, as stating:

"We hate to see a corporation of this country promote the U.N. when we know that it is an instrument of the Soviet Communist conspiracy."

FORTUNATELY, Xerox is not being intimidated—either by the flood of letters, many of them identical, or by the Birchists' brilliant logic about the United Nations. The shows will go on.

"Xerox, of course, will not be dissuaded from support of these programs," a spokesman said this week.

"Because we are aware that public, positive, unsolicited support of anything is always harder to come by than are the strident voices of the dissident, we have been gratified by the more than 200 favorable letters from the San Francisco area since July 31," he added.

The U.N. specials, by the way, will lack something—commercials for the sponsor's product. The only interruptions will be for brief corporate identification.

WHY IS XEROX going to all this trouble for one series? Because the firm feels that "what's good for the world is good for Xerox."

The company's president, Joseph C. Wilson, said: "It is part of our philosophy that the highest interest of a corporation is involved in the health of the earth's society."

Of course, I'm sure that the Xerox folks won't mind if the programs boost sales a little bit. But their prime aim is public service.

Such efforts in the television medium are very refreshing, and deserve high praise.

As for the Birchists, I think

crowds in "Tovarich" at Theatre Under the Stars, just signed a contract with CBS-TV to be one of the stars of the new 90-minute colorcast of "Cinderella." Scheduled for next spring, the show also will feature Walter Pidgeon, Jo Van Fleet and 17-year-old Lesley Warren in the title role.

Close-Up

Birch Soc 9-2-64

A Different Way of Doing Things

A lady from Thomasville raises a point that takes on added pertinency now that the Democrats have nominated Sen. Hubert Humphrey for the vice presidency.

If the members of the John Birch Society are extremists on the right, she writes, the Americans for Democratic Action must be extremists on the left.

The supposition is understandable, since it has been promoted assiduously by spokesmen for the right, including Sen. Barry Goldwater. But the comparison is, I believe, faulty.

As Richard Dudman points out in "Men of the Far Right," the group on the right more nearly comparable to Americans for Democratic Action is Americans for Constitutional Action. In fact, Dudman reports, ACA was founded as "a deliberate counterfoil" for ADA. Both groups have as one of their major functions the rating of the voting records of individual members of Congress— one group on the basis of how conservative the senators and congressmen vote, and the other on the basis of how liberal.

Yet the spokesmen on the right always bracket the ADA with the John Birch Society rather than with the ACA. The practice is known as "moving everything up a notch." It serves to confuse the issue of extremism (and Sen. Goldwater has been doing a pretty good job of it since July).

"A more accurate comparison," Dudman says, "would make the Birch Society's opposite number the Communist party."

Aside from the deep and obvious political differences, the important distinction between the ADA and the Birch Society, it seems to me, is that of tactics.

So far as I know, the ADA does not regularly use tactics of slander and character assassination against important national figures. It has never, so far as I know, called an American president a Communist (or Fascist) agent.

I have never heard of the ADA harassing librarians or teachers, engaging in community telephone campaigns or disrupting public meetings. I have never heard of anybody in the ADA recommending "mean and dirty" tactics or totalitarian methods.

So far as I know, the ADA is not "monolithic" and is not, as is the Birch Society, "under completely authoritative control at all levels." Nor is it headed by a "hardboiled, dictatorial" boss.

So far as I can determine, there is only one similarity between the Birch Society and the ADA. Both declare themselves to be anti-Communist. Beyond that point, the similarities end.—MARVIN WALL.

Close-Up

9-9-64

The Robert Welch of Network TV

The kindly looking, grandfatherly fellow being interviewed on television Sunday evening was Robert H. W. Welch, known to Sen. Barry Goldwater as Bob Welch and to members of the John Birch Society as "Mr. Welch," the society's founder.

I happened to tune in the interview late, just as Welch was assuring the panel of questioners that it just wasn't so that the Birch Society indulges in such things as character assassination and vigilante tactics.

This was the Robert Welch of network television. I immediately thought about the Robert Welch of the Blue Book.

The Blue Book is the society's handbook. About two-thirds of the way through that document, Welch is explaining the ineffectiveness of various disjointed and uncoordinated anti-communist groups in the nation. To illustrate, Welch selects two "patriotic" groups, supposedly typical, to which he gives the names "XYZ Association" and the "Blank Committee." Says Welch:

"But what is the XYZ Association an arm of, or the Blank Committee? It's a lonesome boy standing on the beach with a big broom, trying to brush back the waves that are about to flood the whole shoreline of beautiful houses. There are other boys with brooms and shovels and buckets all up and down the beach, doing the same thing. What is not only needed, but is absolutely imperative, is for some hard-boiled, dictatorial and dynamic boss to come along and deliver himself approximately as follows:

" 'Hey, you guys, all of you, drop those pretty brooms. You fellows down there on the end, start running for empty bags. . . . You fellows in those next two groups, start filling those bags with sand. You men here, all of you, start lugging those bags of sand to put on this wall the Communists have busted up so badly. . . .

" 'You fellows over there, all of you, get the heaviest clubs you can find, spread yourselves out no more thinly than you have to along the whole length of this wall, and don't hesitate to break the heads of any saboteurs you find monkeying with it. Don't even hesitate to break the heads of those you find creeping towards the wall, if you are sure of their evil intentions, just as a warning to the rest of the dirty gang . . .' "

And who are the saboteurs and potential saboteurs in this little story? Anyone familiar with the Birchist thesis that Communist influences run from top to bottom in American society, and virtually across the board, can imagine.

So the Robert Welch of network television notwithstanding, it can be readily understood why Birchers have become, as charged, associated across the country with abusive telephone calls, harassment of teachers and librarians and other tactics that have shocked and alarmed one political party and a sizable part of another.—MARVIN WALL.

National Leaders Band Against Birch Fronts

9-22-64

NEW YORK, Sept. 22 (UPI)—A committee of 80 national leaders including former cabinet members, governors, union chiefs, educators and scientists, have banded together to "expose and correct" the activities of 12 John Birch Society "front" organizations, it was announced Tuesday.

The organization of the Council for Civil Responsibility was announced by its chairman, Dr. Arthur Larson, former director of the U.S. Information Agency. Larson said the council will begin a series of daily radio programs to "correct the principal errors currently propagated" by "radical reactionary organizations."

AMONG members of the council is Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution.

Larson said the council was formed under the sponsorship of the public affairs institute, a nonprofit educational organization in Washington, D.C., because of growing concern about the effects of the John Birch Society and related "extremist" groups on "standards of public discussion and responsible behavior in the nation."

Larson said the council's broadcasts will be devoted to presenting first-hand experiences of persons throughout the nation who have suffered personally as a result of the alleged harassing activities of extremists. He said they would expose "spying, nocturnal phone calls, economic and social pressures, stonings and even bombings" as methods used by ultra-rightists.

THE "EXTREMIST" organizations named by the council are linked to the Birch society "through top officers or principal financial supporters," the council said.

It listed them as Americans for Constitutional Action, America's Future, Christian Crusade, Christian Freedom Foundation, Church League of America, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, Conservative Society of America, Liberty Lobby, Manion Forum, National Economic Council, Dan Smoot Reports, and We, the People.

OTHER members of the council include Gen. J. Lawton Collins, former U.S. Army chief of staff; Marion B. Folsom, former secretary of health, education and welfare; David Lilienthal, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; James P. Mitchell, former secretary of labor; Robert B. Meyner, former governor of New Jersey; Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota; and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

PINK BUILDING FOR ANTI-REDS

Birch Society Rolls Grow Amid Uproar

EDITOR'S NOTE: What's new in the John Birch Society? Focus of controversy in years past, the society has become an issue again in the debate over extremism. The following outlines its current views and goals.

By DON ROTHBERG AND DORIS KLEIN
Associated Press Writers

The current debate about extremism plainly has been no vice to the John Birch Society. It says its membership rolls and its treasury have grown fatter.

Unsuccessful efforts at the Republican National Convention to insert a plank in the GOP platform condemning extremism groups—and naming the John Birch Society among others—actually helped the society, said its public relations director, John K. Rousselot.

"Attendance at our meetings increased substantially," he said. "People heard so much about us they were curious. They wanted to find out the truth.

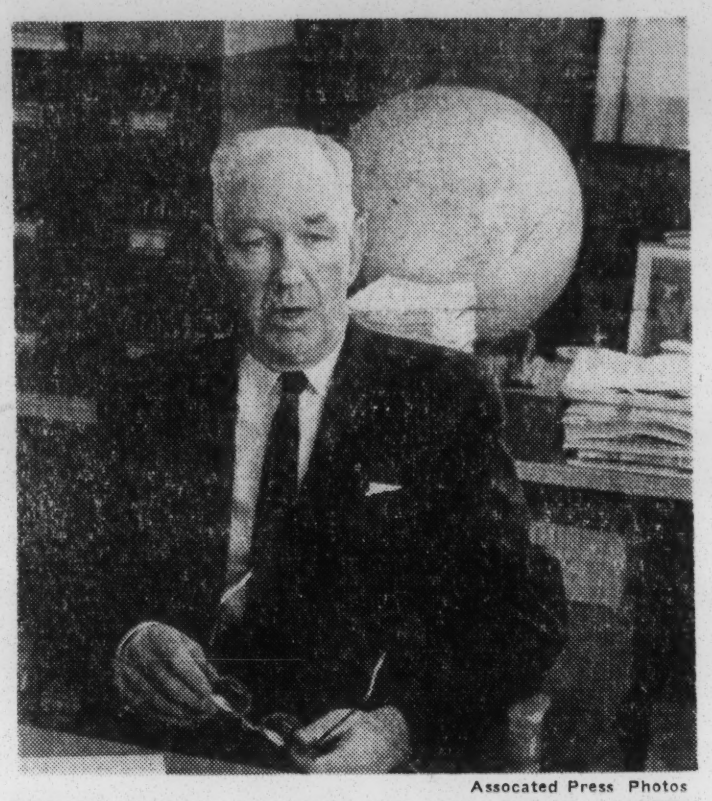
"Where we usually have 8 to 15 people at a meeting we had as many as 40. Most of our meetings are held in living rooms, and that's about as many as a living room can hold."

ROUSSELOT, 35, a former Republican congressman from California who became a $30,000-a-year spokesman for the Birch society last June, said it still was Birch policy not to reveal actual membership figures or names of members — not through any desire to work in secrecy, he says. "We just don't want our members to be bothered by solicitors."

But he says the society is still short of its goal of 1 million members, set by Robert Welch, who founded the organization in 1958.

It also is against Birch Society policy to endorse political candidates, Rousselot says, but in his private view the nomination of Sen. Barry Goldwater has given the society added purpose. "Sen. Goldwater," he says, "has espoused a conservative constitutional Position which many Americans can associate themselves with and which Birch members have found acceptable."

The Birch society was not acceptable to some at the San Francisco convention. Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania, then fighting for the Republican nomination, led the battle to denounce the society by name. He referred to the society as "this weird presence in America," and said it was trying to take over the Republican party. He also said it represented an extremism "alien to our shores" and was seeking "the subversion of liberty."



Associated Press Photos

ROBERT WELCH, FOUNDER OF JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
In Society's Headquarters in Belmont, Mass.

IN ANOTHER speech at the convention, Rep. Abner W. Sibal of Connecticut denounced Communists, the Ku Klux Klan and the Birch society, saying "these groups do not share in the traditions or beliefs of American democracy or of the Republican party."

The Platform Committee rejected Scranton's plea for a denunciation, and the convention went on to nominate Goldwater. The Senator has described Welch as "intemperate and unwise," and accused him of making "damaging, ridiculous and very stupid statements." As for members of the society, Goldwater said: "They are anti-Communist and I don't see how we can be against them." The society itself, he said, is on no subversive list.

Welch has been quoted as writing that he would "love to see him (Goldwater) president of the United States."

Birch membership, according to Rousselot, doubled in 1963 following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, whom it had previously criticized severely, and redoubled in the first seven months of this year.

Shortly after the assassination the society ran full page ads in papers across the country expressing its belief that President Kennedy's murder was a "definitely Communist-oriented program."

"We can contribute some of the growth to the assassination," Rousselot said.

The John Birch Society came into national prominence in 1961 when founder Welch, from his office in Belmont, Mass., a prosperous suburb of Boston, dispatched what he termed a private letter to some well placed friends. The "letter" ran to more than 100 printed pages and had a title, "The politician."

IN IT he expressed his belief "that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." He expressed a similar belief about the late John Foster Dulles, former secretary of state.

Rousselot says he is in basic agreement with Robert Welch in his general political philosophy but that he doesn't think Eisenhower is a Communist or that Dulles was. "I think Dulles," Rousselot says, "was a Socialist."

Rousselot says Welch's statement about President Eisenhower was "never a position taken by the society, it was never imposed on the council or the membership," but was merely a statement of Welch's personal opinion after studying Eisenhower's record in the anti-Communist cause. "And it was not a good record," Rousselot says.

In his public relations role for the Birch society and as publisher of its magazine, "American Opinion," Rousselot divides his time between society headquarters in Belmont and its Western regional headquarters in San Marino, Calif.

In San Marino, one of Los Angeles' wealthiest suburban communities, the Birch office is in a pink brick building with a flag above it and only a small sign on the door identifying it. Racks of books and pamphlets line one wall.

FAR MORE imposing is the two-story red brick building in Belmont where the Birch society occupies half the ground floor and the entire basement. Here its two publications, "American Opinion" and a monthly bulletin, are published and mailed, and the basement also serves as a shipping center for books approved by the society. The Belmont Post Office, visible from Welch's large corner office, lists the Birch Society as its biggest customer.

In one office in the Belmont building is a wall covered by a map of the United States with colored pins denoting location of its chapters—groups of 10 to 20 members—and of its coordinators, full time workers (for $500 to $700 a month) who solicit new members. Some states have more than one coordinator; California has 12.

The society also has a regional office in Houston, and plans to open offices in Washington and Chicago within the next few months.

RECENTLY, says Rousselot, the society's greatest membership advances have been in New Jersey, Alabama, Florida and upstate New York. California, especially Southern California, is its area of greatest strength. But even there it is not without opposition.

Harvey Schechter, regional director of civil rights for the Anti-Defamation League, said recently the Birch society has "suffered one political defeat after another since 1962" in California. Two society members were defeated in congressional races, one Birch candidate for the City Council in Glendale was beaten, and the society failed in a fight to oust three members of the Los Angeles school board who opposed their views, Schechter said:

An even broader contest will come in November, when 11 Birch members seek election in California, three of them running for Congress, two for state senator and six for state assemblyman.

Schechter estimated Birch membership in Southern California at 6,000 to 7,000, and said this was "35 per cent of its total membership." If that is correct, national membership would be about 20,000.

Rousselot says the society is also strong in Chicago and upstate Illinois, in Indiana, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, Arizona, Washington state and Texas.

"We've had great trouble," says Rousselot, "in the East because of the Eastern newspapers — the New York Times,

JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
Ex-Republican Congressman

selot, "that the U.N. is an agent of the Communist conspiracy."

The society encourages its members to write protest letters. The Xerox Corp. said it received 9,000 letters recently objecting to its sponsorship of television programs about the United Nations. The company said it would continue the sponsorship, and noted that several persons had written more than one letter.

Lately the society has been engaged in a "support your local police" campaign, issuing stickers and bumper strips. Reason for this campaign, he says, if because "all those elements that are working to centralize power in the federal government for the Communist takeover . . . they're trying to undermine the authority of the local police."

The society also is against civilian review boards, supported by some civil rights groups. According to Rousselot, the society believes these are part of a Comunist conspiracy to undermine the local police.

"The civil rights movement," Rousselot says, "is clearly penetrated by Communists both in the North and the South." The society, he says, wants voluntary local action on civil rights.

"Who's to say what's more important, the Negro's civil rights or property rights guaranteed by the Constitution asks. "Property rights are a basic human right. You can't separate property rights from other rights."

ROUSSELOT says the current budget for carrying out Birch activities currently is $2 million annually. He says it is raised 30 per cent from dues: $24 a year for men, $12 a year for women (Rousselot says there are slightly more women than men in the society, and that they work harder); 30 per cent from sales of "American Opinion" and outside contributions; 30 per cent from members in additional contributions, and 10 per cent from lectures by society staff members.

Much of the John Birch Society organization is unclear. For instance, Rousselot says the society uses "ad hoc committees" to push specific causes without being openly identified with the society. He contends this sort of tactic has been used throughout American history. Welch himself called them "front organizations."

Rousselot says about half the membership is made up of Republicans, half Democrats. He says about 90 per cent are Protestant, 10 per cent Catholic, but that there is a sprinkling of Jews. He also says 3 to 4 per cent of the membership is Negro.

"The society is, as it has been from the beginning," he asserts, "an educational organization. We do not permit political discussions in our meetings, or soliciting for political parties.

"We want our members to learn the facts about the Communist conspiracy and go out and work in their communities."

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Rousselot says the society is also strong in Chicago and upstate Illinois, in Indiana, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, Arizona, Washington state and Texas.

"We've had great trouble," says Rousselot, "in the East because of the Eastern newspapers — the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Boston papers."

Rousselot says these and other newspapers misrepresent the society.

"We don't consider ourselves an extremist organization," he says. "We don't believe in any means to an end. Our methods are within the framework of legality, human dencency and American propriety and are morally correct."

SINCE THE SOCIETY was formed, says Rousselot, "we haven't changed our basic principles and beliefs one iota. Robert Welch and the members of the society's council have proven to be right in their general theses and stands."

Rousselot says the society currently is engaged in a project to counter what he considers misrepresentation in the press.

Under direction of Dr. Francis X. Gannon, head of its research department, the society is putting out two pamphlets titled "Correction, Please!" and "A Review of the News."

Rousselot says a continuing project is its movement to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren. Actually, says Rousselot, "we know Earl Warren won't be impeached by the Senate. What we want is a trial there as provided by the Constitution that will result in re-establishing where the legislative authority resides — in the Congress, not in the courts." This aim, Rousselot says, has been "greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted."

ANOTHER Birch program of long standing is to get the United States out of the United Nations. "We feel," says Rous-

Civic Leaders Form Anti-Birch Council

By MARTIN GANSBERG

More than 100 civic, educational, religious and business leaders joined forces yesterday in a move to tell "the truth about the John Birch Society and related radical reactionary groups."

The leaders, representing both major political parties and all sections of the country, announced formation of a National Council for Civic Responsibility aimed at exposing "impropriety of methods and falsity of substance" of the Birch Society and 12 organizations that are reportedly linked to the society by members or finances.

At a news conference at the Overseas Press Club, 54 West 40th Street, Arthur Larson, director of the World Rule by Law Center at Duke University and a former consultant to Presi-

Continued on Page 39, Column 2

10-7-64 D

Huntley-Brinkley Sued By John Birch Society

FORT WORTH (UPI) — The John Birch Society Tuesday brought two libel suits against the Huntley-Brinkley newscasting team and their employer, the National Broadcasting Company, asking $8 million in damages.

The suit complained that the two newscasters slandered and libeled the John Birch Society by broadcasting a report May 20 that the FBI "had arrested certain parties who engaged in selling feloniously acquired arms and ammunition to the John Birch Society."

One suit was filed on behalf of the society's president, ex-candymaker Robert Welch, and two members, Laurence E. Bunker of Boston and McDonald Hays of Amarillo, Tex.

The other was filed on behalf of the society itself.

The suits asked for $2 million in damages apiece for Welch and the two members, $1 million actual damages for the society, and $1 million punitive damages for the society. The suits were all filed in U.S. District Court.

The lawyer who filed the suits, Russell Baker, said that beside the arms-selling charge, the well - known broadcasting team, Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, made "many other statements of like import, all false."

Baker said he thought the Birch Society case could get a fair trial in Fort Worth.

"More than likely the broadcast went out all over the United States and we could have sued almost anywhere," he said.

10-15-64 C

Birchers Taking Over GOP In Chatham, Democrat Says

SAVANNAH, Ga. (AP) — Chatham County Democratic campaign chairman Anton Solms Jr. charged Wednesday that John Birch groups in this county have "pretty well taken over control" of the Chatham Republican Party.

In a strongly worded statement charging that "extremism in its worst form" is being exerted here by the Republicans, Solms declared, "It is becoming known every day that action of the local opposition (the GOP) consists of known John Birch members." He charged that their tactics are to "mislead the general public by the use of the big lie technique."

Solms also charged that the planning of heckling and display of Goldwater signs at a rally here last Thursday for Mrs. Lyndon Johnson was plotted in the headquarters of the Chatham Republican Party. He said the signs were seen in the windows of the GOP headquarters and also at a rally for cowboy TV star Clint Walker who appeared here in behalf of Barry Goldwater.

Solms also said that on "the day before Mrs. Johnson's visit, statements were made by known Republicans to members of the Democratic Party that they had a reception committee planned for Mrs. Johnson."

The appearance of Mrs. Johnson in a downtown square produced many political signs which called Chatham County "Goldwater Territory" and told Mrs. Johnson to "Go Home." There was heckling while she and her daughter, Luci Baines Johnson, spoke.

Solms accused the local Republican Party of selling and distributing two books, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon" and "None Dare Call It Treason," in face of a frown on the books by the Republican National Committee.

Solms said the tactics of the Republicans in employing "extreme tactics" made him wonder about the future of the moral standards here.

Solms is a high ranking Georgia Democrat. He serves on the University System of Georgia Board of Regents and is one of former Gov. Ernest Vandiver's closest political allies.

Business as Usual

LONDON (AP) — It will be business as usual Britain's election day. Offices, stock exchanges and commodity markets will be open.

Atl Journal 10-24-64

Dulles and a Book

ONE OF the most noteworthy aspects of the presidential campaign has been the extraordinarily extensive distribution of off-brand books that purport to give scandalous "inside stories."

Members of the John Birch Society have been very active in this work.

This week in Atlanta, a man whose credentials in such matters can hardly be questioned put one of these widely read books into perspective. The speaker was Allen W. Dulles, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, a respected American who has been privy to security information of all kinds—including some under wraps in the Soviet Union.

He was asked about the book "None Dare Call It Treason," by John Stormer, which has as its main message the idea that Communists are well on their way to taking over the United States.

"I do not know of any serious Communist infiltration in the government . . . ," Mr. Dulles said. "I think that is one of our lesser worries."

This scare book, which has been used on behalf of the Goldwater candidacy, now has been thoroughly analyzed. In the Congressional Record of Sept. 10, a report by the National Committee for Civic Responsibility describes the book as "at best, an incredibly poor job of research and documentation, and, at worst, a deliberate hoax and a fraud."

The committee, composed of prominent citizens of both parties and headed by a savings and loan executive who also is an official of the American Legion, notes that the book's 818 references supposedly substantiating its message give it the appearance of a well-documented study.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," the committee concludes.

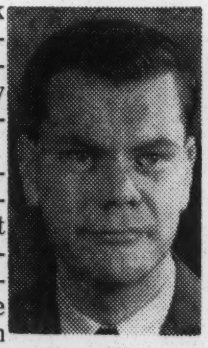
Many times when the book quotes a source a simple look at the original discloses that the meaning has been reversed, the committee says.

This book is the kind of clever propaganda that has deceived and worried millions of Americans at a time when they should have been informed instead of frightened.

Close-Up Goldwater 10-27-64 C

'The Government Doesn't Like You!'

"The federal government doesn't like you," begins a recruitment card of the John Birch Society.



Not many people look upon the federal government as quite that antagonistic, but neither do many exactly feel they could cuddle up in its lap.

There is a genuine uneasiness about big government, just as there is about big business. If the uneasiness didn't exist, the Goldwaterites would not have made so much mileage with their scare talk about octopus-government and bureaucratic plots to subvert America.

But I believe it is not so much the size of government that intimidates people. Nor is it so much a physical remoteness. What worries them is its seeming inaccessibility, its aloofness, its impersonality.

John Q. Voter lacks the expert information that goes into making decisions on such complicated matters as nuclear defense strategy or tax policy. (Similarly, John Q. Worker often ends up a cog-in-the-wheel in a giant corporation, where he doesn't understand how business decisions are made.)

John Q. generally reacts in one of two ways: He becomes apathetic and resigns himself to letting others make decisions for him, or he wants to turn back the clock and make our institutions smaller and therefore more comprehensible.

In one sense, the latter reaction is healthier than apathy, but it is also unrealistic. We can't undo the speed of transportation and communication; we can't expunge our scientific knowledge; we can't dismantle our efficient means of production.

The tragedy of this presidential campaign is that so many people have swallowed Sen. Goldwater's impossible remedy for the malady of estrangement from their own government.

What is a realistic remedy? I recently raised that question before a group of young Unitarians. The group discussion that followed was most useful.

If I can state a consensus, it was this: A realistic approach involves starting from where we are—with institutions that exist. These must be humanized. Citizens must be given a better chance to learn about them, and more opportunity to participate in making decisions and executing them.

Neighborhood meetings to decide who should have his finger on the nuclear trigger may sound a little far-fetched, but at least those who participate would make more intelligent voters. Or at least, if they wouldn't, Tom Jefferson and all those guys were wrong.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

10-27-64

Birchers Going All-Out for GOP In Coastal Georgia

By JACK NELSON

Members of the John Birch Society, which the Democratic platform blasted as an extremist group, are among the most zealous Republican campaign workers in coastal Georgia.

Dr. Whitman Fraser, Hinesville city councilman, heads both the Liberty County GOP committee and the county's Birch chapter. He says, "We have in this area some John Birch members who are excellent campaign workers."

In Chatham County, where the Democrats charged the Birch Society has taken over the Republican organization, Alex Armond, county GOP chairman, retorted: "I strongly think that some members of the executive committee may be members of the John Birch Society, but we may also have members who belong to the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and it may be there are members of the Americans for Democratic Action who are members of the Chatham Democratic Committee."

HEARD VIEWS

In Richmond County, Leroy H. Simpkins Jr., a Republican candidate for the Georgia House, told of attending a recent Augusta meeting to hear the views of Scott Stanley, editor of American Opinion, the voice of the Birch society's chief, Robert Welch.

"He was excellent," Simpkins said, "as competent a speaker as I've ever heard. He wasn't waving a sheet or spitting fire or anything."

Simpkins said Stanley "talked about the Cuban missile situation and had documentation that looked right interesting."

The meeting was sponsored by Georgians for Freedom, an organization headed by R. A. Williams, a tire company executive and John Birch Society member.

DON'T KNOW

Williams said Birch members in Richmond County "are marvelous people. If the people knew who they were they would be surprised at their caliber." But the people don't know who most of them are because it is a secret society.

Three nurses were in the waiting room of the modern offices of Dr. Whitman Fraser and Dr. Frank Robbins when a reporter visited Hinesville to interview Dr. Fraser. All three quickly voiced their support for

ulous for the Democrats to charge the Birch Society with taking over the Republican Party in Chatham County. "Outstanding leaders were participating in the John Birch Society before it became the thing to do to support the Republican Party," he said.

"It was a natural move for society members to become active in the party. Any citizen concerned about his country is potentially a good political action man."

Dr. Fraser said that while the society itself does not endorse candidates, "we have Birch members who are doing a good job and are very valuable to the Republican Party. The people involved are lay leaders—people concerned about their country and religious principles. They range from professional people to tradesmen."

But the people don't know who most of them are because it is a secret society.

Three nurses were in the waiting room of the modern offices of Dr. Whitman Fraser and Dr. Frank Robbins when a reporter visited Hinesville to interview Dr. Fraser. All three quickly voiced their support for Goldwater.

One of them, the wife of Dr. Robbins, volunteered that the hospital plan for the elderly is "socialized medicine" and added, "There's no use going to school for 14 years and letting them take out appendix for $25."

"FRANK WILL QUIT . . ."

Mrs. Robbins said, "The federal government already controls everything. If that's not communism, I don't know what is. Frank will quit practicing medicine if they pass the plan in Congress."

In the waiting room the physicians had for their patients two copies of the ultra-conservative Dan Smoot Report, one on "Communism in the Civil Rights Movement" and the other an attack on Walter Reuther and other labor leaders.

Dr. Fraser told the reporter that in addition to heading the local Birch chapter, he is a "section leader" who helps organize new chapters.

"I have traveled as far as 125 miles to help formulate a chapter," he said. "A good percentage of the counties in this area have chapters."

Dr. Fraser said it was ridic-

Probe of 'Heretical Birchers' Leads to Policemen's Firing

11-8-64

SANTA ANA, Calif., Nov. 7 (UPI). A Santa Ana police captain and a lieutenant have been fired in the course of an investigation of a group of dissident policemen—most of them identified as heretical members of the John Birch Society.

Police Chief Edward J. Allen said he dismissed Capt. Fred Hopper and Lt. Loran Norton, both 36 and veterans of the 130-man force, because they "were involved in a power play and an attempt to circumvent my power."

Allen described Norton as "an advertised speaker for the John Birch Society." Allen said Hopper is not a society member.

Allen, who became chief in 1955, said he had no quarrel with the Birch Society—"no one can be more anti-Communist than I."

CITY MANAGER Carl J. Thornton announced Thursday that an investigation of 10 to 20 officers was under way. The officers are accused of distributing anonymous pamphlets questioning the honesty and morality of Chief Allen.

Thornton said his information "clearly indicates that the majority of the personnel implicated in this disruptive activity are members of the local chapter of the John Birch Society."

Thornton said the Birch Society has a policy of support for local law enforcement and that, "It is my belief that these individuals have used — or rather misused—the cloak of membership in the John Birch Society for purposes entirely opposite to the national policy of that organization."

JOHN ROUSSELOT, national public relations director for the Birch Society, Friday said he thought the society was being used "as a scapegoat for some internal problem in the Santa Ana Police Department."

"We don't have any program to harass the chief of Santa Ana, or any police department anywhere," Rousselot said.

Rousselot said there are probably 20 to 30 members of the Santa Ana Police Department who belong to several John Birch Society chapters.

"If in our investigation we find our members have acted improperly, we will take appropriate means," he said. "Their membership will be terminated."

The Independent, a newspaper in nearby Long Beach, interviewed an unnamed spokesman for the police officers under investigation. He was quoted as saying that the police chief was "dictatorial, abusive and unreasonable with his men."

"THOSE OF US in the group can't take any more of his treatment and we have banded together in mutual defense," the spokesman said.

Santa Ana, about 30 miles southeast of Los Angeles, is the seat of Orange County, a conservative stronghold which elected a Birch Society member, John G. Schmitz, to the State Senate Tuesday. President Johnson received 58 per cent of the popular vote in California, but Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater got 56 per cent in Orange County.

Prisoners Revolt In British Guiana

GEORGETOWN, British Guiana, Nov. 7 (UPI)—Hundreds of prisoners staged a noisy demonstration at the Georgetown prison in protest against alleged bad conditions.

Riot police carrying guns moved into the prison compound and quelled the demonstration after three hours with tear gas bombs thrown among prisoners in cells.

Close-Up 11-14-64-C

It's Time for That Investigation

A friend in St. Petersburg, Fla., sends word of what the Birchers have been doing down that way. According to a clipping from The St. Petersburg Times, the Birchers there have distributed a pamphlet calling on "patriots" and their children to buy weapons and arm themselves.

The St. Petersburg pamphlet gave a rather detailed list of firearms recommended for both adults and children. For younger children, for example, semi-automatic .22 rifles were suggested.

"For each gun," the pamphlet continued, "stockpile at least 300 rounds of ammunition, plus 200 rounds or more to practice with.

"To purchase extra ammunition now is the best investment you can make. The price of military surplus has jumped 600 per cent in the last 10 years."

The story about the pamplet ran in The Times late last month.

The pamphlet was, of course, promptly disavowed by Birch headquarters in Massachusetts. But when one views the Birch movement and the Radical Rightist movement as a whole, such disavowals are only partly reassuring.

From Houston, Tex., comes word that Birch Society chapters are being organized in senior and junior high schools. A John Birch organizer said meetings would be kept secret and be run exactly as those of adult chapters.

"It's a big status symbol," said a Houston teenager, "to be a member of the John Birch junior group."

From here and there across the country comes news of Birch Society members being elected to state legislatures and other public offices.

The whole business is reminiscent of the old Klan movement which about 40 years ago got control of entire states.

It is remarkable that a movement which openly uses Communist and totalitarian tactics has been so completely spared, so far, from official investigation. President Johnson, in the recent campaign, promised such an investigation. The sooner it is undertaken the better, for it should have been done long ago.—MARVIN WALL.

Philadelphia Police Warned Of Birch Link

11-15-64

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 14 (AP). Philadelphia Mayor James Tate says policemen who join the John Birch Society can expect assignment only to "limited duty."

Tate made the statement at a news conference Friday while discussing some John Birch Society groups—he called them "cells" — operating within the Philadelphia Police Department.

Tate said 14 of 15 policemen, whom he declined to name, were members and were attempting to recruit others.

"This was the way the Nazis got started in Germany, and the way the Communists operated in the 1930s and 1940s," Tate said.

"Membership of police in the Birch Society, drastically limits their capability as police officers and in law enforcement activities," Tate said. "They are not in tune with law enforcement problems. They are against certain groups in the big cities. The police department, above any other in the city, should be above reproach."

THE MAYOR SAID the possibility of suspension or dismissal of Birch members "is now being reviewed by the law department," and he added, "Even if they were not suspened they would be given limited duties."

Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary explained that "limited duties" generally refers to clerical posts which are usually filled by policemen injured or incapaciated in the line of duty.

Reds Fighting Birch Police, Official Says

11-17-64

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 17 (AP)—The John Birch Society acknowledges it is interested in enrolling policemen but says this "is no different than our interest in getting doctors, farmers and anyone else in American life to join the society."

Former congressman John H. Rousselot, the society's public relations director and official spokesman, said that while his organization has no special interest in recruiting police there are those with a special interest in keeping Birch members out of police work.

"We're finding this an interesting pattern around the country," Rousselot told a reporter. "We find that in Communist publications around the country — San Francisco and New York—pressure is being brought to bear on local police departments to keep members of the John Birch Society out of the departments." He did not name the publications.

TWO REPORTS of Birch Society membership in police departments have attracted attention in recent weeks. The first came early this month from nearby Santa Ana, in politically conservative Orange County.

The city manager there said 10 to 20 dissident policemen, many of them Birch members, were harassing the police chief, trying to undermine his authority. But the city manager said he thought their society membership was coincidental and felt confident the society itself would not be a party to the activities of which the officers were accused.

MORE RECENTLY, in Philadelphia, Mayor James H. J. Tate said some policemen there were organizing Birch Society cells. He said society membership limits "the capabilities of the police officers involved; they can't be useful in their assignments."

Tate said: "This is the way the Nazi party began and this is the way the Communist party operated in the '40s."

Rousselot made his remarks here after returning from Philadelphia, where he held a news conference to answer the mayor.

Rousselot told newsmen there that Tate's statements were "absolutely false," that the mayor was trying to get publicity and had not bothered to find out about the society.

"There is absolutely nothing wrong with police being members of the John Birch Society," Rousselot said. "Membership would not interfere with a policeman's performance of his duty . . .

We have growing numbers of police and personnel in sheriff's departments throughout the country. Police membership is a private matter. They can better educate themselves to the threat of communism."

11-19-64

Birch Police Not Known, Chiefs in 40 Cities Assert

NEW YORK (AP) — Police chiefs in more than 40 major cities surveyed by The Associated Press say they know of no John Birch Society members in their departments.

However, many said they had no way of determining who was a Birch member and some said the matter was private. Few chiefs reported being aware of any recruiting drive by the ultra-conservative society, but some told of getting society literature.

Philadelphia and Santa Ana, Calif., officials had previously acknowledged knowing of Birch members on their police forces, a total of more than two dozen.

Spokesmen for the society, however, claim many more than that, without giving figures.

Houston's assistant police chief, George Beber, said he knew of no officers who have joined the organization. The society's Houston area coordinator, Philip Blair Jones, said there were a number of Houston police officers in the organization.

One unnamed Houston police officer said he and others on the force had received Birch literature almost a year ago.

But, he said: "If anyone joined the society they are keeping it very quiet. I haven't heard of any officer who is a member."

Hugh Fine of San Jose, the society's San Francisco Bay area coordinator, said: "A fair portion of the members of the society in communities around the bay are law enforcement officers."

Thomas Cahill, San Francisco's police chief, said he is convinced there are no Birch members in his department.

"We avoid any association that would place us in a position where we could not be completely impartial," he said.

In Philadelphia, where Mayor James H. J. Tate said he plans to take action against 15 policemen who are Birch members, the American Civil Liberties Union urged him to refrain.

A policeman's membership in the society should be ignored, the Civil Liberties Union said, unless it is proved that the society had influenced his execution of duties.

In New York, Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy ordered a study made to determine whether membership in the society would conflict with regulations.

Deputy Commissioner Walter Arm said there were "no indications at this time" that any of the city's 26,000 policemen were Birch members.

The first public knowledge of Birch members on police forces came two weeks ago in Santa Ana, county seat of politically conservative Orange County, 30 miles southeast of Los Angeles.

Santa Ana's city manager, Carl J. Thornton, said an investigation had disclosed more than two dozen dissident policemen, many of them Birch members. He said they were harassing Police Chief Edward J. Allen and trying to undermine his authority.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

AN APPEAL TO ALL THE FACTIONS

BORGOMANERO, Italy, Nov. 18 (UPI)—A plank in a local party's campaign platform for Sunday's municipal elections: "The undersigned pledge to enlarge the cemetery so citizens will be more comfortable."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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WANT ADS PAY OFF

11-20-64 - 8

Birchers Face Union Charge Of Infiltration

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 20 (AP)—Members of the John Birch Society are infiltrating California unions in what appears to be a secret conspiracy to gain control, says a top union official.

Thomas L. Pitts, executive secretary of the state AFL-CIO, said Thursday:

"Within the past few months, local unions of the AFL-CIO International Association of Fire Fighters in California have been beset by these divisive forces to such an extent as to suggest existence of a clandestine conspiracy by extremist forces to gain control of key community agencies.

"Harassment activities in the fire fighters union included an abortive attempt by a few Birchite members of one local to create dissension by dispatching a letter to other locals containing false and malicious charges against the AFL-CIO political arm, the Council on Political Education.

"The charges were so patently false they made little stir. But the Birchers are becoming more adept every day at mingling half truths and false innuendoes to create fear and distrust in organizations they seek to commandeer or immobilize."

Pitts did not identify the local involved.

Pitts said right-wing extremist groups are attempting to infiltrate other unions "in the guise of fighting communism in Alameda, Contra Costa, Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego counties."

12-9-64 9

Birch Society Claims Record Membership Gain

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 9 (AP)—The John Birch Society has enrolled more new members and established more new chapters in November than in any other month in its history, a spokesman reported.

John H. Rousselot, the society's director of public relations, told a news conference that it was not the society's policy to disclose membership figures, but added:

"California led the nation in new chapters and members."

He said many law enforcement officers have joined the society, but added, "the society makes no concerted effort to recruit members of police departments."

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12-10-64 Journal

Birch Society Ban Bounces; UNICEF Card Sales Soar

MONTEREY, Calif., Dec. 10 (UPI) — A John Birch Society effort to block the sale of United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Christmas cards on the Monterey peninsula appeared Thursday to have boomeranged.

Holman's department store in Pacific Grove resumed sales of the United Nations group's cards and calendars Wednesday. The store had halted sales of the materials Tuesday following a meeting with Dan King III, local section leader for the Birch Society.

But manager Vernon Hurd said there had been a misunderstanding on the part of the volunteers. "The store has always had an open door policy for everyone and I am sorry there has been a misunderstanding on this score.

". . . WE ALSO invite Dan King to sit at a table and pass out his literature if he so wishes."

King did not accept. Instead, he assailed what he considered a capitulation by Holman's.

"This is just another case of surrendering to the Communist-controlled United Nations," King said.

Bank of America branches at nearby Pacific Grove and Carmel, which also ejected UNICEF cards and calendar volunteer salesmen Tuesday, continued to close their doors to them Wednesday.

J. STANLEY NELSON, the manager of the Pacific Grove branch, said "it is the bank's policy to refuse any request to display advertising material not associated with bank activities."

Eleven pickets appeared at the bank Tuesday and three appeared briefly Wednesday. But Mrs. H. Paul Riebe of Carmel, wife of a retired rear admiral and director of the card sale, said there would be no more picketing.

UNICEF helps provide food and medical care for needy children in more than 100 countries.

THE ATTACK by the Birch Society appeared to spur sales of the UNICEF cards on the Monterey peninsula and apparently throughout northern California.

Mrs. Riebe reported booming sales and attributed it to "the general protest against King's kind of objection."

Scores of northern California businessmen offered floor space

12-10-64 Journal

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Scores of northern California businessmen offered floor space for UNICEF sales and state Sen. Fred S. Farr of Carmel donated his mobile legislative office for UNICEF use this Saturday.

Stores as far away as San Francisco, 90 miles to the north, reported an increase in sales of UNICEF materials.

Gallup Poll

Birchites Get Low Acclaim

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J.—The GOP convention in San Francisco added to the public's awareness of the John Birch Society, but it didn't add to its stature.

The number of people who have heard of this controversial right-wing organization has almost doubled over the last 2½ years. After the society had been in the headlines only a few weeks, in April 1961, 37 per cent of those interviewed said they had heard or read about it. Ten months later the figure had jumped to 53 per cent. Now, in the latest post-GOP convention survey, almost seven persons in ten (68 per cent) are aware of the organization. Translated in terms of numbers, this would represent approximately 75 million adults.

All persons in the survey were asked if they had heard or read about the John Birch Society. Those who replied in the affirmative were then asked for their opinion of the organization.

As the following table shows, unfavorable opinions are now appreciably greater than in February 1962, while favorable opinions have remained at about the same low level:

OPINION OF JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY?
(Among those aware)

	April 1961	Feb. 1962	TODAY
Favorable	9%	8%	8%
Unfavorable	44	43	59
No opinion	47	49	33

Those who hold unfavorable attitudes toward the Birch Society tend to view it in various ways—from a dangerous "Fascist" organization to a collection of "crackpots" and "publicity-seekers."

Those who favor the society argue that any group which actively opposes communism serves a useful purpose.

Here is a sample of comments on both sides:

Favorable: "They're trying to tell the people the truth about communism . . . I think it can be a force for the good . . . I am a member of it and it is a fine society trying to help the country . . . some good men belong to it—it's a bit radical but there must be some truth to it . . ."

Unfavorable: "They're trying to sell patriotism by unpatriotic means . . . they're extremists of the worst kind . . . they are too much behind the scenes—I like an organization which is out in the open . . . I think they are doing the very thing the Communists want—destroying faith in our leaders . . ."

Republicans are slightly more favorably disposed toward the John Birch Society than are Democrats. In terms of region of the country, the Far West is the most receptive to the organization, but here, too, opinion is overwhelmingly on the unfavorable side.

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American Institute of Public Opinion

SUNDAY

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30

AUG. 1964

Reich

probably between

20,000 & 30,000

members in all 50 states

$24 for one $12 for two

income 1963: $1 million

News Briefs

The Atlanta Chapter
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION for the UNITED NATIONS

ROOM 361 • 1401 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E. • ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA • 876-4800

New Name: UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE U S A ., INC.

Those of us who believe in the ideals for which the UN was founded, have watched with hope and reassurance in recent weeks as the Security Council has dealt with the Vietnam and Cyprus crises. Lest we expect too much and abdicate our responsibilities, remember that the UN cannot be expected to regularly perform miracles.

Recently it was announced that the Xerox Corporation has allocated $4,000,000 for a series of 6 90-minute dramatic "special" programs anout the UN. To be shown during the 1964-65 season, the series is designed to illustrate for the American public the UN's economic and social activities.

The creative people involved are giving their services free so that the entire amount can be given to production costs and network time charges. Xerox will dispense with the usual product commercials, confining its message to institutional identification. For years, UN supporters have said that, if only some real money could be put into television programs on the UN, there could be an effective and dramatic means of fostering a strong and affirmative public opinion in support of the UN

The John Birch Society, ever alert and disciplined, has "suggested" to its followers that the Xerox Corporation be taken to task for this expenditure for education on the UN. 100,000 letters have been called for by the John Birch Society.

If ever there was a time, now is the time for UNA members to express to the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, N. Y., deep appreciation and gratitude for their pioneer action in the field of tlelvision. Write a letter yourself. Urge each UNA member to write. Talk with organization leaders in your area and urge them to write. Get the letters going as soon as possible and see that they are original letters, not "form letters".

Check with your ABC and NBC TV station managers to learn when the programs will be carried. Assure them of your cooperation and notify others of the program schedule. Please do not lay this matter aside, but write your letter within the next few days so that the fullest possible impact can be felt by Xerox from this area.

Many of us felt proud to read in a recent UN dispatch about the 4th birthday of Turkish quads who survived because of UNICEF. Weighing a total of 11 lbs. at birth, the babies would have died but for incubators furnished by UNICEF. This event alone was worth the 17¢ UN's cost added to my tax bill in 1960. How about you?

Atlanta's Dr RUFUS CLEMENT will be our speaker at our August meeting to be held at 11:00 o'clock A.M., on August 28th, at the Central YWCA. Dr. Clement recently headed the American delegation to the inauguration of the government of the new nation of Malawe. We are fortunate to have the resources of such a highly regarded American.

Leah Janus has already begun her work as Chairman of our chapter's committee for UN Day observance. On one doubts that she will do her usual excellent job. In fact, you may be terribly surprised at the calibre of speaker she's getting for our UN Week dinner. SHE NEEDS ALL SORTS OF HELP. If you have any time, show her your appreciation by contacting Mrs. Janus and offering help.

Recently, Mrs. Fred Patterson held a meeting at her home of state leaders, who are interested in forming chapters of UNA in their communities. She never ceases to give completely of her resources in the service of what she believes to be uplifting.

Stanley S. Jones, who won the state contest for high school students regarding the UN, has recently returned from the tour which he received for winning. A few days after returning from the UN he appeared on WSB to tell of his experiences on Ruth Kent's show. His enthusiasm was delightful.

Miss Kent's support of the UN concept is complete. Mrs. Fred Patterson and Your president also were guests or her program Today in Georgia, recently.

Rosa Lee Zeis
Secretary

Grady L. Randolph
President.

HOUSING

AC 5/21/66

DeKalb Realtors Praise Open Housing, Rap Bill

The president of the DeKalb Board of Realtors said Friday that his organization thought the objective of open-occupancy housing was "praiseworthy," but that President Lyndon B. Johnson's fair housing bill wasn't the way to achieve it.

William J. Strickland said racial prejudice in housing can be abolished only by "understanding and education fostered voluntarily by churches, schools and all men of good will.

"It cannot be achieved by the federal government with all its vast power, wiping out freedom of choice and contract under the guise of providing a new right for minority groups," Strickland said.

The DeKalb realtor charged that the Johnson administration bill would empower the government "to force an owner to sell or rent his property to a person not of his choice—all under the facade of banning bias."

But, Strickland said, "this would not accomplish abolition of bias—it would just strip from property owners their traditional right to choose whom they may sell or rent to."

He said voluntary efforts to provide equal opportunity in housing "are under way quietly in many communities," citing a report of the California Real Estate Association that "99 per cent of the 286,406 listings of 170 real estate boards for the first 11 months of 1965 contained no racial restrictions."

Strickland said he had sent his remarks to Senators Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge and to 4th District Rep. James A. Mackay.

NCDH

TRENDS IN HOUSING

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 • (212) 685-8911
VOLUME X, NUMBER 9 DECEMBER 1968 $2 A YEAR

Total Effort Urged to End Ghetto System

Next Issue

Denver's "Realtor of the Year" tells how actual experience under a sweeping fair housing statute led Colorado realtors to shift from vehement opposition to support of the law "in spirit as well as letter."

L.A. Meeting Says Urban Crisis Demands Space-Age Solutions

The NCDH Regional Conference for the West Coast, held in Los Angeles November 18-20, was attended by some 300 delegates from 77 cities and towns located in 23 states. Conferees were broadly representative of local fair housing, civic, and civil rights organizations; government agencies; and business, religious, and labor interests. The vast majority came from the Western states.

"Urban Crisis and the Ghetto System – A Program for Grassroots Action" was the theme of this first of five regional meetings planned by NCDH for the coming year as a follow-up to the historic 1966 White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." At that time, 2600 national leaders were charged by President Johnson with developing specific programs to be undertaken by government and the private sector to open the way for Negro Americans and other minorities "to move beyond opportunity to achievement."

The housing proposals adopted at the White House meeting were based on four essential goals:

- An absolutely open market, with affirmative merchandising of housing in all areas to families of all racial groups.
- Expansion and dispersion of the supply of moderate- and low-cost housing throughout all metropolitan areas.
- Development and maintenance of racially-inclusive new towns and suburban communities throughout the nation.
- Revitalization of the existing ghetto areas and their redevelopment into desirable, racially-integrated communities.

In convening the West Coast conference, NCDH launched the first nationwide effort by a public-interest agency to stimulate citizens' pressure for implementation of these White House proposals. The Los Angeles program, described as a "shirtsleeve working conference," was planned with the

Continued on page 4

This is the first of two articles dealing with the significant subject matter covered at the NCDH West Coast Regional Conference. The story in this issue reports on the plenary sessions. Major points developed in the six workshops, each of which concentrated on a particular program area, and highlights from the working papers used at the workshop sessions, will be reported in January.

Case Tests 1866 US Law

NCDH Brief Holds Century-old Statute Covers All Housing

A long-held contention by many of the country's legal experts that the United States has on its statute books a national fair housing law which has been valid, although unused, for 100 years is now being tested by an unprecedented lawsuit which is wending its way through the Federal Courts.

The historic case, which the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has entered as a friend of the court, was initiated in the US District Court in St. Louis (Mo.), and is now before the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. The amicus brief, filed on behalf of NCDH by Sol Rabkin, chairman of its Legal Committee, and Joseph B. Robison, its General Counsel, argues that the Civil Rights Act of 1866, now embodied in Section 1982 of Title 42 of the US Code, prohibits discrimination based on race in the sale or rental of real property.

"The Same Right"

Section 1982 of Title 42 of the US Code reads as follows: "All citizens of the United States shall have *the same right,* in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit,

Continued on page 2

ACTRESS MYRNA LOY, *chairman of the* NCDH *Advisory Council, joins other officials of the National Committee at the Los Angeles Press Club for a news conference which preceded the opening of the West Coast regional meeting. Pictured with Miss Loy, left to right, are Jack E. Wood, Jr., and Edward Rutledge, executive heads of* NCDH; *George R. Metcalf, president; and board member Clive Graham. The entire conference had wide press, radio and* TV *coverage. Miss Loy, a "working chairman" who was present throughout the West Coast meeting, spoke briefly at the opening session.*

All West Coast conference pictures: Trends, Michael Howden

HOUSING

Rights Group Says Government Helps To Build Ghettos

2/9/67

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 — A national civil rights group charged today that the Federal Government had helped to build the nation's Negro ghettos and that its new programs, specifically the model cities program may serve only to perpetuate those ghettos.

This indictment, one of the most serious ever brought by a civil rights group against the Johnson Administration, was contained in a 32-page booklet released at a news conference here today by the officers of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

In a brief analysis of past housing programs, the committee said that the Government's first major contribution to the ghettoization of cities was its willingness to subsidize, through mortgage insurance by the Federal Housing Administration, the construction of the predominantly white suburbs that mushroomed after World War II.

It then went on to charge that present programs had reinforced the ghetto process. Among the major charges were these:

¶The Department of Housing and Urban Development "continues to approve" public housing projects in areas that "guarantee all-Negro occupancy."

¶The housing agency "has taken no meaningful action to desegregate existing public housing projects."

¶Urban renewal programs continue to "violate" Negroes' rights "by forcing their continuous upheaval and relocation in racially segregated areas to accommodate local community prejudices."

The committee's executive director, Edward Rutledge, said that the President's new model cities program, which is designed to upgrade slum neighborhoods, was simply another "ghetto building program" that would lock Negroes into the central cities "for another generation."

The charges brought an eight-page response from Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Weaver said he shared the committee's concern, but he called its appraisal of the Johnson Administration's position "inaccurate and unfair."

Burma Releases 116 More

U.S. URBAN AGENCY ACTS TO CURB BIAS

HOUSING

Campaign Follows Charges by Civil Rights Group

2/16/67

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12—The Department of Housing and Urban Development, long a target for civil rights groups, is undertaking a campaign against racial discrimination in some of its major housing programs. The campaign involves important changes in present policies.

In a confidential memorandum circulated throughout the department in mid-January, Secretary Robert C. Weaver told the operating heads of his agency either to implement the Administration's non-discrimination regulations or to furnish, by mid-January, a detailed explanation why they cannot carry them out.

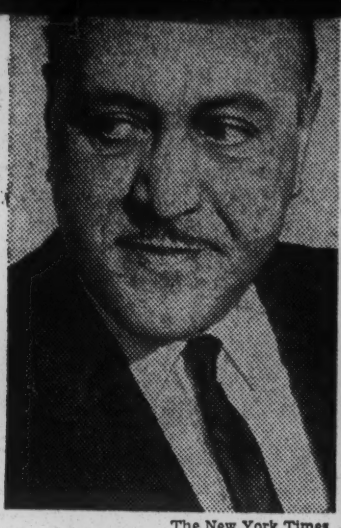
The memorandum has not been made public and the details are still a matter of departmental secrecy. But authoritative sources in the department said its substance was contained in Mr. Weaver's reply last week to charges by a civil rights group that he had failed to act against housing discrimination and thus accelerated the growth of downtown Negro ghettos.

The rights group, a New York-based organization called

The New York Times

Robert C. Weaver

the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, charged, among other things, that the housing agency:



The New York Times

Robert C. Weaver

the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, charged, among other things, that the housing agency:

¶Continued to deal with suburban developers who discriminated against Negroes, despite the executive order of 1962 banning discrimination in Federally insured housing;

¶Took the attitude that it could act only on "complaints" from Negroes, rather than initiating investigations of discrimination on its own;

¶Condoned and encouraged, through its policy of selecting tenants an almost completely segregated system of public housing.

It was perhaps the strongest attack ever leveled against the Administration by a civil rights group, and was in many ways a personal attack on Mr. Weaver, himself a Negro.

In his response, which contained the major points of the confidential departmental memo of last month, Mr. Weaver said he shared the concern of the rights group.

Cites New Policies

But he said that several "policies and procedures" had been devised for a more effective attack on discrimination in the agency's programs. Of these, two were of major importance.

The first deals with federally insured housing projects, covered by the executive order of 1962. Mr. Weaver said that the agency's inspection division had been instructed to make "sample compliance inspections" of such projects and to initiate investigations where there are reasons to believe that discrimination is being exercised."

Moreover, he declared that, whenever discrimination has been shown in a project, the developer "will have to show that he has developed and implemented an affirmative open occupancy program before he can be reinstated" in the federal mortgage insurance program.

The second major policy shift involved a sharp modification of the agency's "free choice" rule governing tenant selection in public housing.

The old rule had meant, in practice, that a white applicant could turn down vacancies in predominantly Negro projects while waiting for vacancies in white projects. The new rule will restrict the applicant's choices to a maximum of three; if he does not find the project he wants, he will either have to take what is available or be bumped to the bottom of the waiting list.

Housing agency officials insist that the new steps the first major changes in departmental antidiscrimination policies in several years, were in the works long before the National Committee against discrimination in Housing opened its attack. But they acknowledged that the attack forced the release of the substances of Mr. Weaver's confidential memorandum.

Mr. Weaver's reply was first described as a "complete whitewash" by officials of the rights group. After a further assessment, they said, it went about "one-quarter" of the way towards meeting their objections, but added that they would not be satisfied until the Secretary greatly strengthened the departmental machinery for carrying out his plans.

Strong White Opposition Hits Housing Bias Laws

By HAL COOPER AC 4/14/67

NEW YORK (AP)—State and city statutes aimed at racial discrimination in housing—a major cause of Negro unrest—faced strong white opposition from coast to coast Thursday.

Proposed open housing laws already have been beaten back this year in some localities, and an Associated Press survey showed that similar proposals elsewhere are in for a rough trip.

In some areas where antidiscrimination measures have been adopted, opponents are resorting to referendums to knock them out.

The City Commission of Jackson, Mich., passed an ordinance last fall making it illegal to discriminate in the sale or rental of housing on the basis of religion, race, color or national origin. In a referendum last Tuesday, voters voided the measure by a count, of 5,826 to 2,886.

In Louisville, Ky., the defeat of an open housing ordinance at a meeting of the board of aldermen Tuesday brought a threat of marches, picketing and sit-ins during Kentucky Derby week next month.

Negro comedian Dick Gregory, who had led demonstrators in favor of the ordinance, declared: "I don't think horses should have more dignity than human beings."

Last month the Maryland general assembly enacted an anti-

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

Whites Hit Bias Laws On Housing

Continued from Page 1

discrimination law which applies to housing completed after June 1. A group of opponents styling themselves as defenders of states' rights said they would petition for a referendum.

In the state of Washington a similar measure has been passed by the legislature and signed by the governor. The Seattle Advisory Homeowners Committee, which opposes it, is seeking the required 50,011 signatures of registered voters on petitions to force a referendum.

Republican Gov. Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania had difficulty finding legislators of his own party to sponsor a bill prohibiting discrimination in housing other than owner-occupied dwellings or rooms sublet by lease. The bill finally was introduced but prospects for passage appeared to be poor.

A Nebraska legislative committee killed an open housing bill which would have applied only to Omaha, the state's biggest city. Public hearings have been called on two other measures which would have wider application.

The Iowa state Senate passed and sent to the House this week an antidiscrimination bill which would require anybody filing a complaint to post a $500 bond. Civil rights leaders denounced this provision as "a price tag on justice."

The New Mexico state legislature has turned down two different open housing bills, one introduced in the Senate and the other in the House.

Illinois has been warned that unless a statewide open housing law is enacted, it may lose a $375-million atom smasher plant which the Atomic Energy Commission plans to build at Weston, near Chicago.

Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the commission, said Congress might refuse to appropriate the necessary funds unless the state general assembly comes up soon with a satisfactory antidiscrimination law.

An Illinois Senate committee has opened hearings on half a dozen proposed measures, but their fate is uncertain.

Advertisement

Housing Bill Held Integration Spur

By BILL JORDAN

The president of the Urban Land Institute said Monday that the 1968 urban housing bill will spur integration of new housing developments.

Hunter Moss of Miami, Institute president, said at a press conference at the Regency Hyatt House that developers have wanted to move toward integration but have held back because of the fear of being the first to do so. Now, he said, the bill gives the developers the chance to move all together.

He added that he did not see the open housing bill setting off a mass exodus from the cities.

The press conference kicked off four days of Urban Land Institute meetings and presentations on "Problem: Rising Land Costs, Solution: Higher Densities?"

EXPECTS REVERSAL

The Miami land developer said that sooner or later people will get tired of the traffic and say, "I've had enough. It's time to move back to the city." Thus, he said, "the trend will be reversed."

On public housing, he said the suburbanites don't want it but it will inevitably come to the suburbs. "If you put your public housing downtown, you're going to re-create your slums," he said.

Questioned after the meeting as to the size of developments of low-rent housing to be located outside the inner city, he said he was in favor of a small number of units in a group. He said that in the Miami area, developments with as few as 12 units are built.

He said the smaller number of units enables the surrounding community to absorb the renters "without people pointing a finger and saying, 'there are your slummers'."

Atlanta recently began proceedings to place 800 units of low-rent housing on East Lake Golf Course.

LOCAL PROBLEMS

Moss said local government regulation was part of the answer to the charge that we are "wasting our land." He said that part of the waste is brought about when individuals hold land for a bigger gain when the rest of the area is being developed. Government services have to by-pass the property, increasing the cost and wasting the land, he said. The property should be rezoned to a higher tax status to force the owner to sell, he added.

The Washington, D.C.-based Urban Land Institute, a non-profit, non-lobbying organization, will hear presentations and discussion on "Land Planning for Low - Rise Development. Garden Apartments and Town Houses" Tuesday. Wednesday the topic will be "High - Rise Development, Apartments, Co-ops, Condominiums," and Thursday "The Pros and Cons of Cluster Housing—a Debate."

The Mortgage Bankers Association of America began meetings Monday evening at the Hilton Inn with the topic, "Urban Development Finance." The meetings will continue with an analysis of a sample case study of a project developed under the rent supplement program. The Tuesday afternoon session will consist of presentations on "Financing the Project."

Lapenza Named President of Atlanta & WP

Chester R. Lapenza has been elected president and general manager of the Atlanta & West Point Railroad Co. and the Western Railway of Alabama, and appointed general manager of the Atlanta-based Georgia Railroad effective June 1.

Lapenza succeeds Donald D. Strench, who has been appointed general manager of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., Louisville, Ky.

Lapenza has been general manager of the Clinchfield Railroad Co., Erwin, Tenn.

Lapenza entered railroad service in the engineering department of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad at Savannah in 1944. He became general manager of the Clinchfield Railroad in 1964.

HOUSING

Only A Beginning - - - -

But a very significant one

Metropolitan Atlanta Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing

Atlanta, Georgia May 29, 1968

HOUSING

A Century of No Progress?

GEORGE R. METCALF

IN JANUARY, 1866, less than a month after the states had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri introduced Senate Bill 61. This bill declared, "All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property." Anyone judged guilty of violating its provisions was subject to a fine not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

Arguments raised for and against the bill have a most contemporary ring. Then as now, the issue of Federal powers versus states' rights was sharply contested. Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, argued, "The bill draws to the Federal government no power whatever if the States will perform their constitutional duties." President Andrew Johnson, vetoing the bill in March, 1866, said that it would "establish, for the security of the colored race, safeguards which go infinitely beyond any that the General Government has ever provided for the white race. In fact, the distinction of race and color is, by the bill, made to operate in favor of the colored and against the white race. . . ." Nevertheless, Congress passed it over Johnson's veto and it went into effect as the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

That law, rarely applied since its passage (it was last invoked in 1903), now has been resurrected as the cornerstone of a major open-housing case up for review by the Supreme Court this term. If the court agrees to hear *Jones* v. *Mayer* and decides in favor of the plaintiff, Joseph Jones of St. Louis, the Federal government will become the guarantor of the right to open housing, a field until now largely relegated to states and communities. And a milestone in our body of civil-rights law will be marked by legislation that has been on the books for 101 years.

Taking the Fourteenth

The reason why the Federal government has left this problem to state and local jurisdiction, except in the cases of Federally owned or financed housing, lies in the post-Reconstruction interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment, which Congress passed some two months after the 1866 Civil Rights Law. This amendment enjoins that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

On its face, this proposal represented an effort to keep the states from passing Jim Crow laws. Once Reconstruction was ended and Southern influence returned to Congress, the Fourteenth Amendment's emphasis on state responsibility easily lent itself to interpretation by the judiciary as limiting the power of the Federal government to matters involving state action. This interpretation was enunciated in the 1883 Civil Rights Cases by Supreme Court Justice Joseph P. Bradley, who declared: "It is State action of a particular character that is prohibited. Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject matter of the amendment.... Until some State law has been passed, or some State action through its officers or agents has been taken . . . no legislation of the United States under said amendment, nor any proceeding under such legislation, can be called into activity. . . . The wrongful act of an individual, unsupported by any [state] authority, is simply a private wrong, or a crime of that individual."

This interpretation not only invalidated an act of 1875 aimed at establishing the right to equal public accommodations (the decision at stake), but it also rendered meaningless the Civil Rights Act of 1866. And to give the states even freer rein, thirteen years later in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* the court laid down the concept of "separate but equal" facilities as fulfilling the requirement of the Fourteenth Amendment. Thereafter the Southern states passed a long list of Jim Crow laws, and discrimination in the North went largely unchallenged.

The stress of civil-rights court action in recent decades has been on reasserting the Federal responsibility abdicated after Reconstruction. With the NAACP playing a leading role, the Jim Crow laws, the separate-but-equal doctrine, and the primacy of the states have been struck down in case after case. But open housing, one of the areas most bitterly defended by the foes of civil rights, has been slow to yield to the legal arguments of Federal primacy.

THE CASE that may make the breakthrough in this Supreme Court term had its origins in June, 1965, when a young St. Louis couple, Joseph and Barbara Jones, were attracted by an advertisement for a home that could be built for $28,195 in Paddock Woods, a suburban development outside the city limits. At the time both were employees of the

Veterans Administration in East St. Louis. Barbara, a graduate of the University of Denver, was a professional social worker. Joseph, who had moved to St. Louis from Mississippi, had served in the U.S. Army in Germany and attended business school before going to work for the Veterans Administration. The house was within their means and was just what they wanted. But when they made an application to the Paddock Woods agent, they were told that it was not the "policy" of the Alfred H. Mayer Company, the subdivision developer, "to sell houses and lots to Negroes." And Joseph was a Negro.

The Joneses sought out Samuel H. Liberman II, a St. Louis lawyer active in civil-rights causes. For purposes of litigation, Liberman realized, the circumstances could not have been improved. There were no extraneous issues to affect the outcome. Paddock Woods was outside the jurisdiction of the city's fair-housing ordinance. The house was to have been built with conventional financing—no G.I. or Veterans Administration loans to invoke a question of Federal legal responsibility. Here was a pure test of the government's obligation to protect Negro citizens in their right to buy real property wherever they chose to live.

Liberman filed suit on the Joneses' behalf in U.S. District Court on September 2, 1965, seeking $50 actual damages and $10,000 punitive damages. He charged a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and the 1866 Civil Rights Act. The District Court was unimpressed by Liberman's argument. It dismissed the case after stating that there was no evidence of "state action" that could trigger the Fourteenth Amendment. Lacking this, the court declared that the 1866 law did not apply, since it read the law as subject to the "state action" limitation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

By this time the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) had heard of the case. When the decision was carried to the U.S. Court of Appeals, Eighth District, the NCDH received permission to file a brief as a friend of the court. The committee's attorneys, Sol Rabkin and Joseph B. Robison, argued that the time had come for the court to recognize that the intent of the 1866 Act, as of the Thirteenth Amendment from which it grew, was clearly for the Federal power to guarantee individual liberties against private invasion. The judicially imposed requirement of "state action" thus was inapplicable to the Act of 1866. This requirement also was crumbling in the case of the Fourteenth Amendment, they argued, and was therefore no longer a prerequisite for invoking Federal power. And even if the need for "state action" to trigger the Fourteenth Amendment power were admitted, there was enough evidence of such action to call for a ruling in favor of the Joneses. Wasn't the defendant Mayer required to be licensed by the state as a real-estate dealer? What was that but "state action"? Didn't all property transactions have to be recorded in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds? Didn't that constitute state involvement?

The list was virtually endless, but the argument at this level was destined to fail. In affirming the decision of the District Court, the Court of Appeals stated that while it found the NCDH arguments weighty, it was without power to accept them. It declared that it was for the Supreme Court "to take the lead in expanding Constitutional precepts."

Taking this observation as a suggestion, NCDH is currently supporting a petition before the Supreme Court to seek final judgment on *Jones* v. *Mayer*. The Justice Department has become an additional backer of the petition, although the Federal government made it clear that in supporting the Joneses it seeks only to prevent the exclusion of Negroes from entire communities, like Paddock Woods, not the "single isolated refusal to sell to a Negro when comparable housing in the same area is readily available to him." If the court reversed the decisions against the Joneses, the 1866 Civil Rights Act would make open housing the law of the land.

Letter and Spirit

This reversal would usher in a new era for the courts, but whether the simple judicial act would overturn discrimination in the marketplace is quite another matter. A Federal agency to enforce compliance would be needed. And the experience of the states that already have open-housing laws demonstrates that the laws are no better than the willingness of public officials to enforce them.

In New York, where the open-housing law is among the most comprehensive in the country, a long string of complaints has grown over the ineffectiveness of the enforcement agency, the State Commission for Human Rights. The commission's official attitude has been to emphasize conciliation rather than compliance in order to forestall a popular outcry against governmental "tyranny." It has ignored administrative tools supplied by the state legislature. In 1965, for example, the legislature gave the commission authority to initiate investigations of cases of suspected discrimination. Previously, it had had to rely on individual complaints; landlords, real-estate agents, financial institutions, and builders could discriminate to their hearts' content if no one raised a voice in protest. But for two years, the proffered authority to investigate went unused; presumably, members of the commission were afraid of political retaliation.

Only recently has the commission shown signs that it will begin using the law. "We can no longer sit back and wait for individual complaints to be filed before we take action," its new chairman, Robert J. Mangum, said last month. The New York *Times* hailed his statement as "a major change in the attitude and operations of the agency toward combating racial discrimination." It remains to be seen what actions will follow the words.

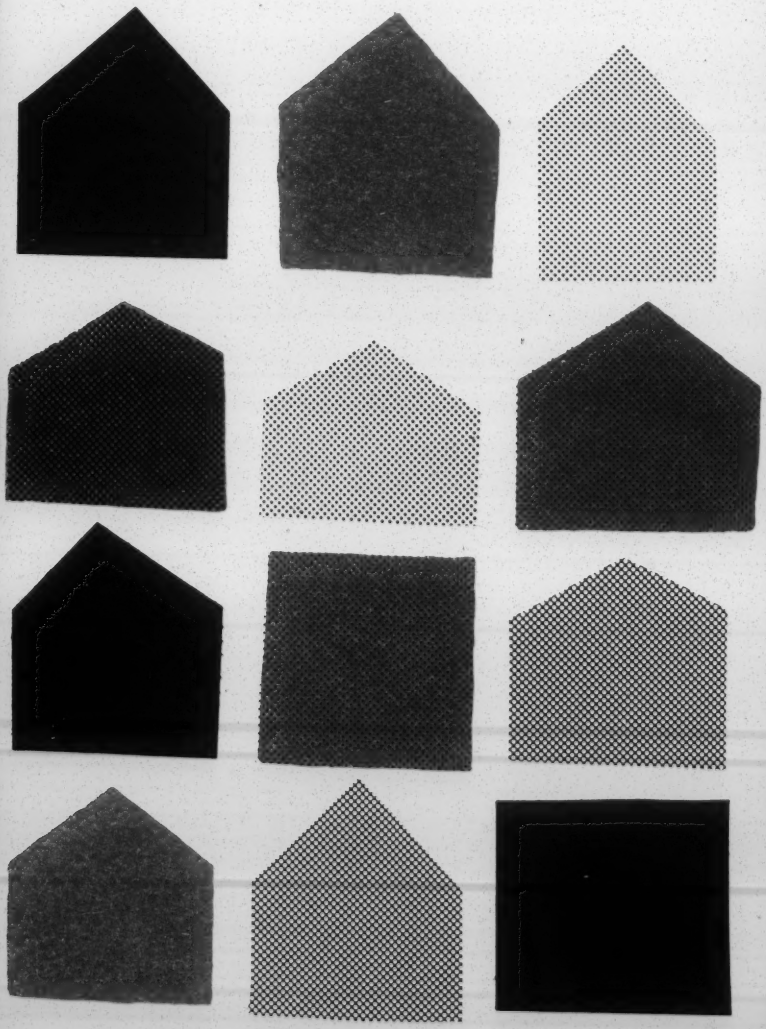
At the latest count, twenty-two of the states have adopted open-housing statutes of varying degrees of coverage and effectiveness. Yet for the most part, Negro citizens in those states are still unable to buy or rent where they please. Because of reluctance to enforce the law, the gatekeepers of the white community—the banker, the broker, the builder—are still able to keep up the barriers without punishment. Initially, a favorable ruling by the Supreme Court in *Jones* v. *Mayer* undoubtedly would meet with as much resistance as the state laws or its own 1954 school-desegregation ruling. But like that ruling, it would be a first, essential step.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

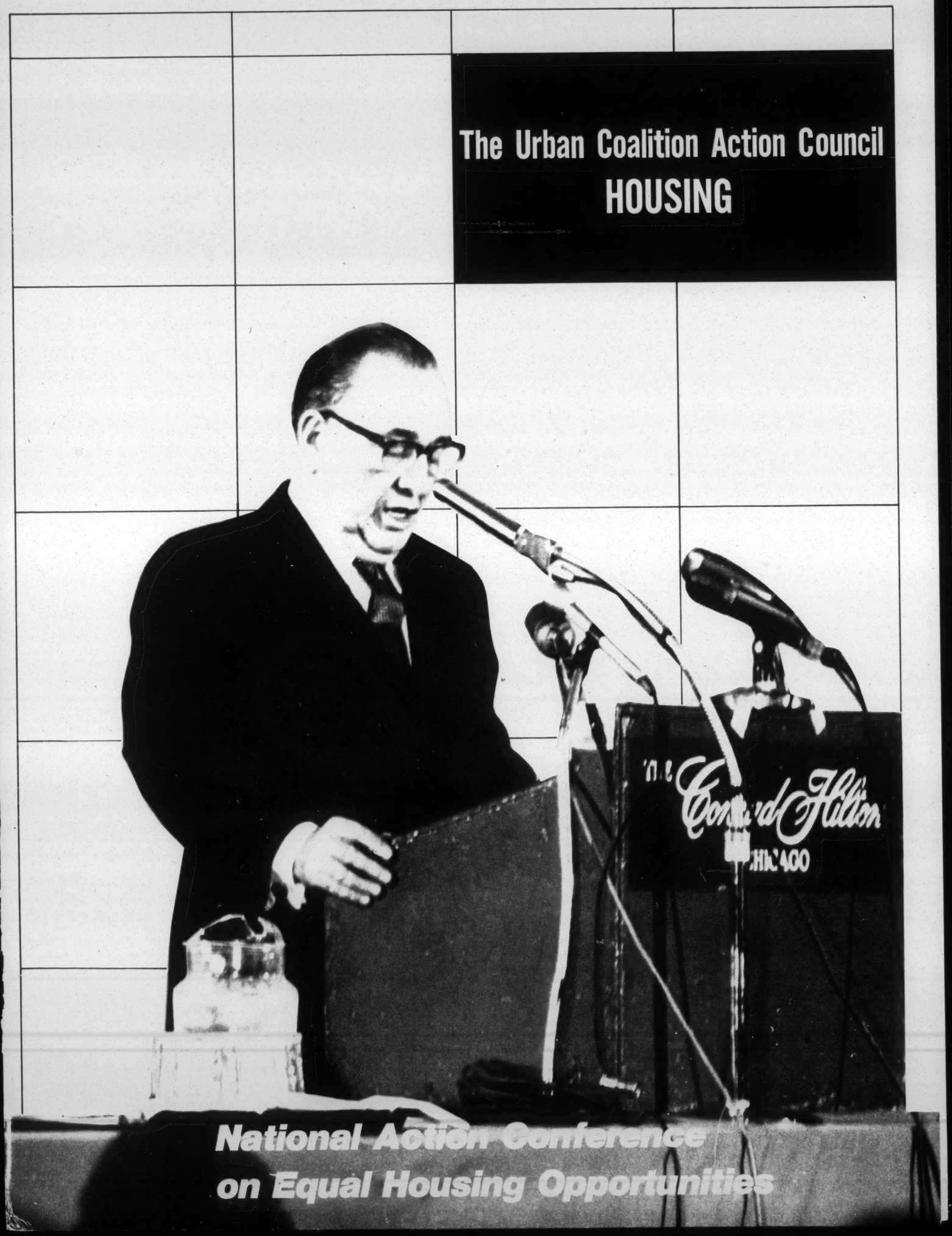
C+2 HOUSING

HOMES AND COMMUNITY

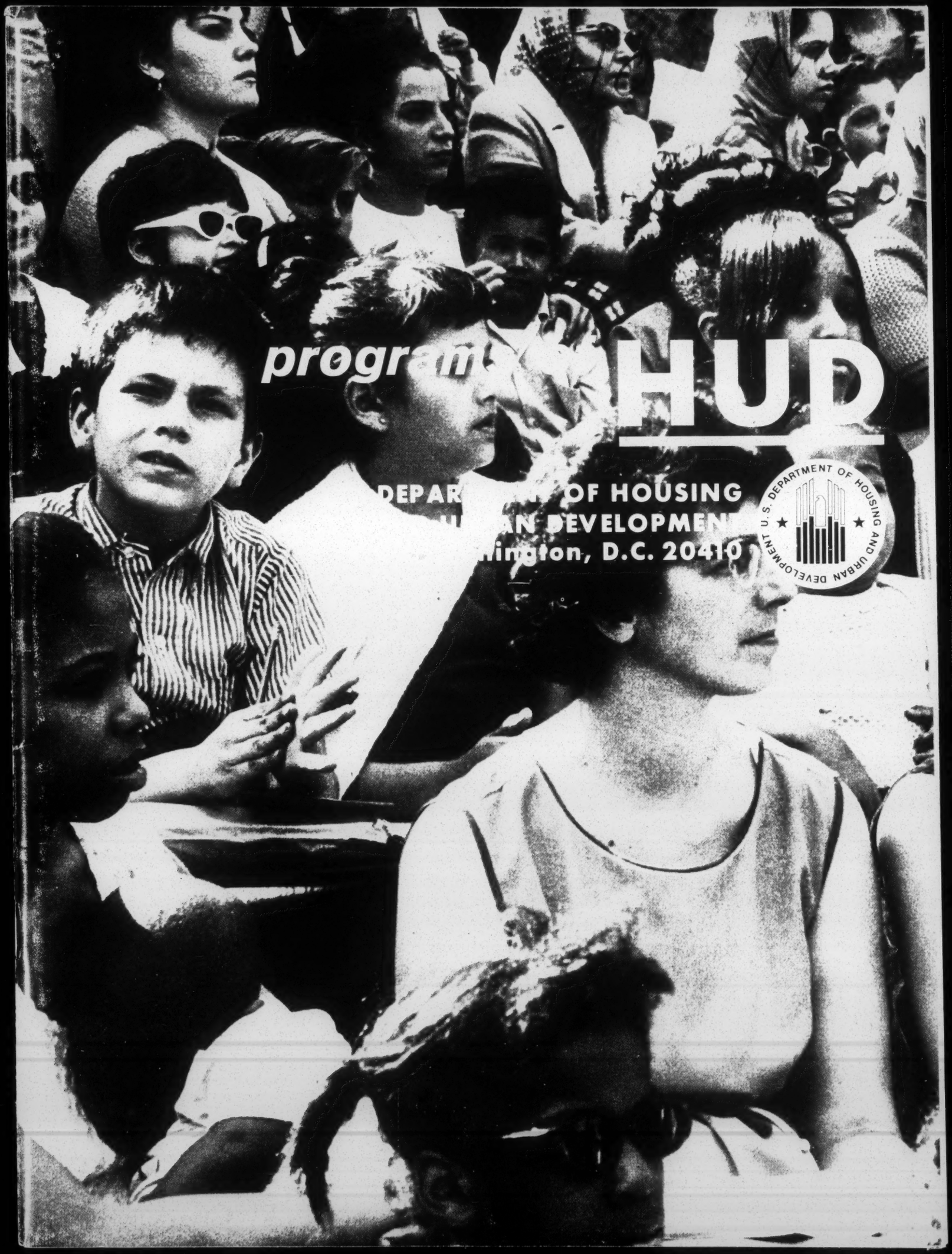
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM
Rm. 501, 41 [illegible] Georgia 30303



The Urban Coalition Action Council
HOUSING



National Action Conference on Equal Housing Opportunities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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Richmond Area Economic Development Summary For 1963

A Banner Year In Economic Development

New milestones in economic development were reached in the Richmond area this year on all fronts according to records of the Chamber's Industrial and Trade Bureau. More than 1,000,000 square feet (approximately 20 football fields) of new industrial plant capacity have been placed here this year. The 1963 industrial and commercial developments tabulated here includes more than 35 new developments in manufacturing, including 11 new industries, to continue the ever spreading diversity of Richmond's industry.

More than 400,000 sq. ft. of new distribution warehouse activity were recorded in the files of the Industrial and Trade Bureau. Public merchandise storage and distribution organizations are also in the expansions reflected here. The area experienced continued growth of headquarters and branch office activities.

The apartment building boom led in the residential construction tabulation with more than $25,000,000 spent. This capital outlay is represented by both high-rise and garden type apartments.

Hospital facilities being constructed will cost well over $10,000,000. Other fields of commercial expansion including finance, hotels-motels and retail trades are reflected in this tabulation, but the list of 126 developments is by no means all inclusive. Developments announced in previous Bulletins are omitted.

The major indicators of economic activity below also record a year of economic growth.

			Net Increase	
	1963	1962	Amount	%
Total Employment	181,200	177,400	3,800	2.1
Average Weekly Earnings, Mfg.	$ 88.47	$ 86.10	$ 2.37	2.8
Business Establishments - No.	16,012	15,789	123	1.4
Volume of Trade (000)	$13,738,727	$12,382,764	$1,707,063	10.9
Commercial Construction	$29,389,295	$27,934,031	$1,455,264	5.2

Note: Data shown are for 12 months ending November 30.
Number of business establishments measured by commercial electric meters. Volume of trade measured by bank debits.

From News-Leader of May 26, '65

City Council members are taking a"once burnt twice cautious approach to the pending annexation suit against Chesterfield county. Still strong in the memories of the councilmen is the recent Henrico annexation case in which a three judge p anel awarded the city a 17-sq.mi. chunk of Henrico county. The price tag specified by the court was so high, however, that the city refused the court's award and turned attention instead toward Chesterfield, where a 51-sq.mi. chunk of county land has been marked for annexation.

News Leader 6/9/65 -

U Richmond board of trustees drops racial bars in September, 1965 -

Prior to this, since Feb 1965, N's in evening program.

Unconfirmed reports say N's applied to UR, were denied admission

Many private Va. schools dropping ROTC.

MEMORANDUM ON HOUSING, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

In common with many of the large metropolitan centers in the nation, the population of Richmond has grown tremendously during the past two decades. New developments in the suburban areas as well as construction of many modern apartment houses within the City proper have provided a wide choice in styles and prices from which to select living quarters.

Cost figures quoted in this memorandum naturally cannot be guaranteed because they have been selected at random from quotations seen in the classified section of our daily newspapers. Single bedroom, unfurnished rentals start around $65 per month on an annual lease basis. For modern, economical accommodations, the middle range would be about $85 per month. With two bedrooms, rentals start at approximately $75 per month, and with three bedrooms correspondingly higher. Furnished quarters are from $10 to $50 higher, depending on the season and and various other factors which are inclined to affect the rates one way or another.

At the present time, there is a wide selection of homes available for purchase in Richmond. Builders are prepared to erect housing in three to four months time. Attractive two-bedroom homes are available for as low as $8,500. Some three bedroom homes are advertised at approximately $9,300 and upward.

Furnished efficiency apartments sometimes are available as low as $75 per month but the supply is limited and vacancies are infrequent. Several new high-rise apartment buildings have recently been constructed.

For those desiring deluxe quarters, there are several areas restricted to the more expensive type of home or apartment.

Real estate firms belonging to the Richmond Chamber of Commerce generally act as brokers in the selling or leasing of homes or apartments. A partial list of these real estate firms is available from this office.

We suggest that people interested in living quarters in the Richmond area refer to the classified advertising section of one or both of the two daily newspapers: Richmond Times-Dispatch - morning and Sunday; Richmond News Leader - evening, daily only, 110 North Fourth Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219.

We generally recommend that newcomers to Richmond stop at one of our hotels or tourist courts until they have had an opportunity to personally acquaint themselves with the several sections of the City and to examine at first hand the alternative facilities which are available and suitable to their needs.

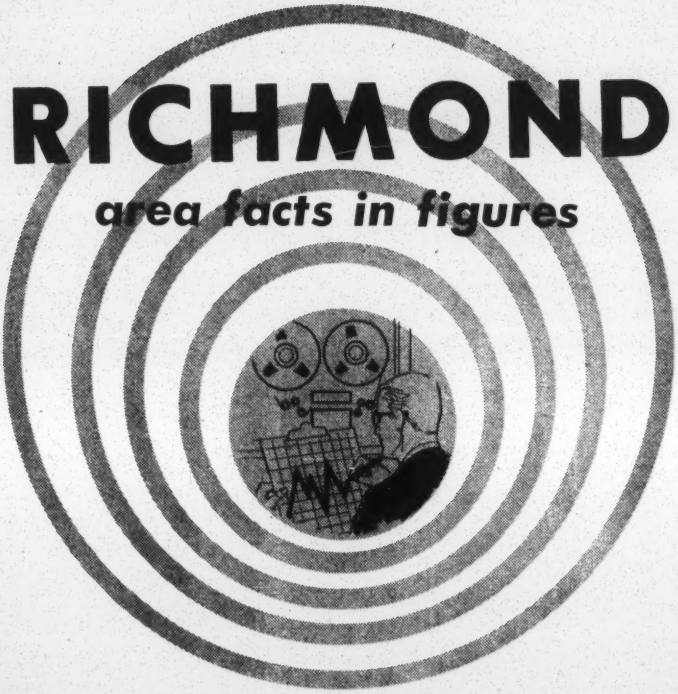
# # # #

Richmond Chamber of Commerce
616 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

5/65:400

RICHMOND

area facts in figures



1965

RICHMOND
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 East Franklin Street
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
Telephone 649-0373

THE RICHMOND AREA TODAY

POPULATION

1965

Standard Metropolitan Area	486,800
Richmond City	220,100
Henrico	140,900
Chesterfield	93,500
Hanover	32,300

HOUSING UNITS

1965

Metropolitan	150,300
Corporate	72,450

PERSONAL INCOME

1965

Total	$1,379,500,000
Per Family	9,409
Per Capita	2,834

RETAIL TRADE

1965

Establishments	3,247
Sales Estimate	$ 746,705,000

EMPLOYMENT

Jan. 1965

Total Non-Agricultural Wage & Salary Employment	192,900
Manufacturing	48,400
Wholesale Trade	13,800
Retail Trade	30,300
Services	24,600
Local & State Government	25,100
Federal Government	7,300
Construction	12,800
Finance, Real Estate	7,300
Insurance	7,600
Transportation, Utilities, Communications	15,500

EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING

Tobacco	10,300
Chemicals & Allied Products	8,700
Food & Kindred Products	5,100
Printing & Publishing Industries	4,200
Paper & Allied Products	3,700
Apparel & Textile Products	3,700
Lumber & Wood except Furniture	2,200
Fabricated Metal Products	1,900
Other	8,600

PHYSICAL FACTS

Corporate land area	39.9 square miles
Mean annual temperature	58.0 degrees F
Mean July temperature	78.1 degrees F
Mean January temperature	38.7 degrees F
Maximum elevation above sea level	312 feet
Precipitation annually	44.21 inches
Wind—Average velocity	7.7 miles per hour
Normal degree days	3914

UTILITIES

Minimum daily flow in James River—gals.	225,000,000
City water plants	
Rated capacity daily—gals.	88,000,000
Peak demand daily—gals.	47,000,000
Sewage treatment plant	
Rated capacity daily—gals.	70,000,000
Peak demand daily—gals.	30,000,000
Electric consumption (000 KWH)	1,780,000
Gas consumption (000 cu. ft.)	8,137,000

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1965

Enrollment	97,219
Day School	94,460
Night School	2,759
Teachers	4,637
Day School	4,487
Night School	150
Value School Property	$ 112,147,286

RICHMOND'S ECONOMIC GROWTH

Year	Metropolitan Population (Number)	Corporate Population (Number)	Non Agricultural Employment (Number)	Personal Income ($000,000)	Retail Sales ($000,000)	Wholesale Trade ($000,000)	Value Added By Manufacture ($000,000)	Cigarette Production (000,000)	Bank Deposits ($000)	Bank Debits ($000,000)	Savings & Loan Deposits ($000)	Construction Total ($000)	Construction Residential ($000)	Construction New Dwelling Units (Number)	Telephones Home (Number)	Telephones Business (Number)	Electric Customers Business (Number)	Automobile Registrations (Number)	Year
1950	328,050	230,310	138,500	551	331	718	302	104,303	550,107	6,151	23,723	54,532	29,977	4,418	71,125	34,185	13,227	68,764	1950
1951	335,900	229,000	143,600	639	388	751	328	108,687	583,535	6,972	25,850	53,744	32,656	3,798	75,613	35,916	13,443	74,555	1951
1952	344,600	228,050	146,400	672	402	785	331	110,665	613,352	7,274	31,751	40,713	25,450	2,924	78,833	37,818	13,715	80,574	1952
1953	353,800	227,050	147,900	689	414	819	338	107,646	603,654	7,658	37,320	42,944	26,351	3,220	82,869	39,025	13,866	87,321	1953
1954	361,700	225,950	145,700	715	424	852	344	107,423	656,063	7,530	50,524	69,474	35,972	3,989	85,461	40,552	14,516	93,329	1954
1955	369,500	224,850	149,700	740	445	932	378	110,122	663,756	8,284	58,510	69,702	42,225	4,620	90,613	42,593	14,230	99,825	1955
1956	377,400	223,700	157,000	804	471	1,012	396	111,353	692,913	8,806	67,039	73,118	32,227	3,157	96,746	45,266	14,465	105,800	1956
1957	385,400	222,700	160,100	849	496	1,092	428	104,648	710,134	9,466	78,338	72,442	39,258	3,561	101,988	47,376	14,730	111,600	1957
1958	393,200	221,750	159,500	903	524	1,172	451	106,992	745,848	9,961	93,456	76,927	40,994	3,585	108,370	49,866	14,950	118,500	1958
1959	401,100	220,850	163,700	930	553	1,275	495	113,678	767,766	11,314	108,158	84,504	43,337	3,881	112,581	51,953	15,247	121,074	1959
1960	408,494	219,958	166,500	969	571	1,397	515	113,797	789,951	11,620	128,684	65,455	32,519	2,810	117,607	54,249	15,395	122,361	1960
1961	418,400	219,500	167,900	1,017	580	1,442	526	115,229	878,069	11,905	149,453	86,314	36,747	3,882	123,906	56,024	15,393	127,121	1961
1962	425,865	218,391	174,200	1,087	644	1,491	544	112,110	961,953	12,420	171,284	77,635	32,371	3,374	128,593	58,189	15,850	134,269	1962
1963	436,100	221,758	184,600	1,158	665	1,592	559	116,722	1,029,768	14,011	191,246	96,587	46,350	5,873	132,935	60,888	16,028	139,236	1963
* 1964	475,100	221,100	195,200	1,314	711	1,665	585	114,099	1,214,716	16,400	205,334	83,752	41,515	4,460	140,335	64,341	16,258	158,600	1964 *

* AREA DEFINITION

The site of the City of Richmond is at the head of navigation on the James River. This is on the "fall line" where the Coastal Plain ends and the Piedmont begins. Henrico County surrounds the City north of the river and Chesterfield County surrounds it on the south side.

The three units of government comprised the official standard metropolitan statistical area until October 1963 when the area as designated by the federal government was enlarged to include Hanover County because the spread of urbanization is now reaching there. Data on the newly defined metropolitan area begins with 1964.

South of Richmond are the three independent cities of Petersburg, Colonial Heights, and Hopewell. They are not officially within the metropolitan area but are contiguous to it. The three cities and their suburbs have a combined population that exceeds 110,000.

GOVERNMENTS

	Richmond	Henrico	Chesterfield	Hanover
Assessed Valuation ($000)	1,141,565	306,735	229,567	40,937
Real Estate ($000)	912,967	237,489	166,346	33,463
Personal Property ($000)	160,976	67,563	37,485	7,474
Mfg. Machinery ($000)	67,622	1,683	25,736	*
Net Bonded Debt ($000)	70,205	35,004	26,627	2,252
Supervisors or Councilmen	9	4	6	3
Bond Rating	AAA	AA	A	A
Personnel				
General Government	4,575	632	200	50
Police Force	487	96	46	6
Fire Force Paid	410	78	0	0
Volunteer	0	220	600	100

Local Property taxes: One jurisdiction only. City not in a county.

Real estate rate per $100	$1.88	$2.45	$2.80	$3.10
Assessment ratio (%)	90	40	32	30
Personal property rate	$2.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.10
Machinery & tools rate	$1.00	$2.00	$ .55	$3.10

Richmond, Virginia

STATE CAPITAL, located at the top of the south and in the heart of the east; midway on the shortest, quickest, most economical route serving the Atlantic seaboard. Area population increasing 10,000 per year, total to be 600,000 by 1980.

BALANCED ECONOMY with no one field of business dominating, occupations spread like the national average for metropolitan areas. Low unemployment, fine labor record, net inward migration.

TRANSPORTATION GATEWAY, 5 railroads, 4 air lines, 2 major bus systems, 50 motor carriers, 3 Interstate Highways, and navigable James River.

FINANCIAL CENTER, headquarters of the 5th Federal Reserve District, bank deposits over $1 billion; home offiice of 34 insurance companies.

HEADQUARTERS CITY for the upper South in communications, utilities, government, commerce.

TRADE CENTER of the South Atlantic with 770 wholesale distributors and over $1.5 billion sales; a retail shopping area of 40 counties and 10 cities. Travel attractions draw up to 100,000 convention delegates and numberless tourists annually.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT in forefront among Southern metropolitan areas with 492 plants and more than 44,000 employed, ranked as a major manufacturing area. "Tobacco Capital of the World" with operations of many major tobacco companies. Cigarettes made in Richmond each year, if placed end to end, would reach to the moon and back 11 times, or encircle the earth 200 times. Area has largest nylon plant in the world and is leading producer of synthetic fibers. One of the largest centers for packaging including aluminum, cellophane, bags, paper and paperboard, cartons, containers and printing. Major plants in chemicals, pharmaceuticals, veterinary medicines, paints, fertilizers, food, metals, men's clothing; output of hassocks exceeds any other city.

RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Working for economic development in the city of Richmond and Henrico, Chesterfield and Hanover counties.

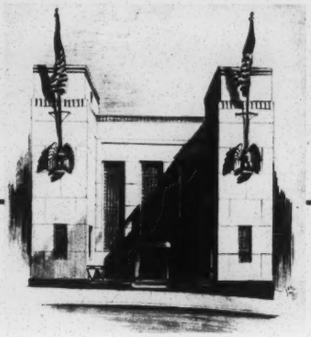
MANUFACTURER'S AGENTS IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Abbott, P. C. & Company	15 E. Franklin Street	Plumbing Supplies
Adams, Floyd E.	3122 W. Clay Street	Heating Equipment
Baer, Herbert J.	304 East Main Street	Electric Manufacturers
Bagley, John J.	706 Dawn Street	Building Materials
Baumiller, Wm. M. Jr.	109 So. Boulevard, Apt. 6	Novelties
Berkness Control & Equip. Corp.	308 West Cary Street	Power Plant Equipment
Bivins & Caldwell, Inc.	1219 High Point Avenue	Electronic Test Equip.
Breeden & Collier Company	6700 West Broad Street	Air Conditioning Equip.
Buchanan, Donald B.	Richmond Federal Bldg.	Steel & Metal Prod.
Buildings Equip. & Supply Corp.	813 West Broad Street	Janitors' Supplies
Campbell & Woods Agency	8108 Bowers Lane	Electrical Equip.
Cease, R. B.	3813 Noble Avenue	Road Bldg. Supplies
Chadwick, N. R. Company	3 South 12th Street	Pens
Challenger Sales Corp.	5407 Patterson Avenue	Vinyls, Plastics, Carpets
Chet Adams Company	5405 Patterson Avenue	Heating Equipment
Christian Company, The	506 Travelers Building	Chemicals
Cody, Dave Associates, Inc.	1805 Roseneath Road	Auto Parts
Coffield, F. G., Inc.	3318 West Cary Street	Service Station Equip.
Crews, Lewis J.	1725 Arlington Road	Electrical Equip.
deWitt, Cornelius	4501 Archer Avenue	Hardware
Dickerson, Curtis E.	Southern Bank Bldg.	Leather & Plastics
Duffee, James E. Company	P. O. Box 5055	Industrial Supplies
Eastern Distributing Corp.	2219 Chamberlayne Ave.	Foundry Equipment
Eichel & Company	Insurance Building	Plumbing Supplies
Electronex Associates	2904 W. Clay Street	Elec. & Ind. Products
Epperson, Wm. E.	1103 East Main Street	Electrical Supplies
Equipment Sales Co., Inc.	Seaboard Building	Plumbing Supplies
Fishburne, Robert W.	1725 Arlington Road	Electrical Supplies
Fox, Rowland H.	801 Canal Street	Marine Products
Frazier Textiles	1 North 6th Street	Textiles
General Warehousers, Inc.	1109 Oak Street	Automotive Parts
Goode, W. B. Co., Inc.	2915 W. Leigh Street	Gas Pumps & Equip.
Goodloe, Samuel P.	3600 W. Broad Street	Railway Supplies
Hackett, Robert T.	3101 E. Main Street	Electrical Equip.
Harris, Joseph A.	603 E. Franklin St.	Building Materials
Harris, Thomas P., Jr.	P. O. Box 9195	Electrical Equip.
Hawkins-Hamilton Co., Inc.	American Building	Power Plant Equip.
Henderson Sales Company	8632 Chippenham Rd.	Building Materials
Highsmith, James L. & Co.	5500-A Lakeside Ave.	Electronics
Howell, Frank Co., Inc.	605 West Cary Street	Power Plant Equip.
Jewett, Dave	513 Marilea Road	Valves, Instruments
Joyce, Joseph L. & Assoc.	3318 W. Cary Street	Plastics & Chinaware
Lambert,Karl C.	622 Jackson Ave.	Automotive
Lea, Richard J. & Co.	4802 Forest Hill Ave.	Weather Strips

Lee, L. M., Jr.	Richmond Federal Bldg.	Industrial Adhesives
Lovelace, R. S. Co.	3002 Idlewood Avenue	Heating Equipment
Marchant Industrial Sales Co.	P. O. Box 9534	Electrical Equipment
Martin Sales Agency	2409 Larkwood Road	Mkt. & Drug Prod. (Non-Foods)
Moore, Thomas W.	300 W. Broad Street	Furniture
Myers, Milo	109 Wilkinson Road	Pumps
Noel, Hugh R. Co., Inc.	531 Brook Road	Industrial Equipment
O'Neill Pump & Engineering Co.	601 E. Franklin St.	Pumps
Overhead Door Co. of Va., Inc.	4400 Williamsburg Ave.	Doors
Pelouze Sales Company	200 N. 4th Street	Mechanical Equip.
Pendleton, Hugh C.	4004 Cary Street Road	Hosiery
Powers Regulator Co., The	2205 Tazewell	Heating Appliances
Prillaman, L. A.	2610 Penrose Drive	Heating & Air Cond.
Reynolds Office Systems	601 Westover Hills Blvd.	Office Equipment
Ridge, John H.	608 Richmond Fed. Bldg.	Ind. Parts & Machinery
Roanoke Engineering Sales Co.	P. O. Box 897	Metal Bldg. Specialties
Rogerson, P. H. Company	113 So. 3rd Street	Power Plant Equipment
Rumsey Electric Company	2910 W. Moore Street	Electrical Products
Schoenfeld, J. P. Company	Bon Air, Va.	Plumbing & Heating Sup.
Schraudt, George E., Jr.	202 E. Cary Street	Lighting Equipment
Sharove, Samuel H.	16 Malvern Avenue	Building Supplies
Shaw, John C.	513 W. Broad Street	Fire Fighting Equip.
Shelor, Fred L., Jr.	109 Longstreet Avenue	Lighting Equipment
Shepherd, Allan T. Company	205 E. Canal Street	Industrial Equipment
Shultz & James, Inc.	9 East Cary Street	Mechanical Equipment
Snead, Edloe B. Company	3122 W. Clay Street	Food Products
Southern Associates, Inc.	111 W. Grace St.	Food & Non-Food Products
Stovall, W. H. & Co., Inc.	303 S. 2nd Street	Building Materials
Sullivan, W. E., Jr.	6211-A West Broad St.	Electrical Materials
Summerell, H. M. Company	3414 W. Broad Street	Mechanical Equipment
Sweeney, T. W.	913 Pepper Avenue	China
Taylor Brothers	6 South 5th Street	Industrial Supplies
Taylor, Lipscomb & Appel, Inc.	318 West Cary Street	Heating Equipment
Thalhimer, Fred A.	4518 W. Grace Street	Textiles & Novelties
Todman, Fred G. & Co.	Hull & 21st Streets	Restaurant & Hotel Sup.
Turner, Frank A.	7105 Hermitage Road	Heating Equipment
Tyson, Flavius M.	3917 W. Franklin Street	Hardware
Urick, Eugene L.	1220 Bellevue Avenue	Automotive Parts
Va. Equip. & Supply Co., Inc.	2910 W. Clay Street	Pumps
Weaver, C. Arthur Co., Inc.	2612 W. Cary Street	Power Trans. Equip.
Weiss, Frederic J. Company	1505 Hilliard Road	Pumps, Mech. Equip.
Welton Company, The	107 East Cary Street	Bldg. Pro. & Specialties
Williamson & Wilmer, Inc.	Mutual Building	Power Plant Equipment

THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA



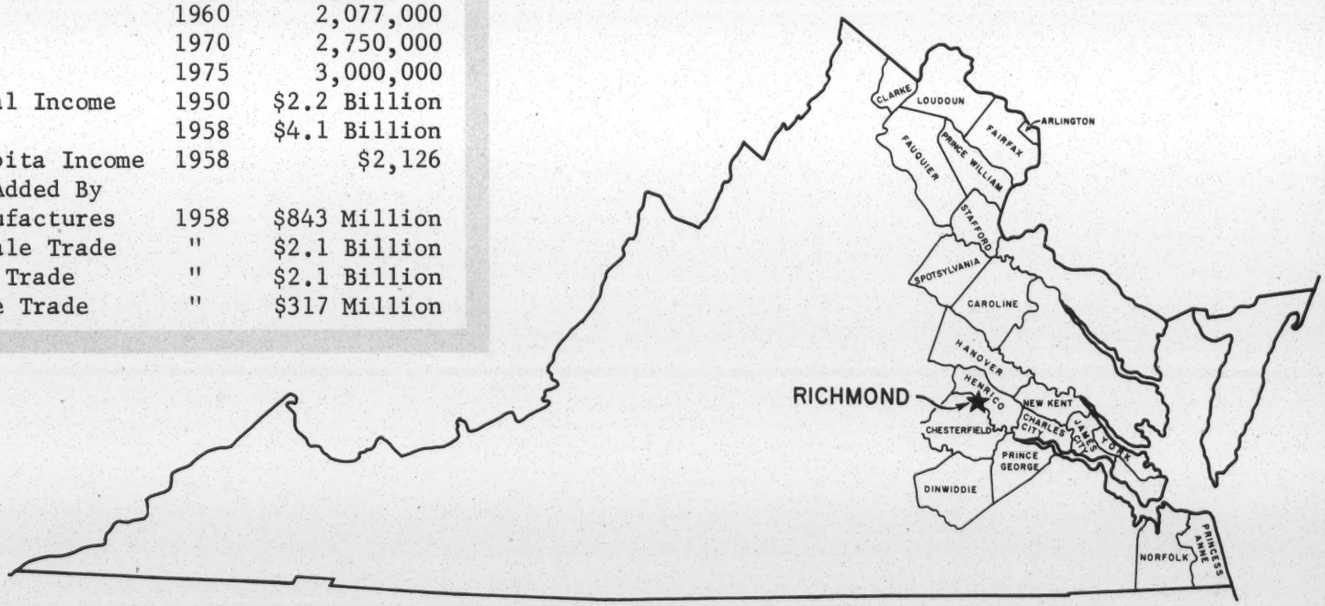
RESEARCH BULLETIN

115

Profile of Virginia's Urban Corridor

URBAN CORRIDOR FACTS

Land area - sq. miles		6,847
% of Virginia		17%
Population Distribution		
	Urban	80%
	Rural	20%
Population	1950	1,397,000
	1960	2,077,000
	1970	2,750,000
	1975	3,000,000
Personal Income	1950	$2.2 Billion
	1958	$4.1 Billion
Per Capita Income	1958	$2,126
Value Added By Manufactures	1958	$843 Million
Wholesale Trade	"	$2.1 Billion
Retail Trade	"	$2.1 Billion
Service Trade	"	$317 Million



There is taking place in Virginia a dynamic pattern of urbanization in a belt that stretches from Northern Virginia through Richmond and swings to the Coast. Dr. Lorin A. Thompson, Director of the Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia has outlined this area and called it the "Urban Corridor". This Bulletin presents an economic profile of this fascinating concept.

Three fourths of Virginia's urban population lives in the Urban Corridor. Per capita income and educational attainment are higher than the national averages. The Urban Corridor includes barely 17% of the State's land area but has 52% of her total population. The population figure of more than 2,000,000 at the last census included a 48% increase in a decade and put Virginia's Urban Corridor up front as one of the fastest growing sections of the country. The population already exceeds that of a number of states. Only Florida and four far western states have experienced a faster rate of growth.

If population growth continues at recent rates, and there is every indication that it will, the average annual increase for this decade will be 70,000 persons per year and the total increase will be 700,000. The 2,000,000 population count in 1960 will rise to 3,000,000 by 1975. This phenomenal development beginning to take form as Virginia's Urban Corridor is creating vast opportunities for expansion of markets, industrial development, and advances in the standard of living and culture in Virginia.

The Urban Corridor has a substantial share of the economic activity of the State, 62% of the personal income, 40% of the industrial output, 65% of the wholesale trade, 57% of the retail trade, and 67% of the service trade. And Richmond, the State's leading industrial, distribution, and headquarters center, has the greatest concentration of economic development in the Urban Corridor. Approximately one half of the manufacturing output and one half of the wholesale trade volume of the Corridor come from Richmond, while one fourth of the retail and service trade receipts take place in metropolitan Richmond.

The north-south axis of the Urban Corridor is Interstate 95 and the east-west axis is Interstate 64. These highways which will have so important a part in shaping future development intersect at Richmond. All transportation facilities are highly developed. Richmond occupies the pivotal position in the Corridor; the location being equi-distant from the population complexes at each end and at the point where population distribution is in balance for both directions.

The following statistical profile on the Urban Corridor is designed to show the great importance of the area in the present economy of the State. Much of what happens in the future for Virginia depends on the assets and resources of the Urban Corridor. At present, 80% of the population in the Corridor is classified as urban and 20% is classified as rural. Although the Corridor seems destined to become fully urbanized in the long range, there is plenty of room now in this band of expanding population clusters for all kinds of economic growth and development. Great potentials are there and virtually every requirement can be met somewhere in the Urban Corridor, particularly in the Richmond area.

Virginia's Urban Corridor - A Statistical Profile

Political Subdivision	Population	Personal Income (000)	Manufacturing Employees	Manufacturing Value Added (000)	Wholesale Trade (000)	Retail Trade (000)	Service Trade (000)
Alexandria	91,023	$ 225,709	2,125	$ 17,131	$ 81,399	$135,987	$19,566
Arlington	163,401	492,316	1,199	9,181	213,676	242,406	43,084
Fairfax	275,002	419,501	637	6,053	14,370	114,661	52,609
Falls Church	10,192	34,183	121	1,184	3,050	53,651	3,786
Loudoun	24,549	44,254	152	withheld	9,123	22,714	3,122
Clark	7,942	13,021	672	3,353	withheld	6,566	833
Fauquier	24,066	48,280	159	840	13,176	19,435	1,847
Prince William	50,164	53,654	314	2,684	3,866	32,390	2,152
Stafford	16,876	14,393	219	770	756	5,249	1,113
Fredericksburg	13,639	24,984	1,406	5,927	24,766	39,900	3,122
Spotsylvania	13,819	21,870	2,865	withheld	11,230	3,229	387
Caroline	12,725	13,515	438	1,623	2,627	8,420	1,467
Hanover	27,550	39,192	985	3,741	3,664	17,838	1,663
Henrico	117,339	214,435	1,598	10,701	43,466	52,186	4,423
Richmond City	219,958	601,186	30,982	337,303	1,119,456	448,035	69,294
Chesterfield	71,197	134,898	5,329	62,909	9,514	28,891	2,559
Colonial Heights	9,587	22,375	171	1,210	1,086	7,245	978
Petersburg	36,750	67,852	5,197	70,570	38,017	55,233	5,819
Dinwiddie	22,183	20,202	288	842	712	8,947	2,858
Prince George	20,270	37,498	159	711	withheld	4,852	2,814
Hopewell	17,895	133,142	3,714	64,676	withheld	19,443	1,365
New Kent	4,504	5,146	104	357	2,091	2,685	207
Charles City	5,492	4,850	15	78	withheld	888	withheld
James City	11,539	18,124	145	946	410	3,497	831
Williamsburg	6,832	10,947	89	374	2,262	16,141	650
York	21,583	38,296	510	*	2,484	8,171	6,726
Newport News	113,662	208,860	15,346	125,977SMSA	59,171	134,186	11,312
Hampton	89,258	46,317	1,254	*	17,465	69,076	6,446
Norfolk	305,872	633,664	9,744	91,261	440,184	364,090	44,974
Portsmouth	114,773	161,526	1,987	16,216	40,243	102,444	9,086
South Norfolk	22,035	39,152	1,195	9,157	69,974	20,079	1,085
Norfolk County	51,612	149,110	1,756	14,985	18,622	24,679	3,241
Princess Anne	76,124	119,838	174	1,135	6,793	28,192	3,193
Virginia Beach	8,091	14,474	30	162	2,697	23,940	6,400
Total Urban Corridor	2,077,504	$4,126,764	91,079	$ 843,196	$2,256,350	$2,125,346	$317,012
Total Virginia	3,966,949	$6,660,000	251,909	$2,122,652	$3,488,917	$3,721,290	$471,529
Urban Corridor % of State	52%	62%	36%	40%	65%	57%	67%
Richmond SMSA Total	408,494	$ 950,519	37,909	$ 410,913	$1,172,436	$ 529,112	$ 76,276
% of Urban Corridor	20%	23%	41%	49%	52%	25%	24%

Sources: Population, U.S. Census, 1960
Personal Income, 1958, Bureau of Population & Economic Research, Un. of Va., 1958
Manufacturing, Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Service Trade, U.S. Census 1958

THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

RESEARCH BULLETIN 120

LOCATION

RICHMOND VIRGINIA

strategically located in the heart of the east

Richmond, Capital of Virginia, is located at the Top of the South and in the Heart of the East. Specifically, the location is midway north and south in the Eastern part of the country, 105 miles south of Washington. The map attached suggests some interesting observations on Richmond's location.

Within a 500 mile radius are Boston, Detroit, Indianapolis, Atlanta and half the nation's markets. The same radius from the southern city of Richmond includes much of the concentration of population and economic development between Montreal and Windsor, Canada. Boston and Atlanta are about equidistant from Richmond, 474 and 470 miles respectively.

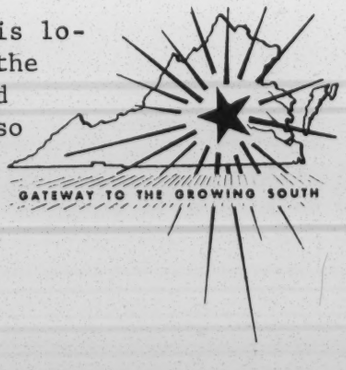
New York is hardly over an hour away by air and will be within 5½ hours driving time on the new interstate highway. And Richmond is closer than New York to Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and all points South and West from those cities.

Richmond is catching the attention of firms who want to be located favorably for serving both the North and the growing South. Richmond is now, and will continue to be on the shortest, quickest, most economical route between Florida and New York or New England. The Interstate 95 mileage from New York to Jacksonville is 950 miles. Richmond's proximity to intermediate points along the mainstream, such as Savannah, Baltimore and Philadelphia, will not be eclipsed by points on other highway improvements.

Interstate 85 is a second quick direct route into the South from Richmond to other leading centers like Charlotte and Atlanta. Interstate 64 is the direct east-west route through Richmond extending from the ocean to St. Louis.

Five railroads, four airlines and two national bus systems provide the Richmond area fast, convenient, competitively priced transportation anywhere in the World.

For a more localized picture, the Richmond area is located centrally in Virginia on the "fall line" where the Coastal Plain and Piedmont meet. The site is the head of navigation on the James River. The location is also pivotal to the Urban Corridor of Virginia, the territory that extends from Northern Virginia through the Richmond area and on to the Coast. The Corridor is one of the fastest growing sections of the country and Richmond is the leading business center in it.

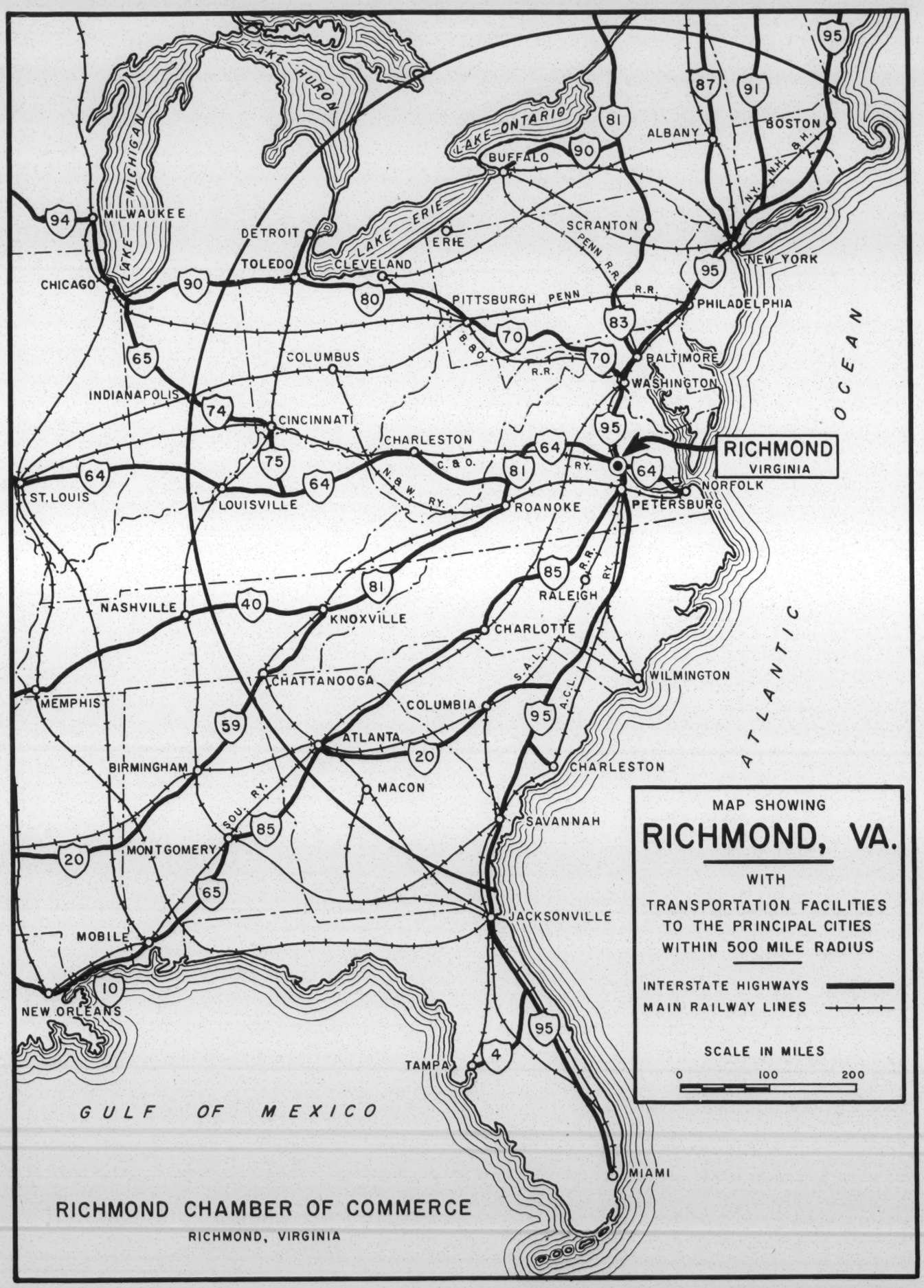


DISTANCES FROM RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

TO	HIGHWAY	RAIL	AIR
Albany, N.Y.	471	477	403
Atlanta, Ga.	529	542	470
Baltimore, Md.	145	156	129
Boston, Mass.	544	573	474
Buffalo, N.Y.	471	550	376
Charleston, S.C.	418	393	357
Charleston, W.Va.	306	365	236
Charlotte, N.C.	274	282	248
Chattanooga, Tenn.	547	569	472
Chicago, Ill.	792	826	620
Cincinnati, Ohio	505	568	399
Cleveland, Ohio	458	547	356
Columbia, S.C.	364	360	317
Columbus, Ohio	460	543	344
Detroit, Mich.	618	706	445
Erie, Pa.	477	562	346
Harrisburg, Pa.	219	241	190
Indianapolis, Ind.	613	678	496
Jacksonville, Fla.	648	621	553
Knoxville, Tenn.	433	458	376
Louisville, Ky.	575	639	458
Macon, Georgia	573	568	477
Nashville, Tenn.	628	717	526
New York, N.Y.	329	346	289
Philadelphia, Pa.	241	253	207
Pittsburgh, Pa.	312	416	243
Raleigh, N.C.	157	157	139
St. Louis, Mo.	839	907	699
Savannah, Ga.	506	483	430
Scranton, Pa.	359	376	283
Syracuse, N.Y.	478	510	386
Tampa, Fla.	838	810	722
Toledo, Ohio	561	651	432
Washington, D. C.	105	116	97
Wilmington, N.C.	252	244	229

APPROXIMATE LAND MILES FROM RICHMOND TO VIRGINIA PLACES

Alexandria	103	Hampton	85	Portsmouth	96
Bristol	315	Harrisonburg	125	Radford	206
Buena Vista	137	Hopewell	23	Roanoke	165
Charlottesville	70	Lynchburg	115	Staunton	107
Clifton Forge	175	Martinsville	182	Suffolk	83
Colonial Heights	20	Newport News	80	Waynesboro	94
Danville	152	Norfolk	97	Williamsburg	51
Fredericksburg	56	Petersburg	23	Winchester	141

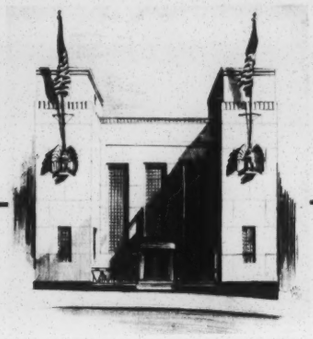


RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

STATE DIVISION OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

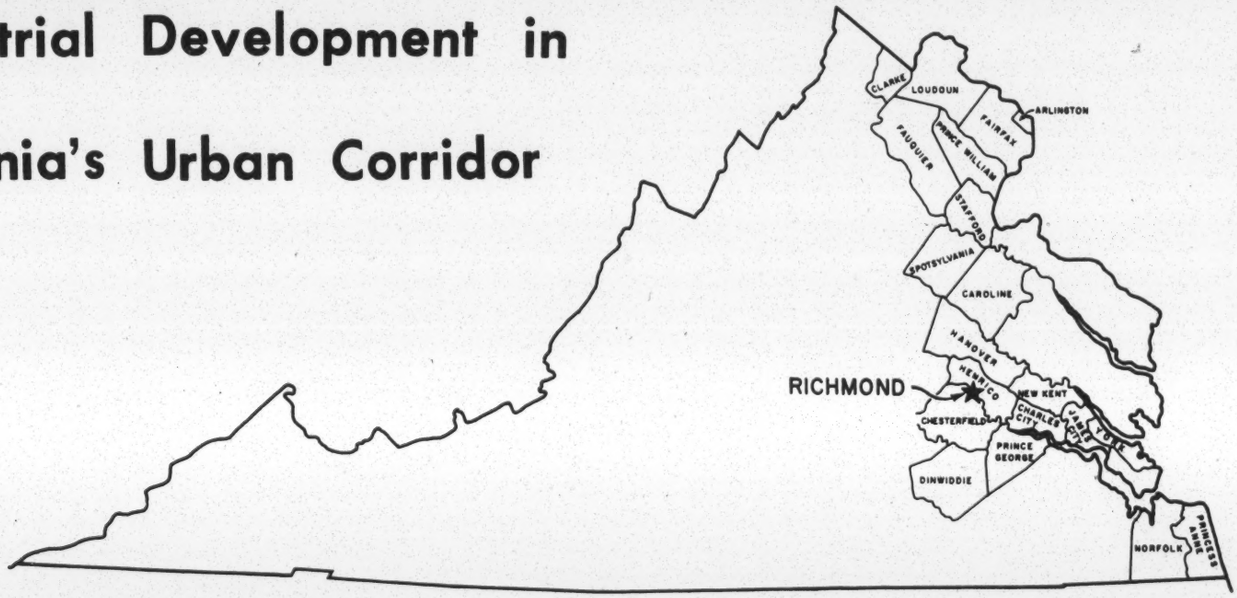
THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA



RESEARCH BULLETIN 126

Industrial Development in Virginia's Urban Corridor



Metropolitan areas in the Urban Corridor of Virginia comprise only a tiny fraction of the total land area of the State but they have attracted one third of the total new capital expenditures by manufacturers since 1958. Metropolitan Richmond's participation in this industrial development has been significant and has bolstered the favorable trend the State as a whole has enjoyed. Statistics and charts on the new investments for the six year period dating from the 1958 Census of Manufactures through 1963 are in this bulletin.

The total expenditures for new plant and equipment in Virginia was just under one billion dollars. Urban Corridor metropolitan areas received $319,323,000 or 32.4% of the total. Expenditures in the Richmond area amounted to $220,103,000. The Richmond area figure represents 69% of the total for the Urban Corridor metros and is more than one-fifth (22.3%) of all new capital expenditures placed in the entire State.

New plants and expansions announced in the metropolitan areas of the Urban Corridor were located as follows:

Richmond Metropolitan Area	101
Norfolk-Portsmouth Metropolitan Area	58
Northern Virginia Area	40
Newport News-Hampton Area	21

The new employment potential for the Richmond area created by the new investment in facilities is estimated to be 13,000 jobs in manufacturing. Obsolescence factors and automation have held the overall rate of increase in manufacturing employment below that indicated by the new investments. Nevertheless, current employment in manufacturing in the Richmond area is 47,100 (as of September 1964) compared with 41,896 in 1958 and 36,250 in 1954.

The Urban Corridor of Virginia has been emerging as an urbanized belt stretching from Northern Virginia through Richmond and eastward to the coast. Economic expansion of all kinds in the four metropolitan areas within the Urban Corridor has been the impetus for the growth of the entire section. This has been a major factor in Virginia's transition from a predominately rural economy to a relatively urban economy.

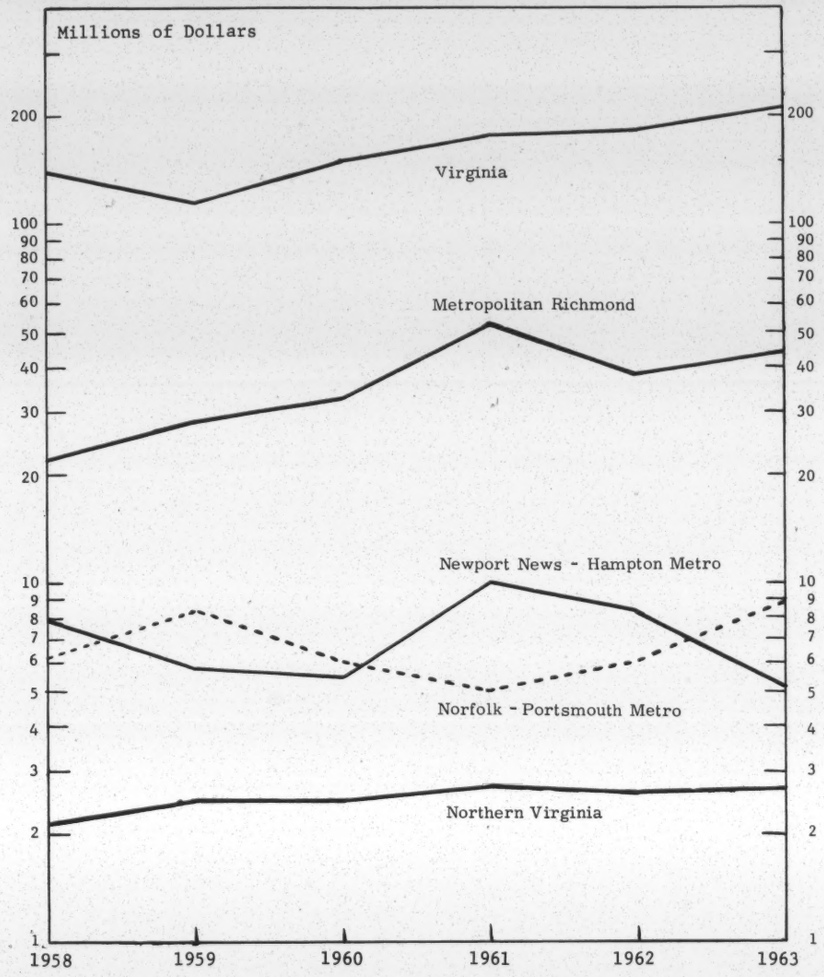
Each metropolitan area in the corridor is somewhat different in its underlying economy and in the avenues of opportunity open for further urban development. Each is seeking further industrial development and has agencies at work which are adapted to its particular situation. Industrial development, though vitally important, is but a part of the total development of urban areas. The future of the urban corridor metropolitan areas lies just as well in the development of other foundations to their economies including the services, research and development organizations, educational institutions, distribution activities, and headquarters operations.

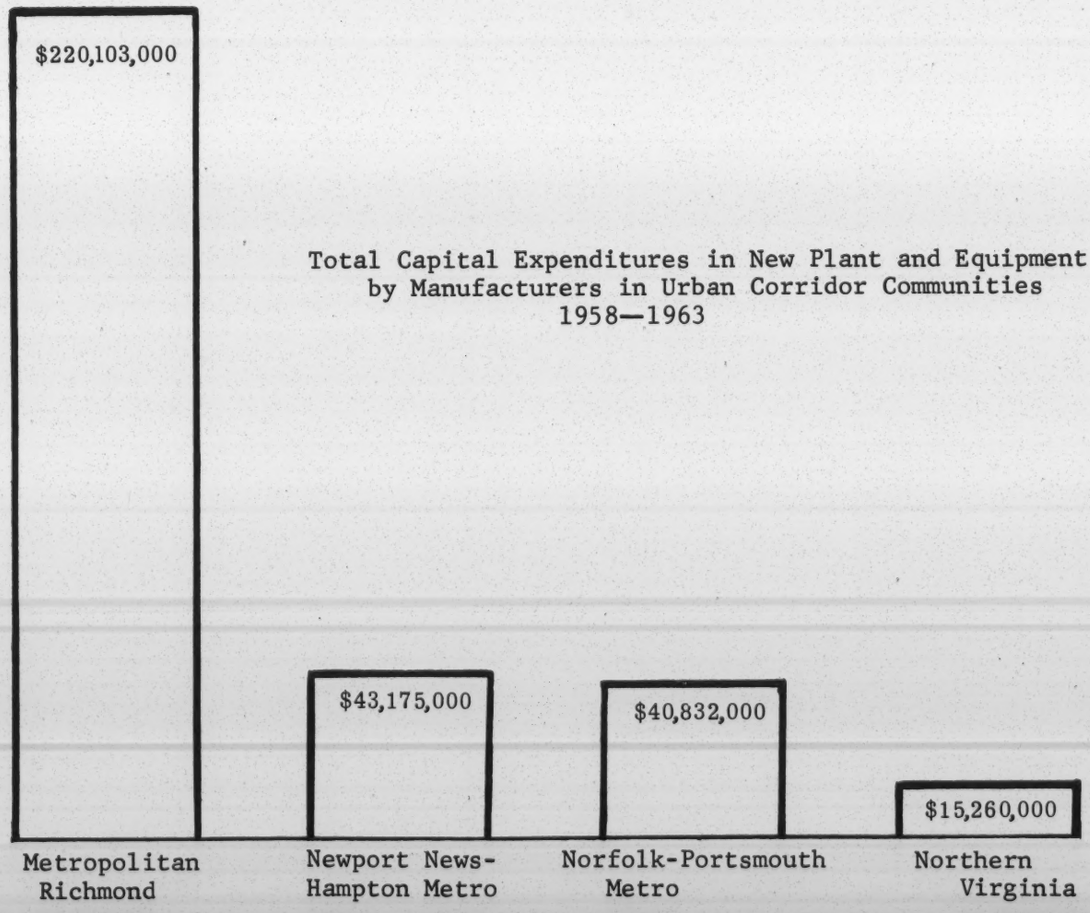
CAPITAL EXPENDITURES FOR NEW PLANT AND EQUIPMENT BY MANUFACTURERS
URBAN CORRIDOR METROPOLITAN AREAS
1958 - 1963
(000 omitted)

AREAS	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	CUMULATIVE TOTALS
Northern Va.	$ 2,180	$ 2,500	$ 2,500	$ 2,730	$ 2,650	$ 2,700	$ 15,260
Richmond	22,207	28,300	33,166	53,537	38,360	44,533	220,103
Newport News & Hampton	7,981	5,804	5,570	10,122	8,398	5,300	43,175
Norfolk & Portsmouth	6,346	8,436	6,065	5,021	6,080	8,884	40,832
TOTAL - Urban Corridor Metros.	$ 38,714	$ 45,040	$ 47,301	$ 71,410	$ 55,488	$ 61,417	$319,370
Virginia	$141,641	$117,600	$151,126	$178,922	$182,908	$212,959	$985,156
Richmond as % of State	15.7%	24.0%	21.9%	29.9%	21.0%	21.0%	22.3%
Richmond as % of Urban Corridor	57.4%	62.8%	70.11%	75.0%	69.0%	72.6%	69.0%
Urban Corridor as % of State	27.33%	38.3%	31.3%	40.0%	30.3%	28.8%	32.4%

Data Sources: U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1958; U. S. Annual Survey of Manufactures 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962; Virginia Department of Labor 1963 Survey of Manufactures. Data for Northern Virginia are computed as proportions of the Washington Metropolitan area based on the 1954 and 1958 Censuses of Manufactures and the 1963 data for Newport News-Hampton is also an estimate.

ANNUAL NEW CAPITAL INVESTMENTS BY MANUFACTURERS IN URBAN CORRIDOR METROPOLITAN AREAS FROM 1958 TO 1963

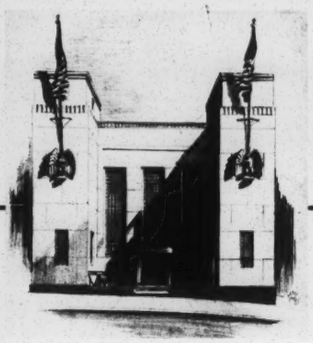




Total Capital Expenditures in New Plant and Equipment by Manufacturers in Urban Corridor Communities 1958—1963

THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA



RESEARCH BULLETIN 124

TAXES - STATE AND LOCAL

Modernization of state and local tax structures has resulted from deliberate efforts to encourage expansion of the economy, to assure an equitable tax system, and to meet the essential needs of the State. The 1964 General Assembly advanced further the cumulative accomplishments of study and action that have been going on for several sessions to keep Virginia abreast of the times.

The State does not levy a license tax on manufacturers, and localities that do not presently levy such a tax cannot impose one in the future. Manufacturers who may expand or locate anywhere within the Richmond metropolitan area are assured that no local gross receipts tax will be imposed upon them.

Inventories of manufacturers are taxed as business capital by the State and are not subject to local taxation. The State legislature has adopted a schedule of reductions in the rate as an indication of its intention to remain competitive.

There has been no serious attempt made to increase the corporate income tax. A modern three factor formula has been adopted to attract plants of multi-state corporations.

Significant reductions in the State license tax on distribution have been enacted with further reductions scheduled to take effect so that the former rate of 25¢ per $100 purchases will have been scaled down successively to 5¢ per $100 purchases by January 1, 1968. The application of the legislation to localities in the Richmond metropolitan area in effect provides that the local rates levied by Richmond, Chesterfield and Henrico are the ceilings for taxing wholesale distribution within those jurisdictions and such rates cannot be increased. The license tax on distribution is levied in lieu of inventory taxes by the local governments that comprise the greater Richmond area.

State Taxes on Corporations

Corporation Organization and Qualification Fees	Based on maximum authorized capital stock. Domestic: 20¢ per $1,000. Minimum $10; Maximum $600. Foreign: From $30 for $50,000 capital stock or less to $5,000 in excess of $90,000,000.
Domestic Corporations Franchise Tax	Based on maximum authorized capital stock. $10 on $25,000 or less to $15,100 on $300,000,000 and capital stock plus $10 per $1,000,000 in excess.
Annual Registration	Based on maximum authorized capital stock. $5 on $15,000 or less to $25 on over $300,000.
Direct Corporate Income Tax	Based on net income apportioned to business operation in the State as determined by three factors: sales, payrolls, property. Rate 5%.
General Property Taxes	At the rates of the locality. No State taxes.
Unemployment Compensation	Assessed against employers of 4 or more persons. The basic rate is 2.7% of payrolls but may be as low as 0.1% under experience ratings.

Other State Taxes for Manufacturing Activities

Business Capital Tax	Capital defined as (1) inventories (2) excess of accounts receivable over accounts payable (3) all other taxable personal property except money on hand and on deposit, real estate and machinery and tools used in manufacturing. Items taxed as capital by the State are not subject to local taxation. The rate is 65¢ on each $100 of the actual value. (Effective Jan. 1, 1967, this tax will be reduced to 60¢. Effective Jan. 1, 1969, this tax will be reduced to 55¢, and Jan. 1, 1971, and thereafter, the rate will be 50¢ per $100.)
Manufacturers' License	None.

Other State Taxes for Distribution Activities

Wholesale Merchants' License Tax: (includes distribution warehouses)	Gross purchases to $10,000: $50; over $10,000: $50 plus 13¢ (reduced to 10¢ effective Jan. 1, 1966 and further reduced to 5¢ Jan. 1, 1968) for each additional $100 on purchases.
Retail Merchants' License Tax	Sales over $2,000: $20 plus 20¢ for each additional $100 of sales.

Business, Professional and Occupational License Taxes

State and local license requirements exist for specific privileges other than manufacturing.

Principal State Taxes Applying to Individuals

Personal Income Taxes

Net income after exemptions and deductions is taxed as follows:

Up to	$3,000	2%,
next	$2,000	3%,
income in excess of	$5,000	5%.

A taxpayer filing a joint return is allowed $1,000 exemption for himself and $1,000 for his spouse, and $200 for each dependent. The tax form and deductions permitted have similarities with the federal return.

Sales Tax

None.

Local Taxes

A location in the Richmond Metropolitan Area would be in either Henrico County or Hanover County or Chesterfield County or the independent City of Richmond. Counties and cities in Virginia are entirely separate geographical and political units; they do not overlap, thus a person or business can be subject to only one local taxing authority.

Property Taxes

	Richmond	Henrico	Chesterfield	Hanover
Real Estate Rate per $100	$1.88	$2.45	$2.80	$3.10
Assessment Ratio	90%	40%	32%	25%
Personal Property Rate	$2.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.10
Machinery & Tools Rate	$1.00	$2.00	$ .55	$3.10

License Taxes

Manufacturers	None. Cannot be levied.
Wholesale Distribution	Cannot be increased.
Richmond	$30 plus 25¢ on every $100 of purchases.
Henrico	$25 plus 20¢ per $100 in excess of $10,000 purchases.
Chesterfield	$25 plus 10¢ on every $100 of purchases.
Retail Distribution	
Richmond	$30 plus 38¢ per $100 gross receipts.
Henrico	$20 plus 20¢ per $100 gross receipts.
Chesterfield	$10 plus 20¢ per $100 gross receipts in excess of $30,000.

THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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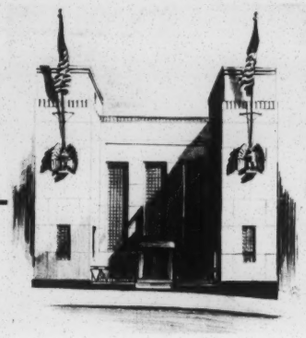


RESEARCH BULLETIN 127

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENTS - 1964

More than 1,000,000 square feet of new industrial plant capacity have been placed here this year. This is the second straight year that the Richmond area has topped the million square foot mark in new plant space. The 1964 tabulation of area developments in manufacturing shows 30 new and expanded industries.

New distribution warehouse activity continued at the record breaking level of 1963 with more than 400,000 square feet of distribution facilities added. Public merchandise storage and distribution organizations are also in the total tabulation of expansions. The area experienced continued growth of headquarters and branch office activities.

The office building boom, with more than $20,000,000 committed, led in the construction field. Other fields of commercial expansion including hospitals, hotels-motels and retail trades are reflected in the compilation, but the list of 100 developments is by no means all inclusive. Developments announced in previous bulletins are omitted.

The major indicators of economic activity below also record a year of economic growth.

	1964	1963	Net Increase Amount	Net Increase %
Average Non-Agricultural Employment	188,000	182,000	6,000	3.3
Average Weekly Earnings - Mfg.	$90.68	$88.47	$2.21	2.5
Business Establishments - No.	16,270	16,012	258	1.6
Volume of Trade (000)	$16,030,257	$13,738,727	$2,291,530	16.7
Industrial Power Used (1,000 KWH)	384,788	338,239	46,549	11.4

Note: Data shown are for 12 months ending November 30. Number of business establishments measured by commercial electric meters. Volume of trade measured by bank debits.

Industrial and Commercial Developments - 1964 *

MANUFACTURING

1. Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp. is constructing a 250,000 sq. ft. plant on a 20-acre site on Cofer Road. The $2,000,000 plant will be used for the manufacture of paper bags and processed papers. The company has a 200,000 sq. ft. plant at 13th and Canal Streets.

2. Reynolds Metals Co. has expanded its Experimental Aluminum Sheet Plant at Bellwood. The expansion, costing approximately $1,000,000, doubled present sheet plant space which uses a new process that involves the rolling of aluminum particles smaller than rice grains into aluminum sheet instead of the traditional process of rolling large ingots.

3. The American Tobacco Co. is constructing a new research facility at Bermuda Hundred that is expected to cost several million dollars. The company's present research facilities are located on Jefferson Davis Highway.

4. Albemarle Paper Manufacturing Co. is spending $430,000 to improve and modernize its Hollywood paper mill and to build an addition to its research and development laboratory here.

5. Allied Chemical Corp. is constructing a $6 million research and technical center on a 75-acre site in Walthall Industrial Park just off the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike.

6. Friedman-Marks Clothing Co. recently put into operation its fifth manufacturing plant in the Richmond area. This 35,000 sq. ft. plant will process and cut material for the other four plants. The company sells its suits and coats in all states and in 21 other countries.

7. Larus & Brother Co., Inc. has purchased 50 acres in Chesterfield County and is building tobacco storage warehouses to replace existing warehouses in Shockoe Valley. The 87 year-old company plans to build a manufacturing plant and other facilities on the property also.

8. V-C Chemical Co. is building a $750,000 research facility on a 72-acre site in Hanover County on Interstate Route 95. The center will conduct the company's research and development work in phosphate chemistry. V-C was recently merged with Socony Mobile Oil Co., Inc. and is one of four operating divisions of Mobile Chemical Company.

9. Richmond Newspapers, Inc. is constructing a two-story addition to its existing mechanical building providing space for new presses that will increase the newspapers' press capacity by more than fifty percent. Also under construction is a four-story building at Grace and Fourth Streets adjoining the present office structure. The expansion will double the newspaper's office space. These additions are part of a $6,000,000 expansion program that includes a parking deck recently completed at Third and Cary Streets.

10. Richmond Food Stores, Inc. is constructing a 12,000 sq. ft. milk and milk products processing plant. The $500,000 facility will be adjacent to the company's Hermitage Road distribution center.

11. Reynolds Metals Co. has doubled space housing its Metallurgical Research Division at 201 South Fourth Street with the acquisition of a three-story building adjoining its present facilities at Fifth and Canal Streets.

12. Colonial Plastics, Inc., manufacturer of vinyl curtains, has begun operations in its new plant at 1501 Jennie Scher Road.

13. Sadler Materials Corporation, a new firm manufacturing sand and gravel, has begun operations with a new $650,000 facility on Route 5.

14. Dataflow, Inc., Div. of Acme Visible Records, Inc., recently expanded its manufacturing facility at 2100 Deepwater Terminal Road at a cost of $100,000.

15. Richmond Engineering Co., Inc. has increased its manufacturing space by 32,000 sq. ft. in the Hospital Street plant. The company also purchased a 70,000 sq. ft. building across the street at 711 Hospital Street to be used as additional office and manufacturing space. The purchase price was $250,000.

16. Inta-Rota is constructing a 25,000 sq. ft. expansion of its manufacturing facilities at Byrd Airport. Another addition of 5,600 sq. ft. was just completed. The new addition is the fifth major expansion of Inta-Rota in the past eight years and brings the firm's total plant space to nearly 100,000 sq. ft.

17. A. H. Robins Co., Inc., manufacturer of pharmaceuticals, expanded its facilities through the purchase of Instituto Medico Technico Sanicol, S. A., one of the largest manufacturers of pharmaceuticals, cosmetics and insecticides in South America.

18. Tidewater Crushed Stone Co. has expanded its Deepwater Terminal Road facilities with over a half million dollar capital investment.

19. Virginia Garment Co., manufacturer of boys' & men's headwear, is the first industry to develop a plant site in the 17th Street Redevelopment Area. The company, a former 17th St. manufacturer, expects to spend approximately $270,000 for plant and equipment.

20. Dietz Press, Inc. expanded its East Cary Street facility with a 2,500 sq. ft. addition to house new press facilities.

21. Creative Screen Print, Inc., a new silk screen printing company is operating in a 4,000 sq. ft. facility on Belleville Street.

22. Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. of Richmond, Inc. has opened a new $150,000 bottling plant on Castlewood Road.

23. Everett Waddey Co., Inc. has acquired Garrett and Massie, Inc., another Richmond printing company. The plant, located at 1901 Roane St., is a modern 24,000 sq. ft. structure and will be operated as a wholly owned subsidiary.

24. The Seven Up Bottling Co. has doubled production capacity at its Summit Avenue plant by installing a new bottle cleaner - the largest tank washer of its kind.

25. Capitol Foundry, Inc., a new firm, has begun operations at 7 North 25th Street. The company manufactures manhole covers.

26. Bristol Steel & Iron Works, Inc. purchased the structural steel operations of Richmond Steel Co., Inc. at 4th & Gordon Streets and will operate the firm as the Richmond Division of Bristol Steel.

27. E. R. Carpenter & Co. is constructing a $150,000 addition to its manufacturing facility on Jefferson Davis Highway. This is the second expansion the urethane foam manufacturer has made since opening its new 200,000 sq. ft. plant in 1962.

28. West Virginia Pulp and Paper Co. has purchased the former Randolph Paper Box Co. building at 15th and Dinwiddie Streets. The 30,000 sq. ft. building will be used as storage space for finished goods.

29. Royal Crown Bottlers of Richmond, Inc. is constructing a $500,000 bottling plant at Commerce and Ruffin Roads. Automatic case packers will be installed in the 33,000 sq. ft. facility.

DISTRIBUTION

30. Bryant Heating and Air Conditioning Corp. has begun construction of a new office and storage building at Belleville and Moore Streets in Scotts Addition. The 20,000 sq. ft. facility is expected to cost approximately $170,000.

31. Eastern Steel Fasteners, Inc. has moved into its 48,000 sq. ft. Canal Street building recently purchased from Southern States Cooperative. The firm was previously located at 115 North 19th Street.

32. General Motors parts division distribution center at Byrd Field recently expanded its facilities there by 19,800 sq. ft. With the added space, the warehouse will stock a total of 12,800 different General Motors automotive parts and accessories to serve more than 300 dealers in Virginia and North Carolina.

33. Universal Leaf Tobacco Co. recently completed a two-story addition to its offices at 201 South Third Street. The $140,000 addition will have approximately 4,000 feet of office space.

34. Armesco, Inc., a newly formed aluminum products distribution company, recently purchased the former Cardwell Machine Company building for $100,000. Armesco will distribute metal architectural products throughout the Middle Atlantic States.

35. Georgia-Pacific Corp. is constructing a 45,000 sq. ft. warehouse and office facility at Dabney and Bethlehem Roads in Bryan Park Industrial Park. The tilt concrete panel constructed building is expected to cost $300,000.

36. Tidewater Supply Co., Inc., distributor of industrial equipment, supplies and machinery, is constructing a 26,000 sq. ft. building on Gordon Ave. The one-story structure will cost approximately $225,000.

37. Cooper-Trent, Inc. has completed a two-story addition to its one-story building on Chamberlayne Avenue to more than double the company's space.

38. Virginia Paper Company will soon move into its new 50,000 sq. ft. warehouse and office which is being constructed at Tomlynn and Jacque Streets in Bryan Park Industrial Park. The new $350,000 facility will replace the company's Virginia Street building.

39. Hajoca Corporation, wholesale distributors of plumbing, heating and industrial supplies, is constructing a one-story office and warehouse building covering approximately 40,000 sq. ft. A separate 6,000 sq. ft. building will be built for pipe storage. The new Bryan Park Industrial Park facility will represent an investment of more than $350,000.

40. Richmond Power Equipment Company has moved from its Roseneath Road location to a newly constructed office and warehouse at 1902 No. Hamilton Street. The $180,000 facility has 16,000 sq. ft. of office and warehouse space.

41. Best Products Co., Inc., a catalog wholesaler, is expanding its warehouse and showroom with an additional 12,000 sq. ft. This is the fourth expansion in four years for the West Marshall Street firm.

42. Finer Food Sales Co., Inc., a processed food contractor has moved into new and expanded quarters at 1700 Altamont Avenue in Scotts Addition.

43. Weyerhauser Company Wood Products Division, moved into the Richmond area and is located in a 12,000 sq. ft. distribution warehouse at 7th & Perry Streets.

44. Fuels Oils, Inc. constructed 3 additional storage tanks at their Deepwater Terminal Road Station. The new addition will cost approximately $120,000.

45. Cary Hall Machinery Co., Inc., a construction machinery firm, has moved into new and larger facilities at 1506 Webster Street. The new quarters have 15,000 sq. ft. of space including offices, warehouse and shop.

46. Joslyn Manufacturing and Supply Co., an area distributor of protective equipment for telephone and electric companies, is constructing a 15,000 sq. ft. warehouse and sales office on Tomlynn Street in Bryan Park Industrial Park.

47. Hill Refrigeration Corp. has moved into remodeled office and warehouse space at 2201 East Cary Street.

48. Graphico, Inc., a wholesale firm that sells printer's supplies and equipment and offset presses, has moved into the first floor space of the former Hill Refrigeration Building at 2000 E. Franklin Street.

49. Southern Offset Suppliers, which manufactures lithographic plates and negatives, is moving from Main Street and will occupy the second floor of the building at 2000 E. Franklin Street.

50. Original Parts Warehouse, Inc., a subsidiary of B. T. Crump Co., Inc. has been created to distribute Chrysler auto parts. The new company is located at 19 So. 13th Street.

51. Frito-Lay, Inc. has moved into new and expanded quarters at 1827 No. Hamilton Street.

52. N. B. Cochrane Co., a distributor of air and hydraulic equipment, has a Richmond location at 5910 W. Broad Street.

53. Defense General Supply Center has recently taken over supply management functions involving 30,000 items and an estimated $23,000,000 inventory at the Bellwood installation.

INSTITUTIONAL

54. The Salvation Army is constructing a Men's Social Service Center at Rhoadmiller Street and Hermitage Road. The project will cost about $470,000.

55. Central Virginia Educational Television Corp. began operations in their $165,000 facility on Robious Road.

56. The Christian Children's Fund, Inc. is constructing a new headquarters building at Third and Cary Streets. The $500,000 building is scheduled for completion in June 1965.

57. Retreat For The Sick Hospital has begun a two-phase building program by adding two floors, renovating the existing building and increasing its patient capacity. The first phase, expected to cost $700,000, will increase the bed space from 105 to 120.

58. The Young Men's Christian Association is constructing a $750,000 branch facility on a 16 acre tract on Patterson Ave. in the far West End.

59. Richmond Area Association For Mentally Retarded Children will soon occupy a new $66,000 pre-school center on Moss Side Avenue. The Center is to be paid for by the four Richmond Area Civitan Clubs which help retarded children as a part of an international Civitan project.

60. Stuart Circle Hospital is constructing a 6-story wing which will cost approximately $200,000.

61. Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention has expanded its headquarters office building at 3800 Monument Avenue with a 2-story, $130,000 addition.

62. American Legion State Headquarters building at 1805 Chantilly Street was recently dedicated. The $75,000 building will serve as administrative headquarters for 250 posts in Virginia.

63. Richmond Professional Institute recently purchased the 12-story Monroe Terrace building. The newly acquired structure will be used as a girl's dormitory.

64. University of Richmond continued its expansion program with the construction of a new $475,000 men's dormitory.

SERVICES

65. Advertising Associates is constructing a new headquarters building at 209 West Canal Street. The Colonial styled $100,000 brick structure will more than double the present firm's space.

66. Daniel Construction Company is nearing completion of its headquarters building at 3805 Cutshaw Avenue. The five-story building is the tallest prestressed concrete structure in the State.

67. Smith's Storage and Moving Company will soon move into its new $250,000 warehouse on Deepwater Terminal Road. The facility is designed to accommodate palletized storage and handling of furniture - the first in the Richmond area.

68. Roadway Express, Inc. is constructing a new terminal building at the intersection of Jefferson Davis Highway and Bellwood Road. The company's present terminal is at 2401 Commerce Road.

69. American Red Ball Transit Co., Inc. has moved into recently completed Scott Warehouse on MacTavish Avenue in Scotts Addition.

70. The Rathskeller, a new German rathskeller restaurant, is opening soon in newly renovated basement quarters at 112 No. Fifth Street. The new restaurant is costing about $100,000.

71. The Insurance Company of North America has become a major tenant in an office building under construction on Willow Lawn Drive.

72. Virginia Hospital Service Association (Blue Cross) will build on a recently purchased piece of property at Staples Mill and Thalbro Roads in the West End.

73. Overnite Transportation Company has moved into its new $200,000 terminal building next door to the company's home office building at 1100 Commerce Road.

74. Transportation Operating Service, Inc. has purchased a building at 2702 Deepwater Terminal Road. The truck rebuilding firm, formerly located on Dabney Road, remodeled and expanded the newly acquired building for a total investment of approximately $175,000.

75. D. H. Overmeyer Warehouse Co., a national warehousing firm with executive offices in New York, has begun construction of a million-dollar distribution center and warehousing complex at 2500 Jefferson Davis Highway. The center will consist of two separate buildings, each containing 80,000 sq. ft. of space.

76. The Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. of Va. continued its area expansion program with a capital outlay of $175,000 for buildings.

77. Texaco Experiment, Inc. has under construction an areospace materials research laboratory. The $175,000 facility is being constructed at Texaco's Deepwater Terminal Road research complex.

78. Jarrell Truck Plaza recently opened a 15 acre truckers' center including garage, service center, restaurant and a 32-unit truckers' motel. The new facility is located on Interstate 95 north of the City.

79. Bristow Lines is nearing completion of its new truck terminal facility at 2401 Commerce Road.

RETAIL

80. Thalhimer Brothers, Inc., a major department store, expanded its Westmoreland Street store by 30,000 sq. ft. This is the fourth expansion at this location in the past four years. The company also opened another 40,000 sq. ft. branch store in Circle Shopping Center. Thalhimers is also constructing a 10,000 sq. ft. building on Westmoreland Street to house its industrial sales division.

81. Dominion Chevrolet Company will move into new quarters now being constructed in the 6500 block of West Broad Street.

82. Commonwealth Ford is building a million-dollar sales and service facility on Belt Boulevard near Southside Plaza and will move from the present West Broad Street location.

83. Universal Motor Company recently completed a major expansion and renovation program that cost approximately $150,000. The showroom was extended 30 feet along Broad Street.

84. Hawthorne Corporation, a local Volkswagen dealer here, has begun an expansion project which will double its sales and service capacity. The expansion represents a $300,000 investment.

OFFICE BUILDINGS

85. The Mutual Building, one of Richmond's oldest high-rise office buildings, is undergoing an extensive interior and exterior renovation program.

86. The 700 Building, a 23-story, 6½ million-dollar office building, is now under construction at 7th and Main Streets.

87. Fidelity Building, a 23-story office building is under construction at 9th and Main Streets. The building will cost approximately $7,000,000 and the main tenant will be Fidelity Bankers Life Insurance Company.

88. Plaza 201, a five-story office building is under construction at 201 East Cary Street. The structure which was designed for commercial service facilities will cost $1,400,000.

89. Second and Cary Streets Corpation Building, a two-story office building, is being constructed on East Cary Street. The initial tenants are two leading engineering firms. The building is expected to cost approximately $175,000.

90. Virginia Plaza, an office building being constructed in the Willow Lawn area, will complete a 1.5 million dollar complex including the Maryland Building and the INA Building.

91. The Marse Building is being constructed in the Willow Lawn area. The 14,000 sq. ft. building will cost $300,000.

92. The Baronian Building, a general office building, is under construction at 1809 Staples Mill Road near Willow Lawn. The 3-story structure will cost approximately $250,000.

MULTIPLE HOUSING

93. Holiday Inn opened its third area motel in the 2300 block West Broad Street. The two-million dollar six-floor structure has 200 rooms.

94. Lawndale Apartments and Lawndale Medical Center is under construction in the East End of Richmond at Miller's Lane just north of Williamsburg Road. Cost for the entire project is estimated at $500,000.

95. Highland Park Apartments, a 200-unit garden-type apartment project is being constructed in the 2100 block of First Avenue.

96. Yorkshire Apartments, a 124-unit garden-type apartment complex, has been constructed on Staples Mill Road.

97. Bellevue Apartments has been constructed on MacArthur Avenue at a cost of $250,000.

98. Hamlet Apartments opened a 194-unit development on Staples Mill Road. The townhouse-type project cost $3,000,000.

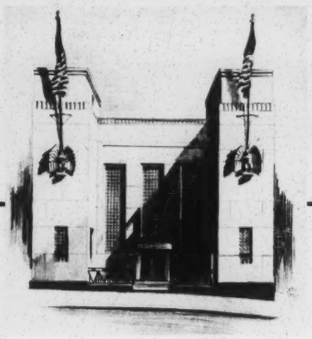
99. River Towers, the fifth area high-rise apartment building is being constructed on the south side of the James River on Riverside Drive near Lee Bridge. The $3,000,000 structure will have 220 units.

100. Deerwood Apartments is under construction in the Sleepy Hollow area near Collegiate School. The two-level townhouse type buildings will have a total of 300 units.

* Note: This Bulletin is not all inclusive for the year 1964 because many new facilities opened this year were announced in previous bulletins. This bulletin includes only the developments being reported for the first time.

THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA



RESEARCH BULLETIN 128

COMMUNITY WAGE SURVEY - 1964

This bulletin summarizes a November 1964 survey of wages conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Richmond Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. The survey was limited to establishments with 50 or more employees. Data were collected from 131 firms employing about 53,000 workers. The job descriptions are included in the appendix to the final bulletin.

The Bureau Occupational Wage Survey bulletin covering the November 1964 survey presents wage and salary data for selected occupations on an all-industry basis, and separate information covering the manufacturing, non-manufacturing, and public utility industry divisions. It also presents detailed distributions of workers by earnings intervals. The citation is as follows:

Occupational Wage Survey, Richmond, Virginia
Bulletin No. 1430-19, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

TABLE 1: AVERAGE STRAIGHT-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OFFICE, PROFESSIONAL, AND TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS, RICHMOND, VA., NOVEMBER 1964

Occupation and sex	Number of Workers	Average weekly earnings[1]		Middle range[2]
		Mean	Median	
Office occupations				
Men				
Clerks:				
Accounting, class A	131	$119.00	$116.50	$102.50- $139.00
Accounting, class B	98	97.00	95.00	82.00- 112.50
Order	80	88.50	85.00	80.00- 92.00
Office boys.	93	64.50	59.00	53.50- 72.00
Tabulating-machine operators:				
Class A	36	100.00	98.50	92.00- 106.00
Class C	54	72.50	71.00	64.50- 85.00

TABLE 1: AVERAGE STRAIGHT-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OFFICE, PROFESSIONAL, AND TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA NOVEMBER 1964-Cont.

Occupation and sex	Number of Workers	Average weekly earnings[1]		Middle range[2]
		Mean	Median	
Office occupations				
Women				
Billers, machine:				
Billing machine	32	$ 65.00	$ 61.50	$ 58.00- $ 72.00
Bookkeeping machine	94	67.50	64.00	59.00- 70.00
Bookkeeping-machine operators:				
Class A	90	77.50	76.00	67.00- 89.50
Class B	164	67.00	67.00	60.00- 76.00
Clerks:				
Accounting, class A	318	89.50	91.50	85.00- 94.50
Accounting, class B	461	74.50	72.00	65.00- 83.50
File, class A	58	77.00	76.50	67.50- 85.50
File, class B	206	65.00	62.50	56.50- 70.00
File, class C	160	56.00	56.50	53.00- 59.00
Order	51	76.00	77.50	63.50- 86.00
Payroll	141	83.50	81.00	71.50- 95.00
Comptometer operators.	159	71.00	70.00	64.50- 78.00
Duplicating-machine operators (Mimeograph or Ditto)	28	71.50	72.00	65.50- 81.00
Keypunch operators:				
Class A	125	81.50	79.50	72.50- 86.50
Class B	303	70.00	67.00	60.00- 74.50
Office girls	62	55.50	55.50	51.50- 58.50
Secretaries	975	92.00	90.50	81.00- 102.50
Stenographers:				
General	621	78.50	75.50	67.50- 84.50
Senior	222	87.50	85.00	73.00- 99.50
Switchboard operators.	148	70.50	68.50	60.50- 82.00
Switchboard operator-receptionists	127	70.50	69.50	63.50- 78.00
Tabulating-machine operators:				
Class B	83	85.00	86.00	79.50- 89.00
Class C	48	69.50	72.50	64.00- 77.50
Transcribing-machine operators, General	66	69.50	66.00	61.50- 75.50
Typists:				
Class A	248	73.00	72.00	67.50- 77.50
Class B	572	62.00	61.00	57.00- 66.50

[1] Earnings are for a regular workweek for which the employee receives his straight-time weekly salary, exclusive of any premium pay.

The mean for each job is computed by dividing the total earnings by the number of employees. The median designates position, that is, half of the employees surveyed receive more than the rate shown and half receive less than the rate shown.

[2] The middle range is defined by two rates of pay; a fourth of the workers earn less than the lower of these rates and a fourth earn more than the higher rate.

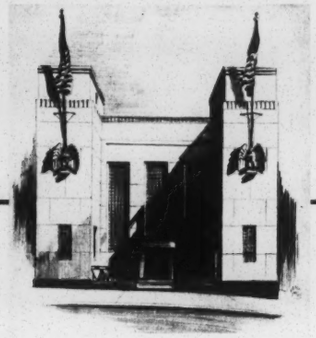
TABLE 2. AVERAGE STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED PLANT OCCUPATIONS, RICHMOND, VA., NOVEMBER 1964

Occupation and sex	Number of Workers	Average straight-time hourly earnings[1]		Middle range[2]
		Mean	Median	
Maintenance and powerplant occupations				
Carpenters, maintenance	92	$2.94	$3.06	$2.76- $3.25
Electricians, maintenance	226	3.18	3.31	3.07- 3.36
Engineers, stationary	67	2.70	2.75	2.48- 3.02
Firemen, stationary boiler. . . .	74	1.96	1.89	1.73- 2.45
Helpers, maintenance trades . . .	138	2.44	2.64	2.19- 2.68
Machinists, maintenance.	260	3.09	3.21	3.01- 3.28
Mechanics, automotive (maintenance).	257	2.55	2.48	2.24- 3.06
Mechanics, maintenance.	502	3.02	3.09	2.76- 3.34
Millwrights.	180	3.19	3.25	3.05- 3.35
Oilers.	84	2.18	2.30	1.93- 2.36
Painters, maintenance.	91	2.95	3.22	2.67- 3.26
Pipefitters, maintenance.	124	3.26	3.33	3.08- 3.36
Sheet-metal workers, maintenance.	57	3.22	3.30	3.07- 3.35
Custodial and material movement occupations				
Elevator operators, passenger (women).	30	.88	.72	.62- 1.24
Guards and watchmen	239	2.00	2.04	1.48- 2.38
Janitors, porters, and cleaners (men).	975	1.57	1.53	1.26- 1.92
Janitors, porters, and cleaners (women).	224	1.36	1.29	1.20- 1.50
Laborers, material handling . . .	1,295	1.77	1.68	1.42- 2.16
Order fillers	388	1.90	1.85	1.59- 2.19
Packers, shipping	163	1.61	1.56	1.50- 1.66
Receiving clerks.	94	2.21	2.32	1.80- 2.74
Shipping clerks	81	2.24	2.32	2.04- 2.40
Shipping and receiving clerks . .	45	2.33	2.28	2.08- 2.71
Truckdrivers.	1,138	2.00	1.97	1.55- 2.47
Light (under 1½ tons).	156	1.96	1.91	1.45- 2.54
Medium (1½ to and including 4 tons)	547	1.98	2.12	1.42- 2.45
Heavy (over 4 tons, trailer type).	183	2.58	2.48	2.16- 3.15
Truckers, power (forklift). . . .	369	1.94	1.87	1.74- 2.25

See footnotes on p. 2

THE RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

616 EAST FRANKLIN STREET
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA



RESEARCH BULLETIN 131

MANUFACTURES—AREA STATISTICS

1963 CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES

Industry group	1963									1958	
	Establishments, number		All employees		Production workers			Value added by manufacture	Capital expenditures, new[1]	All employees, number	Value added by manufacture
	Total	With 20 or more employees	Number	Payroll ($1,000)	Number	Man-hours (1,000)	Wages ($1,000)	($1,000)	($1,000)		($1,000)
	RICHMOND, VIRGINIA (Consists of Richmond City and Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico Counties, Va.)										
All industries, total[2]	550	222	45,955	256,973	31,406	62,443	146,910	572,259	47,658	42,999	454,651
Food and kindred products	55	36	4,471	21,634	2,629	5,319	11,739	44,471	1,419	5,278	40,412
Meat products	10	5	979	5,327	755	1,469	3,780	7,516	(Z)	(D)	(D)
Dairies	8	5	723	2,757	186	428	777	6,775	(Z)	1,012	7,814
Bakery products	14	12	1,827	9,140	1,238	2,514	5,775	17,961	642	2,044	15,491
Miscellaneous foods and kindred products	10	4	375	1,925	135	269	304	3,748	(Z)	486	3,583
Tobacco manufactures	13	11	8,442	41,844	7,141	13,582	32,778	216,801	6,269	9,116	202,236
Apparel and related products	26	18	3,355	12,667	2,960	5,653	9,635	20,574	707	(D)	(D)
Fabricated textiles, n.e.c.	14	8	1,295	5,299	1,045	2,044	3,412	9,032	535	1,059	6,304
Lumber and wood products	88	15	1,752	5,691	1,410	2,763	4,190	9,782	740	1,961	7,648
Sawmills and planing mills	58	6	713	2,001	604	1,148	1,682	4,135	(Z)	913	3,231
Millwork and related products	12	6	826	3,077	624	1,267	2,010	4,366	(Z)	825	3,346
Furniture and fixtures	34	10	1,089	5,269	858	1,799	3,480	10,893	(Z)	1,005	6,607
Household furniture	14	5	779	3,531	643	1,343	2,564	8,921	(Z)	824	5,277
Paper and allied products	23	21	3,505	17,916	2,966	6,402	13,669	33,737	1,545	3,400	26,517
Paper and paperboard products	10	9	1,125	5,324	958	1,997	3,918	9,395	(Z)	1,269	7,896
Paperboard containers and boxes	9	8	1,280	6,749	1,087	2,328	5,079	12,490	530	1,070	9,548
Printing and publishing	118	29	3,849	19,517	2,809	5,517	13,113	32,417	2,166	3,645	24,506
Commercial printing	74	18	1,807	9,258	1,372	2,728	6,483	13,930	1,534	1,775	10,847
Chemicals and allied products	39	13	8,055	58,903	5,013	10,129	30,997	130,567	28,464	5,513	79,019
Stone, clay and glass products	26	15	1,046	5,764	852	1,786	4,376	11,284	821	929	9,095
Concrete and plaster products	20	12	859	4,959	681	1,430	3,722	9,483	704	751	7,745
Fabricated metal products	42	22	2,350	12,023	1,793	3,462	7,737	17,942	1,104	1,784	10,384
Structural metal products	29	17	1,379	6,971	1,010	1,884	4,110	9,731	(Z)	1,433	8,637
Machinery, except electrical	31	8	823	4,773	562	1,141	2,796	7,652	1,282	743	4,756
Special industry machinery	6	5	574	3,402	360	728	1,755	5,320	(D)	570	3,576
Miscellaneous manufacturing	17	6	450	1,943	368	723	1,283	4,016	(Z)	491	3,154
Administrative and auxiliary[3]	-	-	4,158	33,986	-	-	-	-	-	4,105	-

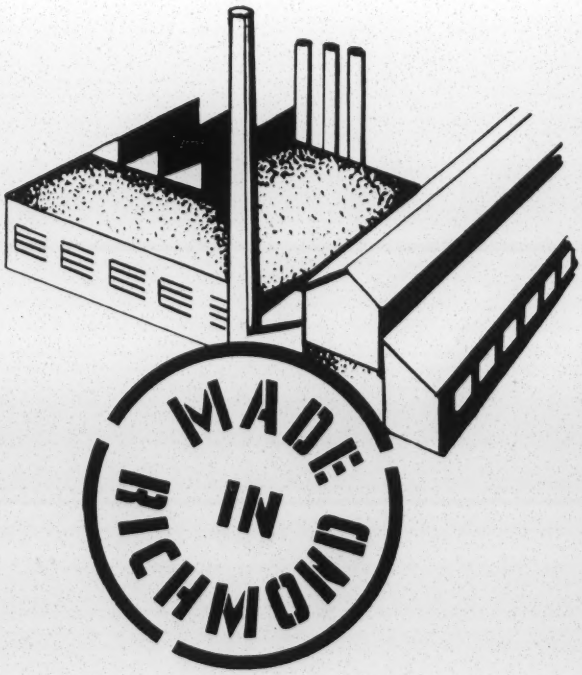
- Represents zero. (D) Withheld to avoid disclosing figures for individual companies. n.e.c. Not elsewhere classified. (Z) Less than $500 thousand.

NEW CAPITAL EXPENDITURES BY MANUFACTURING FIRMS FOR PLANT AND EQUIPMENT - TOTALS

Year	Richmond Area	Remainder of State	Total Virginia	Richmond % of State
1954	$20,968,000	$ 88,919,000	$109,887,000	19
1958	22,296,000	119,345,000	141,641,000	16
1959	28,300,000	89,300,000	117,600,000	24
1960	33,166,000	117,960,000	151,126,000	22
1961	52,922,000	117,608,000	170,530,000	31
1962	38,360,000	144,548,000	182,908,000	21
1963	47,658,000	179,365,000	227,023,000	21

Source: Census and Annual Surveys of U. S. Bureau of Census

Richmond Industries And Products



INDUSTRIAL & TRADE BUREAU

RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

RICHMOND INDUSTRIES AND PRODUCTS

KEY TO EMPLOYMENT

The letter appearing at the left opposite each listing indicates the approximate number of employees engaged:

A	less than 25	E	500 through 999
B	25 through 99	F	1000 through 2499
C	100 through 249	G	2500 and over
D	250 through 499	X	Data unavailable

FOOD AND KINDRED PRODUCTS

SLAUGHTERING AND MEAT PACKING

C	Armour & Co.	307 N. 17th St.	Sausage; Smoked Meat
A	B. Brauer & Sons	1301 Hermitage Rd.	Meat Packing
C	Holzgrefe and Plageman, Inc.	Glen Allen	Poultry
E	Hygrade Food Products Corp.	1501 W. Overbrook Rd.	Meat Products
B	Joseph McSweeney & Sons	Dineen St. & SAL RR	Sausage; Cured Meat
B	George H. Meyer Sons	1601 Overbrook Rd.	Meat Products
B	Producers Co-operative Exch., Inc.	1114 E. Cary	Poultry
B	Richmond Abattoir, Inc.	1225 Hermitage Rd.	Slaughtering
B	Swift & Company	109 Ambler St.	Sausage
B	E. M. Todd Co., Inc.	1128 Hermitage Rd.	Hams & Bacon

ICE CREAM, CREAMERY, & DAIRY PRODUCTS

A	Arnett Ice Cream Co.	2711 Willard Road	Ice Cream
B	Awalt's Ice Cream	1905 Semmes Ave.	Ice Cream
A	Clover Room Ice Cream	4118 W. Broad St.	Ice Cream
C	Curles Neck Dairy	1600 Roseneath Rd.	Milk Products
C	High's Ice Cream Co., Inc.	1400 Sherwood	Ice Cream
B	Eskimo Pie Corp.	530 E. Main St.	Ice Cream
A	Instantwhip, Richmond, Inc.	3428 Maury St.	Dessert Topping
B	Pet Dairy Products Co., Inc.	3001 Cutshaw Ave.	Ice Cream
D	Richmond Dairy Co.	314 N. Jefferson St.	Milk Products
C	Sealtest Southern Dairies	3031 Norfolk St.	Ice Cream
A	Swift & Co., Ice Cream Plant	208 Menole Ave.	Ice Cream
C	Virginia Dairy Co., Inc.	1810 W. Main St.	Milk Products

FLOUR, MEAL & FEEDS

A	Beattie Brothers	Ellerson	Corn Meal
B	Cooperative Mills, Inc.	1st & Hull Sts.	Feed Mill
B	Producers Co-operative Exch., Inc.	7th & Byrd Sts.	Feed
B	Ralston Purina Co.	2101 Westmoreland	Feed

BAKERY PRODUCTS

C	American Bakeries Co.	120 W. Marshall St.	Bakery Products
B	Mrs. Chamberlain's Pies	612 Hull St.	Bread & Cakes
D	Continental Baking Co., Inc.	10 S. Jefferson St.	Cakes & Bread
B	Davis Bakery	3611 Hull St.	Bakery Products
A	Dot's Pastry Shop	3136 W. Cary St.	Cakes & Pastries
D	General Baking Co.	1400 High Point Ave.	Bread, Cakes, Rolls

A	Griffin Baking Co., Inc.	612 Hull	Bakery Products
D	The Great A. & P. Tea Co.	1700 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Bakery Products
B	Krispy Kreme Doughnut Co.	4910 W. Broad St.	Doughnuts
A	Lance, Inc.	1004 N. Thompson	Crackers
A	Mixing Bowl	4120 W. Broad St.	Bakery Products
D	Nolde Brothers, Inc.	2520 E. Broad St.	Bread, Cakes, Pies
B	Quality Bake Shoppe	2923 North Ave.	Bakery Products
B	Richmond Pie Co.	326 W. 7th St.	Bakery Products
A	Rolling Pin Bakery	2732 W. Broad St.	Bakery Products
A	Southern Pie Shop	5204 Brook Rd.	Pies, Pastries
E	Southern Biscuit Co., Inc.	Terminal Place	Cakes, Crackers
	ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES		
B	Dixie Wine Co.	1600 Valley Rd.	Bottle Wine
B	Home Brewing Co., Inc.	1125 W. Clay St.	Beer
A	Southland Wine Co.	421 N. 17th St.	Bottle Wine
	CARBONATED BEVERAGES		
A	Canada Dry Bottling Co. of Richmond	1600 Valley Rd.	Carbonated Beverages
C	Coca-Cola Bottling Co.	3123 W. Broad St.	Carbonated Beverages
B	Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. of Richmond, Inc.	4210 Castlewood Rd.	Carbonated Beverages
C	Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co., of Richmond, Inc.	1628 W. Main St.	Carbonated Beverages
A	Royal Crown Bottlers of Richmond, Inc.	Ruffin & Commerce Rds.	Carbonated Beverages
B	Seven-Up Bottling Co., Inc.	1800 Summit Ave.	Carbonated Beverages
A	Tidewater Beverage Corp.	3 S. Granby St.	Carbonated Beverages
	FOODS (Not elsewhere classified)		
A	A. W. Baker's Son	107 W. Broad St.	Food Preparations
A	Dean Foods Co.	1400 Commerce Road	Processed edible oils
A	Ewarts Frozen Foods, Inc.	1717 E. Clay	Food Processing
A	Fearnow Bros .Cannery	Ellerson, Va.	Brunswick Stew
B	Hoffman's Homemade Lunches	1422 E. Commerce Rd.	Food Preparations
B	Frito-Lay, Inc.	1827 N. Hamilton	Potato Chips
B	Richmond Brokerage Co., Inc.	5405 Patterson Ave.	Sugar
A	Rappahannock Seafood Co.	2004 Dabney Rd.	Seafood Packaging
A	Richmond Potato Processing Co.	4516 S 13 1/2 St.	Food Preparations
B	Richmond Refining Co.	1601 Brown	Grease & Tallow
A	Virginia Food Products Co., Inc.	5 So. Belvidere	Food Preparations
	EXTRACTS		
A	American Laboratories, Inc.	2000 W. Broad	Flavoring Extracts
A	M. F. Neal & Co., Inc.	1900 E. Franklin St.	Tobacco Flavoring, Ground Spices
C	The C. F. Sauer Co.. Inc.	2000 W. Broad St.	Flavoring Extracts Spices, Mayonnaise
A	Southern Extract Co.	4901 W. Leigh St.	Flavoring Extracts
	COFFEE, SPICES; ROASTING AND GRINDING		
B	Old Mansion, Inc.	330 S. 10th St.	Roasted Coffee, Tea, Ground Spices

CANDY

A	Clark Gum Co.	Bells & Commerce Rds	Chewing Gum
B	R. H. Hardesty Co.	1509 Belleville St.	Candy

ICE (Artificial)

A	Hermitage Ice & Storage	1128 Hermitage Rd.	Ice
B	Merchants Ice & Cold Storage	220 S. 6th St.	Ice
B	Richmond Cold Storage, Inc.	18th at Clay St.	Ice
B	Richmond Ice Co., Inc.	700 N. Harrison St.	Ice

TEXTILES

CLOTHING & FURNISHINGS

B	Cavalier Hat Co.	2020 W. Broad St.	Hats
A	Charles Hazel Handbag Co.	12 N. 3rd St.	Handbags, Purses
E	Crawford Mfg. Co., Inc.	3rd & Decatur Sts.	Overalls
A	Creery, Ltd.	1203 E. Main St.	Men's Custom Shirts
F	Friedman-Marks Clothing Co.	1400 W. Marshall St.	Men's Suits, Overcoats
C	Jefferson Mfg. Co.	1515 Cham'layne Ave.	Men's & Boys' Dress Sl'ks
A	Joel Manufacturing Co.	23rd & Everett	Caps
B	Lady Byrd Hat Co., Inc.	601 W. Cary St.	Women's Hats
A	Lounge-Wear, Inc.	4903 W. Leigh St.	Robes & Pajamas
D	M & B Headwear Co., Inc.	2323 E. Main	Hats—Men's & Boys'
B	Richmond Headwear Co., Inc.	1726 Arlington Road	Hats—Men's & Boys'
A	Virginia Garment Co.	510 N. 17th St.	Caps

BAGS & BURLAP

B	Lincoln Bag Co.	2042 Westmoreland St.	Plastic Bags
B	Millhiser Bag Co., Inc.	600 State St.	Cotton Bags
B	Millhiser Plastics, Inc.	600 State St.	Polyethylene Bags
C	Morgan Bros. Bag Co., Inc.	Belleville & Moore Sts.	Cotton & Burlap Bags
B	Richmond Dixie Bag Co.	Dabney Rd.	Burlap Bags
X	Standard Bag & Burlap Co., Inc.	1317 E. Cary St.	Burlap Bags

HASSOCKS & SEAT COVERS

E	Crawford Manufacturing Co.	3rd & Decatur Sts.	Hassocks, Seat Covers
C	Babcock-Phillips Corp.	Commerce Rd.	Hassocks
D	B. T. Crump Co., Inc.	Staples Mill Road	Automotive Sewn Products & Hassocks

MATTRESSES & BOX SPRINGS

A	Blackburn Mattress & Box Spring Company	313 W. Main St.	Mattresses, Box Springs
B	Eastern Sleep Products Co.	1322 W. Broad St.	Bedding Equipment
B	Standard Bedding Co.	2505 Semmes Ave.	Mattresses, Box Springs
B	Zaban Mattress & Box Spring Co.	1 E. Cary St.	Mattresses, Box Springs

FIBERS

G	E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.	Ampthill, Jefferson Davis Hwy.	Nylon

TEXTILES (Not elsewhere classified)

B	Paris Shade Shoppe, Inc.	2026 Cham'layne Ave.	Shade Cloth, Pulls, Cleaners
B	Sherritt Flag Co., Inc.	1731 Kelly Road	Flags

CHEMICAL PRODUCTS

A	Acme Scientific Co., Inc.	11 S. 15th St.	Animal Medicine
B	Air Reduction Sales Co.	Bickerstaff Rd.	Oxygen & Acetylene Gas
A	Alcatraz Co., Inc.	1900 Ellen Rd.	Asphalt Paints, Cements
B	Alliance Fertilizer Corp.	Ellerson, Va.	Fertilizer
A	American Brands Company	1812 Ellen Rd.	Bleach & Bluing
B	Asphalt Paving Service, Inc.	Darbytown Rd. & C. & O. Underpass	Asphalt Paving Mixtures
B	Atlantic Varnish & Paint Co.	3000 N. Bouevard	Varnish, Lacquers
B	Bone Dry Fertilizer Co.	16th & Brown Sts.	Fertilizer, Lime
A	Bradley & Boswell	Ellerson, Va.	Fertilizer
A	Capital Chemical Co. of Richmond, Inc.	204 N. 14th St.	Insecticides
A	Chemical Industries, Inc.	2425 Grenoble Ave.	Household Chemicals
A	Colonial Chemical Corp.	4509 Williamsburg Ave.	Dyes
B	E. R. Carpenter Co.	2400 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Urethane Foam
A	Deep Rock Refining Co.	712 Albany Ave.	Petroleum Products
A	Douglas Chemical Co.	Staples Mill Rd.	Paints
F	E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.	Ampthill, Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Cellophane, Nylon, Polyethylene, HT-1
A	Elars Products, Inc.	3301 Rosedale Ave.	Toilet Goods
A	Ethical Specialties, Inc.	604 N. Belmont	Pharmaceuticals
A	J. M. Fry Co.	704 Dawn	Printing Ink
A	General Printing Ink Co.	1715 Summit Ave.	Printing Ink
A	Haag, Inc.	1509 E. Main St.	Pharmaceuticals
B	Charles C. Haskell & Co.	9 S. Harvie St.	Pharmaceuticals
A	Haskell Chemical Co.	6101 Staples Mill Rd.	Chemicals — Lacquers
A	Interchemical Corp., Printing Ink Div.	3435 W. Leigh St.	Printing Ink
B	Nylonu, Inc.	1812 Ellen Rd.	Nylon Detergents
A	Plastoid Products of Virginia	2107 Loumor Ave.	Plastic Compounds
B	Polk Miller Products Corp.	2007 N. Hamilton St.	Dog Medicine & Food
B	Wm. Poythress & Co., Inc.	16 N. 22nd St.	Pharmaceuticals
B	Richmond Belt Dressing Mfg. Co.	1829 Louisa St.	Belt Dressing
C	Richmond Guano Co., Inc.	9 S. 5th St.	Fertilizer
B	Richmond Refining Co.	1601 Brown St.	Grease & Tallow
C	A. H. Robins Company	1407 Cummings Dr.	Pharmaceuticals
A	Rox Industries, Inc.	Ellerson	Ind. & Household Chemicals
B	Sampson Paint Mfg. Co., Inc.	301 Hull St.	Paints
A	Sinclair & Valentine Co.	1408 Gordon Ave.	Printing Ink
A	Southern Adhesives Corp.	Castlewood Rd.	Industrial Adhesives
B	Valentine Co., Inc.	3414 W. Leigh	Pharmaceuticals
B	VanPelt and Brown, Inc.	1322 E. Main St.	Pharmaceuticals
B	V. C. Chemical Co.	401 E. Main St.	Sulfuric Acid & Fertilizer
A	Virginia Carolina Paint Co.	715 Hull St.	Paints
A	L .M. Walsh Paint Products	Lewis Rd.	Paints
B	West Chemical Products, Inc.	2020 Tomlynn St.	Disinfectants

LEATHER AND ITS PRODUCTS

B	American Lace Leather Co., Inc.	21st & Perry Sts.	Lace Leather
D	B. T. Crump Co., Inc.	Staples Mill Rd.	Harness & Saddlery
A	Jerry Brothers Belting Co.	1908 E. Main St.	Belting
A	Thomas G. Powell	411 W. Broad St.	Orthopedic Shoes, Artificial Limbs

METALS, MACHINERY, TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT

STRUCTURAL & ORNAMENTAL IRON & STEEL WORK

A	Bowker & Roden, Inc.	Westwood & Hamilton	Reinforcing Steel
B	Bristol Steel Co.	4th & Gordon Sts.	Structural Steel
B	Cruickshanks Iron Works Co.	Dineen & SAL	Structural Steel
A	Greendale Ornamental Iron Co.	8605 Oakview Ave.	Ornamental Iron
B	Liphart Steel Co.. Inc.	Westwood Ave.	Structural Steel
C	Richmond Steel Co., Inc.	18th & E. Byrd St.	Structural Steel, Barges
C	Bethlehem Steel Co.	3122 W. Cary St.	Reinforcing Bars

PRIMARY METALS

A	A. B. C. Foundry	Hopewell Rd.	Castings
A	Atlantic Steel Fabricators, Inc.	2307 LaCross Ave.	Plate Fabrication
B	Cameron Hydronic Products	6th & Dinwiddie Sts.	Heating Equipment
A	Capitol Foundry, Inc.	7 N. 25th St.	Cast'gs & Fndry Prods.
A	O. K. Foundry Co.	1005 E. Commerce Rd.	Iron & Brass Castings
F	Reynolds Metals Co.	Kingsland Rd.	Aluminum Extrusion
C	Richmond Foundry & Mfg. Co.	Hermitage Rd.	Iron & Brass Specialties
D	Southern Industries, Inc.	6th & Dinwiddie Sts.	Stoves & Ranges
B	Tredegar Co.	Castlewood Rd.	Foundry Products
C	Hyman Viener & Sons	5300 Hatcher St.	Refining Metals

MACHINERY & MACHINE REPAIRS

C	American Machine & Foundry Co. World Tobacco Group	10 S. 3rd St.	Tobacco Machinery
B	Apex Machine Mfg. Co., Inc.	216 S. 5th St.	Design & Build Machines
A	Atlantic Machine Co.	1215 High Point Ave.	General Repairs
A	Auto-Case Machinery Co., Inc.	8609 Oakview Ave.	Automatic Machinery
A	Auto Electric Parts Co.	1639 W. Broad St.	Auto Electric Equip.
B	Cardwell Machine Co., Inc.	Cardwell & Castlewood Rds.	Tobacco & Peanut Machines
B	Collier Bros. Machine Works	1010 Holly Springs Rd.	Machine Repairs
A	Commercial Metal Industries, Inc.	2403 E. Franklin St.	Metal Fabrication
B	Electric Motor & Repair Co.	311 E. Cary St.	Electrical Equipment
B	Electrical Equip. Co.	13 W. Main St.	Electrical Equipment
B	General Electric Service Whs.	1403 Ingram Ave.	Diesel-Elect. Service
B	Hauni Richmond, Inc.	1728 Roadmiller St.	Tobacco Machinery
B	Houck & Greene, Div. of Tredegar Co.	Castlewood Road	Steel Fabricator
C	Inta-Rota Machine Co., Inc.	Byrd Airport	Industrial Machines
A	Bryce D. Jewett Mach. Mfg. Co.	29th & Maury	Misc. Mach.
A	Kramer Bros.	500 Albany Ave.	Welding
A	Kramer Machines & Welding	18 W. 7th St.	Steel Fabricators
A	E. McLauchlan & Sons	209 N. 20th St.	Industrial Boilers
B	Molins Machine Co., Inc.	1716 Summit Ave.	Cigarette Machinery
B	Montague-Betts Co., Inc.	3820 Augusta	Steel Fabricator
A	Peatross Manufacturing Co.	1007 Overbrook Rd.	Rebuild Auto Parts
A	Printing Plates, Inc.	1500 Brook Rd.	Printing Machinery
A	Progressive Engineering Corp.	2010 E. Main St.	Machine Construction
B	Richmond Auto Parts, Inc.	1207 N. Boulevard	General Machine Shop
A	Richmond Carbide Grinding Co., Inc.	1716 Summit	Machinists & Wear-Resistant Material
A	Richmond Fabricated Steel Co.	908 W. Broad	Steel Fabricators
A	Richmond Welding & Machine Co.	1510 E. Cary St.	Steel Fabricating

A	Roy's Electric Motor Service	3201 Norfolk St.	Machinery Repairs
A	S & W Steel Co., Inc.	1011 N. Lombardy St.	Steel Fabricators
A	Service Machine & Welding Co.	2020 E. Franklin St.	Machinery
A	J. H. Shortt & Co.	3201 Lanvale Ave.	Machinery Repairs
A	Stewart Machine & Welding Service	1712 Ellen Road	Sheet Metal
B	Strickland Machine Co., Inc.	2330 E. Main St.	Machine Shop & Foundry
B	Sydnor Pump & Well Co.	1305 Brook Road	Welding, Sheet Metal
B	Tobacco Machinery Corp.	815 Dinwiddie St.	Industrial Machinery
B	American Mach. & Foundry Co.	2115 Laburnum Ave.	Bakery Machinery
A	Union Machine Co.	600 E. Byrd St.	Machinery Repairs
A	V-Belt Engineering Co.	3100 Aspen Ave.	Tobbaco Mach. & Equip.
A	Virginia Machine Works, Inc.	2404 E. Main St.	Machinery Repairs
A	Williams Automotive Mfg., Inc.	2402 N. Lombardy	Rebuild Auto Parts
A	Welding Service Co.	Hilliard Rd.	Welding & Steel Fabricating
A	West End Machine & Welding Co.	Staples Mill & Tally Rds.	Welding
B	West Engineering Co.	Vawter Ave.	Machine Repairs

METAL GOODS

B	Alsco-Virginia Corp.	2230 Westmoreland	Aluminum Windows
A	Aluma-Coverall Corp.	2371 Staples Mill Road	Aluminum Awnings
A	Aluminum Mfg. Corp of Va.	School & Aspen Sts.	Alum. Curtain-Wall
A	Aluminum Storm Window & Door Corp.	751 N. 2nd St.	Metal Awnings, Doors
A	Amercian Venitian Blind Co.	1601 Summit Ave.	Aluminum & Steel Blinds
A	Beautyguard Mfg. Co. of Rd. Inc.	N. Lombardy & Admiral	Alum. Building Prods.
A	Bender Venitian Blinds	422 W. Broad St.	Venetian Blinds
D	Binswanger & Co., Inc.	3300 W. Leigh	Window Units, Sash, Doors
B	Reuben Burton, Inc.	N. Dineen St. & SAL RR	Sheet Metal
A	Chandler Shade Manfg. Co.	106 Cowardin	Venetian Blinds
B	Capital City Iron Works	2804 Walmsley Blvd.	Tanks, Boiler Repairs
A	Capitol Awning Co.	405 Brook Road	Metal Awnings, Tents
A	Capitol Storm Door & Window Co.	208 E. Brookland Park Blvd.	Metal Awnings
B	Cole-Kelly Equipment Co.	1700 Commerce Rd.	Fuel Oil Tanks
A	Colonial Plating Shop	9 So. 1st Street	Metal Plating
A	Commonwealth Plating Co.	1427 W. Main St.	Metal Plating
B	Dixie Dinettes, Inc.	2001 Dabney Rd.	Furniture
A	Edmonds Awning Mfg. Co.	319 W. Broad St.	Metal Awnings
A	General Sheet Metal Works	2204 Dock St.	Sheet Metal
A	Glacier Metal Co.	Hull & 21st Sts.	Babbitt Metal
B	Hankins & Johann, Inc.	Staples Mill Rd.	Metal Windows
A	Hudson Venetian Blind Service	2000 Twilight Ave.	Venetian Blinds
B	Industrial Sheet Metal Works	1502 Valley Rd.	Sheet Metal
A	Landrum & Hammack	1710 E. Broad St.	Sheet Metal
A	Mann Shade Co., Inc.	5909 W. Broad St.	Venetian Blinds
B	Manson-Utley, Inc.	200 N. 21st St.	Windows & Doors
A	N. W. Martin & Bros., Inc.	17th & Byrd Sts.	Sheet Metal
A	C. B. Norvell Awning Co.	3108 N. Blvd.	Awnings
C	Old Dominion Iron & Steel Corp.	Belle Isle	Heaters
B	Paris Shade Shoppe, Inc.	2026 Cham'layne Ave.	Venetian Blinds

F	Reynolds Metals Co.	Chesterfield County	Aluminum Extrusion Foil Products
D	Richmond Engineering Co.	7th & Hospital Sts.	Steel Plate Products
B	Richmond Galvanizing Co.	920 E. Laburnum Ave.	Metal Plating
A	Richmond Metal Products Corp.	2825 E. Main St.	Kitchen Cabinets
A	Richmond Plating Co.	1802 E. Broad St.	Metal Plating
A	Richmond Pressed Metal Works	506-512 Maury St.	Metal Stampings
A	Richmond Re-Conditioning Co.	110 S. Jefferson St.	Retinners
A	Schrader Machine & Welding, Inc.	310 N. Gilmer	Sheet Metal
A	Service Steel Erectors Co.	116 S. Winfree	Steel Erectors
A	Sheet Metal, Inc.	7605 Compton Rd.	Sheet Metal
A	Southern Venetian Blind Co.	1601 Summit Ave.	Venetian Blinds
C	Steel Service, Inc.	500 Valley Road	Steel Products
A	Sydnor Sheet Metal Works	1811 E. Main St.	Store Fixtures
A	Union Steel Erectors	3406 Deerwood Road	Steel Erectors
C	Valley Plating Co.	920 E. Laburnum	Chrome Plating
A	Virginia Iron & Metal Co.	2807 Staples Mill Rd.	Babbitt Metal & Brass
B	Wheeling Corrugating Co.	1600 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Corrugated Metal Pipe
A	Joseph Yurachek Wire Works	1610 Summit Ave.	Wire Designs
A	Win-Dor, Inc.	2044 Westmoreland	Windows & Doors
	TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT		
C	Baker Equipment Eng. Co., Inc.	Summit Ave. & Norfolk St.	Trailer & Truck Bodies
A	Brown-Clark Equip. Co., Inc.	Dabney Rd.	Truck Bodies
B	Cole-Kelly Equipment Co.	1700 Commerce Rd.	Truck Bodies
B	Fruehauf Trailer Co.	3210 W. Marshall St.	Trailer Bodies
B	A. Meyer Sons, Inc.	120 S. 8th St.	Truck Bodies
B	Smith-Moore Body Co., Inc.	Lombardy & Brook Rd.	Auto & Truck Bodies

STONE, CLAY & GLASS PRODUCTS

B	Boscobel Granite Corp.	Portland Place	Crushed Stone
D	Binswanger & Co., Inc.	Leigh & Roseneath	Glass
B	Daniels Brick & Tile Co., Inc.	Commerce Rd.	Brick & Tile
C	General Shale Products Corp.	Lumkin Ave.	Clay Products
A	Hendricks Tile Co.	5000 Castlewood Rd.	Roofing Tiles
B	Luck Corporation	3600 Douglasdale Rd.	Crushed Stone
B	Redford Brick Co.	12th & Maury Sts.	Brick
A	Sadler Materials Corp.	Varina	Sand & Gravel
A	Southern Pottery	2201 Lumkin Ave.	Flower Pots
A	Tidewater Crushed Stone Co.	P. O. Box 2-R	Crushed Stone & Asphalt
B	West Sand & Gravel Co., Inc.	2801 Rady St.	Sand & Gravel
	CONCRETE PRODUCTS		
B	Baughan Bros. Co.	E. Rich. Rd. & So. Rwy.	Concrete Products
A	Blackwell's Well & Concrete Co.	Stop 8½, Nine Mile Rd.	Concrete Products
A	Brandon Silo Corporation	Bells Rd. & ACL RR	Concrete Products
A	Capital Concrete Corp.	Darbytown Rd.	Concrete Products
A	Carter Sand & Gravel Co., Inc.	401 Evergreen Rd.	Concrete Septic Tanks
B	Commonwealth Sand & Gravel	Darbytown Road	Ready Mixed Products
B	Concrete Building Units Co.	Darbytown Road	Cinder Blocks
C	Concrete Pipe & Products Co.	Belt Blvd. & Ptrsbg. Pike	Concrete Pipes, Tanks
B	Concrete Structures, Inc.	Darbytown Rd.	Concrete Products

B	Economy Cast Stone Co.	15 E. Franklin St.	Cast Stone Products
A	Wilbert Holland Vault Service	Kingsland Road	Concrete Products
B	Flintkote Co., Insulrock Div.	Lewis Road	Insulated Building Blocks
A	Lyttle & Barnes Sanitation Co.	2210 Belt Blvd.	Concrete Septic Tanks
A	Richmond Block, Inc.	Ellen Rd. & Rosedale	Cinder Blocks
A	Richmond Ready-Mix Corp.	2801 Rady St.	Concrete Products
B	Solite Corp.	2508 Chamberlayne	Building Aggregates
E	Southern Materials Co., Inc.	3011 Dock St.	Ready Mixed Concrete
B	Superior Building Units, Inc.	1207 School St.	Concrete Products
A	Va. Cast Stone Co.	1136 Hermitage Rd.	Stone & Slate Tiles

MONUMENTS AND OTHER STONE PRODUCTS

A	J. Henry Brown & Son	219 W. Main St.	Monuments
A	Empire Granite Corp.	504 St. Christophers	Bldg. & Monument Granite
A	Empire Monumental Works	328 S. Cherry St.	Monuments
A	A. P. Grappone & Sons	1104 S. Randolph St.	Monuments
A	Henwood & Wilson	413 S. Cherry St.	Monuments & Cut Stone
B	Sunnyside Granite Co., Inc.	Portland Place & Douglasdale Rd.	Crushed Stone
A	J. M. Taylor & Son	1613 Oakwood Ave.	Monuments

GLASS PRODUCTS

D	Binswanger & Co., Inc.	3300 W. Leigh St.	Mirrors, Sash & Store Fronts
B	Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.	302 S. 7th St.	Plate Glass & Store Fts.
B	Richmond Glass Shop, Inc.	814 W. Broad St.	Plate Glass & Store Fts.
B	Sash, Door & Glass Shop	6th & Stockton Sts.	Plate Glass & Store Fts.

TOBACCO PRODUCTS

F	American Tobacco Co., (Va. Br.)	26th & Cary Sts.	Cigarettes
E	American Tobacco Co., (Rd. Br.)	21st & Grace Sts.	Smoking, Chewing Tob.
D	Larus & Brother Co., Inc.	22nd & Cary Sts.	Smoking Tobacco
F	Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.	101 S. 6th St.	Little Cigars & Cigar'tes
D	Consolidated Cigar	23rd & Cary Sts.	Cigars, Cheroots
F	Philip Morris, Inc.	20th & Cary Sts.	Cigarettes & Pipe Tob.
B	Sutliff Tobacco Co., Inc.	600 Purdue Ave.	Pipe Tobacco
B	U. S. Filter Corp.	8401 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Cigarette & Pipe Filters
C	United States Tobacco Co., Inc.	1100 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Pipe Tobacco, Cigarettes

TOBACCO STEMMING & REDRYING

F	American Tobacco Co. (So. Richmond Leaf Dept.)	Petersburg Pike & Edwards Ave.	Redrying Tobacco
E	American Tobacco Co. (Richmond Leaf Dept.)	24th & Cary Sts.	Redrying Tobacco
C	Carrington & Michaux. Inc.	2200 Decatur St.	Redrying & Stemming
E	Export Leaf Tobacco Co.	800 Bowe St.	Redrying & Stemming
D	Larus & Brother Co., Inc.	22nd & Cary Sts.	Leaf Shipping
F	Philip Morris, Inc.	2325 Maury St.	Redrying & Stemming

WOOD PRODUCTS

FURNITURE & CASKETS

B	Acme Fixture Co., Inc.	Commerce Rd. & Dinwiddie	Store Fixtures

B	American Furniture & Fixture Co.	2823 E. Main St.	Store & Office Fixtures
B	Biggs Antique Co., Inc.	900 W. Marshall St.	Reproductions
A	Cavalier Cabinet Mfg. Co.	1912 E. Main St.	Cabinets
A	Circle Wood Working Corp.	923 N. Meadow St.	Wood Products
A	Colonial Fixture Co.	2217 Tazewell St.	Store Fixtures
E	David M. Lea & Co., Inc.	Hopkins Rd.	Boxes
B	Modern Wood Work, Inc.	600 E. Cary St.	Office Furniture
B	Rich-Line Mfg. Co.	2121 Hamilton St.	Institutional Furniture
A	Richmond Casket & Supply Co.	3004 Ferncliff Rd.	Caskets
A	Royal School Laboratories	Ashland	School Furniture
B	Spencer Casket Co., Inc.	1308 E. Main St.	Caskets

MILLWORK & OTHER WOOD PRODUCTS

B	H. Beckstoffer's Sons	1209 N. 28th St.	Lumber & Bldg. Supply
A	Bernhardt & Taylor	1807 Broad Rock Rd.	Wood Cabinets
A	Eastern Handle Corp.	3015 Falling Creek Ave.	Tool Handles & Baseball Bats
A	Evans Specialty Co., Inc.	14 E. 15th St.	Office Equipment
A	Hallsboro Manufacturing Co.	Hallsboro, Va.	Excelsior
A	Holland Planning Mill	Staples Mill Road	Millwork
B	James River Lumber Co., Inc.	Sandston	Bldg. Materials
A	Jones Planing Mill Corp.	Staples Mill Rd.	Millwork
C	Koppers Co., Inc.	Charles City Road	Railroad Ties & Creosote
A	John J. Liesfield, Jr.	Laurel, Va.	Planing Mill
D	Miller Manufacturing Co., Inc.	7th & Stockton Sts.	Millwork & Boxes
B	Rd. Republic Lumber Co., Inc.	923 N. Meadow	Bldg. Sup. & Millwork
C	Rich'd Cedar Works Mfg. Corp.	Fulton	General Woodenware
B	Richmond Lumber & Bldg. Supply	4th & Maury Sts.	Millwork
C	Ruffin & Payne, Inc.	1701 Fifth Ave.	Millwork
A	R. A. Siewers, Inc.	122 S. Belvidere St.	Millwork
A	Transit Lumber Co., Inc.	N. Blvd. & RF&P RR	Millwork
A	Va. Wood Preserving Corp.	Laurel, Virginia	Wood Preserving
A	Walton Lumber Co., Inc.	Staples Mill Road	Sizing Lumber

RUBBER PRODUCTS

A	Central Belt'g, Hose & Rubber Co.	103 S. Jefferson	Rubber Specialties
A	G. W. Herndon Co.	1528 High St.	Rubber Stamps
B	National Seal Works, Inc.	2015 W. Marshall St.	Rubber Stamps
B	Richmond Rubber Co., Inc.	618 Leigh St.	Rubber Products

PAPER AND PAPER PRODUCTS

PAPER PRODUCTS

B	Albemarle Container Co.	Commerce Rd. & Ingram Ave.	Boxes, Cartons
B	American Paper Co., Inc.	4100 Benton Ave.	Paper Bags
A	Boxes to Size, Inc.	1919 Bainbridge St.	Corrugated Boxes
B	Cauthorne Paper Co., Inc.	207 Hull St.	Converted Paper Prods.
C	Continental Can Co., Inc.	3200 Will'burg Ave.	Corrugated Containers
B	Dillard Paper Company	2100 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Paper Products
C	Dixie Container Corp.	2000 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Corrugated Paper Prods.
C	Duplex Envelope Co.	1339 W. Broad St.	Church Envelopes
B	Globe Envelope Co.	517 E. Cary St.	Church Envelopes
B	Hamilton Mfg. Corp.	1901 Ellen Road	Conv'ers, Waxed Paper

C	Hopper Paper Co., Inc.	8th & Everett Sts.	Paper Tablets
A	McDaniel Envelope Co., Inc.	3412 W. Leigh St.	Envelopes
D	Morgan Bros. Bag Co.	Belleville & Moore Sts.	Paper Bags
B	Pohlig Brothers, Inc.	2419 E. Franklin St.	Paper Boxes
B	Publishers Envelope Co.	Cummings Dr. & Hardy	Church Envelopes
C	Seaboard Bag Corp.	3408 W. Moore St.	Paper Bags
C	Seaboard Manufacturing Corp.	330 So. 4th St.	Paper Bags
B	Sonoco Products Co.	501 Stockton St.	Paper Tubes
B	Southern Special Prods. Corp.	3021 Vernon Rd.	Converted Specialties
C	Southern Standard Bag Co.	Lewis Road	Bags
D	Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp.	303 S. 13th St.	Paper Products
D	Union Envelope Co.	1609 Sherwood Ave.	Envelopes
X	United Church Envelope Co.. Inc.	3412 W. Leigh	Envelopes
B	United States Envelope Co.	1010 N. Meadow	Envelopes
D	Virginia Folding Box Co.	320 Hull St.	Paper Boxes
C	West Va. Pulp & Paper Co., H & D Div.	2300 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Shipping Containers
C	Wilson Paper Box Co.	2220 E. Main St.	Paper Boxes

PAPER MANUFACTURERS

E	Albemarle Paper Mfg. Co., Inc.	330 S. 4th St.	Paper
B	Consumer Bag & Pkg. Corp.	1500 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Paper Bags
B	Interstate Bag Co.	330 S. 4th St.	Shopping Bags
D	Federal Paper Board Co.	1850 Commerce Rd.	Paper Board
C	Halifax Paper Co.	330 S. 4th St.	Paper
D	Standard Paper Mfg. Co., Inc.	Canal & Hull St.	Paper

PRINTING, PUBLISHING, ENGRAVING

A	Acme Press	3093 Hull St.	Offset Printing
A	S. B. Adkins & Co.	1307 E. Cary St.	Binding & Job Printing
A	Art Guild Screen Process Co.	W. Marshall & Lake	Designs & Displays
C	The Baughman Co.	801 Randolph St.	Job Printing
B	Beacon Press, Inc.	408 N. 7th St.	Printing
A	Beverley & Hershey	2022 Sledd St.	Book & Job Printing
B	W. M. Brown & Son, Inc.	700 S. Belvidere	Book & Job Printing
A	Burruss Printing Co.	211 W. Grace St.	Commercial Printing
A	Capital Printing Co.	3333 W. Marshall St.	Commercial Printing
A	Cavalier Press	10 S. 14th St.	Printing
A	Childress Printing Co.	1732 Kelly Road	Printing
A	Coghill Composition	11 W. 8th St.	Typography
A	Colonial Printing & Stationery Co., Inc.	3014 W. Marshall	Printing
A	Color, Inc.	700 S. Belvidere	Photo Engravers
A	Commercial Printing Co., Inc.	2015 W. Marshall	Printing
A	Consolidated Printing Co.	2710 W. Cary St.	Printing
A	Creative Screen Print, Inc.	1702 Belleville St.	Designs
A	Donald Cooke Co.	1423 W. Main St.	Printing
A	Cornett Screen Printing, Inc.	2536 N. Lombardy St.	Displays
B	Cussons May & Co., Inc.	715 Bowe St.	Calendars & Printing
A	Dataflow, Inc., Div. Acme Visible Records, Inc.	2100 D'pw'r Term. Rd.	Business Forms
B	Deluxe Check Printers	3405 Commerce Rd.	Check Printing
B	Dietz Printing Co.	109 E. Cary St.	Printing, Publishing
A	Engravers, Inc.	408 N. 3rd St.	Printing & Engraving

A	Equity Press	608 E. Main St.	Printing
A	Exhibits, Inc.	521 W. 7th St.	Displays
B	Expert Letter Writing Co.	6 W. Cary St.	Duplicating
A	Fabry Reproduction & Supply Corp.	205 1/2 E. Franklin St.	Blue Printing
B	J. W. Ferguson & Sons	105 N. 14th St.	Printing
A	Fontaine Press	1310 Altamont Ave.	Printing
A	Foster Printing Co.	16 S. 2nd St.	Offset Printing
A	J. L. Foster Printing Co.	416 Brook Road	Printing
A	Benj. Franklin Printing Co.	3 Governor St.	Commercial Printing
B	Garrett & Massie, Inc.	1901 Roane	Printing & Publishing
A	Seth Gayle & Co.	1407 E. Grace St.	Label Printing
B	Turner Advertising Co.	1000 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Signs, Advtsg. Displays
A	Gordon & Hinton Photo Print Co.	104 E. Cary St.	Blue Printers
A	Graphic Arts Press, Inc.	1215 Summit Ave.	Commercial Printing
A	Gyllenband Engraving Co.	1407 Semmes Ave.	Engraving
A	John H. Harland Co.	2512 Vaco St.	Lithography
A	W. Eugene Harvey	224 S. 2nd St.	General Printing
A	The Hauke Press	6 E. Main St.	Job Printing
A	Frank E. Heppert Print Shop	207 N. Jefferson St.	Commercial Printing
A	G. W. Herndon Co.	1528 High St.	Job Printing
E	Hill Directory Co., Inc.	2910 W. Clay St.	City Directories
A	W. F. Hobart, Inc.	3104 W. Cary	Blue Prints
B	Inta-Rota Engraving	Byrd Airport	Engraving
D	L. H. Jenkins, Inc.	2201 W. Broad St.	Printing
A	John Knox Press	8 N. 6th St.	Publishing
A	Keel-Williams Corp.	9 S. 12th St.	Commercial Printing
A	Kustom Kraft Display Service	12 E. Marshall St.	Display
C	Lawyers Printing Co., Inc.	1013 E. Cary St.	Publishing
A	Leake Printing Co.	220 S. 4th St.	Job Printing
A	Lewis Printing Co.	900 W. Leigh	Book & Job Printing
A	The Liberty Press	1402 E. Main St.	Printing
A	Lipford Printing Co., Inc.	1200 E. Cary	Job Printing
A	Litho Plate Making Co.	1300 E. Main St.	Lithography
A	Litho Plate Service	1007-A E. Main St.	Lithography
A	Litho-Services, Inc.	2939 W. Marshall	Lithography
A	Meister & Smethie	1404 E. Main	Book Binders
A	Mercury Printing Co.	12 N. Rowland	Printing
B	Metropolitan Engraving & Electrotype Co., Inc.	1809 Roane St.	Photo Engravers
B	Mitchell & Hotchkiss	6-10 N. 8th St.	Printing & Binding
A	Mutual Stationary & Prtg. Co.	1201 W. Broad St.	Printing
B	National Seal Works	2015 W Marshall St.	Rubber Stamps & Stencils
A	Nuckols Printing Co.	1341 E. Broad St.	Printing
B	Old Dominion Press	1205 E. Cary St.	Book & Job Printing
A	G. H. Parent Co.	213 Thompson	Printing
A	Pilot Printing Co.	320 N. 18th St.	Printing
B	Presbyterian Outlook	512 E. Main St.	Publishing
A	Printing Plates, Inc.	1500 Brook Rd.	Lithography
A	Pizzini Poster & Printing Co.	211 W. 7th St.	Job Printing
A	Progressive Composition Co.	715 W. Grace St.	Type Setting
A	Quality Printing Co.	416 Brook Ave.	Printing
A	Quick Printing Co.	2602 1/2 Hull St.	Job Printing

A	Religious Herald	5101 Monument	Publishing
C	Reynolds Metals Co.	Kingsland Road	Printed Cartons, Wraps & Foil
A	Richmond Engraving Co., Inc.	206 N. 14th St.	Engraving
E	Richmond Newspapers, Inc.	110 N. 4th St.	Newspapers
A	Richmond Paper Ruling Co.	1404 E. Main St.	Book Binders
A	Royal Engraving Co.	15 N. 8th St.	Engraving
A	Satterwhite Printing Co.	1721 Summit Ave.	Printing
A	Screen Crafts	929 Myers St.	Screen Printing
A	R. R. Sharpless Co.	515 E. Main St.	Photo Prints
B	Robert Simpson Co.	711-A W. Broad St.	Printing
A	Southern Engraving Co.	13 E. Main St.	Engraving
B	Southern Planter Publishing Co.	223 Governor St.	Magazine Publishing
B	Southern Stamp & Stationery Co.	00 Broad St.	Rubber Stamps, Printing
A	Southside Press	305 W. 11th St.	Job Printing
A	Spencer Printing Co.	1903 Semmes Ave.	Printing
A	State Composition Co.	18 N. 14th St.	Composition & Make-up
A	Trade Compositors, Inc.	611 Home	Lithography
B	Trevvett Christian & Co.	2015 N. Laburnum	Job Printing
A	Typecraft. Inc.	206 S. Jefferson St.	Type
A	Virginia Engraving Co.	103 N. 4th St.	Photo Engraving
A	Virginia Municipal Review	11 E. Franklin St.	Publishing
B	Virginia Stationery Co., Inc.	2018 W. Broad	Prtg., Engvg., Binding
A	Virginia Stereotype Service	1903 Semmes Ave.	Stereotyping
A	Virginia Wire-O Binding Corp.	907 Catherine St.	Wire Binding
A	Visual Merchandising Service, Inc.	Midlothian, Va.	Displays
C	Everett Waddey Co., Inc.	1105 E. Main St.	Ptrg., Engrvg., Binding
A	Wagener Press, Inc.	1621 W. Cary St.	Job Printing
A	Walthall Printing Co.	109 S. 12th St.	Job Printing
A	Waterman Press	322 W. Brookland Park	Job Printing
A	West End Printing Co.	5703 Staples Mill Rd.	Printing
B	Whittet & Shepperson	11 N. 8th St.	Book & Job Printing
A	Wilkinson Printing Co.	8307 Washington Hwy.	Printing
C	The William Byrd Press	2901 Byrd Hill Rd.	Book & Printing
A	Williams Printing Co.	15 N. 14th St.	Photo-Graving

MISCELLANEOUS

A	American Optical Co.	Main & Foushee St.	Optical Goods
A	Ancarrow Marine, Inc.	3108 Brander Rd.	Boats
B	Atlantic Bitulithic Co.	1400 Roseneath Rd.	Asphalt Products
B	Bausch & Lomb	307 E. Franklin St.	Optical Goods
A	Central Oil Asphalt Co.	Shell Rd.	Asphalt Products
A	Colonial Drapery & Curtain Co.	1501 Jennie Scher Rd.	Vinyl Curtains
A	Filtramatics, Inc.	1415 Valley Rd.	Industrial Filters
A	Giannini Scientific Corp., Rich. Div.	Byrd Airport	Flight Instruments
C	Ideal Fishing Float Co., Inc.	2001 E. Franklin St.	Fishing Tackle & Other Equip.
A	J. E. Hanger, Inc., of Va.	11 S. 2nd St.	Artificial Limbs
A	Old Dominion Brush Co.	2422 E. Franklin St.	Brooms & Brushes
B	Phipps & Bird, Inc.	6th & Byrd Sts.	Laboratory Equip., Plastic Fabrication
A	Pioneer Plastics Co.	14 E. 15th St.	Molded Plastics
A	Plastic Products Co.	1822 E. Franklin St.	Light Control Curtains
A	Research Instrument Corp.	18 S. 12th St.	Research Instruments

B	Richmond Broom Co.	2201 E. Main St.	Brooms
B	Richmond Pen Company	3808 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Pen & Pencils
A	Smitherm Div. of Hupp Corp.	1713 Westwood	Research
D	Solaronics, Inc.	6th & Dinwiddie	Heating Units
A	Sunnyside Granite Co.	Jacque St.	Asphalt
B	Surgident Ltd.	Willisden Rd.	Dental Supplies
A	Texaco Experiment, Inc.	Deepwater Ter. Rd.	Research
C	Topcrafters of Va., Inc.	1000 Dinwiddie	Plastic Products
B	Talley Neon and Advertising Co.	1908 Cham'lyne Ave.	Signs & Advertising Displays
B	Trident Corp.	Rt. 10	Precision Plastic Parts
C	Tuckersharpe Pen Co., Inc.	3808 Jeff. Davis Hwy.	Pens & Pencils
A	Virginia Aerospace Prods Co.	3312 Rosedale Ave.	Air Cond. Equipment

INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT
RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
JANUARY, 1965

RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA

CITY OF RICHMOND
JULY 19TH
1782

FOUNDED 1867

From: Draft of the proposed program of the
National Committe Against Discrimination in Housing (NYC).

During the years since WWII, segregated patterns have increased enournously in # extnnt. Two principal factors have contributed: the growth of the all-white suburbs, and the expansion of Negro ghettos within central cites. Between 1950 and 1960, nearly two-thirds of thenation's growth (population increase) took place in the suburgs; and this growth was almost entirely white. Meanwhile, Negro population in almost every major central city expanded dramatically. Unless powerful efforts are made to stem the tide of exclusijon from the suburbs and the growiong segregation within the city limits, the year 1980 will see several of America's largest cities with Negro majoriites. Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans, Philadelphia and St. Louis are leading prospects.

In this sitaation, urban planning and urban renewal programs are more often contributing to segregated residental patterns thatn they are to an open housing market. To often the allegation of " Negro clearance" is true. Very few localities have utilized planning ro urban renewal to open up the hosing supply to all racial groups. Controversies orver relaocation continue to rage. New federal programs to aid in the rehab. and repair of rundown dweellings, if operated inthe smae way, would also contirbute to consoldiating the racial ghetto. Alll these powerful tools of govt and rprivate enterprise should be utilized to open the housing amarket and eli minate the racial ghet to. The greatest and richest nation in the world can do no less in order to remove the cancer of racial stegregation from the growing metropolitan areas where nearly tow-thirds of its people now live.

Bromanother source: Today's middle-class households are moving outsidethe city limits into the newer delveloping suburbs and leaving the older centr al city to the current newcomers and other nonwhites, so that the tradition al cleavage between central city and cuburbs is currentling evelving a color overtone of cleavange between whtes and nonwhites.

In 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States, in Buchanan v. Warley, held racial zoning ordinances invalid; and in 1948, in Shelly v. Kraemer, held racial restrictive conenants judicially unenforceable.

Study of the 1960 censud data revaels some sig. facts about the market potential among Negro middle income families and also some appalling problems that they face in securing suitable housing they can afford. In 1959, some 1,160,000 nonwhite fams earned $5000 or more. Some 145,000 nonw fams made incomes from 10,000 to 15000 ; another 28,000 had incomes from 15000 to 25000, and 6000 had incomes of $25000 and over.
As incomes for both white and nonwhite fams rise, agreater proportion of nonwhites continue to live in deteriorating housing than wjote fa,s. mainly because betterhousing is not available to hem despite the fact that they can afford it. A smaller proportion of nonw than w fams occipy recently build housing, but as income rise no substantial change is evid enced in this ratio, mainly becsuse new housing is not generallly avail to nonws commensurate with existing maket (market) demand among them.

We find millions of Am fams, earning $7000 to $10000 a year, who have either substandard housing or hausing welll below the wuality that they typicall can afford, or hosuing that is much older than that of comparable whites.

In a very real sense, the already extensive and rising purchasing power among nonwhites provides an untapped housing market today which is growing in dimension and offers a virgin field for expanding profitable ~~fab~~ busines s. This is truly a new frontier of housing.

Oue national goal is a housing mraket in which all the Am people will have wider housing choices and THE NONWHITE FAMILY'S INCOME (HOUSING DOLLLAR) WILL HAVE THE SAME VALUE AS ANY OTHER FAMILY's.

In a (stable) community property values can prosper, ofr they will be freed of the pressures which come form bock-busting and fears leading to pancic selling.

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., President Mr. W. R. Walker, First Vice-President Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, Vice-Presidents
Dr. Horry Roberts, Secretary Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Treasurer

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.
17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA 648-4445
Hesiip Lee, Executive Director
Henry L. Caravati, Director of Development

The incredible growth of urban communities all over America and the consequent development of the suburbs have resulted in industries formerly c##b## concentrated in the central city also moving to the suburbs. Almost without exception these suburbs are racially all white. Negroes may sometimes work in these plants, and sometimes do. However, they usually do not live in the surrounding community. Therefore, a realtionship between discrimination in housing and the field of employment is that the Negro worker must travel farther each day on hisjourney to and from work. Tjois This greater travel time means greater cost, greater possiblity #of### tardiness, greater accodemt ##o## ## risk, greater time away from his family, etc. Of equal or greater significance is the fact that## ## employment dscromination imposes an economic limitation on the Negro home seeker.

BECAUSE OF HOUSING DISCRIMANATION, the white child and the Negro chil go to separate schools; t-ey learn apart, they play apart. Because of this roather compleyte seg with all its consequences, the white child's image of the Negro child and the Negro child's image of the whicte child is ften a negabive one.

The unprincipled practices of many members of the r.e. industry in most communities have severely retarded the progreess of deseg houseng. They have promoted PANIC SELLING and the resulting rapid turnover of homes. We submit thatthis rapid turnover has beeen directly related to high pressure tactics such as CONSTANT SOLICITATION, AIMED AT HOME OWNERS WHO HAVE EXPRESSED NO INTEREST IN SELLING. Some real estate agents have used unethical arguments, rumors. and misrepresentation of facts as a means of precipitating prejuduce and promoting flight out of the desegregating enighborhood. Because of the desparage housing shortage existing among Negroes, real estate operatiors oare assured of a ready market.

One of the most difficult tasks is to help people to see beyond their stereoptypes. Often, when thinking of Negro occupancy, people think only of downtown slums, instead of nearby good neighborhoods. The real causes of slum donditions are the ages of the structures themselves, the lack of p proper maintenance by owners (usually absentee landlords) and overcrowding. These conditins will produce slums whether the occupants are white or N.

Davis McEntire in RACE AND RESIDENCE ... shows that a Negro"s housing dollar buys less than a white's. Negpoes frequently cannot obtain mortgages or have to pay higher caarrying charges. Often Negroes must spend a greater proportion of a smaller income for housing.

POPULATION AND HOUSING DATA

HENRICO COUNTY ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

This Research Report contains detailed statistics on population and housing in Henrico County by Enumeration Districts. These areas are smaller than Census Tracts and usually one Census Tract contains many Districts. There are 186 Enumeration Districts in Henrico County.

The publication of this data will give Richmond business and other interested groups detailed information on smaller areas throughout the County. This can be used in marketing analysis, business location, labor market studies, county and city planning, housing analysis, and many other ways.

The accompanying map shows the location of the Enumeration Districts and was prepared by the Richmond Regional Planning Commission. Their assistance was given with the knowledge that this report will greatly assist in the growth and development of not only Henrico County, but the entire Richmond Metropolitan Area.

The basic information is a part of the 1960 Census and was sent to the Research Committee by the U. S. Census Bureau.

Edwin B. Brooks, Jr.
Chairman, Research Committee

Harry J. Perrin, Jr.
Director, Research Services

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0010P	043 0010R	043 0010S	043 0011N	043 0011P	043 0012
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	191	171	120	286	138	481
Owner occupied	161	163	95	273	120	443
White	161	163	72	273	120	436
Nonwhite			23			7
Renter occupied	5	4	19	7	7	23
White	5	4	14	7	7	22
Nonwhite			5			1
Available vacant	13	1	6	4	2	
For rent			2			
For sale only	13	1	4	4	2	
Other vacant	12	3		2		15
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	191	171	120	286	138	481
Sound	191	167	99	286	135	473
With all plumbing facilities	191	165	91	286	135	473
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		2	8			
Deteriorating		4	18		2	2
With all plumbing facilities		3	5		2	1
Lacking only hot water		1				
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			13			1
Dilapidated			3		1	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			28			8
Sound			13			2
With all plumbing facilities			6			2
Lacking some or all facilities			7			
Deteriorating			13			2
With all plumbing facilities			2			1
Lacking some or all facilities			11			1
Dilapidated			2			4
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	191	171	120	286	138	481
1						
2	1	1				1
3			7		1	
4	2	3	19		2	3
5	33	14	11	64	14	8
6	19	39	62	60	29	86
7	103	67	18	107	74	315
8 or more	33	47	3	55	18	68
Median	6.9	6.9	5.9	6.7	6.8	7.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			28			8
1						
2						1
3			3			
4			13			2
5			4			3
6			6			1
7			2			1
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	166	167	114	280	136	466
1	1	6	7	3	1	4
2	23	28	33	43	20	36
3	52	33	18	55	35	101
4	45	45	29	100	34	150
5	29	44	15	52	28	95
6 or more	16	11	12	27	18	80
Median	3.7	3.9	3.4	3.9	3.9	4.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			28			8
1			1			
2			10			2
3			5			4
4			1			2
5			3			
6 or more			8			
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	166	167	114	280	136	466
0.50 or less	68	68	49	100	54	156
0.51 to 0.75	68	80	39	121	54	227
0.76 to 1.00	26	19	16	51	23	72
1.01 or more	4		10	8	5	11
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			28			8
0.50 or less			10			1
0.51 to 0.75			7			6
0.76 to 1.00			2			1
1.01 or more			9			
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 003 043 0010P		043 003 043 0010R		043 003 043 0010S		043 003 043 0011N		043 003 043 0011P		043 003 043 0012	
Total population	626		629		403		1089		540		1984	
White	626		628		289		1088		540		1956	
Negro			1		114		1				25	
Other races											3	
Total population	626		629		403		1089		540		1984	
Pop. in households	626		629		403		1080		540		1984	
Head of household	166		167		114		280		136		466	
Head of prim. fam.	163		161		107		276		135		461	
Primary individual	3		6		7		4		1		5	
Wife of head	163		154		94		266		129		443	
Child under 18	267		256		130		486		248		930	
Other relative	26		45		65		49		25		128	
Nonrelative	4		7				8		2		17	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.77		3.77		3.54		3.89		3.97		4.26	
Nonwhite population			1		114		1				28	
Pop. in households			1		114		1				28	
Head of household					28						8	
Head of prim. fam.					27						8	
Primary individual					1							
Wife of head					21		1				6	
Child under 18					34						2	
Other relative					31						6	
Nonrelative			1								6	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household					4.07							
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	318	308	300	329	202	201	552	537	258	282	983	1001
Under 1 year	10	10	2	6	7	2	14	11	5	11	33	26
1 year	21	6	3	9	4	8	12	12	12	10	32	47
2 years	13	13	6	6	8	6	21	17	8	3	36	34
3 years	17	11	6	5	7	5	22	16	11	10	32	44
4 years	8	13	13	3	3	2	18	12	10	11	29	32
5 years	10	8	12	4	1	7	22	15	12	14	39	45
6 years	10	9	10	11		5	19	23	8	11	34	28
7 years	5	10	8	10	5	5	19	15	4	11	22	20
8 years	12	5	10	12	7	5	14	14	6	10	36	26
9 years	9	11	8	14	3	3	20	13	4	7	32	20
10 years	4	6	12	12	4	2	14	11	5	6	21	19
11 years	3	3	11	9	5	2	12	15	11	10	29	20
12 years	5	7	6	10	2	6	17	12	2	6	22	30
13 years	6	8	9	3	1	2	15	8	5	2	24	20
14 years	3	3	4	6	4	3	9	6	4	3	18	15
15 years	4	3	5	3	4	2	6	5	3	2	16	13
16 years	1	1	2	3	4	1	5	7	4	2	17	17
17 years	2	3	4	5	4	4	7	7	4	2	13	9
18 years		3	1	3	2	2	2		2		6	8
19 years	2		1	2	1	3	2	6	1		2	5
20 years	3			4	2	1	1	1		1	5	4
21 years and over	170	170	167	189	124	127	281	300	137	150	485	518
Total population	318	308	300	329	202	201	552	537	258	282	983	1001
Under 5 years	69	53	30	29	29	21	87	60	46	45	162	183
5 to 9 years	46	43	48	51	10	25	94	82	34	53	163	139
10 to 14 years	21	23	42	40	10	15	67	52	27	27	114	104
15 to 19 years	9	10	13	16	15	12	22	25	14	6	54	57
20 to 24 years	13	17	3	10	10	10	8	9	2	6	24	39
25 to 29 years	29	26	8	13	7	17	15	27	8	18	67	87
30 to 34 years	46	58	30	51	23	22	69	70	28	46	103	115
35 to 39 years	44	35	34	32	20	16	60	76	49	23	119	114
40 to 44 years	20	16	34	28	11	11	57	46	18	24	81	53
45 to 49 years	13	8	26	21	9	8	33	27	12	8	39	35
50 to 54 years	3	6	12	10	8	10	11	11	7	7	25	18
55 to 59 years	3	4	7	7	6	12	13	15	3	3	15	18
60 to 64 years		2	4	6	9	8	4	14	4	4	7	14
65 to 69 years	2	4	3	5	7	6	3	6	1	5	1	11
70 to 74 years		2	3	5	7	4	6	3		1	6	6
75 to 79 years			1	3	3	4	1	5	3	2	3	8
80 to 84 years		1	2	2			1	1	2	4		2
85 years and over							1					2
18 years and over	175	182	169	198	129	133	286	316	140	151	498	535
Median age	25.2	26.5	31.0	30.5	31.7	30.1	23.8	30.4	28.8	26.1	19.9	22.8
Nonwhite population				1	56	58	1				10	18
Under 5 years					10	7					2	1
5 to 9 years					6	9						
10 to 14 years					3	4						
15 to 19 years					6	4						1
20 to 24 years					2	6					2	1
25 to 29 years				1	2	3						1
30 to 34 years					3	2					2	1
35 to 39 years					5	3						1
40 to 44 years					2	5						
45 to 49 years					4	2						2
50 to 54 years					2	2					1	2
55 to 59 years					2	5		1				2
60 to 64 years					4	3					1	3
65 to 69 years					2	1						1
70 to 74 years					3	1					2	
75 years and over						1						2
18 years and over				1	33	37		1			8	15
21 years and over				1	30	33		1			8	15
Median age					27.5	24.2						
Total, 14 & over	185	192	184	215	145	143	313	341	155	160	562	590
Single	20	17	23	37	35	24	40	30	20	17	97	77
Married	164	163	156	157	102	102	271	277	131	131	457	467
Separated				1	5	4	1	3	1	1	2	9
Widowed	1	11	5	18	5	15	1	21	3	12	5	43
Divorced		1		3	3	2	1	8	1		3	3
Nonwhite, 14+				1	36	39		1			8	17
Single				1	11	9					1	2
Married					20	26		1			7	10
Separated					2	2						3
Widowed					2	4						5
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0017 A	043 0017 B	043 0018	043 0019	043 0020N	043 0020P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	340	427	207	381	280	94
Owner-occupied	326	420	189	335	245	78
White	313	420	168	324	227	74
Nonwhite	13		21	11	18	4
Renter occupied	8	4	10	24	18	10
White	7	4	4	18	15	10
Nonwhite	1		6	6	3	
Available vacant	3	3	6	11	12	
For rent	2		1	1		
For sale only	1	3	5	10	12	
Other vacant	3		2	11	5	6
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	340	427	207	381	280	94
Sound	335	427	198	370	270	87
With all plumbing facilities	333	427	193	366	266	84
Lacking only hot water			1		1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	2		4	4	3	3
Deteriorating	4		8	6	7	1
With all plumbing facilities				3	3	
Lacking only hot water	1					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3		8	3	4	1
Dilapidated	1		1	5	3	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	14		27	17	21	4
Sound	10		18	9	12	1
With all plumbing facilities	10		13	5	8	1
Lacking some or all facilities			5	4	4	
Deteriorating	3		8	4	6	
With all plumbing facilities				2	3	
Lacking some or all facilities	3		8	2	3	
Dilapidated	1		1	4	3	3
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	340	427	207	381	280	94
1				1		
2						1
3	1			4	4	2
4	6		6	6	10	9
5	47	24	11	6	17	33
6	92	123	36	30	130	31
7	113	151	54	182	100	18
8 or more	81	129	100	152	19	
Median	6.7	6.9	7.4	7.3	6.3	5.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	14		27	17	21	4
1						
2						
3				3	3	1
4	1		6	3	7	2
5	4		3	3	2	1
6	3		10	3	5	
7	2			5	1	
8 or more	4		8		3	
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	334	424	199	359	263	88
1	6	10	5	6	6	4
2	86	117	55	60	42	17
3	62	84	45	73	39	12
4	91	119	41	119	102	30
5	62	62	30	68	54	18
6 or more	27	32	23	33	20	7
Median	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.8	3.9	3.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	14		27	17	21	4
1	1		1			
2	4		8	1	5	1
3	1		5	4	2	
4	5		5	2	4	2
5	1		2	3	2	
6 or more	2		6	7	8	1
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	334	424	199	359	263	88
0.50 or less	171	256	120	189	88	30
0.51 to 0.75	118	136	67	141	126	24
0.76 to 1.00	43	31	9	24	42	30
1.01 or more	2	1	3	5	7	4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	14		27	17	21	4
0.50 or less	7		14	3	5	1
0.51 to 0.75	2		5	4	3	
0.76 to 1.00	4		5	5	8	2
1.01 or more	1		3	5	5	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 003 043 0017 A	043 003 043 0017 B	043 003 043 0018	043 003 043 0019	043 003 043 0020N	043 003 043 0020P
Total population	1216	1485	709	1377	1026	327
White	1151	1471	597	1281	918	310
Negro	64	14	112	92	108	17
Other races	1			4		
Total population	1216	1485	709	1377	1026	327
Pop. in households	1200	1485	709	1377	1026	327
Head of household	334	424	199	359	263	88
Head of prim. fam.	327	407	193	350	257	84
Primary individual	7	17	6	9	6	4
Wife of head	310	386	187	342	248	79
Child under 18	468	509	238	591	423	147
Other relative	83	133	68	75	86	12
Nonrelative	17	33	17	10	6	1
Pop. in group quarters	7					
Inmate of institution						
Other	7					
Pop. per household	3.62	3.50	3.56	3.84	3.90	3.72
Nonwhite population	65	14	112	96	108	17
Pop. in households	58	14	112	96	108	17
Head of household	14		27	17	21	4
Head of prim. fam.	13		25	17	21	4
Primary individual	1		2			
Wife of head	10		23	15	19	2
Child under 18	12	1	15	34	24	2
Other relative	12	1	32	24	40	8
Nonrelative	10	12	15	6	4	1
Pop. in group quarters	7					
Inmate of institution						
Other	7					
Pop. per household	4.14		4.15	5.65	5.14	

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	578	638	742	743	345	364	667	710	492	534	175	152
Under 1 year	10	9	11	6	4	1	24	16	11	17	8	7
1 year	10	12	8	5	4	6	16	22	15	16	10	8
2 years	11	7	16	8	6	3	24	26	17	27	7	6
3 years	5	18	9	15	7	4	24	23	22	17	11	7
4 years	16	14	11	17	10	9	19	25	27	16	8	8
5 years	10	15	11	11	4	9	23	21	22	25	11	6
6 years	15	15	18	16	5	6	18	15	13	12	9	8
7 years	11	12	10	19	7	7	19	25	7	15	6	
8 years	18	13	22	16	3	3	23	20	13	10	5	4
9 years	11	22	18	12	12	8	12	20	14	12	4	1
10 years	22	12	23	20	4	9	11	21	10	9	2	2
11 years	23	6	25	15	9	11	16	16	8	10	4	2
12 years	13	23	18	17	8	4	12	8	4	8	2	1
13 years	19	21	27	18	7	9	22	15	10	10	1	
14 years	9	8	12	14	8	11	8	15	5	13	2	
15 years	11	14	8	10	5	8	10	12	6	15	1	
16 years	6	14	16	14	11	9	2	3	5	1		
17 years	12	12	13	19	6	9	8	10	3	3		1
18 years	5	3	8	10	5	2	6	2	3	3	2	1
19 years	4	2	7	3	2	1		4	1	3		1
20 years	2	6	5	4	1		3	1	4	2		
21 years and over	335	378	446	479	212	235	367	390	272	290	82	89
Total population	578	638	742	743	345	364	667	710	492	534	175	152
Under 5 years	52	60	55	46	31	23	107	112	92	93	44	36
5 to 9 years	65	77	79	74	31	33	95	101	69	74	35	10
10 to 14 years	86	73	105	84	41	44	69	75	37	50	11	5
15 to 19 years	38	45	52	56	29	29	26	31	18	25	3	3
20 to 24 years	6	10	27	16	5	9	14	15	7	13	2	1
25 to 29 years	12	24	17	24	6	8	30	56	35	44	19	3
30 to 34 years	29	40	38	50	17	22	75	78	54	69	25	18
35 to 39 years	69	72	52	59	26	33	88	83	66	57	15	10
40 to 44 years	67	60	66	85	28	37	52	49	41	31	8	12
45 to 49 years	47	48	79	75	41	37	42	41	32	29	4	3
50 to 54 years	46	30	70	61	25	32	21	15	13	10	3	2
55 to 59 years	29	31	45	49	24	26	16	19	10	9	3	3
60 to 64 years	13	15	26	20	17	12	17	13	5	9		4
65 to 69 years	11	10	18	16	14	7	9	11	4	7	1	
70 to 74 years	3	6	6	9	4	8	3	8	5	9	1	1
75 to 79 years	4	3	3	7		3	2	3	3	3	1	
80 to 84 years	1	8	2	8		1			1	1		
85 years and over			2	4	1		1	1		1		
18 years and over	346	388	466	496	220	238	376	397	280	298	84	91
Median age	38.1	32.1	34.7	38.8	37.4	37.1	28.8	26.9	28.3	26.4	13.9	26.7
Nonwhite population	24	41	2	12	56	56	43	53	53	55	9	8
Under 5 years	2	1			7	3	5	8	9	7	1	
5 to 9 years	1	4			3	2	6	6	2	4		
10 to 14 years	4	3	1		2	4	6	6	5	11	4	
15 to 19 years	2	6		2	5	1	3	6	5	5	1	2
20 to 24 years	1	6		4	1	3	2	1	3	1		
25 to 29 years	3	8	1	1	2	4	3	4	1	2		
30 to 34 years	1	6		1	4	1	1	2	4	7		1
35 to 39 years	1			1	3	5	4	6	2	2		1
40 to 44 years	1	4		1	3	6	4	3	4	3		2
45 to 49 years	1	8			4	6	2	1	4	3	1	
50 to 54 years	2				3	2	3	2		1	2	1
55 to 59 years	2	1		1	6	9		3	5	3		
60 to 64 years	1	1		1	4	3	3	2	1			1
65 to 69 years		3			7	3	1	3	3	5		
70 to 74 years					1	2			3	1		
75 years and over	2				1	2			2			
18 years and over	16	28	1	12	40	46	24	30	33	30	3	7
21 years and over	14	24	1	8	38	46	23	27	29	28	3	6
Median age					41.7	44.2		22.5	31.9	22.5		
Total, 14 & over	384	436	515	553	250	275	404	437	299	330	87	92
Single	58	74	105	92	52	54	51	50	35	42	6	4
Married	318	326	399	405	194	202	352	356	260	261	81	81
Separated	1	7	1	5	2	3	2	5	3	1	1	1
Widowed	3	28	8	49	3	14	1	17	3	22		3
Divorced	5	8	3	7	1	5		6	1	5		4
Nonwhite, 14+	18	33	1	12	45	48	26	34	37	36	4	8
Single	6	13		6	15	8	8	11	10	10	1	4
Married	12	18	1	4	26	32	18	20	25	25	3	2
Separated		1		2	2	3	1	3	1		1	
Widowed		2		1	1	4		2	2	1		1
Divorced		4		1	1	4		1				1

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0021N	043 0021P	043 0021R	043 0021S	043 0021T	043 0021U
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	14	150	50	106	21	145
Owner occupied	11	132	46	101	13	141
White	9	132	46	101	13	141
Nonwhite	2					
Renter occupied	2	3	2		4	3
White		3	1		4	1
Nonwhite	2		1			2
Available vacant	1	9	1	5	2	1
For rent			1			
For sale only	1	9		5	2	1
Other vacant		6	1		2	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	14	150	50	106	21	145
Sound	9	150	50	105	20	144
With all plumbing facilities	9	150	50	105	19	142
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water					1	2
Deteriorating	1			1		1
With all plumbing facilities	1			1		1
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Dilapidated	4				1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		1			2
Sound			1			2
With all plumbing facilities			1			1
Lacking some or all facilities						1
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated	4					
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	14	150	50	106	21	145
1			1			3
2	1	1				
3	1		1		1	
4	4				3	1
5	2	3		2		3
6	3	17	7		2	14
7		55	19	21	3	26
8 or more	3	74	22	83	12	98
Median		7.5	7.3	7.5+		7.5+
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		1			2
1			1			2
2	1					
3	1					
4	2					
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	13	135	48	101	17	144
1		3			1	5
2	5	19	17	19	4	46
3	2	34	11	11	5	26
4	6	41	13	28	5	29
5		22	5	23	1	22
6 or more		16	2	20	1	16
Median		3.8		4.2		3.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		1			2
1						
2	4		1			2
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	13	135	48	101	17	144
0.50 or less	7	73	37	60	14	105
0.51 to 0.75	3	55	9	40	3	31
0.76 to 1.00	3	6	1	1		5
1.01 or more		1	1			3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		1			2
0.50 or less	2					
0.51 to 0.75	1					
0.76 to 1.00	1					
1.01 or more			1			2
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 003 043 0021N		043 003 043 0021P		043 003 043 0021R		043 003 043 0021S		043 003 043 0021T		043 003 043 0021U	
Total population	40		526		157		427		57		512	
White	32		523		151		404		54		482	
Negro	8		3		6		23		3		30	
Other races												
Total population	40		526		157		427		57		512	
Pop. in households	40		526		157		427		57		512	
Head of household	13		135		48		101		17		144	
Head of prim. fam.	13		132		48		101		16		135	
Primary individual			3						1		9	
Wife of head	9		128		46		98		15		125	
Child under 18	12		222		47		174		20		154	
Other relative	5		38		12		33		2		58	
Nonrelative	1		3		4		21		3		31	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household			3.90		3.27		4.23		3.35		3.56	
Nonwhite population	8		3		6		23		3		30	
Pop. in households	8		3		6		23		3		30	
Head of household	4				1						2	
Head of prim. fam.	4				1						1	
Primary individual											1	
Wife of head	1				1						1	
Child under 18												
Other relative	3						4					
Nonrelative			3		4		19		3		27	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	23	17	262	264	79	78	193	234	28	29	225	287
Under 1 year		2	5	4			5	1	1		2	4
1 year			3	5			2	2			2	5
2 years			6	7	3	1	5				1	3
3 years	1		5	5	1	1	1	2				4
4 years	1	1	6	9	2		4	1				4
5 years			6	7	3	2	3	4	1		5	
6 years	1	1	7	9	2	1	3	4	1		2	4
7 years	1	1	3	9	3	1	4	5	2		4	2
8 years			7	8	1	1	7	3		2	5	10
9 years	1		13	5	2	1	4	6	1	1	2	9
10 years			9	3	1	1	6	7		3	10	6
11 years	1		8	8	1	2	7	8		1	2	7
12 years	1		7	5	1		5	9		1	7	8
13 years			12	8	1	2	5	13		1	4	5
14 years			7	1	4	2	6	9	1		7	7
15 years			4	3	1	1	5	13	1		5	5
16 years			5	9	1	3	1	8	2		4	7
17 years			7	3		1	6	4	1		3	6
18 years			2	1	2		6	1			1	
19 years			1	2		1	1	3			4	3
20 years			1	1				5		1	3	4
21 years and over	16	12	138	152	50	57	107	126	17	19	152	184
Total population	23	17	262	264	79	78	193	234	28	29	225	287
Under 5 years	2	3	25	30	6	2	17	6	1		5	20
5 to 9 years	3	2	36	38	11	6	21	22	5	3	18	25
10 to 14 years	2		43	25	8	7	29	46	1	6	30	33
15 to 19 years			19	18	4	6	19	29	4		17	21
20 to 24 years			3	9	2	3	1	10		2	8	12
25 to 29 years	4	1	7	12		1	1	6			2	7
30 to 34 years		3	17	20	3	3	1	7		2	10	12
35 to 39 years	2	3	27	26	7	6	10	20	1		15	26
40 to 44 years	2	1	28	31	6	9	23	27	4	3	19	28
45 to 49 years	2	2	24	25	7	12	33	20	3	5	18	30
50 to 54 years	4		16	8	4	6	19	10	5	3	27	20
55 to 59 years			8	7	4	6	10	12	1	3	20	14
60 to 64 years	1	2	2	4	3	4	4	3	1	1	19	13
65 to 69 years	1		2	1		3	2		1		6	10
70 to 74 years			2	4	4	1	2	3	1	1	6	5
75 to 79 years			2	2		1	1	2			3	7
80 to 84 years				2		2		1				1
85 years and over			1	2				1			2	3
18 years and over	16	12	142	156	52	58	114	135	17	20	160	191
Median age			28.6	30.0	38.4	42.8	38.8	28.3			42.0	37.6
Nonwhite population	6	2		3	2	4	4	10		3	4	26
Under 5 years												1
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years								2				1
20 to 24 years				1		1	1	5		1		4
25 to 29 years	1							2				2
30 to 34 years						1					2	2
35 to 39 years			1		1			1			1	4
40 to 44 years						1	1	2				2
45 to 49 years	2	1		1				2		1		4
50 to 54 years	2							2		1		2
55 to 59 years				1	1		1	2			1	2
60 to 64 years	1					1		1				1
65 to 69 years							1					1
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over	6	2		3	2	4	4	19		3	4	24
21 years and over	6	2		3	2	4	4	15		2	4	23
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	16	12	165	172	58	65	132	169	22	20	179	216
Single	3		29	21	10	11	26	48	6	2	39	49
Married	10	10	132	136	47	47	103	106	15	17	133	140
Separated	1	1				1	1	2				2
Widowed	1	2	4	14	1	7	3	14		1	7	22
Divorced	2			1				1	1			5
Nonwhite, 14+	6	2		3	2	4	4	19		3	4	25
Single	3			1	1	2		9		1		8
Married	2	2		1	1	1	2	4		2	4	9
Separated	1	1					1	1				
Widowed	1			1		1	2	7				6
Divorced												2

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0013	043 0014	043 0015N	043 0015P	043 0016 A	043 0016 B
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	377	430	196	130	649	268
Owner occupied	354	402	171	119	622	258
White	350	397	171	119	622	258
Nonwhite	4	5				
Renter occupied	20	25	18	6	17	9
White	20	25	18	6	17	9
Nonwhite						
Available vacant	3	3	4	2	6	1
For rent	1	1		1		
For sale only	2	2	4	1	6	1
Other vacant			3	3	4	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	377	430	196	130	649	268
Sound	374	430	194	127	648	268
With all plumbing facilities	372	430	194	127	648	267
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	2					1
Deteriorating	3		2	2	1	
With all plumbing facilities	2		2	2		
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1				1	
Dilapidated				1		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4	5				
Sound	3	5				
With all plumbing facilities	1	5				
Lacking some or all facilities	2					
Deteriorating	1					
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities	1					
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	377	430	196	130	649	268
1					1	
2					1	
3						
4	22		3			1
5	17	155	84	33	78	48
6	281	215	55	40	216	123
7	51	48	29	36	225	60
8 or more	6	12	25	21	128	36
Median	6.0	5.8	5.7	6.3	6.6	6.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4	5				
1						
2						
3						
4	1					
5	1	1				
6	1	4				
7	1					
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	374	427	189	125	639	267
1	7	3	4	7	15	7
2	64	94	34	22	132	69
3	100	96	50	40	165	62
4	132	130	61	28	168	82
5	52	79	28	20	105	30
6 or more	19	25	12	8	54	17
Median	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4	5				
1						
2						
3	1	3				
4		1				
5	1					
6 or more	2	1				
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	374	427	189	125	639	267
0.50 or less	162	160	66	63	331	135
0.51 to 0.75	143	143	82	49	210	100
0.76 to 1.00	64	119	38	13	95	31
1.01 or more	5	5	3		3	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4	5				
0.50 or less	1	2				
0.51 to 0.75		2				
0.76 to 1.00	2	1				
1.01 or more	1					
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 003 043 0013		043 003 043 0014		043 003 043 0015N		043 003 043 0015P		043 003 043 0016 A		043 003 043 0016 B	
Total population	1330		1554		680		432		2318		913	
White	1318		1535		679		432		2314		912	
Negro	21		19						4		1	
Other races					1							
Total population	1330		1554		680		432		2318		913	
Pop. in households	1330		1554		680		432		2318		913	
Head of household	374		427		189		125		639		267	
Head of prim. fam.	367		420		185		117		620		259	
Primary individual	7		7		4		8		19		8	
Wife of head	351		400		170		109		587		247	
Child under 18	560		643		269		168		908		339	
Other relative	51		67		46		29		171		55	
Nonrelative	3		17		6		1		13		5	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.58		3.64		3.60		3.46		3.63		3.42	
Nonwhite population	21		19		1				4		1	
Pop. in households	21		19		1				4		1	
Head of household	4		5									
Head of prim. fam.	4		5									
Primary individual												
Wife of head	2		5									
Child under 18	3		3									
Other relative	11								1			
Nonrelative	1		6		1				3		1	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	685	654	753	801	329	351	219	213	1124	1194	462	451
Under 1 year	26	17	27	33	12	5	5	3	17	16	6	4
1 year	34	20	30	27	13	8	3	8	15	30	9	7
2 years	27	21	23	28	12	10	4	8	23	23	11	7
3 years	34	24	31	38	9	6	8	3	31	15	8	6
4 years	35	29	25	25	11	11	8	3	32	33	11	10
5 years	24	18	31	29	11	9	4	12	35	19	10	9
6 years	15	23	23	21	10	17	4	2	25	36	20	8
7 years	30	10	20	25	12	10	5	8	35	35	11	12
8 years	18	6	18	21	7	11	5	1	35	27	9	12
9 years	9	14	17	25	7	8	5	2	28	35	12	12
10 years	11	14	13	10	10	6	3	3	25	31	12	8
11 years	12	8	15	6	8	17	9	4	26	26	10	12
12 years	4	9	15	9	3	4	6	2	27	20	10	7
13 years	13	9	13	12	3	6	5	2	33	24	18	9
14 years	5	2	10	4	1	2	4	6	23	27	12	11
15 years	7	6	6	11	3	6	1	2	21	21	10	4
16 years	4	8	8	6	4	5	8	5	16	19	4	6
17 years	4	2	7	8	2		4	3	15	19	8	10
18 years	1	4	2	6	2	3	3	3	13	9	3	2
19 years	1	3		3	2	1	3	2	5	9	4	3
20 years	2	2	3	2	3	1			2	4	3	4
21 years and over	369	391	416	456	184	210	122	131	642	716	261	288
Total population	685	654	753	801	329	351	219	213	1124	1194	462	451
Under 5 years	156	120	136	147	57	40	28	25	118	117	45	34
5 to 9 years	96	80	109	121	47	55	23	25	158	152	62	53
10 to 14 years	45	42	66	41	25	30	27	17	134	128	62	47
15 to 19 years	17	19	23	34	13	15	19	15	70	77	29	25
20 to 24 years	11	27	18	49	11	11	3	5	22	26	8	11
25 to 29 years	55	83	69	87	21	25	12	15	30	40	13	17
30 to 34 years	103	104	107	109	31	54	24	20	67	99	26	34
35 to 39 years	96	85	95	89	48	41	27	35	108	127	39	53
40 to 44 years	49	31	53	35	26	22	17	16	117	131	45	52
45 to 49 years	22	16	35	33	19	16	13	10	114	90	49	40
50 to 54 years	14	20	14	13	15	11	8	9	85	75	29	31
55 to 59 years	8	10	12	15	10	11	10	6	37	40	25	16
60 to 64 years	8	7	4	10	3	5	3	7	24	25	15	11
65 to 69 years	1	5	7	6	2	8	4	3	18	21	10	10
70 to 74 years	3	2	3	3	1	3	1	3	16	15	4	8
75 to 79 years	1	2	1	5		3		1	5	15	1	6
80 to 84 years		1	1	4		1		1		13		
85 years and over									1	3		3
18 years and over	373	400	421	467	191	215	128	136	662	738	271	297
Median age	26.6	27.3	26.8	28.5	27.7	29.9	29.0	31.1	32.2	32.9	32.3	35.4
Nonwhite population	11	10	12	7		1			1	3		1
Under 5 years	1	1										
5 to 9 years				1								
10 to 14 years	1	1	2	1								
15 to 19 years		1	5			1						
20 to 24 years	2	1										1
25 to 29 years	1									1		
30 to 34 years	1	1										
35 to 39 years	1	1										
40 to 44 years			2	2								
45 to 49 years	1	1		2								
50 to 54 years		1							1	2		
55 to 59 years		1	1									
60 to 64 years	1											
65 to 69 years			2									
70 to 74 years	1			1								
75 years and over	1	1										
18 years and over	9	7	5	5		1			1	3		1
21 years and over	8	7	5	5					1	3		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	393	414	452	496	201	228	145	152	737	824	305	328
Single	36	31	46	47	22	20	28	26	124	146	50	49
Married	354	362	404	411	175	178	112	113	597	598	251	252
Separated	1	4	1	1		2						
Widowed	3	17		23	4	22	2	9	13	71	3	23
Divorced		8	2	15	2	8	3	4	3	9	1	4
Nonwhite, 14+	9	8	10	5		1			1	3		1
Single	3	3	5			1				1		1
Married	4	3	5	5					1	1		
Separated	1											
Widowed	2	2										
Divorced										1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0059 B	043 0001 A	043 0001 B	043 0001 C	043 0001 D	043 0002
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	39	333	2	383	106	533
Owner occupied		308		160	92	439
White		308		160	92	439
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	37	20		219	12	88
White	37	20		219	12	88
Nonwhite						
Available vacant	2	1		1		5
For rent	2					1
For sale only		1		1		4
Other vacant		4		3	2	1
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	39	333		383	106	533
Sound	39	333		383	106	530
With all plumbing facilities	39	333		383	106	530
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Deteriorating						2
With all plumbing facilities						2
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Dilapidated						1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	39	333		383	106	533
1		1				
2						
3		3		27		1
4	39	7		168	1	47
5		59		77	40	216
6		87		71	27	175
7		126		31	28	78
8 or more		50		9	10	16
Median		6.6		4.5	5.9	5.5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	37	328		379	104	527
1		17		79	1	19
2	17	98		142	30	161
3	11	61		84	35	127
4	7	93		49	19	119
5	1	40		14	13	69
6 or more	1	19		11	6	32
Median		3.3		2.3	3.1	3.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	37	328		379	104	527
0.50 or less	17	175		239	54	242
0.51 to 0.75	11	109		95	31	164
0.76 to 1.00	7	43		40	18	111
1.01 or more	2	1		5	1	10
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 0727 043 0059 A	043 003 043 0001 A	043 003 043 0001 B	043 003 043 0001 C	043 003 043 0001 D	043 003 043 0002
Total population	108	1088	54	954	345	1744
White	108	1087	54	951	345	1739
Negro		1		3		5
Other races						
Total population	108	1088	54	954	345	1744
Pop. in households	108	1088	3	954	345	1744
Head of household	37	328	2	379	104	527
Head of prim. fam.	37	307	1	288	103	500
Primary individual		21	1	91	1	27
Wife of head	36	288	1	253	96	479
Child under 18	32	368		197	121	618
Other relative	1	94		106	24	104
Nonrelative		10		19		16
Pop. in group quarters			51			
Inmate of institution			51			
Other						
Pop. per household	2.86	3.32		2.52	3.32	3.31
Nonwhite population		1		3		5
Pop. in households		1		3		5
Head of household						
Head of prim. fam.						
Primary individual						
Wife of head						
Child under 18						
Other relative						
Nonrelative		1		3		5
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	58	48	512	576	18	36	442	512	173	172	846	898
Under 1 year	2	1	9	7			15	7	2	2	21	11
1 year	3	3	9	9			13	5	6	3	23	31
2 years	5	1	11	4			10	14	6	5	18	17
3 years	2	1	8	9			8	6	4	5	29	16
4 years	1	1	6	14			6	3	5	7	30	14
5 years		1	10	17			5	4	6	5	19	12
6 years	1		12	10			8	5	5	4	23	20
7 years	1		11	12			5	4	2	2	20	20
8 years			7	13			4	6	3	3	19	18
9 years	3		17	16			3	6	4	1	16	26
10 years			16	9			5	4	3	5	16	17
11 years	1		15	8			7	6	3	1	19	14
12 years		1	18	15			6	2	5	3	20	27
13 years	2	1	9	14			6	6	5	5	16	21
14 years			11	10			2	6	2	4	8	15
15 years			4	11			4	6	2	2	6	12
16 years			6	4			2	2	2	1	11	7
17 years		1	3	10			2	3		1	8	7
18 years		4	2	6			2	6	2		6	5
19 years	2	4		3			1	4	1		3	5
20 years	1	3	2	2			4	6		1		3
21 years and over	34	26	326	373	18	36	324	401	105	112	515	580
Total population	58	48	512	576	18	36	442	512	173	172	846	898
Under 5 years	13	7	43	43			52	35	23	22	121	89
5 to 9 years	5	1	57	68			25	25	20	15	97	96
10 to 14 years	3	2	69	56			26	24	18	18	79	94
15 to 19 years	2	9	15	34			11	21	7	4	34	36
20 to 24 years	14	9	14	13	1		19	49	4	6	25	49
25 to 29 years	6	4	20	19			47	45	9	13	57	72
30 to 34 years	4	6	30	53			45	47	11	15	85	96
35 to 39 years	4	6	56	64			40	38	22	20	82	95
40 to 44 years	3	1	45	48			35	29	18	16	91	70
45 to 49 years	1		48	46			29	41	13	14	46	46
50 to 54 years	1	3	43	33			31	40	7	7	47	48
55 to 59 years	1		23	29		1	30	51	7	7	35	37
60 to 64 years	1		16	25	1		18	18	6	7	14	15
65 to 69 years			20	23	1	2	18	15	2	6	13	17
70 to 74 years			8	8	1	6	7	21	4		12	21
75 to 79 years			5	10	4	13	5	5	1		5	13
80 to 84 years				4	4	10	3	3		1	3	4
85 years and over					6	4	1	5	1	1		
18 years and over	37	37	330	384	18	36	331	417	108	113	524	593
Median age	22.1		35.7	35.2			34.6	36.3	32.5	32.7	30.6	30.7
Nonwhite population				1				3				5
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												1
20 to 24 years				1								
25 to 29 years								1				1
30 to 34 years								1				
35 to 39 years								1				1
40 to 44 years												1
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years												1
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over				1				3				4
21 years and over				1				3				4
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	37	38	354	419	18	36	341	434	114	121	557	634
Single	1	1	48	66	1	3	54	100	13	14	57	87
Married	36	36	294	298	3	4	274	265	98	97	489	491
Separated			1		2	2	1	5	1		2	4
Widowed			8	44	13	28	10	55	3	8	8	46
Divorced		1	4	11	1	1	3	14		2	3	10
Nonwhite, 14+				1				3				5
Single				1				2				2
Married								1				1
Separated												
Widowed												
Divorced												2

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0003	043 0004	043 0005	043 0006	043 0007N	043 0007P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	497	454	419	405	328	85
Owner occupied	419	182	56	284	271	80
White	419	182	56	283	264	80
Nonwhite				1	7	
Renter occupied	72	265	347	110	50	3
White	72	263	347	109	48	3
Nonwhite		2		1	2	
Available vacant	5	6	5	5	6	1
For rent	3	4	5		4	
For sale only	2	2		5	2	1
Other vacant	1	1	11	6	1	1
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	497	454	419	405	328	85
Sound	494	453	419	399	317	85
With all plumbing facilities	492	451	419	399	316	85
Lacking only hot water		1				
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	2	1			1	
Deteriorating	3			6	5	
With all plumbing facilities	3			2	5	
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water				4		
Dilapidated		1			6	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		2		2	9	
Sound		2		1	3	
With all plumbing facilities		2		1	2	
Lacking some or all facilities					1	
Deteriorating				1		
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities				1		
Dilapidated					6	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	497	454	419	405	328	85
1				1		
2	1				1	
3	3	1	32	6	2	
4	78	24	306	39	3	
5	173	287	73	298	259	5
6	164	65	4	24	15	73
7	61	51	4	34	45	7
8 or more	17	26		3	3	
Median	5.5	5.2	4.1	5.0	5.1	6.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		2		2	9	
1						
2					1	
3					1	
4					3	
5		2		1	3	
6				1	1	
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	491	447	403	394	321	83
1	26	18	30	8	5	1
2	164	103	176	79	46	14
3	113	113	107	105	89	25
4	119	123	66	117	100	22
5	50	59	18	60	49	16
6 or more	19	31	6	25	32	5
Median	3.0	3.4	2.5	3.5	3.7	3.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		2		2	9	
1						
2					4	
3				1	3	
4				1		
5		1			1	
6 or more		1			1	
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	491	447	403	394	321	83
0.50 or less	250	152	189	98	63	39
0.51 to 0.75	138	135	123	115	103	23
0.76 to 1.00	85	141	82	160	130	20
1.01 or more	18	19	9	21	25	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		2		2	9	
0.50 or less				1	3	
0.51 to 0.75					3	
0.76 to 1.00		1		1		
1.01 or more		1			3	
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 003 043 0003		043 003 043 0004		043 003 043 0005		043 003 043 0006		043 003 043 0007N		043 003 043 0007P	
Total population	1550		1545		1098		1405		1212		303	
White	1550		1532		1098		1397		1181		302	
Negro			2				8		31		1	
Other races			11									
Total population	1550		1545		1098		1405		1212		303	
Pop. in households	1545		1545		1098		1405		1212		303	
Head of household	491		447		403		394		321		83	
Head of prim. fam.	463		424		356		378		311		82	
Primary individual	28		23		47		16		10		1	
Wife of head	428		404		327		351		293		79	
Child under 18	525		569		309		565		528		117	
Other relative	98		107		33		76		57		21	
Nonrelative	7		18		26		19		13		3	
Pop. in group quarters	5											
Inmate of institution												
Other	5											
Pop. per household	3.15		3.46		2.72		3.57		3.78		3.65	
Nonwhite population			13				8		31		1	
Pop. in households			13				8		31		1	
Head of household			2				2		9			
Head of prim. fam.			2				2		9			
Primary individual												
Wife of head			2				1		5			
Child under 18			7				1		3			
Other relative							3		13			
Nonrelative			2				1		1		1	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	747	803	762	783	536	562	699	706	602	610	151	152
Under 1 year	19	17	19	33	36	29	26	25	19	22	4	7
1 year	22	17	28	31	16	11	30	16	17	15	6	5
2 years	16	15	23	22	22	18	23	15	32	19	7	3
3 years	23	17	19	18	15	5	28	17	22	18	6	4
4 years	18	14	18	18	10	6	26	18	24	33	2	4
5 years	23	13	21	27	6	9	29	25	24	25	7	2
6 years	18	20	18	19	11	5	17	19	25	22	5	5
7 years	15	11	17	15	4	14	19	23	23	18	7	3
8 years	12	12	16	17	7	4	20	12	12	13	2	6
9 years	15	11	11	14	5	5	18	19	17	17	3	4
10 years	17	17	15	12	12	8	9	13	10	15	2	4
11 years	14	8	19	11	5	7	16	9	8	13	3	4
12 years	12	18	20	10	7	3	10	18	5	6	2	1
13 years	12	17	12	10	6	3	12	17	8	7	2	3
14 years	12	13	13	3	3	7	5	6	8	5	1	3
15 years	15	11	6	10	5	2	9	7	8	2	2	2
16 years	6	11	7	9	2	3	5	6	6	5	1	
17 years	8	9	13	6	2	6	4	7	4	11		
18 years	7	7	8	8	3	8	4	4	3	2		3
19 years		3	7	9	5	13	6	4	1	3		
20 years	5	6	3	9	13	21	3	14	1	4	1	1
21 years and over	458	536	449	472	341	375	380	412	325	335	88	88
Total population	747	803	762	783	536	562	699	706	602	610	151	152
Under 5 years	98	80	107	122	99	69	133	91	114	107	25	23
5 to 9 years	83	67	83	92	33	37	103	98	101	95	24	20
10 to 14 years	67	73	79	46	33	28	52	63	39	46	10	15
15 to 19 years	36	41	41	42	17	32	28	28	22	23	3	5
20 to 24 years	25	42	49	71	114	156	37	73	22	34	8	6
25 to 29 years	44	45	79	69	112	95	80	92	52	71	10	9
30 to 34 years	63	69	63	64	44	44	74	74	87	91	20	27
35 to 39 years	51	66	57	60	31	20	80	75	73	60	16	19
40 to 44 years	80	84	42	55	15	23	36	29	44	29	15	8
45 to 49 years	50	63	41	39	11	19	26	25	22	16	11	6
50 to 54 years	45	58	50	39	9	12	18	15	10	14	1	6
55 to 59 years	39	42	24	28	7	11	11	18	7	4		3
60 to 64 years	32	30	12	20	4	6	8	8	3	5	2	2
65 to 69 years	16	17	22	17	3	3	10	7	1	4	5	
70 to 74 years	10	14	5	6	2	3	2	5	2	8	1	1
75 to 79 years	5	8	2	7		1	1	2	2	3		1
80 to 84 years		7	4	3	1	1		2	1			
85 years and over	3	1	2	3	1	2		1				1
18 years and over	470	552	467	498	362	417	393	434	330	344	89	92
Median age	31.6	33.9	26.4	26.3	23.6	23.7	24.5	25.0	25.3	25.0	27.8	28.9
Nonwhite population			5	8			3	5	20	11		1
Under 5 years			2	1						2		
5 to 9 years				3				1	2			
10 to 14 years			1									
15 to 19 years										1		
20 to 24 years				1			1	1	3	2		
25 to 29 years			1	2								
30 to 34 years				1					1	1		1
35 to 39 years									4			
40 to 44 years			1						4	1		
45 to 49 years								1	2	1		
50 to 54 years							2		1	1		
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years								2	1	1		
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years									1	1		
75 years and over									1			
18 years and over			2	4			3	4	18	8		1
21 years and over			2	4			3	4	17	8		1
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	511	598	506	526	374	435	416	460	356	367	93	97
Single	71	93	80	54	39	49	49	51	48	33	10	8
Married	430	441	413	415	331	345	356	369	298	301	79	82
Separated		10	4	7	1	8		6	2	4		2
Widowed	6	50	10	43	3	18	5	22	6	23	3	5
Divorced	4	12	3	14	1	23	6	18	4	10	1	2
Nonwhite, 14+			2	4			3	4	18	9		1
Single				1			1	1	6	2		
Married			2	2			2	2	7	6		
Separated												
Widowed				1				1	3	1		
Divorced									2			1

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0008N	043 0008P	043 0008R	043 0009 A	043 0009 B	043 0010N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	50	147	130	624	159	193
Owner occupied	44	125	109	562	151	154
White	29	125	108	562	151	154
Nonwhite	15		1			
Renter occupied	4	1	7	25	3	18
White	2	1	7	25	3	18
Nonwhite	2					
Available vacant	1	19	10	31	2	11
For rent	1		3	2		
For sale only		19	7	29	2	11
Other vacant	1	2	4	6	3	10
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	50	147	130	624	159	193
Sound	41	147	124	619	158	182
With all plumbing facilities	35	147	122	618	158	171
Lacking only hot water	1					4
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5		2	1		7
Deteriorating	8		2	5	1	10
With all plumbing facilities	1		1	3	1	3
Lacking only hot water						2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	7		1	2		5
Dilapidated	1		4			1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	17		1			
Sound	10		1			
With all plumbing facilities	5		1			
Lacking some or all facilities	5					
Deteriorating	6					
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities	6					
Dilapidated	1					
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	50	147	130	624	159	193
1	1					
2	2		2			3
3	2		1	3	1	3
4	4	2	5	13	4	16
5	12	21	42	243	20	64
6	11	55	24	132	53	29
7	15	55	28	210	54	57
8 or more	3	14	28	23	27	21
Median	5.9	6.4	6.1	5.9	6.5	5.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	17		1			
1	1					
2	1					
3	2					
4	4					
5	2					
6	5					
7	2		1			
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	48	126	116	587	154	172
1	4	1		7	1	6
2	12	25	23	117	19	34
3	7	40	22	163	31	35
4	13	36	36	190	51	47
5	6	16	19	80	32	27
6 or more	6	8	16	30	20	23
Median		3.4	3.9	3.5	4.0	3.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	17		1			
1	3					
2	3					
3	3					
4	1		1			
5	3					
6 or more	4					
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	48	126	116	587	154	172
0.50 or less	22	67	48	210	54	64
0.51 to 0.75	12	41	37	238	64	53
0.76 to 1.00	10	15	23	125	29	37
1.01 or more	4	3	8	14	7	18
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	17		1			
0.50 or less	6					
0.51 to 0.75	3		1			
0.76 to 1.00	4					
1.01 or more	4					
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 003 043 0008N	043 003 043 0008P	043 003 043 0008R	043 003 043 0009 A	043 003 043 0009 B	043 003 043 0010N
Total population	175	444	451	2085	630	652
White	106	443	445	2085	629	652
Negro	69	1	6		1	
Other races						
Total population	175	444	451	2085	630	652
Pop. in households	175	444	451	2085	630	652
Head of household	48	126	116	587	154	172
Head of prim. fam.	44	125	116	577	153	165
Primary individual	4	1		10	1	7
Wife of head	40	122	110	558	148	158
Child under 18	50	166	182	849	286	241
Other relative	34	29	33	83	41	72
Nonrelative	1	1	10	8	1	9
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.65	3.52	3.89	3.55	4.09	3.79
Nonwhite population	69	1	6		1	
Pop. in households	69	1	6		1	
Head of household	17		1			
Head of prim. fam.	14		1			
Primary individual	3					
Wife of head	12					
Child under 18	17		1			
Other relative	23		2			
Nonrelative		1	2		1	
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	4.06					

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	87	88	214	230	220	231	1054	1031	315	315	321	331
Under 1 year	1	1	4	4	4	3	43	26	7	9	9	4
1 year	1	4	9	2	2	8	55	42	7	6	7	14
2 years	3		7	6	3	7	50	42	8	5	9	10
3 years	1	2	5	10	5	9	45	45	9	8	10	6
4 years		2	4	8	6	7	40	24	14	11	15	8
5 years	1	3	6	8	6	3	32	33	8	9	11	7
6 years		3	4	8	7	7	37	36	13	9	9	9
7 years	2	2	3	5	9	5	20	18	17	9	5	11
8 years	3	1	7	5	5	6	18	25	9	11	11	10
9 years	2	1	3	9	13	3	21	13	12	7	8	9
10 years	1	1	4	4	6	4	22	14	8	11	10	7
11 years	4	2	4	2	4	9	20	18	9	11	9	10
12 years	1	3	10	5	6	7	19	15	11	6	4	8
13 years	2	2	2	2	3	4	13	18	4	11	5	6
14 years	1	2	4	2	5	3	4	9	6	3	4	4
15 years	1	1	3	4	3	8	4	12	3	3	3	1
16 years	1	4		1	2	1	4	8	4	4	4	1
17 years	4	1	3	4	2	1	9	5	3	8	3	3
18 years	1		2	1	3		4	1	4	4	2	7
19 years	2			3	1	2	5	5	5	1	2	1
20 years	1		1	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	1	2
21 years and over	54	53	129	135	124	133	586	619	152	167	180	193
Total population	87	88	214	230	220	231	1054	1031	315	315	321	331
Under 5 years	6	0	29	30	20	34	233	179	45	39	50	42
5 to 9 years	8	10	23	35	40	24	128	125	59	45	44	46
10 to 14 years	9	10	24	15	24	27	78	74	38	42	32	35
15 to 19 years	9	6	8	13	11	12	26	31	19	20	14	13
20 to 24 years	2	2	4	4	3	7	23	58	4	4	10	15
25 to 29 years	5	3	7	11	8	15	126	171	8	17	17	21
30 to 34 years	8	11	18	26	27	30	171	143	27	36	35	34
35 to 39 years	10	7	28	35	28	23	108	89	39	43	29	36
40 to 44 years	9	6	30	20	16	10	66	53	38	26	22	19
45 to 49 years	7	5	17	14	10	19	37	34	18	14	21	17
50 to 54 years	3	8	13	12	10	10	24	20	6	6	13	14
55 to 59 years	3	4	10	4	8	7	12	18	9	9	9	9
60 to 64 years	3	1	1	3	3	3	8	10	2	3	9	16
65 to 69 years	3	3		3	5	3	4	12	2	2	5	5
70 to 74 years	2	2	2		2		5	7	1	5	6	2
75 to 79 years				2	3	5	3	4		1	3	2
80 to 84 years				3	2	2	2	2		2	1	4
85 years and over		1						1		1	1	1
18 years and over	58	53	132	141	129	136	598	628	163	174	185	203
Median age	32.8	31.8	33.3	31.3	30.7	28.8	26.5	26.4	19.1	27.2	28.1	28.5
Nonwhite population	39	30		1	2	4				1		
Under 5 years	3	4										
5 to 9 years	4	2										
10 to 14 years	5	4										
15 to 19 years	5	3		1	1							
20 to 24 years	2	1										
25 to 29 years	3	2										
30 to 34 years	1	2				1						
35 to 39 years	6	3										
40 to 44 years	2	3								1		
45 to 49 years	3					1						
50 to 54 years		3				1						
55 to 59 years	1	1										
60 to 64 years	1											
65 to 69 years	3	2				1						
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over					1							
18 years and over	25	17		1	1	4				1		
21 years and over	21	17			1	4				1		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	65	61	142	152	141	149	619	662	179	192	199	212
Single	17	0	16	19	19	20	41	47	26	25	29	23
Married	44	43	123	123	116	118	570	574	150	153	166	166
Separated	1	1			2	3	2	1		3		1
Widowed	2	8	2	9	4	9	3	36		11	3	17
Divorced	2	1	1	1	2	2	5	5	3	3	1	6
Nonwhite, 14+	27	22		1	2	4				1		
Single	10	8		1	1	1						
Married	14	14				2				1		
Separated		1				2				1		
Widowed	1	2			1	1						
Divorced	2											

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0029R	043 0029S	043 0029T	043 0030N	043 0030P	043 0030R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	69	59	113	95	112	208
Owner occupied	52	49	96	68	83	164
White	48	48	94	64	83	163
Nonwhite	4	1	2	4		1
Renter occupied	13	8	12	21	25	32
White	12	8	12	21	23	31
Nonwhite	1				2	1
Available vacant	2	1	3	2		4
For rent			1	2		
For sale only	2	1	2			4
Other vacant	2	1	2	4	4	8
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	69	59	113	95	112	208
Sound	68	59	112	72	81	137
With all plumbing facilities	62	58	109	67	81	131
Lacking only hot water	2					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	4	1	3	5		6
Deteriorating			1	15	17	56
With all plumbing facilities				9	14	45
Lacking only hot water					3	3
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			1	6		8
Dilapidated	1			8	14	15
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	5	1	2	4	2	2
Sound	5	1	2	2		1
With all plumbing facilities	3	1		2		
Lacking some or all facilities	2		2			1
Deteriorating				1		1
With all plumbing facilities				1		
Lacking some or all facilities						1
Dilapidated				1	2	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	69	59	113	95	112	208
1						
2	2			2	1	4
3			1	9	1	4
4	16		8	20	10	73
5	26	7	97	28	32	48
6	20	51	4	19	46	37
7	1	1	2	10	17	21
8 or more	4		1	7	5	21
Median	5.1	5.9	5.0	5.1	5.8	5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	5	1	2	4	2	2
1						
2					1	
3						
4	2					2
5	1		1	4		
6	2	1			1	
7			1			
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	65	57	108	89	108	196
1	3	1	1	6	4	7
2	22	8	22	30	30	36
3	14	11	29	14	18	34
4	12	15	28	22	27	56
5	9	12	17	13	19	37
6 or more	5	10	11	4	10	26
Median	3.0	4.1	3.6	3.1	3.6	3.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	5	1	2	4	2	2
1			1		1	
2	3	1		1		1
3	1		1		1	
4				1		
5				1		
6 or more	1			1		1
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	65	57	108	89	108	196
0.50 or less	32	19	25	42	44	52
0.51 to 0.75	15	14	29	20	27	62
0.76 to 1.00	12	22	41	17	35	55
1.01 or more	6	2	13	10	2	27
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	5	1	2	4	2	2
0.50 or less	4	1	2	1	2	1
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00				2		
1.01 or more	1			1		1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0029R	043 001 043 0029S	043 001 043 0029T	043 001 043 0030N	043 001 043 0030P	043 001 043 0030R
Total population	219	236	398	287	385	770
White	202	234	394	269	381	757
Negro	17		4	18	4	13
Other races		2				
Total population	219	236	398	287	385	770
Pop. in households	219	236	398	287	385	770
Head of household	65	57	108	89	108	196
Head of prim. fam.	61	55	107	81	103	187
Primary individual	4	2	1	8	5	9
Wife of head	55	53	100	72	96	176
Child under 18	59	105	168	92	128	315
Other relative	36	19	17	23	49	70
Nonrelative	4	2	5	11	4	13
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.37	4.14	3.69	3.22	3.56	3.93
Nonwhite population	17	2	4	18	4	13
Pop. in households	17	2	4	18	4	13
Head of household	5	1	2	4	2	2
Head of prim. fam.	5	1	1	4	1	2
Primary individual			1		1	
Wife of head	4	1		3	1	2
Child under 18				5		6
Other relative	8		2	4	1	2
Nonrelative				2		1
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	113	106	119	117	195	203	142	145	193	192	380	390
Under 1 year	1	1	1	4	9	9	2	3	3	4	4	8
1 year	3		2	4	7	6	4	4		2	10	4
2 years	5	1	4	5	10	7	4	4	5	3	6	15
3 years	2	8		4	7	9	4	4	4	6	9	3
4 years	5	4	3	3	7	6	1	3	5	3	10	9
5 years	2	2	6	4	6	5	2	3	2	4	16	10
6 years	6	1	5	6	8	5	3	1	7	3	7	10
7 years	1	2	7	4	5	8	3	3	4	4	7	6
8 years	3		7	2	3	4	3	3	6	6	6	12
9 years	1	1	1	2	5	5	2	4	4	1	10	9
10 years	2	1	5	5	1	5	1	4	6	3	12	9
11 years	2	2		7	5	4	3	4	4	4	14	12
12 years	1	2	3		4	4	1	2	10	2	12	13
13 years	2	1	2	2	1	1	3	1	5	5	13	11
14 years	2		1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	8	8
15 years	2	1	1		2	2	3	1	1	3	9	6
16 years	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	5	1	8	8
17 years		1	2	1	2	3	4	3	4	1	9	10
18 years	1	4	1		1		1		3	3	3	8
19 years	1	1		1	2	1		1	2		1	11
20 years	1	1		1		1	3	1	2	3	1	2
21 years and over	69	78	67	58	108	115	91	93	110	130	205	206
Total population	113	106	119	117	195	203	142	145	193	192	380	390
Under 5 years	16	11	10	20	40	37	15	18	17	18	39	39
5 to 9 years	13	6	26	18	27	27	13	14	23	18	46	47
10 to 14 years	9	6	11	16	12	15	10	12	26	15	59	53
15 to 19 years	5	8	5	4	8	8	10	7	15	8	30	43
20 to 24 years	6	6	5	8		8	7	6	4	8	15	16
25 to 29 years	9	16	9	11	27	36	12	13	6	15	25	24
30 to 34 years	8	8	18	16	26	22	5	12	16	18	24	29
35 to 39 years	15	10	11	9	23	15	11	7	20	16	38	40
40 to 44 years	6	4	8	4	10	7	11	11	15	16	27	30
45 to 49 years	4	5	4	5	7	8	15	3	10	11	25	23
50 to 54 years	3	5	6	2	7	9	4	12	11	14	20	14
55 to 59 years	6	4	4	3	4		9	14	11	12	15	7
60 to 64 years	6	6				7	11	6	7	5	5	5
65 to 69 years	3	4			3	1	4	6	6	7	5	7
70 to 74 years	3	4		1		1	2	3		5	3	5
75 to 79 years	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	4	3	3	3
80 to 84 years		1				1	1		2	3		4
85 years and over		1	1				1				1	1
18 years and over	72	80	68	60	111	117	95	95	117	136	210	227
Median age	29.2	30.0	26.4	20.3	26.9	25.9	34.0	31.0	31.7	33.9	25.2	24.1
Nonwhite population	7	10	1	1		4	7	11	3	1	5	8
Under 5 years		1										
5 to 9 years	1	1					1	2				2
10 to 14 years								2			2	1
15 to 19 years							1				1	3
20 to 24 years		1							1			
25 to 29 years		1					1	1				
30 to 34 years	1											
35 to 39 years	1	1						2			1	
40 to 44 years		1					1					1
45 to 49 years	1						2			1	1	1
50 to 54 years				1		2	1	2				
55 to 59 years			1					2	2			
60 to 64 years	1					1						
65 to 69 years	2	2										
70 to 74 years		2										
75 years and over						1						
18 years and over	6	8	1	1		4	5	7	3	1	3	4
21 years and over	6	8	1	1		4	5	7	3	1	2	2
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	77	83	73	65	117	125	106	102	128	142	244	259
Single	16	10	12	7	12	12	20	11	26	21	53	51
Married	58	62	54	55	100	104	80	78	100	99	184	190
Separated		1		1		2	3	2	2	1		5
Widowed	1	8	4	3	2	7	4	12	1	16	5	17
Divorced	2	3	3		3	2	2	1	1	6	2	1
Nonwhite, 14+	6	8	1	1		4	6	8	3	1	3	5
Single	1					1	1	1	1		1	3
Married	5	5	1	1			5	6	2	1	1	2
Separated								1	1			
Widowed		1				3		1			1	
Divorced		2										

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0031N	043 0031P	043 0031R	043 0031S	043 0031T	043 0032N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	112	68	72	62	85	72
Owner occupied	103	64	54	47	57	59
White	103	64	35	47	5	57
Nonwhite			19		52	2
Renter occupied	8	4	13	12	22	11
White	8	4	8	12	1	10
Nonwhite			5		21	1
Available vacant				1	2	
For rent				1	1	
For sale only					1	
Other vacant	1		5	2	4	2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	112	68	72	62	85	72
Sound	102	67	61	57	45	70
With all plumbing facilities	102	67	58	56	36	69
Lacking only hot water				1		1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			3		9	
Deteriorating	5	1	7	1	14	
With all plumbing facilities	3	1	3			
Lacking only hot water			1	1		
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	2		3		14	
Dilapidated	5		4	4	26	2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			24		73	3
Sound			17		35	3
With all plumbing facilities			14		27	3
Lacking some or all facilities			3		8	
Deteriorating			4		12	
With all plumbing facilities			1			
Lacking some or all facilities			3		12	
Dilapidated			3		26	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	112	68	72	62	85	72
1			2		1	
2			1		3	1
3	1	1	1	5	8	1
4	5	8	12	13	28	3
5	42	37	20	29	26	43
6	29	10	17	7	11	19
7	22	10	11	6	6	4
8 or more	13	2	8	2	2	1
Median	5.8	5.2	5.5	4.9	4.6	5.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			24		73	3
1			2		1	
2			1		2	1
3					8	
4			7		25	
5			6		21	2
6			3		9	
7			2		5	
8 or more			3		2	
Median					4.5	
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	111	68	67	59	79	70
1	1	3	7	2	9	6
2	28	21	17	15	19	11
3	30	14	17	11	19	22
4	31	18	8	17	12	14
5	13	9	11	9	4	10
6 or more	8	3	7	5	16	7
Median	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.6	3.1	3.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			24		73	3
1			5		8	
2			4		17	1
3			3		18	1
4			3		10	
5			4		4	
6 or more			5		16	1
Median					3.1	
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	111	68	67	59	79	70
0.50 or less	56	30	33	15	29	22
0.51 to 0.75	27	20	14	23	18	20
0.76 to 1.00	24	15	14	18	16	23
1.01 or more	4	3	6	3	16	5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			24		73	3
0.50 or less			8		26	
0.51 to 0.75			5		16	1
0.76 to 1.00			7		15	1
1.01 or more			4		16	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0031N		043 001 043 0031P		043 001 043 0031R		043 001 043 0031S		043 001 043 0031T		043 001 043 0032N	
Total population	384		223		228		209		288		261	
White	384		223		137		209		16		250	
Negro					91				272		11	
Other races												
Total population	384		223		228		209		288		261	
Pop. in households	384		223		228		209		288		242	
Head of household	111		68		67		59		79		70	
Head of prim. fam.	109		65		60		57		70		64	
Primary individual	2		3		7		2		9		6	
Wife of head	103		63		51		48		58		60	
Child under 18	146		72		69		75		96		95	
Other relative	21		19		38		27		52		14	
Nonrelative	3		1		3				3		3	
Pop. in group quarters											19	
Inmate of institution											18	
Other											1	
Pop. per household	3.46		3.28		3.40		3.54		3.65		3.46	
Nonwhite population					91				272		11	
Pop. in households					91				272		11	
Head of household					24				73		3	
Head of prim. fam.					19				65		3	
Primary individual					5				8			
Wife of head					14				53		2	
Child under 18					27				92		4	
Other relative					23				51		1	
Nonrelative					3				3		1	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household					3.79				3.73			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	207	177	110	113	108	120	106	103	148	140	124	137
Under 1 year	1	5	5	1		2	3	3	3	2	7	4
1 year	8	3	1			1	2		1	4	6	6
2 years	8	9	3	6	4	4	2	2	5	3	6	4
3 years	4	1	1	2	1	3	4	3	1		3	4
4 years	5	1	2	2			2	4	2	2	4	4
5 years	7	5	4	3	1		1	1	4	2	4	
6 years	5	3	2	1	4	2	1	2	5	3	4	3
7 years	7	2	2	4	3	2	2	5	5	1	4	2
8 years	6	3		2	3	2	2	1	4	2	1	4
9 years	6	2	2	2	4	1	5	1	1	6	1	1
10 years	3	2	4	1	2	1	4	2	2	4	7	1
11 years	9	7	2	2	3	4	3	2	6	3		1
12 years	7	3	2	2	2	5	7	2	4	2	1	3
13 years	4	5		3	4	6	3	1	3	5	3	1
14 years	1	1	3	1		3		2	5	2	1	2
15 years	5	3	1	2	1		1		3	5	3	3
16 years	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	1	5	2		2
17 years	2	1	3		3	6	2		2	2	2	4
18 years	3	1	3		2	1	2		1	2		1
19 years		1		1	1	1		1			3	
20 years				1			2			2		7
21 years and over	114	117	67	75	68	75	55	70	86	86	64	80
Total population	207	177	110	113	108	120	106	103	148	140	124	137
Under 5 years	26	19	12	11	5	10	13	12	12	11	26	22
5 to 9 years	31	15	10	12	15	7	11	10	19	14	14	10
10 to 14 years	24	18	11	9	11	19	17	9	20	16	12	8
15 to 19 years	12	8	10	5	9	9	8	2	11	11	8	10
20 to 24 years	4	5	2	4	2	3	3	8	6	8	2	14
25 to 29 years	16	17	8	9	6	1	8	3	5	6	11	17
30 to 34 years	23	27	6	8	9	7	3	8	9	13	15	12
35 to 39 years	24	22	8	10	9	15	8	14	12	6	9	12
40 to 44 years	12	10	10	5	10	10	9	8	12	10	5	5
45 to 49 years	11	15	6	12	5	12	4	6	9	16	8	9
50 to 54 years	11	7	5	8	10	9	9	7	11	7	5	5
55 to 59 years	4	3	11	6	9	5	4	3	5	6	1	4
60 to 64 years	5	4	3	6	2	8	4	4	3	4	3	3
65 to 69 years	2	3	4	2	3			6	7	6	3	2
70 to 74 years		3	3	2	2	4	4	3	4	2	2	1
75 to 79 years	1			3	1	1	1			2		1
80 to 84 years	1		1	1					2	2		2
85 years and over		1							1			
18 years and over	117	119	70	77	71	77	59	71	87	90	67	88
Median age	27.0	31.2	31.7	34.1	33.3	36.3	25.6	34.7	30.6	31.5	25.0	26.3
Nonwhite population					43	48			140	132	5	6
Under 5 years						6			12	10		
5 to 9 years					7	4			18	13	2	
10 to 14 years					6	9			20	15	1	2
15 to 19 years					5	3			11	11		
20 to 24 years						3			5	8		
25 to 29 years					5	1			5	5		1
30 to 34 years					3	3			8	12		
35 to 39 years					5	6			11	6		
40 to 44 years					2	4			10	9		1
45 to 49 years					2	4			9	15	1	1
50 to 54 years					4	1			11	7		
55 to 59 years					1				4	5		
60 to 64 years						3			3	4		
65 to 69 years					2				6	6	1	1
70 to 74 years					1				4	2		
75 years and over						1			3	4		
18 years and over					26	27			80	85	2	4
21 years and over					25	26			79	81	2	4
Median age									29.0	31.7		
Total, 14 & over	127	126	80	82	77	87	65	74	102	101	73	99
Single	17	12	15	9	14	15	13	14	28	20	9	26
Married	106	107	63	64	60	57	50	50	64	65	62	65
Separated	1	2			2	1			2	4		2
Widowed	1	7	2	6	2	12	2	9	5	9	2	7
Divorced	3			3	1	3		1	5	7		1
Nonwhite, 14+					30	31			95	96	2	4
Single					7	8			26	20		1
Married					21	19			59	60	2	3
Separated					2	1			2	4		1
Widowed					2	4			5	9		
Divorced									5	7		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0032P	043 0032R	043 0032S	043 0032T	043 0033N	043 0033P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	88	67	77	28	168	86
Owner occupied	88	59	70	19	151	82
White	88	59	70	19	151	82
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied		6	3	8	16	4
White		6	3	8	16	4
Nonwhite						
Available vacant			3			
For rent						
For sale only			3			
Other vacant		2	1	1	1	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	88	67	77	28	168	86
Sound	88	54	77	22	167	86
With all plumbing facilities	88	54	76	22	165	85
Lacking only hot water			1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water					2	1
Deteriorating		12		6	1	
With all plumbing facilities		11		5		
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		1		1	1	
Dilapidated		1				
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	88	67	77	28	168	86
1						
2		1	1			
3		1		1	4	2
4	1	12	1	4	3	2
5	72	29	20	7	139	79
6	11	9	32	8	13	2
7	2	9	10	4	5	
8 or more	2	6	13	4	4	1
Median	5.1	5.2	6.0		5.1	5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	88	65	73	27	167	86
1	3	4	5	3	6	
2	18	19	13	11	42	14
3	26	16	15	4	38	28
4	19	12	27	5	49	23
5	15	8	8	3	22	15
6 or more	7	6	5	1	10	6
Median	3.4	3.1	3.6		3.4	3.5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	88	65	73	27	167	86
0.50 or less	25	28	33	16	51	14
0.51 to 0.75	27	19	27	8	41	28
0.76 to 1.00	31	16	13	1	67	38
1.01 or more	5	2		2	8	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0032P	043 001 043 0032R	043 001 043 0032S	043 001 043 0032T	043 001 043 0033N	043 001 043 0033P
Total population	313	216	255	80	570	319
White	313	216	255	80	570	319
Negro						
Other races						
Total population	313	216	255	80	570	319
Pop. in households	313	216	255	80	570	319
Head of household	88	65	73	27	167	86
Head of prim. fam.	85	59	67	24	161	85
Primary individual	3	6	6	3	6	1
Wife of head	82	58	65	23	157	80
Child under 18	124	66	92	23	225	132
Other relative	14	24	23	6	17	19
Nonrelative	5	3	2	1	4	2
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.56	3.32	3.49	2.96	3.41	3.71
Nonwhite population						
Pop. in households						
Head of household						
Head of prim. fam.						
Primary individual						
Wife of head						
Child under 18						
Other relative						
Nonrelative						
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	163	150	111	105	131	124	40	40	314	256	161	158
Under 1 year	6	7			3	2		1	4	9	8	6
1 year	8	7	3		6	3	1		6	6	7	2
2 years	9	3	4	2	3	2	1	1	8	5	6	4
3 years	3	7	1		1	2	3	1	14	8	6	7
4 years	5	3		1	4	1			16	10	7	6
5 years	6	7		4	2	4	1		13	6	5	5
6 years	4	3	2	3	5	3		1	13	5	4	5
7 years	5	4	2	2	6	2	1	2	9	3	6	7
8 years	5	1	7	1		4			10	7	6	5
9 years	6	1	5		8	2		2	7	6	4	4
10 years	3	2	4	1	4	3		1	5	4	2	4
11 years	4	3	4	2		5	1		7	4	3	2
12 years	2	2		1	3	3			9	5		2
13 years	2	1	5	1		1	2	1	7	2	3	
14 years	1		2	2	2	1			4	1		
15 years			3	3	2	1		1	2	2	1	3
16 years	2	2		2	2	2	1		6		1	1
17 years	2	1	1	3		2	1	1	3		2	1
18 years	1		5	1	2	2	1				1	
19 years		1			1	1	1			1	2	
20 years		1							1	3		
21 years and over	89	94	63	76	77	78	26	28	170	169	87	94
Total population	163	150	111	105	131	124	40	40	314	256	161	158
Under 5 years	31	27	8	3	17	10	5	3	48	38	34	25
5 to 9 years	26	16	16	10	21	15	2	5	52	27	25	26
10 to 14 years	12	8	15	7	9	13	3	2	32	16	8	8
15 to 19 years	5	4	9	9	7	8	4	2	11	3	7	5
20 to 24 years	4	10		2	1	1	2	2	8	13		4
25 to 29 years	16	25	3	6	6	8		2	20	30	12	25
30 to 34 years	30	22	3	6	17	20	2	3	46	44	27	27
35 to 39 years	11	10	8	13	19	16	6	4	47	38	25	15
40 to 44 years	8	7	13	14	12	12			19	18	9	3
45 to 49 years	7	6	11	10	8	6	3	6	14	9	2	5
50 to 54 years	3	6	7	7	4	1	5	4	5	5	6	6
55 to 59 years	5	2	7	6	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	4
60 to 64 years	3	1	6	3	2	1	3	3	4	4		1
65 to 69 years		4	2	5	2	6	2	2	3	4	2	2
70 to 74 years	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	
75 to 79 years					2	2			2	1	2	1
80 to 84 years			1	1						1		
85 years and over					1							1
18 years and over	90	96	68	77	80	81	28	28	171	173	90	94
Median age	26.1	27.0	35.9	38.7	31.3	31.8			26.5	30.1	27.7	27.2
Nonwhite population												
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years												
30 to 34 years												
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over												
21 years and over												
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	95	99	74	87	86	87	30	30	186	176	94	99
Single	8	6	12	15	15	12	6	2	22	7	9	5
Married	87	84	60	61	67	67	23	24	160	158	81	84
Separated	1				1			1	3	1		2
Widowed		7	2	6	3	7	1	3	3	7	4	5
Divorced		2		5	1	1		1	1	4		5
Nonwhite, 14+												
Single												
Married												
Separated												
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
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Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 34

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0033RA	043 0033RB	043 0033RC	043 0033RD	043 0034 A	043 0034 B
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	234	472	233	151	548	163
Owner occupied	192	9	184	120	507	144
White	192	9	184	119	507	144
Nonwhite				1		
Renter occupied	39	455	42	26	32	17
White	39	455	38	25	31	17
Nonwhite			4	1	1	
Available vacant		3	1		7	2
For rent		3			2	1
For sale only			1		5	1
Other vacant	3	5	6	5	2	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	234	472	233	151	548	163
Sound	234	471	195	138	536	158
With all plumbing facilities	234	471	195	133	535	158
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water				5	1	
Deteriorating		1	7	8	9	3
With all plumbing facilities		1	7	5	9	1
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water				3		2
Dilapidated			31	5	3	2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			4	2	1	
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating				1		
With all plumbing facilities				1		
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated			4	1	1	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	234	472	233	151	548	163
1			2	1		
2	2		2	8	1	
3		1	2	8	9	2
4		465	17	29	41	5
5	2		51	67	277	32
6	60	2	69	27	156	92
7	164	4	64	7	47	23
8 or more	6		26	4	17	9
Median	6.8	4.0	6.1	4.9	5.3	6.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			4	2	1	
1			1			
2			2			
3						
4			1	2	1	
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	231	464	226	146	539	161
1	3	32	8	18	18	6
2	36	170	58	53	104	38
3	40	142	44	37	134	43
4	71	99	59	20	165	47
5	46	17	24	10	74	17
6 or more	35	4	33	8	44	10
Median	4.0	2.7	3.6	2.6	3.6	3.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			4	2	1	
1						
2			1			
3			1	1		
4				1	1	
5						
6 or more			2			
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	231	464	226	146	539	161
0.50 or less	78	205	94	71	164	77
0.51 to 0.75	103	140	77	45	179	55
0.76 to 1.00	43	99	38	25	168	26
1.01 or more	7	20	17	5	28	3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			4	2	1	
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75				1		
0.76 to 1.00				1	1	
1.01 or more			4			
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0033RA	043 001 043 0033RB	043 001 043 0033RC	043 001 043 0033RD	043 001 043 0034 A	043 001 043 0034 B
Total population	940	1305	830	413	1944	548
White	938	1304	812	406	1940	547
Negro	5	1	18	7	4	1
Other races	1					
Total population	940	1305	830	413	1944	548
Pop. in households	940	1305	830	413	1936	548
Head of household	231	464	226	146	539	161
Head of prim. fam.	222	421	215	127	521	154
Primary individual	9	43	11	19	18	7
Wife of head	209	388	205	114	493	144
Child under 18	416	393	303	103	706	190
Other relative	60	44	89	44	186	47
Nonrelative	24	16	7	4	12	6
Pop. in group quarters					8	
Inmate of institution						
Other					8	
Pop. per household	4.07	2.81	3.67	2.83	3.59	3.40
Nonwhite population	6	1	18	7	4	1
Pop. in households	6	1	18	7	4	1
Head of household			4	2	1	
Head of prim. fam.			4	2	1	
Primary individual						
Wife of head	1		4	2	1	
Child under 18			10	2		
Other relative				1	1	
Nonrelative	5	1			1	1
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	464	476	645	660	426	404	191	222	961	983	252	296
Under 1 year	11	14	51	48	7	3	1	2	23	20	3	9
1 year	19	21	31	37	7	6	3	7	30	30	2	7
2 years	16	17	32	28	12	4	1	7	27	34	5	7
3 years	24	15	17	17	12	7	1	3	36	22	6	5
4 years	14	16	21	8	9	7	2	1	37	20	11	9
5 years	12	11	19	8	9	8	4	3	20	28	3	6
6 years	12	17	4	7	9	12	4	2	18	26	11	9
7 years	14	22	13	8	18	7	4	2	28	25	2	6
8 years	10	8	6	5	7	10	2	2	21	18	5	10
9 years	17	8	2	5	15	3	1	3	19	23	6	7
10 years	12	10	5	3	18	5	6	1	20	20	5	1
11 years	9	14	2	5	14	8	4	4	25	13	6	3
12 years	6	5	3	1	7	8	4	6	17	28	5	7
13 years	12	11	3	2	6	11	3	5	17	22	4	6
14 years	8				7	14	1	6	5	13	5	6
15 years	6	6	4	1	4	6	6	2	19	10	2	6
16 years	6	7		2	8	10	4	2	10	10	2	2
17 years	4	7	2	9	12	4	1	3	8	6	4	3
18 years	2	5	2	10	7	8		3	6	12	4	3
19 years	1	5	5	24	3	7	2	3	7	6	3	1
20 years	4	1	15	30		3	1	5	5	3		3
21 years and over	245	254	408	402	235	253	136	150	563	594	158	180
Total population	464	476	645	660	426	404	191	222	961	983	252	296
Under 5 years	84	83	152	138	47	27	8	20	153	126	27	37
5 to 9 years	65	68	44	33	58	40	15	12	106	120	27	38
10 to 14 years	47	42	13	11	52	46	18	22	84	96	25	23
15 to 19 years	19	30	13	46	34	35	13	13	50	44	15	15
20 to 24 years	17	22	155	190	8	21	7	14	31	40	4	12
25 to 29 years	30	47	137	116	23	19	18	14	70	99	12	12
30 to 34 years	55	49	61	42	29	28	9	7	99	115	33	34
35 to 39 years	59	50	17	14	31	42	12	22	112	86	21	26
40 to 44 years	44	33	18	17	38	43	21	23	83	67	17	22
45 to 49 years	14	18	12	14	33	24	18	23	53	58	22	23
50 to 54 years	14	9	7	13	27	19	15	19	36	27	12	13
55 to 59 years	6	9	7	12	15	24	16	8	28	40	13	11
60 to 64 years	6	7	3	3	14	13	9	9	23	14	6	13
65 to 69 years	2	5	3	2	5	12	4	6	6	21	10	6
70 to 74 years		3		1	5	7	3	6	18	14	5	6
75 to 79 years	1	2	2	7	3	2	5	3	6	7	2	2
80 to 84 years		1	1		3	1		1	3	6	1	2
85 years and over	1			1	1	1				3		1
18 years and over	252	265	430	466	245	271	139	161	581	615	165	187
Median age	25.0	23.9	23.2	22.7	28.0	32.5	38.1	37.0	29.0	28.3	32.4	31.6
Nonwhite population		6		1	7	11	5	2	2	2	1	
Under 5 years						3						
5 to 9 years					1	1						
10 to 14 years					1	2	2					
15 to 19 years		3			1	1				1		
20 to 24 years		1			1	3			1			
25 to 29 years					1							
30 to 34 years					1		1	1				
35 to 39 years						1	1					
40 to 44 years		1					1	1				
45 to 49 years				1	1							
50 to 54 years									1	1		
55 to 59 years		1										
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years											1	
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over		5		1	4	4	3	2	2	1	1	
21 years and over		3		1	4	2	3	2	2	1	1	
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	276	285	436	478	276	305	151	174	623	654	178	204
Single	54	40	28	33	52	59	24	22	92	73	27	25
Married	215	217	397	404	217	217	119	121	513	526	147	149
Separated	1	1	3	6	3	2	1	6	2	7	1	2
Widowed	1	17	7	22	5	25	6	25	12	39	3	22
Divorced	6	11	4	19	2	4	2	6	6	16	1	8
Nonwhite, 14+		6		1	5	5	3	2	2	2	1	
Single		4			1	1	1			1		
Married		1			4	4	2	2	1	1	1	
Separated											1	
Widowed		1		1					1			
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0035N	043 0035P	043 0036	043 0037	043 0038	043 0039N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	87	338	392	407	546	106
Owner occupied	76	316	326	360	325	101
White	76	316	326	360	325	101
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	10	17	54	38	209	5
White	10	17	54	38	209	5
Nonwhite						
Available vacant	1	4	9	8	5	
For rent	1	1	5	2	4	
For sale only		3	4	6	1	
Other vacant		1	3	1	7	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	87	338	392	407	546	106
Sound	86	338	391	400	542	106
With all plumbing facilities	83	336	391	400	542	106
Lacking only hot water	2					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	2				
Deteriorating			1	7	4	
With all plumbing facilities			1	6	4	
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water				1		
Dilapidated	1					
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	87	338	392	407	546	106
1			1			
2	1	2	3	2	1	
3	1	6	5	6	47	
4	5	6	49	17	192	
5	54	97	230	218	122	81
6	20	116	69	89	90	15
7	4	91	32	51	67	9
8 or more	2	20	3	24	27	1
Median	5.2	6.0	5.1	5.3	4.8	5.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	86	333	380	398	534	106
1	4	20	25	33	41	4
2	26	101	98	110	183	34
3	25	93	103	94	137	19
4	17	70	82	94	103	32
5	8	31	49	34	43	9
6 or more	6	18	23	33	27	8
Median	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.1	2.8	3.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	86	333	380	398	534	106
0.50 or less	39	182	140	174	242	44
0.51 to 0.75	20	97	126	124	188	22
0.76 to 1.00	23	52	99	87	88	35
1.01 or more	4	2	15	13	16	5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0035N		043 001 043 0035P		043 001 043 0036		043 001 043 0037		043 001 043 0038		043 001 043 0039N	
Total population	279		1051		1251		1300		1618		352	
White	279		1049		1249		1297		1614		352	
Negro			2		2		3		4			
Other races												
Total population	279		1051		1251		1300		1618		352	
Pop. in households	279		1051		1251		1300		1618		352	
Head of household	86		333		380		398		534		106	
Head of prim. fam.	81		307		353		362		490		102	
Primary individual	5		26		27		36		44		4	
Wife of head	75		280		333		325		449		97	
Child under 18	76		288		387		402		493		136	
Other relative	36		127		136		160		133		13	
Nonrelative	6		23		15		15		9			
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.28		3.16		3.29		3.27		3.03		3.32	
Nonwhite population			2		2		3		4			
Pop. in households			2		2		3		4			
Head of household												
Head of prim. fam.												
Primary individual												
Wife of head									2			
Child under 18									2			
Other relative												
Nonrelative			2		2		3					
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	139	140	488	563	603	648	633	667	766	852	161	191
Under 1 year	3	3	4	9	13	13	9	13	23	25	4	5
1 year	4		2	7	12	7	10	15	16	23	5	4
2 years	2	3	11	7	12	11	15	11	17	17	4	6
3 years	1	4	7	6	10	13	10	11	16	19	2	5
4 years	1	3	5	10	8	9	12	7	10	10	4	5
5 years	4	3	10	9	15	11	12	10	18	13	5	5
6 years	1		2	8	13	15	13	11	10	11	7	5
7 years	3	3	5	7	12	15	19	8	11	13	5	4
8 years	2	3	6	5	10	10	10	6	18	13	4	7
9 years	3	2	9	6	12	11	11	9	13	12	4	5
10 years	1	5	9	8	14	7	9	17	8	13	4	8
11 years	2	2	11	8	13	14	15	16	10	17	3	5
12 years	3		16	11	12	12	17	15	16	25	2	2
13 years	3	1	18	14	12	13	15	13	11	12	3	4
14 years	4	1	11	5	10	12	10	7	10	12	2	1
15 years	1	2	3	10	9	9	11	8	12	8	1	
16 years	3	2	15	8	4	9	16	9	12	16		4
17 years	5	1	10	8	7	8	10	10	12	13	1	3
18 years	4	2	5	4	3	5	11	6	10	9	1	1
19 years	2	1	4	4	5	4	5	6	14	9		
20 years	1	1	4	3	8	11	4	9	2	13		
21 years and over	86	98	321	406	377	429	389	450	497	549	100	112
Total population	139	140	488	563	603	648	633	667	766	852	161	191
Under 5 years	11	13	29	39	55	53	56	57	82	94	19	25
5 to 9 years	13	11	32	35	68	62	65	44	70	62	25	26
10 to 14 years	13	9	65	46	67	58	66	68	55	79	14	20
15 to 19 years	15	8	37	34	28	35	53	39	60	55	3	8
20 to 24 years	6	10	19	19	29	32	25	31	68	93		3
25 to 29 years	9	6	12	20	38	42	37	35	71	66	9	10
30 to 34 years	9	14	22	25	39	57	26	45	46	51	15	22
35 to 39 years	9	4	45	61	46	59	58	57	56	81	22	25
40 to 44 years	7	17	47	55	61	59	46	50	59	56	12	23
45 to 49 years	13	10	51	58	44	53	46	58	52	52	20	6
50 to 54 years	15	14	42	46	38	34	43	55	41	54	9	5
55 to 59 years	7	4	28	24	27	32	41	38	35	32	6	7
60 to 64 years	1	5	22	33	28	20	32	24	24	27	4	1
65 to 69 years	5	6	18	23	15	26	15	24	22	16	2	8
70 to 74 years	3	4	9	28	5	12	13	16	11	22	1	1
75 to 79 years		2	5	11	7	10	4	20	9	10		1
80 to 84 years	3	1	4	4	5	3	6	3	2	2		
85 years and over		2	1	6	3	1	1	3	3			
18 years and over	93	102	334	417	393	449	409	471	523	580	101	113
Median age	31.4	34.6	38.1	40.2	32.1	33.7	32.8	36.3	28.4	28.3	33.5	30.8
Nonwhite population				2		2		3		4		
Under 5 years										2		
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years				1								
25 to 29 years								1		1		
30 to 34 years								1				
35 to 39 years										1		
40 to 44 years								1				
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years						1						
55 to 59 years				1		1						
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over				2		2		3		2		
21 years and over				2		2		3		2		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	106	108	373	448	429	487	456	505	569	629	105	121
Single	22	12	69	67	79	65	90	76	83	79	6	10
Married	80	81	291	292	343	357	346	352	470	470	98	99
Separated	1	1	1	1	2	6	2	4	1	9	1	2
Widowed	4	11	10	80	7	48	12	62	9	58	1	10
Divorced		4	3	9	4	17	8	15	7	22		2
Nonwhite, 14+				2		2		3		2		
Single				1				3				
Married				1						2		
Separated												
Widowed						2						
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0039P	043 0039R	043 0040N	043 0040P	043 0040R	043 0041
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	240	74	133	252	9	347
Owner occupied	222	69	115	222	5	276
White	222	69	115	222	5	276
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	15	2	14	20	3	59
White	15	2	14	20	2	59
Nonwhite					1	
Available vacant	2	1	1	9	1	5
For rent	1		1	2		3
For sale only	1	1		7	1	2
Other vacant	1	2	3	1		7
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	240	74	133	252	9	347
Sound	240	74	132	244	7	334
With all plumbing facilities	240	74	132	244	7	328
Lacking only hot water						4
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						2
Deteriorating				7		13
With all plumbing facilities				7		12
Lacking only hot water						1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Dilapidated			1	1	2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated					1	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	240	74	133	252	9	347
1						
2						4
3				3	1	11
4	3		8	16		25
5	38	6	46	116	1	145
6	171	27	47	81	2	108
7	24	30	22	31	2	39
8 or more	4	11	10	11	3	15
Median	6.0	6.6	5.8	5.5		5.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
1						
2						
3					1	
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	237	71	129	242	8	335
1	4	3	14	7		24
2	44	20	42	75	2	122
3	44	16	22	56	1	74
4	77	18	26	60	3	54
5	39	11	12	27	1	36
6 or more	29	3	13	17	1	25
Median	3.8	3.3	2.9	3.2		2.8
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
1						
2						
3					1	
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	237	71	129	242	8	335
0.50 or less	79	41	69	115	4	175
0.51 to 0.75	88	27	36	65	1	89
0.76 to 1.00	64	3	21	57	3	60
1.01 or more	6		3	5		11
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00					1	
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0039P		043 001 043 0039R		043 001 043 0040N		043 001 043 0040P		043 001 043 0040R		043 001 043 0041	
Total population	910		236		413		815		31		1044	
White	910		236		412		814		28		1044	
Negro					1		1		3			
Other races												
Total population	910		236		413		815		31		1044	
Pop. in households	910		236		413		815		31		1044	
Head of household	237		71		129		242		8		335	
Head of prim. fam.	230		68		112		233		7		306	
Primary individual	7		3		17		9		1		29	
Wife of head	216		65		101		200		5		265	
Child under 18	361		76		130		258		7		276	
Other relative	84		23		46		103		10		157	
Nonrelative	12		1		7		12		1		11	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.84		3.32		3.20		3.37				3.12	
Nonwhite population					1		1		3			
Pop. in households					1		1		3			
Head of household									1			
Head of prim. fam.									1			
Primary individual												
Wife of head									1			
Child under 18												
Other relative									1			
Nonrelative					1		1					
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	452	458	114	122	179	234	396	419	15	16	491	553
Under 1 year	16	6		1		4	8	4			5	4
1 year	8	9		1	1	4	3	4		1	6	4
2 years	15	7	1	1	2	3	7	6			6	6
3 years	6	10	1	1	3	3	6	10			3	11
4 years	8	7	4			5	9	11			5	5
5 years	4	16	1		3	2	7	2		1	8	7
6 years	14	7	2		3	6	8	6	1	2	7	11
7 years	20	13	2	2	6	1	9	7		1	8	8
8 years	7	9	3	1	2	4	8	9			13	7
9 years	12	12		6	4	4	3	3	1	1	6	12
10 years	5	12	4	2	3	5	10	6			10	9
11 years	15	12	5	2	4	4	7	14			11	12
12 years	15	14	2	5	5	6	13	8			8	11
13 years	14	9	3	6	5	5	11	3		1	12	15
14 years	12	12	2	3	3	7	10	8	1		11	4
15 years	8	7	1	3	3	5	9	9			11	9
16 years	11	10	3	1	2	4	7	4			10	5
17 years	10	7	5	2	6	6	10	7			7	6
18 years	4	8	5	1	2	3	7	3			8	6
19 years	3	4	1	1		2	3	3			9	2
20 years	7	5	1	2	1		5	3			7	3
21 years and over	238	262	68	81	121	151	236	289	12	9	320	396
Total population	452	458	114	122	179	234	396	419	15	16	491	553
Under 5 years	53	39	6	4	6	19	33	35		1	25	30
5 to 9 years	57	57	8	9	18	17	35	27	2	5	42	45
10 to 14 years	61	59	16	18	20	27	51	39	1	1	52	51
15 to 19 years	36	36	15	8	13	20	36	26			45	28
20 to 24 years	18	20	1	3	5	2	18	17	2		18	18
25 to 29 years	22	19		2	6	7	25	22	2	1	17	25
30 to 34 years	28	37	1	4	4	12	14	16			21	27
35 to 39 years	43	58	12	13	18	23	18	34	1	2	38	51
40 to 44 years	37	46	17	21	22	22	39	45			43	55
45 to 49 years	46	30	15	8	16	20	43	49		3	48	45
50 to 54 years	18	22	12	11	16	20	31	26	2	2	32	46
55 to 59 years	16	15	2	6	14	14	17	17	3	1	33	43
60 to 64 years	7	7	5	6	10	12	16	15	1		27	30
65 to 69 years	7	4	3	1	4	10	5	15	1		20	16
70 to 74 years	3	3	1	4	2	3	10	11			13	19
75 to 79 years		3		2	2	1	3	16			14	15
80 to 84 years		5		2		2	2	6			3	8
85 years and over		2			1	3		3				2
18 years and over	252	270	75	85	124	156	251	298	12	9	344	407
Median age	25.2	29.7	39.2	40.0	39.9	37.8	30.0	39.0			38.4	40.1
Nonwhite population					1		1		2	1		
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years							1	1				
30 to 34 years												
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years										1		
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years									1			
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years						1						
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over						1		1	2	1		
21 years and over						1		1	2	1		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	293	315	86	94	138	178	287	326	13	9	383	431
Single	61	59	18	18	24	39	65	51	4	1	86	57
Married	224	227	67	65	107	107	215	215	7	7	280	289
Separated		1	1		1	2	2				2	6
Widowed	4	23	1	11	4	27	4	46	2	1	11	57
Divorced	4	6			3	5	3	14			6	28
Nonwhite, 14+						1		1	2	1		
Single								1	1			
Married									1	1		
Separated												
Widowed						1						
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0042 A	043 0042 B	043 0043N	043 0043P	043 0043R	043 0043S
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	366	1	127	64	132	89
Owner occupied	290		109	53	120	74
White	290		109	53	120	74
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	71		13	8	10	12
White	71		13	8	10	12
Nonwhite						
Available vacant	4		3	3	1	1
For rent			1	1		
For sale only	4		2	2	1	1
Other vacant	1		2		1	2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	366		127	64	132	89
Sound	361		115	64	132	89
With all plumbing facilities	359		113	64	132	89
Lacking only hot water	2		2			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Deteriorating	3		9			
With all plumbing facilities	3		9			
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Dilapidated	2		3			
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	366		127	64	132	89
1					1	
2	3		3	3		1
3	2		1	8	3	3
4	59		14	9	2	4
5	177		37	18	31	31
6	83		36	19	50	29
7	30		25	5	34	13
8 or more	12		11	2	11	8
Median	5.2		5.7	5.2	6.1	5.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	361		122	61	130	86
1	17		5	6	3	7
2	122		26	21	45	37
3	86		35	10	27	19
4	77		29	10	29	11
5	39		19	8	18	9
6 or more	20		8	6	8	3
Median	3.0		3.4	2.9	3.1	2.5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	361		122	61	130	86
0.50 or less	171		53	27	63	55
0.51 to 0.75	81		44	14	47	23
0.76 to 1.00	98		19	13	20	8
1.01 or more	11		6	7		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0042 A		043 001 043 0042 B		043 001 043 0043N		043 001 043 0043P		043 001 043 0043R		043 001 043 0043S	
Total population	1155		130		430		194		432		245	
White	1154		127		430		193		431		245	
Negro	1		3				1		1			
Other races												
Total population	1155		130		430		194		432		245	
Pop. in households	1149		2		430		194		432		245	
Head of household	361		1		122		61		130		86	
Head of prim. fam.	336		1		117		53		127		79	
Primary individual	25				5		8		3		7	
Wife of head	303		1		109		51		126		77	
Child under 18	352				156		63		138		60	
Other relative	113				41		14		35		21	
Nonrelative	20				2		5		3		1	
Pop. in group quarters	6		128									
Inmate of institution			102									
Other	6		26									
Pop. per household	3.18				3.52		3.18		3.32		2.85	
Nonwhite population	1		3				1		1			
Pop. in households	1						1		1			
Head of household												
Head of prim. fam.												
Primary individual												
Wife of head												
Child under 18												
Other relative												
Nonrelative	1						1		1			
Pop. in group quarters			3									
Inmate of institution												
Other			3									
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	548	607	41	89	207	223	90	104	207	225	113	132
Under 1 year	13	9			2	2	3	3	2	1		2
1 year	11	17			4	4	5	2	5	6		
2 years	15	14			3	5	2	4	4	3	2	
3 years	8	9			4	7	2	2	4	3	2	1
4 years	12	10			7	3	1	3	5	3		3
5 years	13	15				6	1	5	4	8	2	1
6 years	8	7			5	7	2		7	2	3	2
7 years	12	13			3	7	2		4	6	3	2
8 years	12	8			2	3	4	2	2	7	3	2
9 years	8	9			6	3	1	4	8	1	2	1
10 years	9	11			3	4	2	3	1	5	4	1
11 years	11	9			2	10	1	3	5	5	1	5
12 years	8	12			6	5			9	2	2	
13 years	12	8			13	6		2	3	6	1	3
14 years	12	9			6	5		1	2	1		4
15 years	4	6				2	1	3	3	3	2	5
16 years	5	9			3	3	1	1		4		1
17 years	6	15			4	2		1	3	2		1
18 years	1	3			5	7		3	1	2	1	2
19 years	7	5		1	3	2		1	1	1	1	1
20 years	2	7			2	2	1		1	2		1
21 years and over	359	402	41	88	124	128	61	61	133	152	84	94
Total population	548	607	41	89	207	223	90	104	207	225	113	132
Under 5 years	59	59			20	21	13	14	20	16	4	6
5 to 9 years	53	52			16	26	10	11	25	24	13	8
10 to 14 years	52	49			30	30	3	9	20	19	8	13
15 to 19 years	23	38		1	15	16	2	9	8	12	4	10
20 to 24 years	20	32	4	2	10	7	8	10	4	5	2	3
25 to 29 years	32	43	2		7	12	7	6	5	9	2	
30 to 34 years	40	42	3	5	13	18	11	4	14	17	3	9
35 to 39 years	49	54	2	6	28	22	5	10	21	25	12	11
40 to 44 years	48	47	2	8	13	23	9	8	15	15	15	19
45 to 49 years	35	42	6	3	21	14	6	5	20	21	13	9
50 to 54 years	36	48	4	12	13	9	12	6	16	19	8	11
55 to 59 years	39	32	7	9	8	7	2	3	17	16	8	8
60 to 64 years	23	21		4	5	4		2	12	11	7	8
65 to 69 years	21	22	4	8	2	3		5	5	8	7	9
70 to 74 years	8	16	3	10	3	6	1	2	2	2	5	1
75 to 79 years	8	6	3	12	1	3	1		1	2	1	4
80 to 84 years		3	1	7	1	1			1	3	1	2
85 years and over	2	1		2	1	1			1	1		1
18 years and over	369	417	41	89	134	139	62	65	136	157	86	98
Median age	34.4	33.6		59.2	32.1	29.8	30.9	24.5	36.8	37.1	42.8	41.6
Nonwhite population		1	3					1		1		
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years			1					1				
30 to 34 years		1										
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years			1									
50 to 54 years			1									
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years										1		
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over		1	3					1		1		
21 years and over		1	3					1		1		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	396	456	41	89	147	151	64	71	144	167	88	109
Single	55	68	15	22	32	25	6	7	13	20	7	18
Married	322	326	18	30	113	114	55	56	128	131	78	78
Separated	3	7	1	1	2	1	2			2		
Widowed	13	47	5	32	1	11	2	7	2	15	2	12
Divorced	6	18	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nonwhite, 14+		1	3					1		1		
Single			2					1				
Married			1									
Separated			1									
Widowed										1		
Divorced		1										

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0044N	043 0044P	043 0044RA	043 0044RB	043 0044S	043 0044T
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	234	9	137	1	188	133
Owner occupied	222	6	111		169	116
White	222	6	110		169	116
Nonwhite			1			
Renter occupied	9	2	19		1	10
White	9	1	19		1	9
Nonwhite		1				1
Available vacant	3		3		17	4
For rent						
For sale only	3		3		17	4
Other vacant		1	4		1	3
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	234	9	137		188	133
Sound	233	7	124		187	129
With all plumbing facilities	233	7	122		187	129
Lacking only hot water			1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Deteriorating			1			
With all plumbing facilities		1	6		1	
Lacking only hot water			6		1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Dilapidated		1				
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1	1	7			4
Sound		1	1			1
With all plumbing facilities		1	1			
Lacking some or all facilities		1				
Deteriorating			1			
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	234	9	137		188	133
1						2
2			3			
3	2	1	6			
4	4	1	20		2	3
5	67	3	47		51	102
6	119	1	27		117	23
7	36		18		14	2
8 or more	6	3	16		4	1
Median	5.9		5.3		5.9	5.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		1	1			1
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						1
6						
7			1			
8 or more		1				
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	231	8	130		170	126
1	6		12		2	4
2	64	4	46		30	15
3	50	2	31		51	24
4	64		24		49	45
5	29		9		29	33
6 or more	18	2	8		9	5
Median	3.4		2.7		3.5	3.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		1	1			1
1						
2		1				
3						
4						1
5						
6 or more			1			
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	231	8	130		170	126
0.50 or less	104	3	72		65	23
0.51 to 0.75	71	3	36		64	24
0.76 to 1.00	51	2	18		36	77
1.01 or more	5		4		5	2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		1	1			1
0.50 or less		1				
0.51 to 0.75						1
0.76 to 1.00			1			
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0044N	043 001 043 0044P	043 001 043 0044RA	043 001 043 0044RB	043 001 043 0044S	043 001 043 0044T
Total population	800	27	390		613	482
White	800	25	382		613	479
Negro		2	8			3
Other races						
Total population	800	27	390		613	482
Pop. in households	800	27	390		613	482
Head of household	231	8	130		170	126
Head of prim. fam.	222	8	118		167	122
Primary individual	9		12		3	4
Wife of head	215	8	109		162	119
Child under 18	308	5	101		250	213
Other relative	36	6	45		27	23
Nonrelative	10		5		4	1
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.46		3.00		3.61	3.83
Nonwhite population		2	8			3
Pop. in households		2	8			3
Head of household		1	1			1
Head of prim. fam.		1	1			1
Primary individual						
Wife of head		1				
Child under 18						1
Other relative			7			1
Nonrelative						
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	388	412	11	16	196	194			307	306	234	248
Under 1 year	13	16			3	2			14	9	9	7
1 year	8	14			5	1			13	7	6	8
2 years	11	12		1	2	3			11	16	8	10
3 years	11	11		1	2	2			13	12	9	5
4 years	11	10			4	4			10	7	9	14
5 years	12	10			2	4			8	9	9	5
6 years	11	12			5				12	14	13	7
7 years	6	9		1	4	5			7	5	7	14
8 years	10	6			1	3			9	8	6	8
9 years	7	11			1	4			6	4	5	7
10 years	10	8			4	4			4	3	8	3
11 years	10	11			4	2			9	6	2	9
12 years	7	8			4	7			9	3	4	5
13 years	6	3		1	5	2			3	7	3	7
14 years	5	7			3	2			2	3	2	1
15 years	5	8	1	1	4	2				5	2	2
16 years	3	1			3	3			2	3	3	2
17 years	6	5	1		3					2		
18 years	3	1			1				2	1		1
19 years		1			2	2				1	3	
20 years		1		1	2	1				4	1	4
21 years and over	233	250	9	10	132	141			173	177	125	131
Total population	388	412	11	16	196	194			307	306	234	248
Under 5 years	54	63		2	10	12			61	51	41	42
5 to 9 years	46	48		1	13	16			42	40	40	41
10 to 14 years	38	37		1	20	17			27	22	19	25
15 to 19 years	17	13	2	1	13	7			4	12	8	5
20 to 24 years	5	15	1	2	10	8			8	19	8	7
25 to 29 years	30	42	2	1	8	10			38	49	12	27
30 to 34 years	47	48		1	11	16			44	41	47	53
35 to 39 years	40	35	1		11	17			38	25	35	25
40 to 44 years	33	31		3	12	13			13	12	10	5
45 to 49 years	20	22	1	2	13	20			13	8	4	4
50 to 54 years	19	21	3	1	18	12			6	6	4	2
55 to 59 years	18	13			18	15			4	7	1	1
60 to 64 years	10	10	1		11	9			1	5	2	2
65 to 69 years	6	3			4	6			2	3	1	4
70 to 74 years	4	6		1	6	8			2	2	2	3
75 to 79 years		3			3	4			4	2		1
80 to 84 years	1	1			2	3						
85 years and over		1			2	1				2		1
18 years and over	236	253	9	11	137	144			175	183	129	136
Median age	30.4	28.6			38.2	38.2			26.5	25.9	25.4	25.7
Nonwhite population			1	1	4	4					2	1
Under 5 years											1	
5 to 9 years						1						
10 to 14 years					2	1						
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years					1							
25 to 29 years												
30 to 34 years					1	1						
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years				1								1
45 to 49 years			1								1	
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years						1						
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over			1	1	2	2					1	1
21 years and over			1	1	2	2					1	1
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	255	271	11	12	150	151			179	196	136	141
Single	31	31	3	2	30	18			8	20	13	13
Married	221	222	8	9	114	120			167	165	123	121
Separated	1	1				1				1		
Widowed		18		1	4	10			1	11		5
Divorced	3	3			2	5			3			2
Nonwhite, 14+			1	1	2	2					1	1
Single					1							
Married			1	1	1	1					1	1
Separated												
Widowed						1						
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0044U	043 0045 A	043 0045 B	043 0046	043 0047N	043 0047P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	13	316	383	371		282
Owner occupied	8	87	88	277		272
White	8	87	88	236		270
Nonwhite				41		2
Renter occupied	5	216	283	82		4
White	4	216	283	25		4
Nonwhite	1			57		
Available vacant		11	11	4		6
For rent		9	10	3		
For sale only		2	1	1		6
Other vacant		2	1	8		
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	13	316	383	371		282
Sound	12	316	380	299		281
With all plumbing facilities	12	316	380	292		280
Lacking only hot water				4		1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water				3		
Deteriorating			3	22		1
With all plumbing facilities			3	14		1
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water				8		
Dilapidated	1			50		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			98		2
Sound				39		2
With all plumbing facilities				36		2
Lacking some or all facilities				3		
Deteriorating				12		
With all plumbing facilities				5		
Lacking some or all facilities				7		
Dilapidated	1			47		
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	13	316	383	371		282
1						
2				1		
3	1	50	54	11		4
4	1	123	241	154		5
5	4	101	29	113		160
6	2	32	52	54		82
7	2	7	5	27		26
8 or more	3	3	2	11		5
Median		4.4	4.1	4.7		5.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			98		2
1						
2				1		
3	1			8		
4				56		
5				18		
6				9		1
7				2		
8 or more				4		1
Median				4.2		
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	13	303	371	359		276
1	1	20	27	26		5
2	3	119	136	119		53
3	4	66	95	76		61
4	1	63	75	68		86
5	3	27	31	38		47
6 or more	1	8	7	32		24
Median		2.7	2.7	3.0		3.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			98		2
1				12		
2				25		1
3	1			21		
4				14		1
5				8		
6 or more				18		
Median				3.1		
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	13	303	371	359		276
0.50 or less	5	120	145	161		80
0.51 to 0.75	5	92	133	85		81
0.76 to 1.00	2	83	78	80		100
1.01 or more	1	8	15	33		15
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			98		2
0.50 or less				39		2
0.51 to 0.75				15		
0.76 to 1.00	1			22		
1.01 or more				22		
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0044U		043 001 043 0045 A		043 001 043 0045 B		043 001 043 0046		043 002 043 0047N		043 002 043 0047P	
Total population	47		898		1084		1188				1021	
White	44		898		1084		822				1014	
Negro	3						360				7	
Other races							6					
Total population	47		898		1084		1188				1021	
Pop. in households	47		898		1084		1182				1021	
Head of household	13		303		371		359				276	
Head of prim. fam.	12		280		332		327				270	
Primary individual	1		23		39		32				6	
Wife of head	11		267		311		290				260	
Child under 18	13		281		326		362				385	
Other relative	10		40		58		154				91	
Nonrelative			7		18		17				9	
Pop. in group quarters							6					
Inmate of institution												
Other							6					
Pop. per household			2.96		2.92		3.29				3.70	
Nonwhite population	3						366				7	
Pop. in households	3						360				7	
Head of household	1						98				2	
Head of prim. fam.	1						82				2	
Primary individual							16					
Wife of head							68				2	
Child under 18							124					
Other relative	2						57				3	
Nonrelative							13					
Pop. in group quarters							6					
Inmate of institution												
Other							6					
Pop. per household							3.67					
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	24	23	439	459	525	559	569	619			503	518
Under 1 year			14	13	24	25	20	17			14	16
1 year	2	1	15	12	23	25	14	13			10	17
2 years		1	13	24	20	13	21	10			17	18
3 years			10	15	11	10	11	12			11	20
4 years			7	13	7	7	11	18			12	9
5 years	3		19	6	12	7	16	8			19	17
6 years			7	8	5	7	9	7			17	11
7 years		1	10	6	3	10	9	7			12	9
8 years			8	8	12	7	10	13			16	11
9 years			6	4	6	6	4	13			2	10
10 years			8	5	9	5	11	6			10	8
11 years			3	5	14	6	13	11			9	5
12 years		1	6	4	7	7	14	15			9	8
13 years			5	7	4	12	16	7			13	13
14 years			1	1	2	3	6	10			5	4
15 years	2		6	5	8	3	8	6			7	5
16 years			1	6	0	2	8	7			11	4
17 years	1	1	3	5	4	5	11	14			5	7
18 years	1		4	6	3	4	5	7			6	4
19 years			5	18	5	10	3	6			4	1
20 years			3	15	3	18	6	9			2	5
21 years and over	15	18	285	273	337	367	343	403			292	316
Total population	24	23	439	459	525	559	569	619			503	518
Under 5 years	2	2	59	77	85	80	77	70			64	80
5 to 9 years	3	1	50	32	30	37	48	48			66	58
10 to 14 years		1	23	22	30	33	60	49			46	39
15 to 19 years	4	1	19	40	20	24	35	40			33	21
20 to 24 years	1	1	65	103	74	123	25	38			13	28
25 to 29 years	1	1	81	58	94	67	38	42			44	55
30 to 34 years	1	3	39	35	41	37	34	49			56	52
35 to 39 years		1	34	31	32	37	51	46			52	54
40 to 44 years	4	4	25	18	31	41	53	50			41	38
45 to 49 years	2	1	14	13	20	20	45	51			36	25
50 to 54 years	1	1	8	7	11	13	21	35			17	16
55 to 59 years	1		8	7	11	21	31	29			16	15
60 to 64 years	2	1	3	6	7	7	17	26			9	9
65 to 69 years	2	1	3	4	0	9	14	22			2	8
70 to 74 years		1	4	5	4	3	9	8			6	13
75 to 79 years		2	3	1	1	3	7	8			1	5
80 to 84 years					1	3	3	5				3
85 years and over		1	1		1	1	1	3			1	1
18 years and over	16	18	297	312	348	399	357	425			304	326
Median age			25.2	22.8	25.2	24.3	30.2	32.3			28.4	28.1
Nonwhite population	1	2					186	180			2	5
Under 5 years							38	17				
5 to 9 years							21	18				
10 to 14 years							22	16				
15 to 19 years							10	16				
20 to 24 years							9	16				
25 to 29 years							13	12				1
30 to 34 years							9	13				
35 to 39 years		1					16	17				
40 to 44 years							13	10				
45 to 49 years							6	12			1	
50 to 54 years	1						4	6				1
55 to 59 years							11	8				
60 to 64 years							4	7				
65 to 69 years							7	6				1
70 to 74 years							1	3			1	1
75 years and over		1					2	3				1
18 years and over	1	2					95	117			2	5
21 years and over	1	2					93	109			2	5
Median age							21.1	27.0				
Total, 14 & over	19	19	308	329	368	412	390	462			332	346
Single	6	3	23	28	47	46	69	74			53	37
Married	11	12	274	277	313	324	306	313			272	269
Separated		1	3	4	4	5	4	11			3	2
Widowed	2	4	6	12	4	27	10	59			3	37
Divorced			5	12	4	15	5	16			4	3
Nonwhite, 14 +	1	2					107	135			2	5
Single	1						27	31			1	1
Married		1					74	79			1	2
Separated		1					3	7				
Widowed		1					6	22				1
Divorced								3				1

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0024	043 0025N	043 0025P	043 0025R	043 0025S
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status					
All housing units	464	26	85	76	77
Owner occupied	385	19	59	65	53
White	336	19	59	64	50
Nonwhite	49			1	3
Renter occupied	62	1	21	8	22
White	44	1	21	7	21
Nonwhite	18			1	1
Available vacant	9	6	3	2	1
For rent	3		3	1	1
For sale only	6	6		1	
Other vacant	8		2	1	1
Condition and Plumbing					
All housing units	464	26	85	76	77
Sound	359	26	76	72	62
With all plumbing facilities	332	25	65	65	53
Lacking only hot water	1			1	4
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	26	1	11	6	5
Deteriorating	77		6	3	9
With all plumbing facilities	34		2		4
Lacking only hot water	1			1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	42		4	2	5
Dilapidated	28		3	1	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	67			2	4
Sound	21			1	1
With all plumbing facilities	11			1	
Lacking some or all facilities	10				1
Deteriorating	20				1
With all plumbing facilities	3				
Lacking some or all facilities	17				1
Dilapidated	26			1	2
Number of Rooms					
All housing units	464	26	85	76	77
1	2		3		
2	13		1		
3	20	2	5	5	4
4	47	1	17	8	16
5	109	5	22	26	15
6	139	5	13	18	20
7	95	12	8	10	16
8 or more	39	1	16	9	6
Median	5.8		5.3	5.5	5.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	67			2	4
1	1				
2	10				
3	10				
4	12			1	1
5	11			1	
6	14				2
7	7				1
8 or more	2				
Median	4.5				
Number of Persons					
All occupied housing units	447	20	80	73	75
1	14	1	6	1	6
2	116	10	16	18	23
3	97	2	19	19	13
4	102	5	18	16	12
5	54	2	9	18	14
6 or more	64		12	5	7
Median	3.5		3.4	3.4	3.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	67			2	4
1	5				1
2	11			1	
3	6				
4	6				1
5	12			1	1
6 or more	27				1
Median	5.0				
Persons Per Room					
All occupied housing units	447	20	80	73	75
0.50 or less	189	11	32	26	34
0.51 to 0.75	109	8	21	20	14
0.76 to 1.00	97	1	20	24	23
1.01 or more	52		7	3	4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	67			2	4
0.50 or less	14			1	1
0.51 to 0.75	5				
0.76 to 1.00	15			1	3
1.01 or more	33				
Value of Property					
Owner-occupied housing units					
Less than $5,000					
$5,000 to $9,900					
$10,000 to $14,900					
$15,000 to $19,900					
$20,000 to $24,900					
$25,000 or more					
Median ... dollars					
Contract Rent					
Renter-occupied housing units					
Average ... dollars					

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0024		043 001 043 0025N		043 001 043 0025P		043 001 043 0025R		043 001 043 0025S	
Total population	1693		57		290		262		260	
White	1321		57		289		255		244	
Negro	372				1		7		16	
Other races										
Total population	1693		57		290		262		260	
Pop. in households	1673		57		290		262		252	
Head of household	447		20		80		73		75	
Head of prim. fam.	429		18		74		69		69	
Primary individual	18		2		6		4		6	
Wife of head	385		17		64		62		62	
Child under 18	553		13		87		90		90	
Other relative	262		6		56		31		23	
Nonrelative	26		1		3		6		2	
Pop. in group quarters	20								8	
Inmate of institution										
Other	20								8	
Pop. per household	3.74		2.85		3.63		3.59		3.36	
Nonwhite population	372				1		7		16	
Pop. in households	363				1		7		16	
Head of household	67						2		4	
Head of prim. fam.	61						2		3	
Primary individual	6								1	
Wife of head	48						1		3	
Child under 18	116						3		9	
Other relative	124						1			
Nonrelative	12				1					
Pop. in group quarters	9									
Inmate of institution										
Other	9									
Pop. per household	5.42									
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	838	855	31	26	143	147	127	135	121	139
Under 1 year	16	21		1	4	2	2	1	3	3
1 year	20	27	2		2	4	3	3	3	3
2 years	28	11	2		5	1		3	2	1
3 years	28	23		1	2		1	3	2	
4 years	15	26	1		5	3	3	1	5	4
5 years	17	26		1	2	3	3	2	2	3
6 years	21	15		1	2	5	2	8	3	3
7 years	17	25	1		3	5	4	1	2	3
8 years	17	13	1		1	4	3	2	1	3
9 years	11	18		1	4	2	3	3	2	3
10 years	17	14			2	2	2	4	4	2
11 years	19	19	1			4	3	4	4	4
12 years	19	17			5	4	3	6	3	3
13 years	20	14			1	1	2	4	2	3
14 years	10	14	1		4	3	3	3	1	5
15 years	8	15	1		1	1	4	4	2	8
16 years	16	11			5	4	3	2	3	3
17 years	14	8			3	1	2	2	1	3
18 years	4	9		1	2	6	2	1	1	2
19 years	8	12			4	1				1
20 years	10	7			2	2	3	1	1	
21 years and over	503	510	21	20	84	89	76	77	74	79
Total population	838	855	31	26	143	147	127	135	121	139
Under 5 years	107	108	5	2	18	10	9	11	15	11
5 to 9 years	83	97	2	3	12	19	15	16	10	15
10 to 14 years	85	78	2		12	14	13	21	14	17
15 to 19 years	50	55	1	1	15	13	11	9	7	17
20 to 24 years	38	50		1	8	10	9	6	8	3
25 to 29 years	50	55	3	3	5	5	9	9	5	6
30 to 34 years	74	67	2	1	9	10	11	9	9	10
35 to 39 years	66	83	2	2	11	8	10	12	11	13
40 to 44 years	74	45	1	2	10	10	15	12	7	6
45 to 49 years	49	48	3	2	8	8	6	7	6	9
50 to 54 years	36	36	1	1	7	15	9	1	7	7
55 to 59 years	44	46	2	4	8	2	4	7	8	6
60 to 64 years	23	29	1		6	8	4	5	4	5
65 to 69 years	22	19	1	1	7	4	1	5	2	3
70 to 74 years	17	24	2	2	1	3	1	2	2	5
75 to 79 years	12	9	1		4	6		2	3	3
80 to 84 years	6	5	1	1		2		1	2	3
85 years and over	2	1	1		2				1	
18 years and over	525	538	21	21	92	98	81	79	76	82
Median age	30.4	28.6			30.8	31.3	28.6	27.5	30.8	30.3
Nonwhite population	187	185			1		4	3	7	9
Under 5 years	38	26								
5 to 9 years	16	33							1	
10 to 14 years	18	15					2	1	2	1
15 to 19 years	14	20							1	4
20 to 24 years	12	11					1			
25 to 29 years	11	15								
30 to 34 years	13	10								
35 to 39 years	5	6						1	1	2
40 to 44 years	13	5						1		
45 to 49 years	8	9					1		1	
50 to 54 years	12	12								1
55 to 59 years	8	10								
60 to 64 years	4	3								1
65 to 69 years	5	3								
70 to 74 years	7	4			1				1	
75 years and over	3	3								
18 years and over	105	100			1		2	2	3	4
21 years and over	98	89			1		1	2	3	4
Median age	23.1	19.6								
Total, 14 & over	573	586	23	21	105	107	93	90	83	101
Single	135	112	4	1	23	18	22	11	14	21
Married	415	419	18	18	72	71	68	68	64	63
Separated	2	10				1	3	2	2	1
Widowed	19	53	3	2	6	17	2	10	4	15
Divorced	4	2			4	1	1	1	1	2
Nonwhite, 14+	118	114			1		3	2	4	9
Single	54	46					2		1	5
Married	55	56					1	1	3	3
Separated	1	6								
Widowed	8	12			1					1
Divorced	1							1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 34

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0025T	043 0025U	043 0026N	043 0026P	043 0026R	043 0026S
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	88	135	50	218	122	146
Owner occupied	58	109	31	187	94	122
White	36	109	24	187	94	94
Nonwhite	22		7			28
Renter occupied	25	15	12	7		19
White	16	14	11	7		17
Nonwhite	9	1	1			2
Available vacant	4	5	2	18	25	3
For rent	4	3	1			3
For sale only		2	1	18	25	
Other vacant	1	6	5	6	3	2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	88	135	50	218	122	146
Sound	69	130	40	217	121	137
With all plumbing facilities	46	124	36	217	121	128
Lacking only hot water	6	3	2			1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	17	3	2			8
Deteriorating	15	3	10	1	1	9
With all plumbing facilities	2	3	4	1	1	2
Lacking only hot water			1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	13		5			7
Dilapidated	4	2				
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	31	1	8			30
Sound	23		5			26
With all plumbing facilities	10		3			23
Lacking some or all facilities	13		2			3
Deteriorating	4		3			4
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities	4		3			4
Dilapidated	4	1				
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	88	135	50	218	122	146
1						1
2	3	1		1		2
3	7	5	2			2
4	13	15	7	6	3	44
5	29	54	14	57	27	36
6	14	35	15	95	40	42
7	9	14	7	45	33	13
8 or more	13	11	5	14	19	6
Median	5.2	5.4	5.6	6.0	6.3	5.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	31	1	8			30
1						
2	1					1
3	3	1				1
4	2		1			3
5	11		4			11
6	6		1			9
7	4		2			5
8 or more	4					
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	83	124	43	194	94	141
1	9	3	1	4	2	9
2	19	42	9	43	31	39
3	15	30	12	55	29	35
4	12	25	6	66	17	25
5	9	19	7	18	11	17
6 or more	19	5	8	8	4	16
Median	3.4	3.1		3.4	3.0	3.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	31	1	8			30
1	4		1			5
2	5	1				8
3	3		4			7
4	3					3
5	3		2			1
6 or more	13		1			6
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	83	124	43	194	94	141
0.50 or less	32	58	18	86	62	54
0.51 to 0.75	19	33	7	76	21	45
0.76 to 1.00	13	31	10	32	10	28
1.01 or more	19	2	8		1	14
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	31	1	8			30
0.50 or less	11		2			13
0.51 to 0.75	5	1	3			8
0.76 to 1.00	3		2			3
1.01 or more	12		1			6
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0025T	043 001 043 0025U	043 001 043 0026N	043 001 043 0026P	043 001 043 0026R	043 001 043 0026S
Total population	328	402	171	659	299	492
White	174	399	139	659	298	385
Negro	154	3	32		1	107
Other races						
Total population	328	402	171	659	299	492
Pop. in households	328	402	171	659	299	492
Head of household	83	124	43	194	94	141
Head of prim. fam.	72	120	42	189	92	130
Primary individual	11	4	1	5	2	11
Wife of head	63	110	38	182	89	118
Child under 18	84	106	70	241	95	183
Other relative	89	56	19	39	19	48
Nonrelative	9	6	1	3	2	2
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.95	3.24	3.98	3.40	3.18	3.49
Nonwhite population	154	3	32		1	107
Pop. in households	154	3	32		1	107
Head of household	31	1	8			30
Head of prim. fam.	26	1	7			24
Primary individual	5		1			6
Wife of head	22		6			19
Child under 18	38		7			34
Other relative	55	1	10			23
Nonrelative	8	1	1		1	1
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	4.97					3.57

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	158	170	208	194	84	87	311	348	152	147	257	235
Under 1 year	3	3	5	2	1	2	6	7	6	2	11	4
1 year	2	1	1	4	2	1	6	13	5	1	8	2
2 years	4	5	1	2	4	1	12	11	2	2	5	8
3 years	3	6	4	1	3	2	10	8	3	2	4	5
4 years	2	2	4	2	2	4	11	7	2	5	6	4
5 years	2	3	3	3	3	5	8	5	3	5	6	5
6 years	4	2	5	6	1	1	12	6	4	2	10	4
7 years	2	2	5	1	3	1	5	11	2	1	6	5
8 years	5	2	5	6	1	3	6	7	5	2	7	6
9 years	4	3	5	3	1	2	6	13	4	3	9	3
10 years	3	9	5		3	1	5	9		1	5	9
11 years	4		3	2	2	2	7	10	5	1	6	5
12 years	4	2	3	2	1	3	5	7	2	2	2	3
13 years	6	3	2	7	2	2	7	6	5	5	8	5
14 years	3	4	2	5	3	1		3	2		4	1
15 years	3	4	5	2		1	1	5	4	2	4	5
16 years	6	7	5	3	2	2	2	5	2	2	5	
17 years	3	4	4	2	4	1	1	5	2	1	6	4
18 years	5	3	1	4	3	1	3	1	1	2	3	4
19 years	1	3	2	3	2	2	1	2			3	1
20 years		2	6	2		1	2	3		1	2	3
21 years and over	89	100	132	132	41	48	195	204	93	105	137	149
Total population	158	170	208	194	84	87	311	348	152	147	257	235
Under 5 years	14	17	15	11	12	10	45	46	18	12	34	23
5 to 9 years	17	12	23	19	9	12	37	42	18	13	38	23
10 to 14 years	20	18	15	16	11	9	24	35	14	9	25	23
15 to 19 years	18	21	17	14	11	7	8	18	9	7	21	14
20 to 24 years	9	8	10	7	2	4	7	20	2	1	11	12
25 to 29 years	5	6	9	15	5	10	35	39	3	7	10	17
30 to 34 years	6	10	12	9	7	5	43	40	15	18	15	16
35 to 39 years	9	15	15	27	5	7	43	33	17	20	20	28
40 to 44 years	15	12	19	11	5	4	15	23	17	15	24	26
45 to 49 years	10	5	11	12	6	5	23	15	9	6	25	17
50 to 54 years	5	9	18	14	5	5	12	19	12	13	11	10
55 to 59 years	8	11	10	9	1	1	10	7	8	6	9	7
60 to 64 years	4	9	7	9	3	1	5	2	4	4	4	7
65 to 69 years	10	10	12	13	1	1	3	4	2	7	3	3
70 to 74 years	5	4	9	5	1	6		3		1	4	5
75 to 79 years	1	1		2				1	3	5	1	3
80 to 84 years	2		3	1			1			2		1
85 years and over		2	3					1	1	1	2	
18 years and over	95	108	141	141	46	52	201	210	94	108	145	157
Median age	26.0	31.5	36.0	36.1	19.5	25.8	29.9	26.7	34.0	36.6	24.8	31.7
Nonwhite population	75	79	2	1	16	16				1	55	52
Under 5 years	8	11			1						7	4
5 to 9 years	9	9				1					6	4
10 to 14 years	11	9			2	2					4	3
15 to 19 years	12	11			3	4					7	4
20 to 24 years	4	5									4	2
25 to 29 years	1	2				2					2	2
30 to 34 years	3	7			2						2	2
35 to 39 years	3	5			1	1					2	4
40 to 44 years	5	5									4	8
45 to 49 years	4	2			2	2					6	2
50 to 54 years			1	1	3	2					3	2
55 to 59 years	2	5				1					4	2
60 to 64 years	2	2			2					1	1	3
65 to 69 years	6	5	1									1
70 to 74 years	4	1				1					2	2
75 years and over	1										1	3
18 years and over	38	42	2	1	12	11				1	33	35
21 years and over	35	38	2	1	10	9				1	29	33
Median age	19.0	19.8									24.4	36.3
Total, 14 & over	110	127	157	153	53	57	205	228	104	113	164	167
Single	31	30	32	26	13	10	15	25	12	9	34	23
Married	74	75	115	118	39	40	185	188	90	92	124	125
Separated	3	5		2	1	2	1	1			1	2
Widowed	4	20	10	8		6	1	11	2	10	5	16
Divorced	1	2		1	1	1	4	4		2	1	3
Nonwhite, 14+	48	52	2	1	14	13				1	39	37
Single	17	16	2		6	5					13	6
Married	28	30		1	7	7					22	22
Separated	2	5		1	1	1						2
Widowed	3	5				1					3	7
Divorced		1			1					1	1	2

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0026TA	043 0026TB	043 0027N	043 0027P	043 0027R	043 0027SA
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	146	1	126	211	109	230
Owner occupied	105		100	156	95	202
White	48		100	102	94	195
Nonwhite	57			54	1	7
Renter occupied	34		23	26	8	15
White	19		23	10	8	14
Nonwhite	15			16		1
Available vacant	4		2	23	2	8
For rent	2		2			
For sale only	2			23	2	8
Other vacant	3		1	6	4	5
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	146		126	211	109	230
Sound	108		118	173	104	222
With all plumbing facilities	91		116	167	102	221
Lacking only hot water	3		1		1	1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	14		1	6	1	
Deteriorating	34		6	13	3	8
With all plumbing facilities	12		6	6	2	5
Lacking only hot water	2					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	20			7	1	3
Dilapidated	4		2	25	2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	72			70	1	8
Sound	43			44		7
With all plumbing facilities	31			40		6
Lacking some or all facilities	12			4		1
Deteriorating	26			8		1
With all plumbing facilities	5			4		1
Lacking some or all facilities	21			4		
Dilapidated	3			18	1	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	146		126	211	109	230
1	1					2
2	4			4		4
3	13		1	6	2	36
4	28		23	12	4	29
5	40		41	114	27	79
6	32		31	59	41	49
7	20		16	10	22	14
8 or more	8		14	6	13	17
Median	5.2		5.5	5.2	6.0	5.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	72			70	1	8
1						1
2	1			4		
3	5			1		1
4	12			6		1
5	19			43	1	1
6	18			11		3
7	10			3		
8 or more	7			2		1
Median	5.4			5.1		
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	139		123	182	103	217
1	9		9	9	2	15
2	37		35	32	15	63
3	32		20	47	26	43
4	24		23	44	28	50
5	14		21	27	20	29
6 or more	23		15	23	12	17
Median	3.2		3.4	3.6	3.8	3.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	72			70	1	8
1	5			4		1
2	21			12		6
3	12			19		1
4	6			9	1	
5	8			11		
6 or more	20			15		
Median	3.3			3.5		
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	139		123	182	103	217
0.50 or less	54		52	54	36	80
0.51 to 0.75	33		34	53	34	61
0.76 to 1.00	33		29	56	28	58
1.01 or more	19		8	19	5	18
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	72			70	1	8
0.50 or less	32			19		6
0.51 to 0.75	12			16		1
0.76 to 1.00	12			21	1	1
1.01 or more	16			14		
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 0026TA	043 001 043 0026TB	043 001 043 0027N	043 001 043 0027P	043 001 043 0027R	043 001 043 0027SA
Total population	513	2	429	682	404	732
White	216		429	397	400	716
Negro	297			285	4	16
Other races						
Total population	513		429	682	404	732
Pop. in households	513		429	682	404	722
Head of household	139		123	182	103	217
Head of prim. fam.	130		112	172	101	200
Primary individual	9		11	10	2	17
Wife of head	106		101	160	96	185
Child under 18	152		142	248	165	259
Other relative	111		56	83	39	52
Nonrelative	5		7	9	1	9
Pop. in group quarters						10
Inmate of institution						
Other						10
Pop. per household	3.69		3.49	3.75	3.92	3.33
Nonwhite population	297			285	4	16
Pop. in households	297			285	4	16
Head of household	72			70	1	8
Head of prim. fam.	67			65	1	7
Primary individual	5			5		1
Wife of head	51			59	1	6
Child under 18	89			94		2
Other relative	82			55	2	
Nonrelative	3			7		
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	4.13			4.07		

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	245	268			207	222	344	338	203	201	353	379
Under 1 year	3	7			6	1	13	8	2	5	9	14
1 year	7	3			3	8	18	5	4	2	9	9
2 years	9	8			3	1	15	10	7	8	5	6
3 years	5	12			6	5	8	13	4	2	10	10
4 years	9	8			5	6	14	12	4	5	9	12
5 years	3	6			4	3	9	5	4	11	11	9
6 years	2	8			7	4	7	10	3	3	9	7
7 years	3	8			4	5	5	10	6	7	8	12
8 years	6	6			7	3	9	8	6	3	7	6
9 years	7	8			6	7	11	3	9	8	9	12
10 years	4	5			3	3	3	10	3	5	4	13
11 years	3	8			3	2	5	7	7	3	6	3
12 years	6	6			4	4	6	6	2	5	8	5
13 years	6	3			2	4	7	4	5	2	8	8
14 years	8	6			4	4	2	2	6	3	9	6
15 years	5	6			3	3	1	6	2	8	3	4
16 years	7	2			3	7	4	2	4	4	4	3
17 years	2	1			4	4	5	4	8	2	4	6
18 years	4	2			1	2	1	4	1		5	2
19 years	3	3			5	3	4	1	2	1	2	4
20 years	3	4			3		5	2	1	2	4	
21 years and over	140	157			121	143	192	197	113	115	210	228
Total population	245	268			207	222	344	338	203	201	353	379
Under 5 years	33	35			23	21	68	57	21	19	42	51
5 to 9 years	21	30			28	22	41	36	28	32	44	46
10 to 14 years	27	28			16	17	23	29	23	18	35	35
15 to 19 years	21	14			16	19	15	17	17	15	18	19
20 to 24 years	11	18			7	8	15	33	6	6	13	22
25 to 29 years	8	20			15	16	40	36	7	13	22	39
30 to 34 years	20	21			22	21	37	33	13	14	40	37
35 to 39 years	18	21			10	14	34	26	19	27	35	32
40 to 44 years	24	15			17	13	19	21	28	18	38	21
45 to 49 years	13	17			11	21	21	14	6	8	23	29
50 to 54 years	15	16			12	9	7	10	9	7	10	17
55 to 59 years	10	9			6	11	7	8	12	13	16	10
60 to 64 years	3	8			10	16	4	3	6	3	7	2
65 to 69 years	10	10			5	5	5	6	6	4	5	10
70 to 74 years	6	3			5	2	5	4	1	1	3	5
75 to 79 years	4	8			2	3	3	4			1	4
80 to 84 years	1	2			2	3				3	1	
85 years and over						1		1	1			
18 years and over	150	166			130	148	202	204	117	118	221	234
Median age	30.4	28.3			29.5	31.9	26.3	24.5	29.6	29.0	30.3	27.1
Nonwhite population	144	153					145	140	2	2	8	8
Under 5 years	16	19					17	17				
5 to 9 years	12	17					23	19				
10 to 14 years	22	22					14	16				
15 to 19 years	17	9					8	9			1	1
20 to 24 years	7	6					7	9				
25 to 29 years	5	8					6	5				
30 to 34 years	7	13					14	17				
35 to 39 years	11	15					18	14				
40 to 44 years	16	12					11	12				1
45 to 49 years	9	8					12	8			1	1
50 to 54 years	6	7					3	5		1		2
55 to 59 years	5	8					4	4			4	2
60 to 64 years	1	3					2	1			1	
65 to 69 years	6	8					2	2	1	1		
70 to 74 years	2	2					3	1	1		1	1
75 years and over	2	2					1	1				
18 years and over	81	90					86	82	2	2	7	7
21 years and over	75	80					81	77	2	2	7	7
Median age	23.6	27.2					27.9	25.0				
Total, 14 & over	172	181			144	166	214	218	137	135	241	253
Single	44	28			32	29	37	25	27	23	35	40
Married	120	128			108	113	173	173	106	103	196	194
Separated	5	7			2	5	2	2	1		2	3
Widowed	5	26			2	21	3	15	1	8	8	15
Divorced	3	6			2	3	1	5	3	1	2	4
Nonwhite, 14+	101	99					93	90	2	2	8	8
Single	32	18					22	14			2	1
Married	65	65					67	68	2	2	6	7
Separated	5	4					2	1				1
Widowed	1	14					3	7				
Divorced	3	2					1	1				

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: HENRICO COUNTY

Housing characteristics	043 00275B	043 00275C	043 0028N	043 0028P	043 0029N	043 0029P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	2	5	223	170	17	128
Owner occupied			201	165	10	88
White			201	165	10	88
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied		5	19	4	3	29
White		5	19	4	2	29
Nonwhite					1	
Available vacant			3	1	1	8
For rent					1	2
For sale only			3	1		6
Other vacant					3	3
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units		5	223	170	17	128
Sound		2	204	170	16	123
With all plumbing facilities		2	198	170	12	119
Lacking only hot water			1		1	2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			5		3	2
Deteriorating		2	17		1	3
With all plumbing facilities		2	5		1	
Lacking only hot water			1			3
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			11			
Dilapidated		1	2			2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
Sound					1	
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities					1	
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units		5	223	170	17	128
1			1			
2			1			2
3			10		3	3
4		1	27		5	69
5		3	120	142	4	24
6			37	28	2	20
7		1	12		1	5
8 or more			15		2	5
Median			5.1	5.1		4.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
1						
2						
3						
4					1	
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units		5	220	169	13	117
1			10		1	4
2		1	56	30	7	28
3		2	61	39	3	17
4			38	58	1	34
5		2	29	33	1	21
6 or more			26	9		13
Median			3.2	3.8		3.8
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
1						
2					1	
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units		5	220	169	13	117
0.50 or less		1	81	35	7	32
0.51 to 0.75		3	54	45	6	28
0.76 to 1.00		1	64	82		40
1.01 or more			21	7		17
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					1	
0.50 or less					1	
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 001 043 00275B		043 001 043 00275C		043 001 043 0028N		043 001 043 0028P		043 001 043 0029N		043 001 043 0029P	
Total population			3		196		782		630		39	480
White					196		781		630		31	479
Negro							1				8	1
Other races												
Total population					196		782		630		39	480
Pop. in households					18		782		630		33	437
Head of household					5		220		169		13	117
Head of prim. fam.					5		209		169		12	112
Primary individual							11				1	5
Wife of head					5		197		168		12	109
Child under 18					5		279		267		3	174
Other relative					1		80		25		5	33
Nonrelative					2		6		1			4
Pop. in group quarters					178						6	43
Inmate of institution												38
Other					178						6	5
Pop. per household							3.55		3.73			3.74
Nonwhite population							1				8	1
Pop. in households							1				2	
Head of household											1	
Head of prim. fam.											1	
Primary individual												
Wife of head											1	
Child under 18												
Other relative												
Nonrelative							1					
Pop. in group quarters											6	1
Inmate of institution												1
Other											6	
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population			33	163	383	399	316	314	21	18	257	223
Under 1 year					9	6	14	15			4	3
1 year					18	16	14	15			8	5
2 years					14	19	18	15			10	5
3 years				1	19	15	15	19		1	8	6
4 years			2		6	16	14	9			6	8
5 years			1	3	10	10	16	9			7	8
6 years			1	7	8	11	7	11			6	9
7 years			2	5	9	7	6	7			6	6
8 years			3	7	10	5	5	6			8	5
9 years			10	13	6	1	4	4	1		8	5
10 years			2	8	10	5	3	8	1		5	3
11 years			1	14	5	1	3	4			14	3
12 years			1	7	5	5	3	2	1		9	6
13 years				14	7	12	4	4		1	12	5
14 years				10	5	3	2	5			11	3
15 years				6	4	7	5	1	1		5	3
16 years				8	3	4	3	1	1		2	1
17 years				7	8	12	3				4	1
18 years			1	6	4	2		2		1	3	4
19 years			1	1	1	4	1	1		1	2	3
20 years				2	4	10	2	1			2	2
21 years and over			8	44	218	228	174	175	16	14	117	129
Total population			33	163	383	399	316	314	21	18	257	223
Under 5 years			2	1	60	72	75	73		1	36	27
5 to 9 years			17	35	43	34	38	37	1		35	33
10 to 14 years			4	53	32	26	15	23	2	1	51	20
15 to 19 years			2	28	20	29	12	5	2	2	16	12
20 to 24 years			1	2	20	31	16	36	2	2	9	15
25 to 29 years				4	50	53	60	59	1	1	19	18
30 to 34 years				1	38	33	37	23	1		20	21
35 to 39 years			2	4	33	30	29	27	1	1	17	22
40 to 44 years			2	4	16	22	17	14	1	2	11	13
45 to 49 years				4	16	18	9	6	1	1	18	12
50 to 54 years			2	7	18	15	4	1	2	3	6	9
55 to 59 years			1	8	11	13	1	3	5	2	10	6
60 to 64 years				5	10	8	1	3		2	6	5
65 to 69 years				1	4	9	1	2			2	4
70 to 74 years				3	2	1		1	1		1	2
75 to 79 years				2	1	3	1	1				2
80 to 84 years				1	1	2			1			1
85 years and over					2							1
18 years and over			10	53	227	244	177	179	16	16	124	138
Median age				14.3	26.1	25.7	25.2	22.6			17.0	26.3
Nonwhite population						1			5	3	1	
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years									2	1	1	
15 to 19 years									1			
20 to 24 years						1						
25 to 29 years												
30 to 34 years												
35 to 39 years									1			
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years										2		
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years									1			
75 years and over												
18 years and over						1			2	2		
21 years and over									2	2		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over			10	84	247	270	190	186	18	16	146	146
Single			4	77	33	31	20	9	4	3	30	17
Married			6	7	205	214	170	169	14	13	111	113
Separated				1	1	7	1		2	1	1	
Widowed					6	22		7			2	15
Divorced					3	3		1			3	1
Nonwhite, 14+						1			3	2	1	
Single						1			1		1	
Married									2	2		
Separated									1	1		
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0047R	043 0048	043 0049	043 0050 A	043 0050 B	043 0051
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	123	391	360	398	151	291
Owner occupied	110	368	295	221	138	121
White	108	368	291	221	138	121
Nonwhite	2		4			
Renter occupied	10	13	57	160	11	164
White	8	13	57	160	11	163
Nonwhite	2					1
Available vacant	2	4	4	16	1	5
For rent				8		3
For sale only	2	4	4	8	1	2
Other vacant	1	6	4	1	1	1
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	123	391	360	398	151	291
Sound	111	389	356	391	149	290
With all plumbing facilities	104	389	348	391	149	287
Lacking only hot water			3			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	7		5			3
Deteriorating	12	2	4	6	2	
With all plumbing facilities	7	2	3	5	2	
Lacking only hot water			1	1		
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5					
Dilapidated				1		1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		4			1
Sound	2		4			1
With all plumbing facilities			3			1
Lacking some or all facilities	2		1			
Deteriorating	2					
With all plumbing facilities	2					
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	123	391	360	398	151	291
1						
2			4			
3	2		4	44	1	21
4	16	17	36	72	92	99
5	53	245	201	146	38	103
6	26	86	59	97	15	60
7	16	35	43	29	4	5
8 or more	10	8	13	10	1	3
Median	5.3	5.2	5.2	5.1	4.3	4.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		4			1
1						
2						
3						
4	1					
5	1		2			1
6			1			
7	2					
8 or more			1			
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	120	381	352	381	149	285
1	2	8	15	18	13	9
2	20	86	112	92	39	86
3	24	99	100	95	36	58
4	30	111	75	96	32	67
5	26	53	35	42	19	48
6 or more	18	24	15	38	10	17
Median	4.0	3.5	3.0	3.3	3.1	3.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		4			1
1						
2	1		1			
3			1			
4			1			1
5	2					
6 or more	1		1			
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	120	381	352	381	149	285
0.50 or less	32	129	153	114	52	91
0.51 to 0.75	35	110	114	137	43	79
0.76 to 1.00	39	125	77	106	35	97
1.01 or more	14	17	8	24	19	18
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4		4			1
0.50 or less	1		1			
0.51 to 0.75	2		1			
0.76 to 1.00			1			1
1.01 or more	1		1			
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0047R	043 002 043 0048	043 002 043 0049	043 002 043 0050 A	043 002 043 0050 B	043 002 043 0051
Total population	485	1353	1131	1344	487	969
White	464	1351	1110	1342	487	965
Negro	21	2	5			
Other races			16	2		4
Total population	485	1353	1131	1344	487	969
Pop. in households	485	1345	1116	1344	487	969
Head of household	120	381	352	381	149	285
Head of prim. fam.	118	373	335	360	136	276
Primary individual	2	8	17	21	13	9
Wife of head	104	352	306	337	124	249
Child under 18	168	478	303	462	155	373
Other relative	91	124	139	147	53	56
Nonrelative	2	10	16	17	6	6
Pop. in group quarters		8	15			
Inmate of institution						
Other		8	15			
Pop. per household	4.04	3.53	3.17	3.53	3.27	3.40
Nonwhite population	21	2	21	2		4
Pop. in households	21	2	21	2		4
Head of household	4		4			1
Head of prim. fam.	4		4			1
Primary individual						
Wife of head	2		3	1		1
Child under 18			10			2
Other relative	14		3			
Nonrelative	1	2	1	1		
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	230	255	656	697	556	575	618	726	229	258	478	491
Under 1 year	1	3	12	24	11	8	16	17	4	6	16	22
1 year	3	1	15	15	4	8	12	17	5	2	31	19
2 years	7	7	25	19	12	13	20	20	6	11	21	18
3 years	4	6	16	16	15	5	13	11	4	3	9	14
4 years	6	5	20	21	12	8	16	14	8	7	15	14
5 years	7	9	18	17	8	7	16	25	2	10	16	15
6 years	5	4	17	17	7	3	7	14	5	5	14	9
7 years	4	5	12	12	7	6	9	26	5	4	4	8
8 years	7	5	15	13	3	7	15	13	7	3	8	7
9 years	7	8	16	19	11	9	10	14	3	2	9	9
10 years	3	4	11	13	6	8	12	14	4	7	15	6
11 years	4	11	14	14	6	9	14	11	6	3	12	6
12 years	7	7	11	13	12	13	16	18	4	8	7	7
13 years	8	6	11	16	13	13	17	21	4	7	6	8
14 years	3	4	8	5	15	13	7	10	3	3	8	5
15 years	7	6	6	10	4	8	5	7	3		1	4
16 years	3	8	4	3	14	11	6	8	5	4	1	7
17 years	4		9	7	15	6	8	9	2		6	6
18 years	5	3	8	8	12	9	9	9	2	3	6	6
19 years	4	2	1	5	5	7	3	12	2	4	5	15
20 years		3	6	3	6	9	5	24	2	3	7	15
21 years and over	131	148	401	427	356	395	382	412	143	163	261	271
Total population	230	255	656	697	556	575	618	726	229	258	478	491
Under 5 years	21	22	88	95	54	42	77	79	27	29	92	87
5 to 9 years	30	31	78	78	36	32	57	92	22	24	51	48
10 to 14 years	25	32	55	61	54	56	66	74	21	28	48	32
15 to 19 years	23	19	28	33	50	41	31	45	14	11	19	38
20 to 24 years	10	13	29	32	36	34	50	70	10	13	44	61
25 to 29 years	8	12	60	66	27	25	61	60	9	14	67	67
30 to 34 years	16	21	74	72	27	32	47	65	22	22	44	38
35 to 39 years	22	22	64	68	32	41	68	63	26	23	34	35
40 to 44 years	15	19	54	47	44	54	47	43	18	28	20	22
45 to 49 years	23	14	40	47	50	59	34	28	19	13	19	20
50 to 54 years	11	12	31	28	50	58	19	25	16	18	14	11
55 to 59 years	11	7	23	23	41	36	24	23	6	7	8	11
60 to 64 years	6	6	15	10	21	17	16	22	7	9	10	9
65 to 69 years	3	11	11	14	15	18	6	13	4	8	4	7
70 to 74 years	2	7	4	14	8	16	3	13	6	6	2	3
75 to 79 years	2	6	1	6	6	12	7	9	2	4		2
80 to 84 years	2	1	1	2	3	2	4	2			1	
85 years and over				1	2		1			1	1	
18 years and over	140	156	416	443	379	420	399	457	149	173	279	307
Median age	28.8	29.4	29.2	28.8	33.9	38.1	27.3	25.3	32.6	32.3	23.3	23.3
Nonwhite population	9	12		2	11	10		2			1	3
Under 5 years	1	1			2	1						1
5 to 9 years	1	1			3	2						1
10 to 14 years		2			1	1						
15 to 19 years						1						
20 to 24 years				1	1	1		1				
25 to 29 years					1			1				
30 to 34 years	1	3			1	1					1	
35 to 39 years				1	1							1
40 to 44 years		2										
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years	2	1			1	2						
55 to 59 years	1					1						
60 to 64 years		1										
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years		1										
75 years and over	3											
18 years and over	7	8		2	5	6		2			1	1
21 years and over	7	8		1	5	5		2			1	1
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	157	174	443	468	427	458	425	491	162	180	295	329
Single	31	30	63	50	98	80	63	60	26	20	30	31
Married	115	115	368	370	317	318	351	373	130	129	258	264
Separated	1	3	2	2	3	1		7	1	1		4
Widowed	8	24	5	39	5	51	8	42	2	24	3	20
Divorced	3	3	7	9	7	9	3	18	4	7	4	14
Nonwhite, 14+	7	9		2	5	6		2			1	1
Single	1	3		2	2	3						
Married	4	5			3	3		2			1	1
Separated		3						1				
Widowed	2	1										
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0052 A	043 0052 B	043 0053	043 0054N	043 0054P	043 0055NA
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	401	153	519	223	70	55
Owner occupied	287	139	467	121	56	28
White	287	139	451	105	45	27
Nonwhite			16	16	11	1
Renter occupied	109	4	33	96	11	20
White	109	4	30	95	9	17
Nonwhite			3	1	2	3
Available vacant	4	9	19	3	1	2
For rent	2	4	3	1		2
For sale only	2	5	16	2	1	
Other vacant	1	1		3	2	5
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	401	153	519	223	70	55
Sound	400	148	513	197	47	32
With all plumbing facilities	400	148	511	161	39	27
Lacking only hot water			1	6	1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			1	30	7	5
Deteriorating	1	4	6	22	18	12
With all plumbing facilities		3	1	7	8	3
Lacking only hot water			1	1	3	5
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	1	4	14	7	4
Dilapidated		1		4	5	11
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			19	17	13	4
Sound			17	12	8	
With all plumbing facilities			17	6		
Lacking some or all facilities				6	8	
Deteriorating			2	5	4	3
With all plumbing facilities				1		
Lacking some or all facilities			2	4	4	3
Dilapidated					1	1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	401	153	519	223	70	55
1		1			2	
2				1		3
3	19	2	1	11	7	5
4	75	41	19	129	15	10
5	197	73	409	30	15	19
6	97	14	72	29	10	12
7	10	21	12	11	10	3
8 or more	3	1	6	12	11	3
Median	5.0	4.9	5.1	4.3	5.2	5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			19	17	13	4
1					2	
2						1
3				2	5	
4			1	4	4	
5			12	5		3
6			6	6		
7					1	
8 or more					1	
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	396	143	500	217	67	48
1	8	10	14	20	7	4
2	90	34	102	68	13	16
3	108	35	136	40	15	7
4	105	33	134	34	14	9
5	55	21	66	31	11	7
6 or more	30	10	48	24	7	5
Median	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.0	3.4	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			19	17	13	4
1			1	4	5	2
2			8	4	3	
3			5	3	2	1
4			1			
5			1	3	1	
6 or more			3	3	2	1
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	396	143	500	217	67	48
0.50 or less	115	50	132	93	24	21
0.51 to 0.75	119	43	143	42	19	11
0.76 to 1.00	141	40	185	46	17	10
1.01 or more	21	10	40	36	7	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			19	17	13	4
0.50 or less			9	9	6	2
0.51 to 0.75			6	1	1	1
0.76 to 1.00			1	3	4	
1.01 or more			3	4	2	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0052 A	043 002 043 0052 B	043 002 043 0053	043 002 043 0054N	043 002 043 0054P	043 002 043 0055NA
Total population	1397	492	1809	723	245	163
White	1397	492	1745	664	211	149
Negro			62	59	34	14
Other races			2			
Total population	1397	492	1809	723	245	163
Pop. in households	1397	485	1809	723	245	163
Head of household	396	143	500	217	67	48
Head of prim. fam.	388	132	483	193	59	44
Primary individual	8	11	17	24	8	4
Wife of head	365	123	465	175	49	39
Child under 18	531	158	709	227	58	37
Other relative	97	55	119	83	64	38
Nonrelative	8	6	16	21	7	1
Pop. in group quarters		7				
Inmate of institution		5				
Other		2				
Pop. per household	3.53	3.39	3.62	3.33	3.66	3.40
Nonwhite population			64	59	34	14
Pop. in households			64	59	34	14
Head of household			19	17	13	4
Head of prim. fam.			17	13	8	2
Primary individual			2	4	5	2
Wife of head			17	10	5	2
Child under 18			23	14	6	6
Other relative			3	15	9	2
Nonrelative			2	3	1	
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household			3.37	3.47		

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	685	712	232	260	862	947	351	372	119	126	79	84
Under 1 year	26	29	4	6	35	39	9	7	2		2	1
1 year	24	30	3	5	35	47	7	11	2	1		
2 years	23	18	3	8	29	40	11	8	1	3		
3 years	27	15	3	2	47	29	7	2	6	4	2	
4 years	29	21	7	3	28	31	6	10	1	3	2	3
5 years	11	28	4	4	26	30	12	5	2	3	3	
6 years	18	20	6	7	21	23	10	9	2		2	2
7 years	16	21	3	5	12	23	5	6		4	1	2
8 years	19	15	2	5	16	14	5	10	4	2	3	1
9 years	14	21	6	5	15	16	5	7	1	3		1
10 years	15	7	6	2	13	13	7	9	2	2	1	1
11 years	9	9	7	3	8	15	9	3	4	5	2	2
12 years	11	7	6	6	12	18	7	7	4	2		1
13 years	7	11	6	7	11	7	6	8		4	2	
14 years	3	4	6	3	9	6	8	6	1	3	1	
15 years	3	11	6	5	8	10	8	6	1	1	1	1
16 years	5	2	4	7	2	9	8	8	3		1	
17 years	4	6	1	7	7	17	1	6	3		1	4
18 years	4	6	3	6	12	8	8	5	2	3	1	2
19 years	3	9	3	2	2	8		10	2		1	
20 years	4	4	1	2	3	14	3	1	2			
21 years and over	410	418	140	160	511	530	209	228	74	83	53	63
Total population	685	712	232	260	862	947	351	372	119	126	79	84
Under 5 years	129	113	20	24	174	186	40	38	12	11	6	4
5 to 9 years	78	105	21	26	90	106	37	37	9	12	9	6
10 to 14 years	45	38	33	21	53	59	37	33	11	16	6	4
15 to 19 years	19	34	17	27	31	52	25	35	11	4	5	7
20 to 24 years	48	73	9	15	48	94	15	17	4	3	4	2
25 to 29 years	94	102	9	14	113	135	25	28	7	9	2	7
30 to 34 years	95	79	15	16	120	102	25	21	7	7	3	5
35 to 39 years	58	57	33	33	77	55	25	34	8	11	5	6
40 to 44 years	48	31	19	19	42	41	28	24	11	6	1	11
45 to 49 years	26	21	15	13	42	28	17	22	7	11	10	7
50 to 54 years	11	18	15	17	22	26	15	20	6	11	5	6
55 to 59 years	15	15	7	8	18	18	17	15	7	1	7	8
60 to 64 years	5	10	6	9	11	10	17	19	5	9	6	2
65 to 69 years	5	8	7	2	3	15	11	8	5	7	5	3
70 to 74 years	4	5	3	7	8	9	9	12	6	4	2	4
75 to 79 years	4	3	3	4	6	3	6	4	2	1	2	1
80 to 84 years				4	4	4	1	4	1	2		
85 years and over	1			1		4	1	1		1	1	1
18 years and over	421	437	147	170	528	560	220	244	80	86	55	65
Median age	26.3	24.5	32.3	30.9	26.5	23.8	29.3	29.6	33.9	35.5	39.5	40.5
Nonwhite population					25	39	27	32	16	18	7	7
Under 5 years					2	12			2	3		
5 to 9 years					3	2		1	2	1	2	
10 to 14 years					1	2	4	5	1	2	1	1
15 to 19 years						1	4	8	1		1	2
20 to 24 years						1	2	1				1
25 to 29 years					2	8			1	2		
30 to 34 years					8	5		1	2	1		
35 to 39 years					5	3	4	4				
40 to 44 years						1	4	1	1	1		1
45 to 49 years					2		2	3		1	1	2
50 to 54 years					1	1	1	1		2		
55 to 59 years						2	1	1	2			
60 to 64 years							1	1	3	3	1	
65 to 69 years							3	2		2	1	
70 to 74 years								1	1			
75 years and over					1	1	1	2				
18 years and over					19	22	20	21	11	12	4	4
21 years and over					19	22	19	18	10	12	3	4
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	436	460	164	192	554	602	245	270	88	90	59	70
Single	44	40	31	36	62	76	50	46	19	8	13	16
Married	380	383	125	130	478	484	183	185	59	60	42	44
Separated	4	8		3	3	8	2	2	1			2
Widowed	6	27	4	19	7	34	9	31	6	20	3	10
Divorced	6	10	4	7	7	8	3	8	4	2	1	
Nonwhite, 14+					19	23	25	28	11	12	4	6
Single						4	10	12	1	1	1	4
Married					17	18	13	12	7	5	3	2
Separated					1	1	2		1			
Widowed					2	1	1	3	2	6		
Divorced							1	1	1			

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0055NR	043 0055P	043 0055R	043 0055S	043 0056	043 0057
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	3	134	80	15	245	313
Owner occupied		112	60	6	219	212
White		112	60	6	219	212
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied		20	1	9	23	94
White		20	1	3	23	94
Nonwhite				6		
Available vacant		2	4			2
For rent		1				
For sale only		1	4			2
Other vacant			15		3	5
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units		134	80	15	245	313
Sound		132	80	15	238	313
With all plumbing facilities		125	80	8	235	310
Lacking only hot water		2		5	1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		5		2	2	3
Deteriorating		1			6	
With all plumbing facilities					3	
Lacking only hot water					2	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		1			1	
Dilapidated		1			1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				6		
Sound				6		
With all plumbing facilities				1		
Lacking some or all facilities				5		
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units		134	80	15	245	313
1		1		1		
2		2				2
3		6		1	4	2
4		13		6	92	151
5		75	18	3	103	122
6		29	46	3	30	24
7		6	10		10	8
8 or more		2	6	1	6	4
Median		5.1	6.0		4.8	4.5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				6		
1				1		
2						
3						
4				4		
5				1		
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units		132	61	15	242	306
1		10		2	10	12
2		39	12	3	68	89
3		25	15	5	55	89
4		32	17	3	60	80
5		14	11	1	38	22
6 or more		12	6	1	11	14
Median		3.2	3.7		3.3	3.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				6		
1				1		
2				1		
3				1		
4				1		
5				1		
6 or more				1		
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units		132	61	15	242	306
0.50 or less		53	26	7	90	111
0.51 to 0.75		30	19	3	58	90
0.76 to 1.00		40	15	2	77	82
1.01 or more		9	1	3	17	23
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				6		
0.50 or less				1		
0.51 to 0.75				1		
0.76 to 1.00				2		
1.01 or more				2		
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0055NR		043 002 043 0055P		043 002 043 0055R		043 002 043 0055S		043 002 043 0056		043 002 043 0057	
Total population	76		437		232		48		811		976	
White	76		437		232		25		811		976	
Negro							23					
Other races												
Total population	76		437		232		48		811		976	
Pop. in households	6		437		232		48		811		976	
Head of household	2		132		61		15		242		306	
Head of prim. fam.	2		121		61		13		232		294	
Primary individual			11				2		10		12	
Wife of head	2		110		58		11		221		276	
Child under 18	2		123		76		13		283		295	
Other relative			66		35		8		60		96	
Nonrelative			6		2		1		5		3	
Pop. in group quarters	70											
Inmate of institution	62											
Other	8											
Pop. per household			3.31		3.80				3.35		3.19	
Nonwhite population							23					
Pop. in households							23					
Head of household							6					
Head of prim. fam.							5					
Primary individual							1					
Wife of head							5					
Child under 18							10					
Other relative							2					
Nonrelative												
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	33	43	207	230	108	124	25	23	404	407	485	491
Under 1 year			3	6	1	7			7	7	12	14
1 year			4	3	4	7	1		6	10	12	10
2 years			6	2	3	2		1	10	8	10	9
3 years			4	6	5	1			11	7	11	13
4 years	1		3	4	3	7		1	14	3	7	14
5 years			3	7	2	2	1		15	8	6	9
6 years			2	4	1	3			8	10	6	11
7 years			4	3	2	1		1	7	7	10	2
8 years		1	2	2	3	2			11	8	10	11
9 years			3	3	6	2	2		13	10	16	6
10 years	1		3	8	2	2			8	16	2	11
11 years			1	2	1	2		1	8	8	13	12
12 years	2	2	3	4	2	1	1	1	10	8	11	9
13 years	3		8	5		1	1		11	5	13	4
14 years	2		2			2		1	5	6	6	6
15 years	1	1	5	4	1	1	1		5	6	10	2
16 years	1	3	7	4	1	3		2	6	2	6	4
17 years	2	1	1	5	2	2	1		3	4	6	5
18 years	1	2	2	2	1	3				1	5	10
19 years		1	3	5	1		1		2	1	2	3
20 years			3	4					2	2	3	2
21 years and over	19	32	135	147	67	73	16	15	242	270	308	324
Total population	33	43	207	230	108	124	25	23	404	407	485	491
Under 5 years	1		20	21	16	24	1	2	48	35	52	60
5 to 9 years		1	14	19	14	10	3	1	54	43	48	39
10 to 14 years	8	2	17	19	5	8	2	3	42	43	45	42
15 to 19 years	5	8	18	20	6	9	3	2	16	14	29	24
20 to 24 years			11	13	5	3	1		15	17	24	24
25 to 29 years			11	12	4	13		2	10	29	39	51
30 to 34 years		1	14	16	18	14	2		36	33	42	50
35 to 39 years	1		19	16	18	9	3	5	53	57	54	42
40 to 44 years			15	13	7	12	2	1	42	37	27	37
45 to 49 years			12	15	6	6	2	2	25	27	44	35
50 to 54 years	1	2	10	16	2	4	1	2	20	21	31	28
55 to 59 years		3	16	19		1	3	1	17	16	16	20
60 to 64 years		4	8	9	3	1		1	8	17	14	12
65 to 69 years		2	12	8	1	2	1		6	8	6	12
70 to 74 years		1	4	7	2	7	1		7	4	3	6
75 to 79 years	3	5	3	4	1			1	4	5	6	8
80 to 84 years	3	10	1	2					1	1	4	8
85 years and over	11	3	2	1		1				2	1	1
18 years and over	20	38	143	158	69	76	17	15	246	274	318	339
Median age			34.5	33.4	31.1	28.1			32.4	33.4	30.7	30.6
Nonwhite population							12	11				
Under 5 years							1	2				
5 to 9 years							2	1				
10 to 14 years							2	3				
15 to 19 years							1					
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years								1				
30 to 34 years							1					
35 to 39 years							1	2				
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years							2	1				
50 to 54 years								1				
55 to 59 years							2					
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over							6	5				
21 years and over							6	5				
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	26	40	158	171	73	84	19	19	265	292	346	356
Single	9	10	35	30	6	13	4	3	30	26	50	34
Married	3	3	114	117	63	63	15	13	229	233	289	293
Separated			2	1		1	2	1	2	5	5	8
Widowed	14	27	6	21	4	7		1	3	26	3	10
Divorced			3	3		1		1	3	7	4	10
Nonwhite, 14 +							7	6				
Single							1	1				
Married							6	5				
Separated							1					
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0060S	043 0061N	043 0065	043 0065 A	043 0065 B	043 0065 C	043 0066N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status							
All housing units	37	224	416	103	73	60	
Owner occupied	31	209	362	63	65	51	
White	31	209	362	2	65	51	
Nonwhite				61			
Renter occupied	3	14	42	29	1	8	
White	3	14	41		1	8	
Nonwhite			1	29			
Available vacant	1		4	2	7		
For rent	1		1	2			
For sale only			3		7		
Other vacant	2	1	8	9		1	
Condition and Plumbing							
All housing units	37	224	416	103	73	60	
Sound	29	220	384	43	73	54	
With all plumbing facilities	28	218	360	14	73	48	
Lacking only hot water	1	2	6	4		1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			18	25		5	
Deteriorating	8	4	30	44		5	
With all plumbing facilities	4	4	15	1		2	
Lacking only hot water			1				
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	4		14	43		3	
Dilapidated			2	16		1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			1	90			
Sound			1	38			
With all plumbing facilities				11			
Lacking some or all facilities			1	27			
Deteriorating				40			
With all plumbing facilities				1			
Lacking some or all facilities				39			
Dilapidated				12			
Number of Rooms							
All housing units	37	224	416	103	73	60	
1			1	2			
2		1	2	1		1	
3	4	2	15	16		1	
4	5	28	53	32		16	
5	12	118	162	23	22	22	
6	4	39	94	21	21	11	
7	8	31	57	4	22	3	
8 or more	4	5	32	4	8	6	
Median		5.2	5.3	4.5	6.2	5.0	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			1	90			
1				2			
2				1			
3				16			
4				26			
5				19			
6				18			
7				4			
8 or more			1	4			
Median				4.5			
Number of Persons							
All occupied housing units	34	223	404	92	66	59	
1	2	12	13	14	1	1	
2	13	80	121	27	13	11	
3	5	59	96	16	18	20	
4	4	47	87	13	19	15	
5	8	18	40	7	12	7	
6 or more	2	7	47	15	3	5	
Median		2.8	3.2	2.8	3.6	3.4	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			1	90			
1				14			
2				26			
3				16			
4				13			
5				6			
6 or more			1	15			
Median				2.8			
Persons Per Room							
All occupied housing units	34	223	404	92	66	59	
0.50 or less	15	110	174	40	28	17	
0.51 to 0.75	11	72	112	17	30	21	
0.76 to 1.00	7	38	83	18	8	16	
1.01 or more	1	3	35	17		5	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			1	90			
0.50 or less				39			
0.51 to 0.75				17			
0.76 to 1.00				17			
1.01 or more			1	17			
Value of Property							
Owner-occupied housing units							
Less than $5,000							
$5,000 to $9,900							
$10,000 to $14,900							
$15,000 to $19,900							
$20,000 to $24,900							
$25,000 or more							
Median ... dollars							
Contract Rent							
Renter-occupied housing units							
Average ... dollars							

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0060S		043 002 043 0061N		043 002 043 0065 A		043 002 043 0065 B		043 002 043 0065 C		043 002 043 0066N	
Total population	111		669		1406		328		235		211	
White	111		669		1394		7		235		210	
Negro					12		321				1	
Other races												
Total population	111		669		1406		328		235		211	
Pop. in households	111		669		1406		328		235		211	
Head of household	34		223		404		92		66		59	
Head of prim. fam.	32		211		389		75		65		58	
Primary individual	2		12		15		17		1		1	
Wife of head	28		197		352		59		64		52	
Child under 18	29		160		426		107		87		69	
Other relative	19		86		201		62		17		29	
Nonrelative	1		3		23		8		1		2	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.26		3.00		3.48		3.57		3.56		3.58	
Nonwhite population					12		321				1	
Pop. in households					12		321				1	
Head of household					1		90					
Head of prim. fam.					1		73					
Primary individual							17					
Wife of head					1		57				1	
Child under 18					8		104					
Other relative					1		62					
Nonrelative					1		8					
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household							3.57					
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	54	57	321	348	693	713	162	166	123	112	103	108
Under 1 year			5	2	10	5	3	3		1	2	3
1 year			5	1	17	8	1	6	4	1	2	3
2 years	2		3	2	11	8	6	2	1	1	2	4
3 years			5	4	17	10	1	1	3	2		
4 years	1	1	1	4	14	15	8	5	4	3	3	
5 years	1	1	6	3	13	15	3	5	1	4	2	4
6 years	2		4	4	14	13	6	3	5	3	2	2
7 years	2	1	4	6	10	27	4	4	2	3	2	2
8 years		2	6	3	10	11	2	3	1	6	2	3
9 years	1		8	7	14	12	5	4	6	2	4	1
10 years		1	6	6	9	12	5	6	4	1	5	3
11 years	1	1	3	5	13	12	6	3	2	1	3	1
12 years		3	6	6	10	13	3	4		2		2
13 years	2	2	6	6	10	16	5	1	2	4	2	2
14 years	2		5	8	10	13	3	3	3	2	1	1
15 years		1	8	4	12	15	1	4	4	2	2	3
16 years	2	4	6	2	11	11	3	6	4	2		3
17 years	2	1	4	11	12	12	3		2		1	2
18 years	2		3	4	8	9	4	2	3		5	2
19 years	1			2	7	8	2	2	1		4	1
20 years	1	1		2	7	3	1	2	2			1
21 years and over	32	38	227	256	425	465	87	97	69	72	59	65
Total population	54	57	321	348	693	713	162	166	123	112	103	108
Under 5 years	3	1	19	13	69	46	19	17	12	8	9	10
5 to 9 years	6	4	28	23	73	78	20	19	15	18	12	12
10 to 14 years	5	7	26	31	69	66	22	17	11	10	11	9
15 to 19 years	7	6	21	23	50	55	13	14	14	4	12	11
20 to 24 years	2	1	5	12	27	27	6	11	5	2	2	3
25 to 29 years	2	3	9	11	32	46	7	8	4	6	8	8
30 to 34 years	1	7	17	22	58	52	8	10	10	10	8	12
35 to 39 years	3	3	31	32	48	57	12	11	16	18	6	9
40 to 44 years	4	5	19	27	59	70	8	13	17	12	7	6
45 to 49 years	6	4	34	37	59	56	11	10	4	7	9	11
50 to 54 years	1	5	36	34	46	32	9	10	8	6	6	3
55 to 59 years	3	5	28	31	33	44	4	3	2	1	8	6
60 to 64 years	4	1	13	12	30	27	5	10		3	2	2
65 to 69 years	4	3	24	15	23	19	8	7	2	4	1	2
70 to 74 years	3	1	7	10	10	18	3	3	2		1	1
75 to 79 years		1	2	5	4	9	3	2		1		3
80 to 84 years			2	5	4	6	2			2	1	
85 years and over				5	3	5	2	1	1			
18 years and over	36	39	230	264	447	485	94	103	75	72	68	69
Median age	36.7	34.6	41.2	41.3	32.3	33.7	29.7	28.1	30.3	34.0	28.4	30.4
Nonwhite population					4	8	159	162				1
Under 5 years							19	17				
5 to 9 years					2	1	20	19				
10 to 14 years					1	2	21	16				
15 to 19 years						3	13	13				
20 to 24 years							6	11				
25 to 29 years							7	8				
30 to 34 years							8	9				
35 to 39 years							11	11				1
40 to 44 years						1	8	13				
45 to 49 years							11	10				
50 to 54 years					1		9	10				
55 to 59 years							4	3				
60 to 64 years						1	5	9				
65 to 69 years							7	7				
70 to 74 years							3	3				
75 years and over							7	3				
18 years and over					1	3	92	101				1
21 years and over					1	2	85	95				1
Median age							25.4	28.1				
Total, 14 & over	42	45	253	289	497	536	104	116	88	78	72	78
Single	11	8	38	43	99	79	22	30	23	9	13	15
Married	31	30	205	201	378	381	71	67	64	64	55	54
Separated			2		2	7	8	6				
Widowed		4	7	33	10	62	9	17	1	5	4	8
Divorced		3	3	12	10	14	2	2				1
Nonwhite, 14+					1	5	102	113				1
Single						4	22	29				
Married					1	1	69	65				1
Separated							8	6				
Widowed							9	17				
Divorced							2	2				

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0066P	043 0067	043 0068 A	043 0068 B	043 0069 A	043 0069 B
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	328	307	289	45	296	90
Owner occupied	228	248	236	26	203	75
White	228	248	236		203	70
Nonwhite				26		5
Renter occupied	82	51	28	16	84	13
White	82	51	28	1	84	10
Nonwhite				15		3
Available vacant	12	3	25	2	7	1
For rent	2	2	1	2	4	
For sale only	10	1	24		3	1
Other vacant	6	5		1	2	1
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	328	307	289	45	296	90
Sound	231	236	267	18	254	71
With all plumbing facilities	226	225	260	8	240	59
Lacking only hot water		5	3		2	3
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5	6	4	10	12	9
Deteriorating	69	56	20	20	32	16
With all plumbing facilities	57	45	12	2	27	6
Lacking only hot water	4	3	2		1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	8	8	6	18	4	10
Dilapidated	28	15	2	7	10	3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				41		8
Sound				16		4
With all plumbing facilities				7		3
Lacking some or all facilities				9		1
Deteriorating				18		3
With all plumbing facilities				2		
Lacking some or all facilities				16		3
Dilapidated				7		1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	328	307	289	45	296	90
1	1	4			1	
2	4	3	4	2	3	1
3	13	11	11	3	9	4
4	54	35	18	19	69	21
5	148	155	196	10	116	35
6	68	60	39	7	63	18
7	28	27	11	3	25	9
8 or more	12	12	10	1	10	2
Median	5.1	5.1	5.1		5.1	5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				41		8
1						
2				1		
3				3		
4				18		
5				8		2
6				7		3
7				3		2
8 or more				1		1
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	310	299	264	42	287	88
1	20	24	8	5	19	3
2	71	59	56	8	68	30
3	69	74	65	10	72	23
4	74	57	66	3	64	13
5	45	46	42	5	41	10
6 or more	31	39	27	11	23	9
Median	3.4	3.4	3.5		3.3	3.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				41		8
1				5		1
2				8		2
3				10		1
4				3		1
5				5		
6 or more				10		3
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	310	299	264	42	287	88
0.50 or less	115	96	70	13	103	37
0.51 to 0.75	70	86	72	12	85	27
0.76 to 1.00	104	91	102	6	82	13
1.01 or more	21	26	20	11	17	11
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				41		8
0.50 or less				13		3
0.51 to 0.75				12		3
0.76 to 1.00				6		1
1.01 or more				10		1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0066P	043 002 043 0067	043 002 043 0068 A	043 002 043 0068 B	043 002 043 0069 A	043 002 043 0069 B
Total population	1093	1086	982	177	1025	298
White	1093	1085	982	8	1021	267
Negro		1		169		31
Other races					4	
Total population	1093	1086	982	177	1025	298
Pop. in households	1093	1084	966	177	983	298
Head of household	310	299	264	42	287	88
Head of prim. fam.	283	273	256	37	266	84
Primary individual	27	26	8	5	21	4
Wife of head	231	244	243	32	233	73
Child under 18	344	372	380	70	326	76
Other relative	191	161	71	33	126	56
Nonrelative	17	8	8		11	5
Pop. in group quarters		2	16		42	
Inmate of institution		2			36	
Other			16		6	
Pop. per household	3.53	3.63	3.66	4.21	3.43	3.39
Nonwhite population		1		169	4	31
Pop. in households		1		169	4	31
Head of household				41		8
Head of prim. fam.				36		7
Primary individual				5		1
Wife of head				31	1	6
Child under 18				70	3	6
Other relative				27		11
Nonrelative		1				
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household				4.12		

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	497	596	540	546	471	511	91	86	487	538	148	150
Under 1 year	10	9	9	13	10	13	5	1	9	6	2	2
1 year	7	17	12	6	15	12	2	2	9	6	3	2
2 years	11	12	9	11	21	16	2	5	8	13	2	4
3 years	15	8	9	11	18	10	1	5	9	9	3	4
4 years	10	12	15	8	17	11	3		4	14		2
5 years	7	8	11	18	7	18	1	4	6	8	3	3
6 years	9	17	13	10	9	8	6	1	9	7	5	3
7 years	8	9	8	16	6	10	2	1	11	11	2	1
8 years	8	11	12	12	10	13	5	1	8	12	5	4
9 years	7	12	15	9	3	12	2	1	11	7	1	1
10 years	10	8	16	6	13	17	3	3	12	9	3	3
11 years	11	17	10	7	14	14	2	2	8	9	1	2
12 years	10	23	14	11	10	11	2	3	20	12	6	2
13 years	13	9	15	15	12	15	3	1	9	14	3	1
14 years	9	7	7	8	6	7		1	4	14	3	5
15 years	12	16	7	5	10	8		1	13	6	4	2
16 years	9	6	13	7	5	8		3	13	13	1	1
17 years	6	15	15	14	8	7	1		2	12	2	4
18 years	12	8	6	8	6	7	1	1	9	8	1	4
19 years	6	9	7	3	2	4	1	2	4	10		3
20 years	6	9	6	3	4	6			7	13		1
21 years and over	301	356	311	345	265	284	49	48	302	325	98	96
Total population	497	596	540	546	471	511	91	86	487	538	148	150
Under 5 years	53	58	54	49	81	62	13	13	39	48	10	14
5 to 9 years	39	57	59	65	35	61	16	8	45	45	16	12
10 to 14 years	53	62	62	47	55	64	10	10	53	58	16	13
15 to 19 years	45	54	48	37	31	34	3	7	41	49	8	14
20 to 24 years	28	33	19	17	24	40	2	5	32	33	4	7
25 to 29 years	42	36	35	33	46	47	3	7	29	21	6	4
30 to 34 years	31	46	43	42	39	43	6	5	29	33	8	11
35 to 39 years	38	45	49	52	44	40	8	8	41	45	16	8
40 to 44 years	45	36	34	34	36	36	8	2	37	46	6	10
45 to 49 years	31	34	35	33	30	25	5	6	29	30	10	11
50 to 54 years	25	26	26	46	14	17	3	2	25	30	13	10
55 to 59 years	20	26	28	23	9	9	6	5	23	23	8	10
60 to 64 years	13	20	13	15	6	10	2	1	18	16	5	10
65 to 69 years	14	22	15	22	6	8	2	3	12	13	9	8
70 to 74 years	9	21	10	13	7	9	2	3	11	16	7	4
75 to 79 years	7	12	6	12	4	5	1		8	11	4	1
80 to 84 years	3	5	3	6	4	1	1		12	14		2
85 years and over	1	3	1					1	3	7	2	1
18 years and over	325	382	330	359	277	301	51	51	322	356	99	104
Median age	28.6	29.7	29.0	33.0	26.0	24.3	27.5	25.0	30.8	32.3	36.9	35.0
Nonwhite population				1			87	82	1	3	18	13
Under 5 years							13	12		2		
5 to 9 years							15	8	1		1	3
10 to 14 years							10	10			5	
15 to 19 years							2	6				
20 to 24 years							2	4				1
25 to 29 years							3	7		1		
30 to 34 years							6	5			1	1
35 to 39 years				1			8	8			1	
40 to 44 years							7	2				
45 to 49 years							5	5			3	2
50 to 54 years							3	2				1
55 to 59 years							6	5				1
60 to 64 years							2	1			1	3
65 to 69 years							2	3			5	
70 to 74 years							2	3				1
75 years and over							1	1			1	
18 years and over				1			48	48		1	12	10
21 years and over				1			47	46		1	12	10
Median age							27.5	26.7				
Total, 14 & over	361	426	372	393	306	331	52	56	354	401	109	116
Single	84	71	93	55	49	46	7	13	73	71	23	19
Married	256	266	260	268	252	256	40	36	252	260	79	83
Separated	4	6	4	5	3	2	7	4	2	5	1	2
Widowed	9	70	9	60	1	20	4	7	21	61	5	10
Divorced	12	10	10	14	4	9	1		8	9	2	4
Nonwhite, 14+				1			49	53		1	14	10
Single							6	12			5	1
Married							39	34		1	8	8
Separated							7	3			1	1
Widowed				1			3	7			1	
Divorced							1					1

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0070	043 0071	043 0072	043 0073	043 0074N	043 0074P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	289	390	222	211	35	75
Owner occupied	245	332	189	187	30	55
White	241	332	189	187	30	55
Nonwhite	4					
Renter occupied	41	47	28	21	5	15
White	41	47	28	21	4	15
Nonwhite					1	
Available vacant	1	6	2	2		2
For rent						1
For sale only	1	6	2	2		1
Other vacant	2	5	3	1		3
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	289	390	222	211	35	75
Sound	280	377	216	207	29	47
With all plumbing facilities	275	377	216	206	27	42
Lacking only hot water	2					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3			1	2	5
Deteriorating	7	13	5	4	2	13
With all plumbing facilities	2	13	5	2	2	11
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5			2		2
Dilapidated	2		1		4	15
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4				1	
Sound	1					
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities	1					
Deteriorating	1					
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities	1					
Dilapidated	2				1	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	289	390	222	211	35	75
1		2				
2	2	2				2
3	3	10	2	3	4	3
4	15	46	7	9	4	20
5	158	174	100	163	17	27
6	87	111	86	29	8	15
7	19	36	22	8	2	7
8 or more	5	9	5	1		1
Median	5.3	5.3	5.5	5.1		5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4				1	
1						
2	2					
3						
4						
5	2				1	
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	286	379	217	208	35	70
1	6	18	15	7	2	7
2	64	86	62	46	8	20
3	47	92	32	52	4	15
4	75	89	50	61	6	11
5	58	59	33	23	6	7
6 or more	36	35	25	19	9	10
Median	3.8	3.4	3.5	3.5		3.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4				1	
1						
2	2				1	
3						
4						
5						
6 or more	2					
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	286	379	217	208	35	70
0.50 or less	80	132	65	61	9	32
0.51 to 0.75	71	107	54	51	8	17
0.76 to 1.00	107	108	68	82	7	14
1.01 or more	28	32	10	14	11	7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	4				1	
0.50 or less					1	
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00	2					
1.01 or more	2					
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0070	043 002 043 0071	043 002 043 0072	043 002 043 0073	043 002 043 0074N	043 002 043 0074P
Total population	1101	1347	761	741	151	236
White	1077	1346	761	741	149	236
Negro	18	1			2	
Other races	6					
Total population	1101	1347	761	741	151	236
Pop. in households	1101	1347	761	741	151	236
Head of household	286	379	217	208	35	70
Head of prim. fam.	280	360	198	201	33	61
Primary individual	6	19	19	7	2	9
Wife of head	268	332	186	192	30	55
Child under 18	453	491	253	286	62	76
Other relative	87	131	88	51	20	31
Nonrelative	7	14	17	4	4	4
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.85	3.55	3.51	3.56	4.31	3.37
Nonwhite population	24	1			2	
Pop. in households	24	1			2	
Head of household	4				1	
Head of prim. fam.	4				1	
Primary individual						
Wife of head	5				1	
Child under 18	12					
Other relative	2					
Nonrelative	1	1				
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	552	549	626	721	359	402	373	368	77	74	115	121
Under 1 year	7	17	16	10	13	8	7	11	1	3	6	5
1 year	22	9	12	12	4	6	12	15	3	1	3	3
2 years	17	14	14	17	12	8	16	10	3	1		2
3 years	9	9	7	20	5	11	12	15	2	1		4
4 years	21	14	13	22	12	10	13	8	2	2	2	4
5 years	21	13	16	12	7	8	14	10	1		2	4
6 years	14	13	19	17	8	10	9	6	4	6	3	2
7 years	13	12	14	11	7	4	10	6	3	3	1	4
8 years	13	17	10	10	2	4	12	7	1	2	1	4
9 years	12	17	10	18	10	7	6	6	2		3	2
10 years	10	18	15	15	4	8	6	8	3	2	3	2
11 years	16	10	15	16	7	10	12	5		2		2
12 years	17	11	17	16	12	14	2	3	1	2	2	1
13 years	12	12	29	24	7	8	7	6	3	3	2	
14 years	14	7	13	13	6	5	5	6				2
15 years	10	12	13	12	5	10	5	5	3	3	6	
16 years	7	10	14	16	7	9	6	2	3	2	3	
17 years	10	9	4	10	2	5	6	4	4	1	1	2
18 years	3	4	6	11	6	5	3	5	3		1	1
19 years	6	6	7	5	3	4	1	3			1	2
20 years	4	2	4	5	5	3	2	3	1	1		
21 years and over	294	313	358	429	215	245	207	224	34	39	75	75
Total population	552	549	626	721	359	402	373	368	77	74	115	121
Under 5 years	76	63	62	81	46	43	60	59	11	8	11	18
5 to 9 years	73	72	69	68	34	33	51	35	11	11	10	16
10 to 14 years	69	58	89	84	36	45	32	28	7	9	7	7
15 to 19 years	36	41	44	54	23	33	21	19	13	6	12	5
20 to 24 years	22	22	23	31	15	14	19	36	5	5	5	3
25 to 29 years	27	53	35	35	28	24	47	46	3	5	11	10
30 to 34 years	59	64	43	52	30	36	39	33	6	4	8	7
35 to 39 years	64	53	60	84	27	26	34	36	5	5	3	10
40 to 44 years	39	39	56	62	24	20	29	20	5	6	7	4
45 to 49 years	30	26	53	41	18	26	17	14	6	2	9	10
50 to 54 years	12	15	34	35	18	16	5	11		6	7	3
55 to 59 years	18	8	18	16	12	19	7	9	2	2	5	8
60 to 64 years	12	13	14	22	15	17	4	6	1	1	5	5
65 to 69 years	6	10	10	16	8	26	3	5	1	2	6	8
70 to 74 years	4	9	6	17	15	13	1	7		1	5	3
75 to 79 years	3	1	4	14	6	9	4	3			1	1
80 to 84 years	2	1	4	5	4	2		1	1	1	1	3
85 years and over		1	2	4							2	
18 years and over	307	325	375	450	229	257	213	235	38	40	77	78
Median age	25.0	26.7	28.7	30.7	29.0	31.3	25.4	25.8	18.7	23.0	30.9	31.1
Nonwhite population	13	11		1					1	1		
Under 5 years	2	1										
5 to 9 years	1	2										
10 to 14 years	3	1										
15 to 19 years	2	2										
20 to 24 years	1											
25 to 29 years												
30 to 34 years		3		1								
35 to 39 years	3	1										
40 to 44 years		1										
45 to 49 years	1											
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years									1	1		
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over	5	6		1					1	1		
21 years and over	5	5		1					1	1		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	348	363	419	501	249	286	235	252	48	46	87	82
Single	63	53	68	79	49	47	36	30	15	5	20	10
Married	277	278	344	353	193	192	197	196	33	36	59	58
Separated	1	2	1	7	2		1			2	1	1
Widowed	5	29	3	55	5	39	2	22		5	3	12
Divorced	3	3	4	14	2	8		4			5	2
Nonwhite, 14+	7	7		1					1	1		
Single	3	2		1								
Married	4	5							1	1		
Separated												
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0058N	043 0058P	043 0058R	043 0060N	043 0060P	043 0060R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	237	116	59		49	93
Owner occupied	207	102	35		39	83
White	207	102	35		39	83
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	14	9	17		8	6
White	11	9	16		8	6
Nonwhite	3		1			
Available vacant	6	4	5			1
For rent	2					
For sale only	4	4	5			1
Other vacant	10	1	2		2	3
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	237	116	59		49	93
Sound	232	116	54		47	93
With all plumbing facilities	226	115	51		46	93
Lacking only hot water	3					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3	1	3		1	
Deteriorating	4		2		1	
With all plumbing facilities	1		2		1	
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3					
Dilapidated	1		3		1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3		1			
Sound	1		1			
With all plumbing facilities			1			
Lacking some or all facilities	1					
Deteriorating	1					
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities	1					
Dilapidated	1					
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	237	116	59		49	93
1	1		4			
2	3	1	1		1	1
3	3		5		2	
4	12	2	5		3	1
5	101	79	21		22	60
6	67	25	15		18	16
7	37	9	8		2	14
8 or more	13				1	1
Median	5.5	5.2	5.2			5.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3		1			
1			1			
2	2					
3						
4						
5						
6	1					
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	221	111	52		47	89
1	4	2	5		1	1
2	45	11	16		16	24
3	55	21	7		10	27
4	69	42	9		11	22
5	29	17	10		4	10
6 or more	19	18	5		5	5
Median	3.6	4.0	3.2			3.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3		1			
1	1					
2	2		1			
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	221	111	52		47	89
0.50 or less	75	19	16		17	36
0.51 to 0.75	70	29	15		15	26
0.76 to 1.00	61	51	12		14	21
1.01 or more	15	12	9		1	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3		1			
0.50 or less	2					
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00	1					
1.01 or more			1			
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0058N	043 002 043 0058P	043 002 043 0058R	043 002 043 0060N	043 002 043 0060P	043 002 043 0060R
Total population	802	456	183		157	302
White	797	456	181		157	302
Negro	5		2			
Other races						
Total population	802	456	183		157	302
Pop. in households	802	456	177		157	302
Head of household	221	111	52		47	89
Head of prim. fam.	216	109	45		46	88
Primary individual	5	2	7		1	1
Wife of head	205	105	40		45	83
Child under 18	311	214	67		49	106
Other relative	61	21	14		16	23
Nonrelative	8	5	4			1
Pop. in group quarters			6			
Inmate of institution						
Other			6			
Pop. per household	3.63	4.11	3.40		3.34	3.39
Nonwhite population	5		2			
Pop. in households	5		2			
Head of household	3		1			
Head of prim. fam.	2		1			
Primary individual	1					
Wife of head	2					
Child under 18						
Other relative			1			
Nonrelative						
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	393	409	234	222	93	90			73	84	152	150
Under 1 year	14	10	13	7	5				2		3	3
1 year	5	10	9	5	4	2			3	1	6	7
2 years	12	16	16	9	1	3			4		5	1
3 years	17	9	10	2	4	3			1	2	2	5
4 years	10	8	10	13	2	4			2	2	5	
5 years	12	7	5	14	3	4			1	5	1	4
6 years	12	8	7	5	3	2			2	2	2	3
7 years	10	13	6	8	1	3			1	2	6	4
8 years	8	7	2	8		2				1	1	7
9 years	4	9	5	7	2	4			1	1	2	4
10 years	15	10	6	3	1	1				1	5	4
11 years	8	6	5	2	1	1			1	2	4	2
12 years	14	9	8	4	3				1		5	1
13 years	7	5	5	3	2	1				1	1	2
14 years	6	6	2		2	1				2	1	2
15 years	2	6	1	6	2	1				6	2	
16 years	4	9	1		3				2	1	1	2
17 years	3	6	7	2	1	1			1		2	2
18 years	3		1	1					1	1	1	2
19 years	5	3	2	2		1			2			2
20 years	1	2									2	
21 years and over	221	250	113	121	53	56			48	54	95	93
Total population	393	409	234	222	93	90			73	84	152	150
Under 5 years	58	53	58	36	10	12			12	5	21	16
5 to 9 years	46	44	25	42	4	15			5	11	12	22
10 to 14 years	50	36	26	12	4	4			2	6	16	11
15 to 19 years	17	24	12	11	6	3			6	8	6	8
20 to 24 years	7	22	4	14	2	6			2	3	8	2
25 to 29 years	38	50	29	32	12	8			1	3	12	17
30 to 34 years	47	39	31	24	4	13			9	9	14	17
35 to 39 years	41	37	19	20	7	5			9	11	14	17
40 to 44 years	28	26	11	11	4	6			10	5	19	9
45 to 49 years	26	28	10	6	3	3			5	4	4	6
50 to 54 years	11	10	5	5	3	1			2	4	5	6
55 to 59 years	9	11	2	4	4	2			3	5	9	6
60 to 64 years	5	10	1	3	3	2			5	7	3	4
65 to 69 years	5	11	1		3	4			1	1	4	8
70 to 74 years	2	2		1		2			1	1	5	
75 to 79 years	2	3			3	4				1		
80 to 84 years		2										
85 years and over	1	1		1								1
18 years and over	230	255	116	124	53	57			51	55	98	97
Median age	27.4	27.6	18.3	23.6	26.9	28.1			34.7	33.3	30.4	29.7
Nonwhite population	3	2			2							
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years		1			1							
30 to 34 years	1											
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years	1	1										
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years	1											
55 to 59 years					1							
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over	3	2			2							
21 years and over	3	2			2							
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	245	282	127	132	61	60			54	64	104	103
Single	30	36	15	9	12	6			6	9	12	8
Married	209	214	112	115	48	43			46	49	90	89
Separated	1	3	1	1	2					1		1
Widowed	3	25		5	1	10			1	6		5
Divorced	3	7		3		1			1		2	1
Nonwhite, 14+	3	2			2							
Single					1							
Married	3	2										
Separated	1											
Widowed					1							
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0074R	043 0074S	043 0074T	043 0074U	043 0075	043 0059 A
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	28	37	78	85	332	476
Owner occupied	27	29	53	59	274	6
White	27	27	41	49	231	6
Nonwhite		2	12	10	43	
Renter occupied	1	8	24	25	43	407
White	1	7	18	22	28	404
Nonwhite		1	6	3	15	3
Available vacant					3	62
For rent						62
For sale only					3	
Other vacant			1	1	12	1
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	28	37	78	85	332	476
Sound	21	17	26	41	216	476
With all plumbing facilities	20	17	25	32	195	474
Lacking only hot water	1			3		2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			1	6	21	
Deteriorating	1	11	19	21	66	
With all plumbing facilities		5	10	11	28	
Lacking only hot water	1			2	1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		6	9	8	37	
Dilapidated	6	9	33	23	50	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		3	18	13	58	3
Sound			2	1	10	3
With all plumbing facilities			2		4	3
Lacking some or all facilities				1	6	
Deteriorating		1	5	3	18	
With all plumbing facilities		1			1	
Lacking some or all facilities			5	3	17	
Dilapidated		2	11	9	30	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	28	37	78	85	332	476
1		1	1	1	1	1
2		1	3	1	13	1
3	1	4	8	5	24	63
4	9	11	23	21	79	397
5	8	12	25	25	94	14
6	6	3	10	12	83	
7	3	4	5	16	23	
8 or more	1	1	3	4	15	
Median			4.7	5.1	5.0	3.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		3	18	13	58	3
1					1	
2				1	3	
3		1	4	2	10	
4			3	3	29	2
5		2	6	6	12	1
6			4	1	2	
7					1	
8 or more			1			
Median					4.0	
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	28	37	77	84	317	413
1		4	9	9	25	29
2	9	9	17	18	74	135
3	5	4	18	15	59	102
4	4	9	11	18	64	90
5	6	4	12	10	45	40
6 or more	4	7	10	14	50	17
Median			3.2	3.5	3.5	2.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		3	18	13	58	3
1			3	1	10	
2		1	2	3	15	
3			4	1	6	1
4		1		1	5	
5			4	1	8	1
6 or more		1	5	6	14	1
Median					3.2	
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	28	37	77	84	317	413
0.50 or less	10	9	29	31	108	118
0.51 to 0.75	6	9	14	21	68	144
0.76 to 1.00	6	14	24	19	84	98
1.01 or more	6	5	10	13	57	53
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		3	18	13	58	3
0.50 or less			5	3	18	
0.51 to 0.75		1	2	2	9	1
0.76 to 1.00		1	8	2	11	1
1.01 or more		1	3	6	20	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 002 043 0074R		043 002 043 0074S		043 002 043 0074T		043 002 043 0074U		043 002 043 0075		043 002 0727 043 0059 A	
Total population	112		135		264		316		1181		1274	
White	112		123		192		248		966		1259	
Negro			12		72		68		214		1	
Other races									1		14	
Total population	112		135		264		316		1181		1274	
Pop. in households	108		135		264		316		1181		1274	
Head of household	28		37		77		84		317		413	
Head of prim. fam.	27		33		67		75		288		379	
Primary individual	1		4		10		6		29		34	
Wife of head	23		29		59		71		260		358	
Child under 18	37		51		84		117		438		429	
Other relative	12		18		42		42		148		58	
Nonrelative	5				2		2		18		20	
Pop. in group quarters	7											
Inmate of institution												
Other	7											
Pop. per household	3.75		3.65		3.43		3.76		3.73		3.08	
Nonwhite population			12		72		68		215		15	
Pop. in households			12		72		68		215		15	
Head of household			3		18		13		58		3	
Head of prim. fam.			3		15		12		46		3	
Primary individual					3		1		12			
Wife of head			2		11		11		34		3	
Child under 18			2		24		26		72		6	
Other relative			5		19		18		46		2	
Nonrelative									5		2	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household					4.00		5.23		3.71			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	57	55	65	70	138	126	170	146	581	600	623	651
Under 1 year	1	1	3	2	7	3	7	1	14	17	36	32
1 year	2	2		2	4	3	7	2	13	19	31	31
2 years	1	1	1	2	5	3	5	2	18	23	20	21
3 years	2	2	1	2	4	4	4	4	10	24	26	22
4 years	1	1	1	1	2	4	3	2	19	12	16	15
5 years		4	2	1	2	2	6	5	13	7	16	12
6 years	2		3	2	6	2	4	3	10	17	11	11
7 years	1		1	2	1	4	4	3	17	12	12	13
8 years			3	1	4	4	4	3	11	10	8	10
9 years	1			1	2	1	3	3	17	12	10	10
10 years	2		1	2	2	3	6	3	11	14	3	9
11 years	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	4	15	15	8	7
12 years	4	1		1	3		3	5	15	5	10	6
13 years	1	2	2	3		3	7	2	10	16	6	8
14 years	2		1				1	2	9	11	4	6
15 years	1		1	2	1	1	4	3	17	15	3	2
16 years	3		1	1	3	3	5	4	7	13	2	6
17 years		1	1	1	1	2		4	11	6	2	7
18 years			1		2		3	1	5	6	5	17
19 years		1	1			2	1	2	4	2	9	22
20 years				1	2	3	5	1	13	7	10	21
21 years and over	31	37	39	40	85	77	87	87	322	337	375	363
Total population	57	55	65	70	138	126	170	146	581	600	623	651
Under 5 years	7	7	6	9	22	17	26	11	74	95	129	121
5 to 9 years	4	4	9	7	15	13	21	17	68	58	57	56
10 to 14 years	11	5	6	9	7	8	18	16	60	61	31	36
15 to 19 years	4	2	5	4	7	8	13	14	44	42	21	54
20 to 24 years	2	2	1	3	9	8	9	3	33	45	117	142
25 to 29 years	4	4	5	4	11	7	5	9	52	41	122	95
30 to 34 years	6	9	4	8	11	14	8	20	35	33	59	46
35 to 39 years	5	6	4	5	7	3	11	3	41	48	35	31
40 to 44 years	4	6	5	5	8	9	11	12	37	46	21	16
45 to 49 years	3		3	2	4	7	9	12	34	28	8	15
50 to 54 years	2	3	3	3	10	8	15	9	26	25	6	17
55 to 59 years	1	1	4	4	6	8	10	5	25	28	10	9
60 to 64 years	2		3	2	5	6	5	4	16	19	4	5
65 to 69 years		3	1	1	7	6	2	5	13	13	2	3
70 to 74 years		2	4	2	4	3	5	2	14	18	1	1
75 to 79 years	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	6	7		2
80 to 84 years	1		1				1	2	2	1		2
85 years and over				1	2				1			
18 years and over	31	38	41	41	89	82	96	91	344	352	399	423
Median age	25.6	31.9	30.6	28.8	29.1	30.7	23.9	30.8	26.1	24.9	23.1	22.1
Nonwhite population			6	6	41	31	36	32	102	113	9	6
Under 5 years			1		10	5	4	6	11	12		1
5 to 9 years				1	6	3	5	3	17	17	3	
10 to 14 years					2	1	7	5	13	11	2	
15 to 19 years					2	1	3	3	7	7		1
20 to 24 years					3	2	3		7	7	1	1
25 to 29 years			2	1	5	1			7	5	1	1
30 to 34 years			2	2	5	5	1	5	6	6		1
35 to 39 years					1	1	3		9	6	1	
40 to 44 years						2	1	1	3	8		
45 to 49 years			1		1	2		2	4	10		
50 to 54 years				1	2	2	4	4	6	6		1
55 to 59 years					1	1	2	1	6	6		
60 to 64 years						2	2	2	2	3	1	
65 to 69 years				1	2	2	1		1	5		
70 to 74 years					1	1			1	1		
75 years and over									2	3		
18 years and over			5	5	21	21	17	16	54	68	4	5
21 years and over			5	5	21	20	15	15	51	64	4	4
Median age									22.1	27.5		
Total, 14 & over	37	39	45	45	94	88	106	104	388	397	410	444
Single	12	6	11	7	19	12	29	17	83	59	31	29
Married	24	28	31	35	66	67	72	73	289	288	372	381
Separated				2	2	3		1	1	4	5	5
Widowed	1	6	2	3	5	8	3	10	13	45	1	17
Divorced		2	1		4	1	2	4	3	5	6	17
Nonwhite, 14+			5	5	23	22	20	19	65	75	5	5
Single			3	1	6	2	9	6	19	13	1	2
Married			2	2	15	16	11	13	42	43	4	3
Separated					1	2		1		2		
Widowed				2		4		1	4	19		
Divorced										1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0022	043 0023	043 0061P	043 0062N	043 0062P	043 0062R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	262	378	304	6	105	32
Owner occupied	189	280	278	6	87	24
White	169	241	278	6	87	24
Nonwhite	20	39				
Renter occupied	44	72	24		16	7
White	27	64	24		16	7
Nonwhite	17	8				
Available vacant	6	5	2		2	1
For rent	3	1	1		2	1
For sale only	3	4	1			
Other vacant	23	21				
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	262	378	304	6	105	32
Sound	212	289	300	6	100	25
With all plumbing facilities	187	220	291	6	98	23
Lacking only hot water	1	4	2		1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	24	65	7		1	2
Deteriorating	28	62	4		2	6
With all plumbing facilities	4	15	3		2	4
Lacking only hot water		1				1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	24	46	1			1
Dilapidated	22	27			3	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	37	47				
Sound	16	15				
With all plumbing facilities	6	7				
Lacking some or all facilities	10	8				
Deteriorating	8	17				
With all plumbing facilities		2				
Lacking some or all facilities	8	15				
Dilapidated	13	15				
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	262	378	304	6	105	32
1	4	5				
2	11	10				
3	15	27	10		2	4
4	50	79	59	1	29	12
5	47	104	163	1	51	9
6	49	82	48	4	12	4
7	50	51	20		7	3
8 or more	36	20	4		4	
Median	5.6	5.2	5.0		4.9	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	37	47				
1	1	1				
2	3	1				
3	5	5				
4	11	9				
5	5	12				
6	8	9				
7	3	8				
8 or more	1	2				
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	233	352	302	6	103	31
1	18	24	18		5	2
2	52	88	101	1	29	5
3	45	64	78	1	25	3
4	54	63	60	2	19	7
5	31	55	27	2	11	8
6 or more	33	58	18		14	6
Median	3.5	3.5	2.9		3.2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	37	47				
1	4	6				
2	8	9				
3	4	7				
4	3	7				
5	3	6				
6 or more	15	12				
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	233	352	302	6	103	31
0.50 or less	96	120	133	2	41	6
0.51 to 0.75	59	92	84	1	21	6
0.76 to 1.00	47	85	68	3	20	12
1.01 or more	31	55	17		12	7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	37	47				
0.50 or less	12	13				
0.51 to 0.75	2	10				
0.76 to 1.00	5	11				
1.01 or more	18	13				
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 03 043 0022	043 003 043 0023	043 004 043 0061P	043 004 043 0062N	043 004 043 0062P	043 004 043 0062R
Total population	876	1349	951	23	360	128
White	688	1136	951	23	359	128
Negro	188	212			1	
Other races		1				
Total population	876	1349	951	23	360	128
Pop. in households	876	1330	951	23	360	128
Head of household	233	352	302	6	103	31
Head of prim. fam.	213	325	282	6	98	29
Primary individual	20	27	20		7	2
Wife of head	196	284	259	6	87	28
Child under 18	307	441	236	10	120	56
Other relative	129	228	137	1	40	9
Nonrelative	11	29	17		10	4
Pop. in group quarters		19				
Inmate of institution						
Other		19				
Pop. per household	3.76	3.78	3.15		3.50	4.13
Nonwhite population	188	213			1	
Pop. in households	188	203			1	
Head of household	37	47				
Head of prim. fam.	33	40				
Primary individual	4	7				
Wife of head	26	30				
Child under 18	49	42				
Other relative	71	75				
Nonrelative	8	9				
Pop. in group quarters		10			1	
Inmate of institution						
Other		10				
Pop. per household	5.08	4.32				

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	434	442	657	692	456	495	13	10	167	193	58	70
Under 1 year	9	10	16	14	8	9			5	2	3	
1 year	11	13	11	15	12	8		1	2	6		1
2 years	15	7	17	16	14	14	2		3	1	1	1
3 years	5	13	11	21	5	9		1	2	2	3	1
4 years	9	11	21	19	7	4			5	3	2	3
5 years	18	9	20	15	12	8			2	6	1	4
6 years	19	5	13	14	9	5	1		6	1	2	1
7 years	15	8	19	18	5	7	1		8	5	3	
8 years	13	14	15	16	9	7			6	2	2	3
9 years	10	10	20	13	5	4		1	5	4	1	1
10 years	8	12	8	17	4	8			3	8	1	1
11 years	6	8	18	12	4	5			3	2		5
12 years	4	9	13	16	10	9	1		2	5	1	3
13 years	13	16	16	12	6	11	1	1	3	6	2	2
14 years	6	7	13	8	5	6			1	3	2	1
15 years	5	8	10	11	4	7			2	2	1	1
16 years	7	7	5	15	11	3			3	3	1	1
17 years	2	11	10	8	8	7			2	6		2
18 years	7	4	15	13	6	7			4	2		1
19 years	5	2	7	8	3	7				4		
20 years	4	3	7	9	2	4			1	2	1	
21 years and over	243	258	372	402	307	346	7	6	99	118	31	38
Total population	434	442	657	692	456	495	13	10	167	193	58	70
Under 5 years	49	54	76	85	46	44	2	2	17	14	9	6
5 to 9 years	75	46	87	76	40	31	2	1	27	18	9	9
10 to 14 years	37	52	68	65	29	39	2	1	12	24	6	12
15 to 19 years	26	32	47	55	32	31			11	17	2	5
20 to 24 years	18	21	30	39	20	32		1	8	6	1	
25 to 29 years	23	34	36	40	27	23	2	1	7	10	2	2
30 to 34 years	32	31	41	58	24	26	1	2	9	13	3	10
35 to 39 years	29	34	48	45	41	44	1		15	15	4	8
40 to 44 years	45	34	39	36	51	49	1	2	18	21	8	2
45 to 49 years	25	24	38	43	39	44			9	9	6	4
50 to 54 years	15	16	31	31	35	35			12	14	1	3
55 to 59 years	17	18	32	33	28	22	1		9	10	1	1
60 to 64 years	12	21	28	27	16	27	1		5	9	2	4
65 to 69 years	12	13	25	18	16	12			5	7		
70 to 74 years	10	5	17	16	7	20			1	5	4	1
75 to 79 years	5	2	7	16	2	11			2	1		1
80 to 84 years	3	5	4	6	3	4						2
85 years and over	1		3	3		1						
18 years and over	259	264	401	432	318	364	7	6	104	126	32	39
Median age	27.6	27.4	27.8	26.3	36.2	37.4			30.8	32.9	30.0	30.5
Nonwhite population	101	87	95	118					1			
Under 5 years	13	12	8	16								
5 to 9 years	24	9	16	13								
10 to 14 years	10	6	14	11								
15 to 19 years	7	8	4	10								
20 to 24 years	8	11	3	10								
25 to 29 years	6	8	3	12								
30 to 34 years	5	3	6	7								
35 to 39 years	3	3	9	3								
40 to 44 years	7	8	3	4								
45 to 49 years	5	7	8	6								
50 to 54 years	3	5	2	5								
55 to 59 years	5	1	2	4								
60 to 64 years		2	5	4					1			
65 to 69 years	1	2	6	5								
70 to 74 years	1	1	5	5								
75 years and over	3	1	1	3								
18 years and over	50	58	56	71					1			
21 years and over	46	50	53	66					1			
Median age	17.5	23.0	29.2	24.5								
Total, 14 & over	279	297	439	474	346	387	7	6	112	140	36	44
Single	57	57	93	79	55	47			20	25	6	8
Married	209	209	322	319	271	279	6	6	89	97	28	29
Separated	5	5	10	7	2	4				5		
Widowed	10	26	16	62	6	53	1		1	14	1	6
Divorced	3	3	8	14	14	8			2	4	1	1
Nonwhite, 14+	56	62	61	80								
Single	18	20	15	20					1			
Married	33	38	42	43					1			
Separated	3	3	4	3								
Widowed	4	8	4	14								
Divorced	1			3								

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: HENRICO COUNTY

Housing characteristics	043 00625	043 0062T	043 0062U	043 0063N	043 0063P	043 0063R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	59	123	37	86	118	39
Owner occupied	37	102	30	71	93	21
White	21	102	30	71	93	21
Nonwhite	16					
Renter occupied	17	12		12	23	17
White	15	12		12	22	14
Nonwhite	2				1	3
Available vacant		5	2			1
For rent		3				
For sale only		2	2			1
Other vacant	5	4	5	3	2	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	59	123	37	86	118	39
Sound	37	121	36	56	92	24
With all plumbing facilities	27	120	36	50	88	23
Lacking only hot water	1	1		1		
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	9			5	4	1
Deteriorating	13	2	1	24	16	8
With all plumbing facilities	4	2	1	10	10	4
Lacking only hot water				4	1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	9			10	5	4
Dilapidated	9			6	10	7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	18				1	3
Sound	8					1
With all plumbing facilities	3					
Lacking some or all facilities	5					1
Deteriorating	4					
With all plumbing facilities	1					
Lacking some or all facilities	3					
Dilapidated	6				1	2
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	59	123	37	86	118	39
1	1				3	
2	2	1		3		1
3	4	1		7	4	2
4	19	10	1	28	11	2
5	13	64	24	27	51	8
6	12	29	11	5	27	13
7	5	11	1	11	17	3
8 or more	3	7		5	5	10
Median	4.8	5.3		4.7	5.3	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	18				1	3
1	1					
2	2					1
3	1					1
4	6					
5	5					1
6	3				1	
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	54	114	30	83	116	38
1	7	7		6	10	2
2	14	32	7	23	32	12
3	7	26	8	17	27	9
4	8	29	9	17	25	4
5	5	14	5	11	10	4
6 or more	13	6	1	9	12	7
Median	3.4	3.2		3.2	3.1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	18				1	3
1	4					
2	3				1	1
3	1					2
4	3					
5	2					
6 or more	5					
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	54	114	30	83	116	38
0.50 or less	22	46	11	29	53	20
0.51 to 0.75	7	37	9	20	25	5
0.76 to 1.00	14	28	9	25	26	7
1.01 or more	11	3	1	9	12	6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	18				1	3
0.50 or less	6				1	1
0.51 to 0.75	1					
0.76 to 1.00	6					1
1.01 or more	5					1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 004 043 00625	043 004 043 0062T	043 004 043 0062U	043 004 043 0063N	043 004 043 0063P	043 004 043 0063R
Total population	206	371	105	287	384	154
White	130	371	105	285	382	146
Negro	76			2	2	8
Other races						
Total population	206	371	105	287	384	154
Pop. in households	206	371	105	287	384	145
Head of household	58	114	30	83	116	38
Head of prim. fam.	47	107	30	75	105	34
Primary individual	7	7		8	11	4
Wife of head	48	98	29	65	89	29
Child under 18	82	119	37	91	106	48
Other relative	22	40	9	41	67	24
Nonrelative	4			7	6	6
Pop. in group quarters						9
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.81	3.25	3.50	3.46	3.31	3.82
Nonwhite population	76			2	2	8
Pop. in households	76			2	2	8
Head of household	18				1	3
Head of prim. fam.	18				1	2
Primary individual	4					1
Wife of head	12			1	1	2
Child under 18	38				1	2
Other relative	11			1		1
Nonrelative						
Pop. in group quarters						2
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	4.22					

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	94	112	188	183	55	50	138	149	184	200	69	85
Under 1 year	2	3	5	4	3		1	1	4		1	1
1 year	2	3	3	5	2	2	2	1	6	3		3
2 years	4	2	2	1	2		1	4	2	5	3	1
3 years	3	1	7	2	2	2		4	4		1	2
4 years	3	2	5	3			2	2	3	1	1	3
5 years	2	8	6	3		3	4	4	3	7		1
6 years		4	2	3	1	2		6	2	4	1	1
7 years		4	5	5		4	5	4	3	1	1	
8 years	3	3	6	4			6	3	2	3	4	4
9 years	3	2	5		4	2	2	1	6	2	1	1
10 years	1	5	1	2			3	2	5	8	1	1
11 years	2	3	3	2			3	1	2	2	2	3
12 years	3	2	4	5	2		3	5	2		1	2
13 years	4	2	4	1		1	4	2	4	1	2	4
14 years	1	2	2	5		2	4	5	3	4	1	4
15 years	1	3	2	4			2	2	1	8		3
16 years	4	2	2	1	1		1	4	2	6	1	3
17 years	1		3	3	2		1	3	3	3	1	
18 years	1			3			2	1	2	1	3	
19 years		2	3	3		1	4	4	5	2	2	
20 years	2	1		3	1	2	1	1	2	4		1
21 years and over	52	58	118	121	35	29	87	89	118	135	42	47
Total population	94	112	188	183	55	50	138	149	184	200	69	85
Under 5 years	14	11	22	15	9	4	6	12	19	9	6	10
5 to 9 years	8	21	24	15	5	11	17	18	16	17	7	7
10 to 14 years	11	18	14	15	2	3	17	15	16	15	7	14
15 to 19 years	7	7	10	14	3	1	10	14	13	20	7	6
20 to 24 years	7	5	8	14	6	6	3	4	8	11	3	3
25 to 29 years	1	2	15	17	7	8	7	6	8	9	4	3
30 to 34 years	3	11	17	14	8	2	8	9	12	18	3	2
35 to 39 years	8	8	12	14	4	5	13	17	21	23	5	8
40 to 44 years	4	10	10	16	2	1	16	14	15	13	5	6
45 to 49 years	8	5	21	11	2	2	9	9	12	12	7	3
50 to 54 years	12	5	11	13	1	2	10	10	11	12	4	6
55 to 59 years	1	5	18	7	3	4	7	5	10	15	3	3
60 to 64 years	3	2	3	6	2		5	4	9	10	2	5
65 to 69 years	2	1	1	7		1	3	4	9	6	2	7
70 to 74 years	3	1	3	1			2	4	2	6	4	1
75 to 79 years			2	1			5	4	2	3		1
80 to 84 years	2	2		1						5		
85 years and over		2	1	2	1				1			
18 years and over	55	61	121	130	36	32	94	95	127	142	47	48
Median age	25.0	23.0	30.3	30.5	26.8	25.0	35.4	33.1	35.0	36.1	30.8	29.2
Nonwhite population	42	34										
Under 5 years	8	4					1	1	1	1	5	3
5 to 9 years	6	6										
10 to 14 years	6	2										1
15 to 19 years	5	3										
20 to 24 years	1	3									1	
25 to 29 years	1										1	
30 to 34 years		4										
35 to 39 years	2	3										1
40 to 44 years	3	4										
45 to 49 years	2										2	
50 to 54 years	4	1						1		1	1	1
55 to 59 years	1	1										
60 to 64 years	2	2										
65 to 69 years	1								1			
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over		1					1					
18 years and over	18	20					1	1	1	1	5	2
21 years and over	16	18					1	1	1	1	4	2
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	62	68	130	143	39	34	102	109	136	163	50	58
Single	13	11	23	25	7	3	22	23	28	31	16	16
Married	47	50	102	104	29	30	70	71	104	110	33	32
Separated	1	2		1			1	1	2	3	1	
Widowed	1	7	4	13	1	1	5	12	3	21	1	9
Divorced	1		1	1	2		5	3	1	1		1
Nonwhite, 14 +	23	22										
Single	7	5					1	1	1	1	5	3
Married	14	13									3	1
Separated	1						1	1	1	1	2	2
Widowed	1	4					1					
Divorced	1											

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 00635	043 0064N	043 0064P	043 0076	043 0077	043 0078
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	63	141	64	382	236	249
Owner occupied	46	108	55	273	195	180
White	46	48	54	194	183	170
Nonwhite		60	1	79	12	10
Renter occupied	16	28	7	95	39	54
White	16	11	7	71	36	52
Nonwhite		17		24	3	2
Available vacant		1	2	9	2	5
For rent			1	6	1	3
For sale only		1	1	3	1	2
Other vacant	1	4		5		10
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	63	141	64	382	236	249
Sound	42	80	51	334	219	228
With all plumbing facilities	40	71	44	212	171	169
Lacking only hot water	1	1	2	13	4	7
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	8	5	109	44	52
Deteriorating	20	38	8	42	16	16
With all plumbing facilities	14	17	7	2	6	2
Lacking only hot water	1			1		1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5	21	1	39	10	13
Dilapidated	1	23	5	6	1	5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		77	1	103	15	12
Sound		32	1	75	12	11
With all plumbing facilities		24	1	19	6	3
Lacking some or all facilities		8		56	6	8
Deteriorating		25		24	3	1
With all plumbing facilities		9			3	
Lacking some or all facilities		16		24		1
Dilapidated		20		4		
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	63	141	64	382	236	249
1		2			1	1
2		4	1	10	5	6
3	5	8	5	31	18	16
4	3	22	18	76	54	66
5	15	41	23	119	73	74
6	23	36	9	76	57	56
7	12	19	5	45	18	21
8 or more	5	9	3	25	10	9
Median	5.9	5.3	4.8	5.1	5.0	5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		77	1	103	15	12
1						
2		4		4		
3		3		10	1	2
4		15		30	5	4
5		29	1	32	5	3
6		21		14	3	2
7		2		11		1
8 or more		3		2	1	
Median		5.1		4.7		
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	62	136	62	368	234	234
1	6	9	2	20	12	8
2	19	35	9	70	44	72
3	11	17	11	65	51	43
4	7	25	16	70	46	47
5	10	23	15	53	30	34
6 or more	9	27	9	90	42	30
Median	3.0	3.8	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		77	1	103	15	12
1		5		2	1	1
2		22		14	3	2
3		9	1	23	2	3
4		10		22	3	3
5		9		11	4	1
6 or more		22		31	2	2
Median		3.8		4.1		
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	62	136	62	368	234	234
0.50 or less	31	49	14	110	64	90
0.51 to 0.75	12	30	14	80	56	53
0.76 to 1.00	15	29	19	94	67	61
1.01 or more	4	28	15	84	45	30
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		77	1	103	15	12
0.50 or less		25		17	3	5
0.51 to 0.75		11	1	27	3	1
0.76 to 1.00		19		29	7	3
1.01 or more		22		30	2	3
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 004 043 00635		043 004 043 0064N		043 004 043 0064P		043 004 043 0076		043 004 043 0077		043 004 043 0078	
Total population	212		556		256		1532		939		846	
White	211		218		253		1017		881		799	
Negro	1		338		3		515		56		47	
Other races									2			
Total population	212		556		256		1532		939		846	
Pop. in households	212		556		256		1532		939		836	
Head of household	62		136		62		368		234		234	
Head of prim. fam.	54		125		60		345		220		225	
Primary individual	6		11		2		23		14		9	
Wife of head	52		108		55		302		205		196	
Child under 18	78		164		95		535		322		273	
Other relative	17		135		41		307		147		115	
Nonrelative	3		13		3		20		31		18	
Pop. in group quarters											10	
Inmate of institution												
Other											10	
Pop. per household	3.42		4.09		4.13		4.16		4.01		3.57	
Nonwhite population	1		338		3		515		58		47	
Pop. in households	1		338		3		515		58		47	
Head of household			77		1		103		15		12	
Head of prim. fam.			70		1		99		13		11	
Primary individual			7				4		2		1	
Wife of head			56		1		80		11		6	
Child under 18			92		1		176		8		12	
Other relative			103				146		17		13	
Nonrelative	1		10				10		7		4	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household			4.39				5.00		3.87			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	112	100	255	301	127	129	802	730	505	434	414	432
Under 1 year	2		7	9	3	1	22	17	7	11	14	6
1 year	3	3	10	7	5	2	18	17	11	11	5	11
2 years	2	4	8	7	2	4	28	22	7	10	5	12
3 years	5		3	7	3	2	18	12	12	9	8	9
4 years	1	6	3	14	5	4	21	21	15	12	5	7
5 years	3	1	11	4	3	4	17	17	11	8	12	11
6 years	2	1	8	5	5	4	19	16	10	6	7	3
7 years	3	1		9	5	1	15	21	12	8	9	8
8 years	5	6	8	1	8	4	16	20	17	9	13	10
9 years	1	3	6	7	4	1	25	14	12	11	6	10
10 years	2	1	4	8	6	4	17	16	11	11	12	7
11 years	4	2	4	13	1	2	23	15	20	12	7	14
12 years	4		2	6	1	5	17	13	14	14	9	7
13 years	3	2	6	1	1	3	22	10	8	10	6	9
14 years			7	5	3	2	11	12	14	10	12	11
15 years	2	3	6	10	2	3	21	15	14	2	7	10
16 years	2	2	3	5	2	1	18	16	9	7	2	8
17 years	1		7	5	1	2	14	10	9	9	7	9
18 years	1	1	3	6		2	12	10	9	5	11	4
19 years	2		5	6	1	1	11	11	4	6	10	7
20 years	1		1	1	2	2	6	8	3	4	6	7
21 years and over	63	64	143	165	64	75	431	408	276	249	241	252
Total population	112	100	255	301	127	129	802	730	505	434	414	432
Under 5 years	13	13	31	44	18	13	107	89	52	53	37	45
5 to 9 years	14	12	33	26	25	14	92	88	62	42	47	42
10 to 14 years	13	5	23	33	12	16	90	75	67	57	46	48
15 to 19 years	8	6	24	32	6	9	76	62	45	29	37	38
20 to 24 years	3	4	11	17	4	8	40	44	22	19	21	28
25 to 29 years	3	4	9	7	8	10	34	33	16	24	32	20
30 to 34 years	9	8	10	19	12	10	42	51	43	36	16	20
35 to 39 years	9	11	19	19	4	10	53	54	29	38	19	33
40 to 44 years	8	8	20	27	12	11	54	46	40	29	33	33
45 to 49 years	8	5	14	18	6	7	40	30	29	30	35	30
50 to 54 years	3	3	18	15	7	8	37	30	29	23	21	31
55 to 59 years	7	5	14	13	4	4	30	31	20	12	19	18
60 to 64 years	4	5	10	10	4	1	32	33	14	13	15	16
65 to 69 years	4	6	8	5		2	27	23	17	14	14	13
70 to 74 years	3	3	3	11	2	3	18	17	10	9	13	9
75 to 79 years	1	2	4	3	1	1	19	15	4	6	4	6
80 to 84 years	1		3	1		1	6	4	5		3	1
85 years and over	1		1	1	2	1	5	5	1		2	1
18 years and over	67	65	152	178	67	80	460	437	292	264	268	270
Median age	31.1	33.8	28.1	28.6	23.1	27.3	24.5	26.1	26.4	28.5	28.0	28.8
Nonwhite population	1		149	189	2	1	273	242	35	23	18	29
Under 5 years			25	33	1		41	29	1	2		5
5 to 9 years			24	19			39	33	3	1	1	1
10 to 14 years			10	19			36	30	6	1	2	3
15 to 19 years			13	19			28	17	2	2	2	4
20 to 24 years			6	14			11	16	3	2	3	3
25 to 29 years			6	6		1	8	15	1	2	2	
30 to 34 years			5	13	1		20	19	5	1	1	
35 to 39 years			10	10			14	16		1	2	1
40 to 44 years	1		12	18			12	12	1		1	2
45 to 49 years			6	6			11	6	5	4	2	2
50 to 54 years			12	10			15	10	1	4		
55 to 59 years			8	8			9	16	3		1	2
60 to 64 years			5	3			8	10	2			1
65 to 69 years			3	2			15	5			1	3
70 to 74 years				7			2	3		2		1
75 years and over			4	2			4	5	2	1		1
18 years and over	1		81	108	1	1	141	137	24	19	13	18
21 years and over	1		76	98	1	1	127	130	23	17	13	16
Median age			22.1	21.6			18.7	23.8				
Total, 14 & over	72	70	175	203	75	88	524	490	338	292	296	308
Single	11	5	51	52	12	15	149	89	90	47	74	53
Married	57	58	119	129	59	64	342	340	229	223	212	213
Separated			2	9		1	11	4	3	5	4	4
Widowed	2	8	3	19	3	8	21	52	10	16	8	33
Divorced	2	3	2	3	1	1	12	9	9	6	2	9
Nonwhite, 14+	1		94	119	1	1	162	157	27	19	16	21
Single	1		30	31			58	42	8	4	6	7
Married			61	72	1	1	93	94	16	13	10	8
Separated			2	9			3	2	1		1	
Widowed			2	14			9	17	2	2		6
Divorced			1	2			2	4	1			

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

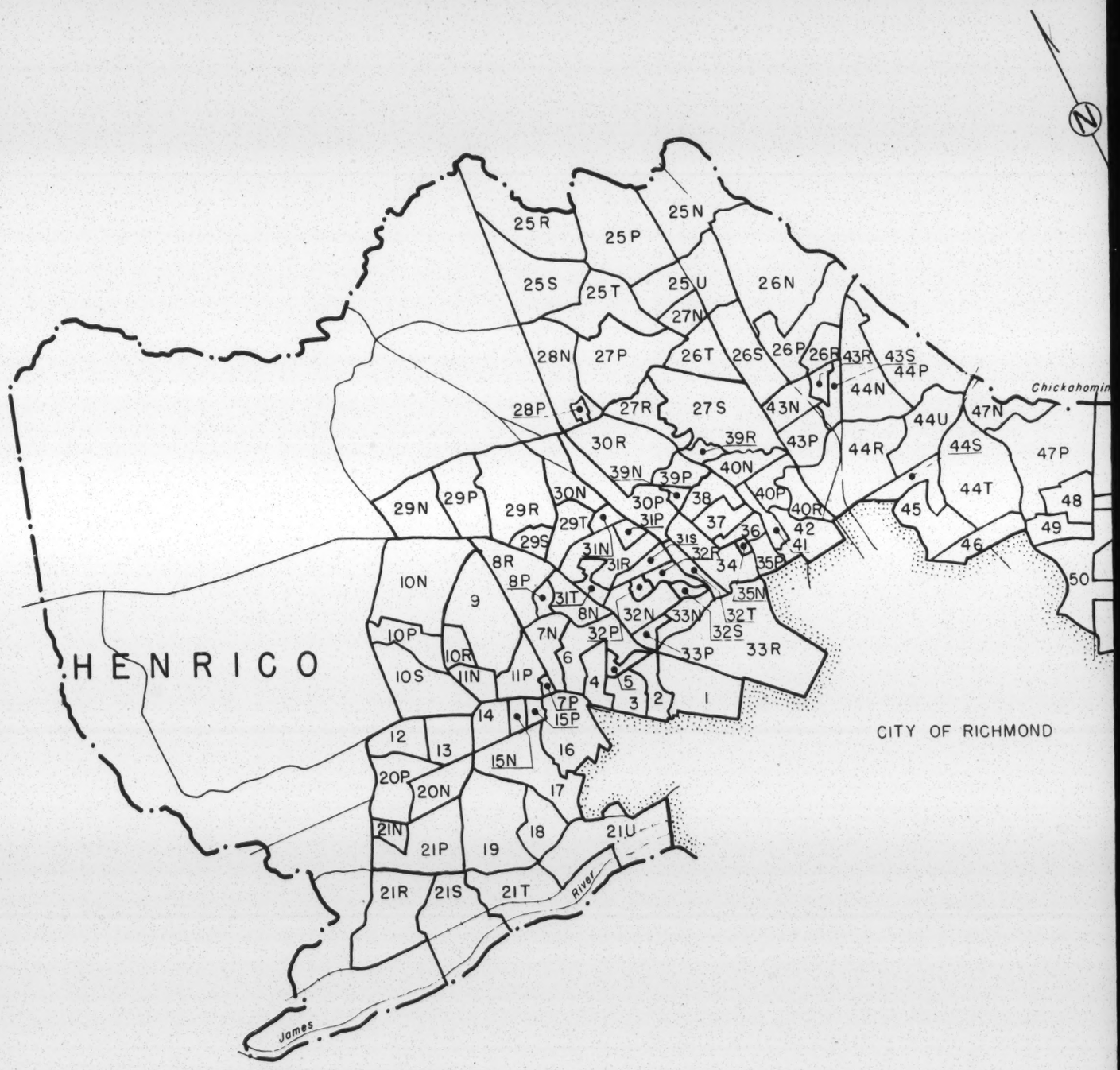
Major Area Code: 54

Name: **HENRICO COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	043 0079
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status	
All housing units	420
Owner occupied	293
White	213
Nonwhite	80
Renter occupied	90
White	68
Nonwhite	22
Available vacant	3
For rent	
For sale only	3
Other vacant	34
Condition and Plumbing	
All housing units	420
Sound	336
With all plumbing facilities	247
Lacking only hot water	11
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	78
Deteriorating	57
With all plumbing facilities	10
Lacking only hot water	2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	45
Dilapidated	27
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	102
Sound	60
With all plumbing facilities	24
Lacking some or all facilities	36
Deteriorating	23
With all plumbing facilities	1
Lacking some or all facilities	22
Dilapidated	19
Number of Rooms	
All housing units	420
1	6
2	13
3	30
4	82
5	106
6	89
7	52
8 or more	42
Median	5.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	102
1	2
2	3
3	9
4	25
5	27
6	22
7	9
8 or more	5
Median	4.9
Number of Persons	
All occupied housing units	383
1	31
2	111
3	68
4	64
5	50
6 or more	59
Median	3.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	102
1	11
2	27
3	18
4	13
5	10
6 or more	23
Median	3.2
Persons Per Room	
All occupied housing units	383
0.50 or less	152
0.51 to 0.75	97
0.76 to 1.00	80
1.01 or more	54
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	102
0.50 or less	38
0.51 to 0.75	22
0.76 to 1.00	15
1.01 or more	27
Value of Property	
Owner-occupied housing units	
Less than $5,000	
$5,000 to $9,900	
$10,000 to $14,900	
$15,000 to $19,900	
$20,000 to $24,900	
$25,000 or more	
Median ... dollars	
Contract Rent	
Renter-occupied housing units	
Average ... dollars	

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	043 004 043 0079	
Total population	1413	
White	993	
Negro	420	
Other races		
Total population	1413	
Pop. in households	1413	
Head of household	383	
Head of prim. fam.	347	
Primary individual	36	
Wife of head	316	
Child under 18	482	
Other relative	219	
Nonrelative	13	
Pop. in group quarters		
Inmate of institution		
Other		
Pop. per household	3.69	
Nonwhite population	420	
Pop. in households	420	
Head of household	102	
Head of prim. fam.	90	
Primary individual	12	
Wife of head	71	
Child under 18	133	
Other relative	111	
Nonrelative	3	
Pop. in group quarters		
Inmate of institution		
Other		
Pop. per household	4.12	
	Male	Female
Total population	699	714
Under 1 year	17	13
1 year	20	13
2 years	16	15
3 years	21	11
4 years	15	17
5 years	11	18
6 years	16	18
7 years	12	18
8 years	14	21
9 years	14	15
10 years	11	16
11 years	17	21
12 years	20	16
13 years	11	13
14 years	25	18
15 years	9	7
16 years	18	12
17 years	15	18
18 years	5	10
19 years	1	6
20 years	8	8
21 years and over	403	418
Total population	699	714
Under 5 years	89	69
5 to 9 years	67	82
10 to 14 years	84	84
15 to 19 years	48	53
20 to 24 years	29	36
25 to 29 years	30	39
30 to 34 years	41	54
35 to 39 years	41	54
40 to 44 years	56	50
45 to 49 years	57	41
50 to 54 years	44	37
55 to 59 years	33	36
60 to 64 years	24	23
65 to 69 years	24	22
70 to 74 years	21	12
75 to 79 years	7	12
80 to 84 years	3	6
85 years and over	1	4
18 years and over	417	442
Median age	30.3	29.2
Nonwhite population	204	216
Under 5 years	33	21
5 to 9 years	20	19
10 to 14 years	24	34
15 to 19 years	17	20
20 to 24 years	4	11
25 to 29 years	12	10
30 to 34 years	7	13
35 to 39 years	9	17
40 to 44 years	18	14
45 to 49 years	16	6
50 to 54 years	7	11
55 to 59 years	6	9
60 to 64 years	5	9
65 to 69 years	12	9
70 to 74 years	9	7
75 years and over	5	6
18 years and over	113	129
21 years and over	110	120
Median age	26.7	26.5
Total, 14 & over	484	497
Single	101	93
Married	354	354
Separated		2
Widowed	19	36
Divorced	10	14
Nonwhite, 14+	134	149
Single	31	35
Married	91	93
Separated		
Widowed	10	15
Divorced	2	6

HENRICO COUNTY ENU



LEGEND

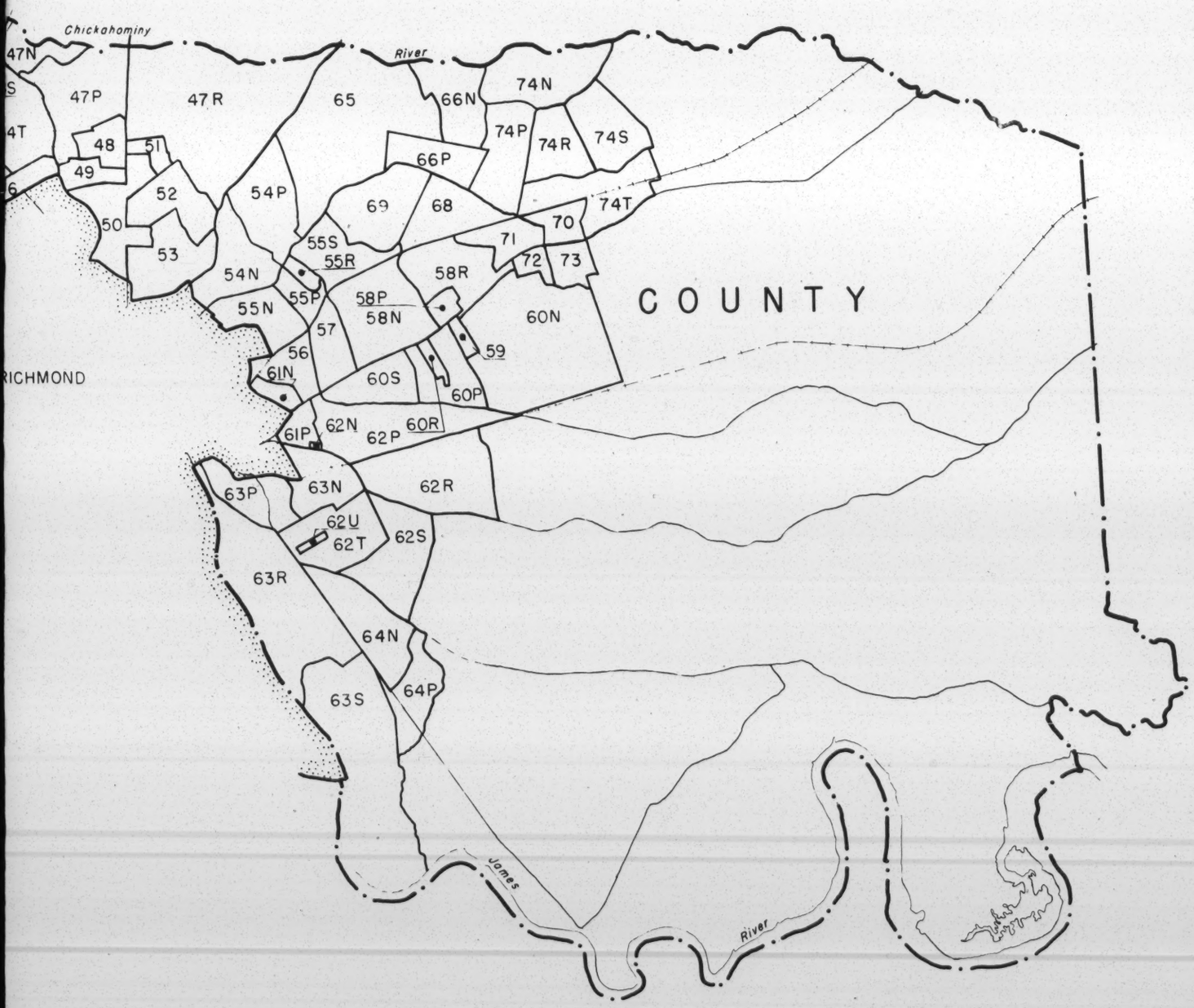
—.— COUNTY LIMITS

OO ENUMERATION DISTRICT

NUMERATION DISTRICTS

DISTRIBUTED BY RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MAP BY RICHMOND REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION



POPULATION AND HOUSING DATA

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

This Research Report contains detailed statistics on population and housing in Chesterfield County by Enumeration Districts. These areas are smaller than Census Tracts and usually one Census Tract contains many Districts. There are 132 Enumeration Districts in Chesterfield County.

The publication of this data will give Richmond business and other interested groups detailed information on smaller areas throughout the County. This can be used in marketing analysis, business location, labor market studies, county and city planning, housing analysis, and many other ways.

The accompanying map shows the location of the Enumeration Districts and was prepared by the Richmond Regional Planning Commission. Their assistance was given with the knowledge that this report will greatly assist in the growth and development of not only Chesterfield County, but the entire Richmond Metropolitan Area.

The basic information is a part of the 1960 Census and was sent to the Research Committee by the U. S. Census Bureau.

Edwin B. Brooks, Jr.
Chairman, Research Committee

Harry J. Perrin, Jr.
Director, Research Services

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: CHESTERFIELD COUNTY

Housing characteristics	021 0001	021 0002N	021 0002P	021 0003	021 0007N	021 0007P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	339	104	115	303	148	53
Owner occupied	321	96	101	278	123	42
White	321	96	101	278	92	2
Nonwhite					31	40
Renter occupied	6	5	3	9	7	8
White	6	5	3	7	4	1
Nonwhite				2	3	7
Available vacant	2	2	8	14	14	
For rent				2		
For sale only	2	2	8	12	14	
Other vacant	10	1	3	2	4	3
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	339	104	115	303	148	53
Sound	339	104	115	303	122	13
With all plumbing facilities	338	104	115	303	117	10
Lacking only hot water	1					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water					5	3
Deteriorating					4	3
With all plumbing facilities					3	1
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water					1	2
Dilapidated					22	37
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				2	34	47
Sound				2	11	9
With all plumbing facilities				2	6	6
Lacking some or all facilities					5	3
Deteriorating					1	3
With all plumbing facilities						1
Lacking some or all facilities					1	2
Dilapidated					22	35
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	339	104	115	303	148	53
1						
2				2		1
3	1	3				10
4		2		2	15	12
5	32	23	4	16	10	15
6	112	31	22	54	25	13
7	111	30	57	112	57	1
8 or more	83	15	32	119	41	1
Median	6.7	6.3	7.1	7.2	6.9	4.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				2	34	47
1						
2				2		1
3						10
4					12	12
5					8	12
6					5	11
7					4	
8 or more					5	1
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	327	101	104	287	130	50
1	7	7	1	5	2	5
2	81	25	20	52	31	9
3	66	17	20	48	22	5
4	96	36	31	93	34	14
5	50	10	21	49	19	3
6 or more	27	6	11	34	22	14
Median	3.6	3.5	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.9
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				2	34	47
1				1	1	5
2				1	11	8
3					2	5
4					4	13
5					3	3
6 or more					13	13
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	327	101	104	287	130	50
0.50 or less	163	50	50	152	63	13
0.51 to 0.75	132	34	39	107	43	9
0.76 to 1.00	29	17	15	24	12	13
1.01 or more	3			4	12	15
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				2	34	47
0.50 or less				1	14	12
0.51 to 0.75					5	8
0.76 to 1.00				1	4	12
1.01 or more					11	15
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0001		021 004 021 0002N		021 004 021 0002P		021 004 021 0003		021 004 021 0007N		021 004 021 0007P	
Total population	1171		338		400		1104		553		218	
White	1171		338		397		1090		393		12	
Negro					3		14		160		206	
Other races												
Total population	1171		338		400		1104		553		218	
Pop. in households	1171		338		400		1104		519		218	
Head of household	327		101		104		287		130		50	
Head of prim. fam.	318		92		103		280		127		43	
Primary individual	9		9		1		7		3		7	
Wife of head	311		88		102		273		123		36	
Child under 18	462		134		171		465		187		73	
Other relative	64		10		15		64		75		53	
Nonrelative	7		5		8		15		4		6	
Pop. in group quarters									34			
Inmate of institution												
Other									34			
Pop. per household	3.58		3.35		3.85		3.85		3.99		4.36	
Nonwhite population					3		14		160		206	
Pop. in households					3		14		160		206	
Head of household							2		34		47	
Head of prim. fam.							1		32		40	
Primary individual							1		2		7	
Wife of head							1		29		33	
Child under 18									35		68	
Other relative									59		52	
Nonrelative					3		11		3		6	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household									4.71		4.38	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	568	603	163	175	200	200	540	564	260	293	115	103
Under 1 year	14	18	5	7	5	2	5	16	7	7	3	1
1 year	21	9	4	4	3	1	12	12	8	6	5	1
2 years	21	18	5	3	13	4	12	10	4	9	2	7
3 years	15	15	5	10	4	4	13	11	8	9	4	2
4 years	20	10	3	6	7	5	17	16	4	9		1
5 years	21	16	4	5	7	4	17	18	10	13	3	3
6 years	12	25	6	6	1	11	16	13	6	8	2	1
7 years	14	21	4	5	8	8	19	16	3	7	5	3
8 years	16	20	4	3	6	3	12	13	2	5	1	4
9 years	9	22	4	3	6	8	13	14	7	5	5	6
10 years	9	13	3	6	5	7	12	17	13	3	3	3
11 years	15	9	2	4	7	5	21	11	5	15	6	3
12 years	18	11	1	4	3	9	16	15	3	6	1	1
13 years	7	7	6	1	4	4	12	13	2	5	2	2
14 years	8	6		2	6	3	13	14	4	3	3	3
15 years	1	6	2	3	2	1	12	6	2	6	1	1
16 years	5	4	2	1	1	1	9	8		3	2	1
17 years	2	4	4			4	9	7	3	2	1	1
18 years	1	7	1			2	4	5	2	1	3	1
19 years	2	1				1	2	3	1	3	4	
20 years	6	1			1	1	1	3		1		
21 years and over	331	355	98	102	106	112	293	323	166	167	59	58
Total population	568	603	163	175	200	200	540	564	260	293	115	103
Under 5 years	91	78	22	30	37	16	59	65	31	40	14	12
5 to 9 years	72	108	22	22	28	34	77	74	28	38	16	17
10 to 14 years	57	46	12	17	25	28	74	70	27	32	15	12
15 to 19 years	11	22	9	4	3	9	36	29	8	15	11	4
20 to 24 years	11	6	2	7	2	4	6	12	7	4	2	7
25 to 29 years	31	43	12	13	6	11	6	26	12	20	6	6
30 to 34 years	63	90	16	23	22	32	36	53	18	23	10	9
35 to 39 years	91	82	23	18	30	23	58	73	32	24	6	10
40 to 44 years	51	37	16	11	21	17	72	53	14	24	4	3
45 to 49 years	35	29	7	5	4	8	43	42	26	14	8	8
50 to 54 years	19	19	8	9	10	5	32	24	14	17	9	5
55 to 59 years	17	16	5	4	5	5	18	12	11	7	2	
60 to 64 years	9	16	2	6	1	3	10	11	8	11	1	5
65 to 69 years	8	4	4	1		1	6	7	4	1	1	3
70 to 74 years		4	3	2	1	1	4	4	5	4	5	2
75 to 79 years		7		2		2	1	4	8	8	3	
80 to 84 years	2	2		1		1	1	2	5	5	1	
85 years and over		1					1	3	2	6	1	
18 years and over	340	368	99	102	107	116	300	334	169	172	66	59
Median age	30.9	30.3	30.8	27.9	29.2	29.1	31.7	30.6	34.7	29.4	23.8	24.6
Nonwhite population					3	1	13		75	85	110	96
Under 5 years									11	13	14	12
5 to 9 years							1		8	6	16	17
10 to 14 years									6	10	14	12
15 to 19 years					1		3		3	6	10	
20 to 24 years					1		3		4	3	2	7
25 to 29 years							3		4	7	6	6
30 to 34 years									5	5	10	8
35 to 39 years									6	4	6	10
40 to 44 years						1	3		3	5	3	3
45 to 49 years					1				7	6	7	7
50 to 54 years									4	5	9	5
55 to 59 years									7	2	2	
60 to 64 years									2	7	1	5
65 to 69 years											1	2
70 to 74 years									3	2	4	2
75 years and over									2	4	5	
18 years and over					3	1	12		48	52	63	55
21 years and over					1	1	8		47	40	56	55
Median age									31.5	28.2	22.5	25.0
Total, 14 & over	356	384	107	108	110	125	343	369	178	186	73	65
Single	34	35	15	9	11	14	57	59	28	27	20	12
Married	315	318	90	89	103	103	278	283	135	134	45	46
Separated		1						3	4	1	4	5
Widowed	5	28	2	8		7	8	24	12	23	6	5
Divorced	2	3		2	2	1		3	3	2	2	1
Nonwhite, 14+						3	1	12	50	57	69	58
Single						2		7	10	13	19	8
Married							1	3	38	38	42	43
Separated								1	3	1	4	5
Widowed						1		1	1	6	6	6
Divorced								1	1		2	1

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0007R	021 0008N	021 0008P	021 0008R	021 0009	021 0010N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	105	137	83	78	288	324
Owner occupied	96	115	74	76	253	254
White	96	115	74	76	253	254
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	8	7	5	1	29	47
White	8	7	5	1	29	47
Nonwhite						
Available vacant	1	14	2	1	6	20
For rent		1			2	3
For sale only	1	13	2	1	4	17
Other vacant		1	2			3
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	105	137	83	78	288	324
Sound	105	136	83	78	283	295
With all plumbing facilities	105	136	81	78	282	294
Lacking only hot water					1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			2			1
Deteriorating		1			3	25
With all plumbing facilities		1			2	23
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water					1	2
Dilapidated					2	4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	105	137	83	78	288	324
1					1	
2		1			1	3
3		1			4	4
4	3				13	144
5	16	32	6	6	90	82
6	60	52	49	36	96	83
7	19	41	20	27	67	7
8 or more	7	10	8	9	16	1
Median	6.1	6.2	6.2	6.4	5.9	4.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	104	122	79	77	282	301
1	1	3		2	7	10
2	26	35	13	17	66	63
3	24	27	15	12	66	88
4	35	31	32	22	79	82
5	11	13	18	13	40	47
6 or more	7	13	1	11	24	11
Median	3.5	3.4	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	104	122	79	77	282	301
0.50 or less	48	55	28	34	113	95
0.51 to 0.75	33	44	36	27	88	89
0.76 to 1.00	22	22	15	15	74	95
1.01 or more	1	1		1	7	22
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0007R		021 004 021 0008N		021 004 021 0008P		021 004 021 0008R		021 004 021 0009		021 004 021 0010N	
Total population	368		428		295		295		1006		1036	
White	368		428		295		295		1005		1035	
Negro									1		1	
Other races												
Total population	368		428		295		295		1006		1036	
Pop. in households	368		428		295		295		1006		1036	
Head of household	104		122		79		77		282		301	
Head of prim. fam.	103		119		79		75		273		289	
Primary individual	1		3				2		9		12	
Wife of head	99		115		75		71		256		272	
Child under 18	148		133		122		120		377		375	
Other relative	20		53		18		25		86		77	
Nonrelative	1		5		1		2		5		11	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.54		3.51		3.73		3.83		3.57		3.44	
Nonwhite population									1		1	
Pop. in households									1		1	
Head of household												
Head of prim. fam.												
Primary individual												
Wife of head												
Child under 18												
Other relative												
Nonrelative									1		1	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	183	185	198	230	149	146	148	147	500	506	490	546
Under 1 year	6	3	2	2	10	3	2	2	7	9	10	15
1 year	4	2	4	5	5	1	3	2	10	11	19	15
2 years	3	7	4	5	10	3	4	4	14	14	17	25
3 years	5	2	3	7	5	4	6	6	6	8	15	15
4 years	5	6	1	5	4	2	6	3	14	20	13	14
5 years	5	2	5	11	2	3	6	8	17	12	10	15
6 years	6		2	8	3	6	4	4	21	9	8	11
7 years	5	4	7	3	4	3	8	2	15	11	6	7
8 years	4	6	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	8	10	12
9 years	8	7	4	6		4	4	4	14	8	9	12
10 years	4	3	3	3	4	2	6	6	9	6	9	13
11 years	3	5	3	2	5	2	3	1	15	12	11	13
12 years	3	4	1	6	2	3	6	2	19	10	10	9
13 years	8	10	8	6	4	3	1	1	17	13	8	14
14 years	2	1	3	3	2	1		1	4	6	9	5
15 years	3	1	3	2		3	3	3	7	8	8	3
16 years	1	4	4	2	2	5	1	3	6	10	9	3
17 years	1	2	5	3		2			5	6	4	3
18 years	1	1	2	2			2		1	2	5	4
19 years	1		2	1		1	1		6	3	3	5
20 years	1	2	1	3	1				4	3	3	5
21 years and over	104	113	127	143	78	91	78	91	285	317	294	328
Total population	183	185	198	230	149	146	148	147	500	506	490	546
Under 5 years	23	20	14	24	34	13	21	17	51	62	74	84
5 to 9 years	28	19	22	30	13	20	26	22	71	48	43	57
10 to 14 years	20	23	18	20	21	11	16	11	64	47	47	54
15 to 19 years	7	8	16	10	2	11	7	6	25	29	29	18
20 to 24 years	4	7	5	8	2	1		3	12	11	24	50
25 to 29 years	6	10	11	18	4	16	6	9	23	55	61	49
30 to 34 years	16	21	16	14	22	24	15	24	58	41	55	62
35 to 39 years	27	26	18	25	18	13	19	15	49	65	56	51
40 to 44 years	17	19	20	22	10	9	12	6	49	37	30	24
45 to 49 years	20	14	20	17	11	10	11	13	40	28	27	30
50 to 54 years	7	6	13	12	3	5	3	4	27	31	18	17
55 to 59 years	3	3	10	11		1	5		11	9	9	15
60 to 64 years	2	3	8	8	1	6	1	5	5	15	8	16
65 to 69 years	2	2	2	4	1	2	3	4	9	8	4	7
70 to 74 years			3	3	1	2	1	3	2	9	3	5
75 to 79 years		1	1	2	1		1	3	1	5	1	4
80 to 84 years	1	1	1	1		1	1	2	1	5	1	2
85 years and over		2		1		1			2	1		1
18 years and over	107	116	132	149	79	92	81	91	296	325	305	342
Median age	31.1	31.3	34.1	31.8	26.4	30.2	28.3	31.1	30.3	30.1	27.3	26.0
Nonwhite population										1		1
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years										1		1
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years												
30 to 34 years												
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over										1		1
21 years and over												
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	114	124	147	159	83	103	85	98	318	355	335	356
Single	13	13	24	22	8	19	10	9	51	48	53	33
Married	101	102	120	121	75	76	75	76	261	265	276	286
Separated		2		1		1	1		2	4	1	9
Widowed		7	2	13		8		11	4	36	2	29
Divorced		2	1	3				2	2	6	4	8
Nonwhite, 14+										1		1
Single										1		1
Married												
Separated												
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0010P	021 0011	021 0012	021 0013	021 0014	021 0015N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	132	367	309	268	583	73
Owner occupied	99	312	245	235	494	57
White	99	312	245	235	482	57
Nonwhite					12	
Renter occupied	26	46	52	28	69	13
White	26	46	52	28	62	13
Nonwhite					7	
Available vacant	4	5	5		13	1
For rent	1	3	3		6	1
For sale only	3	2	2		7	
Other vacant	3	4	7	5	7	2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	132	367	309	268	583	73
Sound	105	365	284	266	546	63
With all plumbing facilities	104	364	283	266	544	57
Lacking only hot water		1	1			2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1				2	4
Deteriorating	10	1	21	2	33	8
With all plumbing facilities	7	1	16	2	13	4
Lacking only hot water	2		1		2	2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1		4		18	2
Dilapidated	17	1	4		4	2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					19	
Sound					3	
With all plumbing facilities					3	
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating					13	
With all plumbing facilities					5	
Lacking some or all facilities					8	
Dilapidated					3	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	132	367	309	268	583	73
1			1			
2	4	1	12	1	3	1
3	7	8	23	7	16	7
4	19	34	37	31	169	21
5	89	202	119	176	152	25
6	9	76	66	49	174	9
7	2	38	35	3	56	5
8 or more	2	8	16	1	13	5
Median	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.0	5.2	4.8
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					19	
1						
2					1	
3					5	
4					2	
5					7	
6					3	
7						
8 or more					1	
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	125	358	297	263	563	70
1	8	16	36	7	20	7
2	19	78	95	37	139	16
3	39	98	77	70	125	14
4	25	83	46	72	142	18
5	20	54	25	49	86	9
6 or more	14	29	18	28	51	6
Median	3.4	3.4	2.7	3.7	3.5	3.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					19	
1					4	
2					6	
3					3	
4					2	
5					2	
6 or more					2	
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	125	358	297	263	563	70
0.50 or less	25	115	152	57	197	25
0.51 to 0.75	41	115	91	69	154	13
0.76 to 1.00	46	110	47	107	152	27
1.01 or more	13	18	7	30	60	5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites					19	
0.50 or less					7	
0.51 to 0.75					8	
0.76 to 1.00					2	
1.01 or more					2	
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0010P	021 004 021 0011	021 004 021 0012	021 004 021 0013	021 004 021 0014	021 004 021 0015N
Total population	456	1257	886	1018	1999	241
White	456	1257	885	1018	1938	240
Negro			1		61	
Other races						1
Total population	456	1257	886	1018	1999	241
Pop. in households	449	1257	880	1018	1999	241
Head of household	125	358	297	263	563	70
Head of prim. fam.	116	339	253	256	543	63
Primary individual	9	19	44	7	20	7
Wife of head	110	314	225	246	515	58
Child under 18	186	448	206	434	747	77
Other relative	22	132	87	72	166	36
Nonrelative	6	9	65	3	11	
Pop. in group quarters	7		6			
Inmate of institution						
Other	7		6			
Pop. per household	3.59	3.51	2.96	3.87	3.55	3.44
Nonwhite population			1		61	1
Pop. in households			1		61	1
Head of household					19	
Head of prim. fam.					15	
Primary individual					4	
Wife of head					14	1
Child under 18					13	
Other relative					14	
Nonrelative			1		1	
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household					3.21	

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	212	244	612	645	405	481	475	543	1001	998	125	116
Under 1 year	4	9	8	11	6	4	10	22	20	14	3	2
1 year	11	11	11	10	6	8	14	18	29	23	2	1
2 years	8	8	18	15	7	5	16	21	26	28	3	2
3 years	8	6	12	14	7	4	25	16	27	30	2	1
4 years	7	10	15	19	10	8	16	17	18	19	5	2
5 years	5	10	24	8	2	4	16	14	25	28	1	5
6 years	7	10	16	17	8	4	11	18	25	27	4	3
7 years	6	7	10	16	6	5	12	17	23	20	1	4
8 years	6	4	13	7	7	10	16	10	26	22	3	1
9 years	5	6	15	15	3	8	12	18	25	21	2	1
10 years	3	7	8	9	6	2	11	11	19	17	2	3
11 years	4	6	14	22	4	10	9	8	23	18	4	1
12 years	1	1	11	12	5	5	6	15	25	18	4	4
13 years	3	4	19	9	13	9	13	17	24	27	3	2
14 years	3	2	4	11	5	4	4	1	17	18	3	5
15 years	1	3	10	10	7	5	2	6	23	20	4	
16 years		2	9	10	4	9	5	10	14	13	1	1
17 years	2	2	13	7	3	8	5	5	19	21	2	1
18 years		2	9	9	11	8	4	4	7	16	2	1
19 years	1	7	7	11	1	5	2	6	12	6	1	1
20 years	1	1	6	10	4	6	2	6	8	7	2	3
21 years and over	126	126	360	393	280	350	264	283	566	585	71	72
Total population	212	244	612	645	405	481	475	543	1001	998	125	116
Under 5 years	38	44	64	69	36	29	81	94	120	114	15	8
5 to 9 years	29	37	78	63	26	31	67	77	124	118	11	14
10 to 14 years	14	20	56	63	33	30	43	52	108	98	16	15
15 to 19 years	4	16	48	47	26	35	18	31	75	76	10	4
20 to 24 years	17	25	24	40	22	28	13	36	36	47	11	7
25 to 29 years	33	31	44	51	19	19	54	61	59	70	5	11
30 to 34 years	25	30	65	57	22	30	73	63	89	95	10	6
35 to 39 years	17	7	55	59	38	44	41	49	102	109	5	8
40 to 44 years	14	10	55	55	36	41	34	21	95	89	10	9
45 to 49 years	9	10	43	43	42	50	24	18	70	62	13	8
50 to 54 years	6	2	29	25	40	43	11	16	43	39	4	6
55 to 59 years	3	5	19	23	21	31	8	6	32	24	3	6
60 to 64 years	1		16	18	21	21	3	6	16	23	3	5
65 to 69 years	1	3	9	14	11	16	2	2	15	17	4	5
70 to 74 years		2	6	11	7	20	1	4	10	7	3	4
75 to 79 years	1			2	3	10		4	5	5	2	
80 to 84 years		2	1	3	2	2	2	3	1	2		
85 years and over				2		1			1	3		
18 years and over	128	136	382	423	296	369	272	290	593	614	76	77
Median age	25.6	21.0	29.1	29.0	37.4	39.4	26.4	22.4	28.2	28.3	24.8	29.5
Nonwhite population						1			28	33		1
Under 5 years									2	3		
5 to 9 years									3	2		
10 to 14 years									2	1		
15 to 19 years									4	5		
20 to 24 years						1			1	2		
25 to 29 years									1	1		1
30 to 34 years										1		
35 to 39 years									1	4		
40 to 44 years									3			
45 to 49 years										3		
50 to 54 years									4	1		
55 to 59 years									1	4		
60 to 64 years										3		
65 to 69 years									3			
70 to 74 years									1	1		
75 years and over									2	2		
18 years and over						1			18	24		1
21 years and over						1			16	22		1
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	134	145	418	461	315	395	288	321	666	686	86	84
Single	15	16	82	79	58	70	31	45	116	91	19	9
Married	117	117	328	331	239	242	253	254	533	538	64	64
Separated	2	1	2	3	2	2	1	2	7	6	2	2
Widowed		0	4	38	8	59	1	18	10	44	1	9
Divorced	2	3	4	13	10	24	3	4	7	13	2	2
Nonwhite, 14+						1			22	28		1
Single						1			6	7		
Married									13	17		1
Separated												
Widowed									3	3		
Divorced										1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0015P	021 0015R	021 0015S	021 0018N	021 0018P	021 0018R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	81	91	79	428	103	147
Owner occupied	65	84	61	342	90	129
White	65	84	61	297	90	117
Nonwhite				45		12
Renter occupied	8	3	9	59	11	13
White	8	3	9	42	11	13
Nonwhite				17		
Available vacant	6	4	5	14	1	3
For rent	1		1			
For sale only	5	4	4	14	1	3
Other vacant	2		4	13	1	2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	81	91	79	428	103	147
Sound	80	91	73	378	90	135
With all plumbing facilities	79	91	69	362	87	131
Lacking only hot water			3			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1		1	16	3	4
Deteriorating	1		5	25	13	10
With all plumbing facilities	1		3	4	9	3
Lacking only hot water						1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			2	21	4	6
Dilapidated			1	25		2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				62		12
Sound				25		7
With all plumbing facilities				15		5
Lacking some or all facilities				10		2
Deteriorating				15		4
With all plumbing facilities				3		
Lacking some or all facilities				12		4
Dilapidated				22		1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	81	91	79	428	103	147
1				3		
2		1	1	5	3	1
3	1	1	3	7	4	2
4	3	5	5	35	20	20
5	12	16	6	240	32	47
6	24	23	29	114	23	59
7	27	26	25	14	16	12
8 or more	14	19	10	10	5	6
Median	6.5	6.5	6.3	5.2	5.3	5.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				62		12
1				2		
2				3		
3				4		
4				16		2
5				21		7
6				13		3
7				1		
8 or more				2		
Median				4.8		
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	73	87	70	401	101	142
1	1	2	1	11	5	7
2	14	13	11	74	21	31
3	21	18	14	83	22	32
4	18	25	21	127	25	35
5	16	17	13	59	17	21
6 or more	3	12	10	47	11	16
Median	3.5	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.5
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				62		12
1				6		
2				16		1
3				7		
4				14		3
5				1		1
6 or more				18		7
Median				3.6		
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	73	87	70	401	101	142
0.50 or less	36	36	23	107	34	54
0.51 to 0.75	28	29	29	99	20	39
0.76 to 1.00	8	20	17	150	27	37
1.01 or more	1	2	1	45	11	12
Housing units occupied by nonwhites				62		12
0.50 or less				21		1
0.51 to 0.75				9		1
0.76 to 1.00				12		4
1.01 or more				20		6
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0015P		021 004 021 0015R		021 004 021 0015S		021 004 021 0018N		021 004 021 0018P		021 004 021 0018R	
Total population	264		342		279		1530		380		514	
White	262		342		279		1274		380		450	
Negro	2						255				56	
Other races							1				8	
Total population	264		342		279		1530		380		514	
Pop. in households	264		342		276		1530		380		514	
Head of household	73		87		70		401		101		142	
Head of prim. fam.	72		85		69		389		96		133	
Primary individual	1		2		1		12		5		9	
Wife of head	70		83		68		371		91		122	
Child under 18	104		149		130		625		134		179	
Other relative	15		23		10		126		52		59	
Nonrelative	2						7		2		12	
Pop. in group quarters					3							
Inmate of institution					3							
Other												
Pop. per household	3.62		3.93		3.94		3.82		3.76		3.62	
Nonwhite population	2						256				64	
Pop. in households	2						256				64	
Head of household							62				12	
Head of prim. fam.							56				12	
Primary individual							6					
Wife of head							49				8	
Child under 18							96				19	
Other relative							47				25	
Nonrelative	2						2					
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household							4.13				5.33	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	139	125	165	177	138	141	763	767	186	194	248	266
Under 1 year	3	3	6	5	4	7	19	32	1	5	7	4
1 year	1	5	2	2	3	5	20	24	5	7	3	8
2 years	2	7	5	4	6	6	31	22	4	5	7	3
3 years	3	3	1	6	6	3	14	28	2	7	7	10
4 years	2	3	3	7	5	6	29	30	5	8	5	7
5 years	3	1	7	7	2	6	24	27	7	2	6	8
6 years	4	2	5	5	6	4	17	18	6	3	5	4
7 years	4	5	2	5	6	7	20	16	4	2	4	7
8 years	6	1	8	5	3	4	18	14	5	2	3	2
9 years	4	3	7	4	6	3	24	18	6	4	5	9
10 years	2	2	3	3	2	2	14	16	9	2	7	5
11 years	1	2	3	1	6	4	13	9	3	6	8	3
12 years	4	1	4	8	2		21	15	4	2	2	7
13 years	2	3	3	3	4	2	20	12	2	9	8	2
14 years	5	2	6	3	1	4	11	8	3	2	5	3
15 years	3	1	3	2	1	2	14	7	2	1	4	5
16 years	4	1	5	6	3	1	21	11	2	2	4	7
17 years	4	2		2	2		6	13	3	5	4	7
18 years	2	1	2		1	1	7	5	3	2	3	1
19 years	1						7	5	2	2	1	3
20 years			1	1	1		4	9	3	3	6	2
21 years and over	79	77	89	98	68	74	409	428	105	113	144	159
Total population	139	125	165	177	138	141	763	767	186	194	248	266
Under 5 years	11	21	17	24	24	27	113	136	17	32	29	32
5 to 9 years	21	12	29	26	23	24	103	93	28	13	23	30
10 to 14 years	14	10	19	18	15	12	79	60	21	21	30	20
15 to 19 years	14	5	10	10	7	4	55	41	12	12	16	23
20 to 24 years	5	2	3	4	4	7	19	44	10	12	12	13
25 to 29 years	6	10	3	6	12	18	83	102	12	15	15	20
30 to 34 years	11	12	16	19	19	17	82	82	16	15	18	22
35 to 39 years	8	10	24	23	12	9	77	74	11	16	30	33
40 to 44 years	14	20	17	15	9	8	44	42	17	15	22	21
45 to 49 years	18	5	13	12	4	3	38	20	11	11	18	8
50 to 54 years	5	7	7	5	3	5	30	23	14	6	4	10
55 to 59 years	5	3	3	1	3	2	14	9	2	6	11	11
60 to 64 years	4	2	1	2		3	7	9	4	9	5	12
65 to 69 years	1	2	1	6	2	1	11	5	5	5	6	5
70 to 74 years	1	1	1	2			5	5	4	2	6	2
75 to 79 years	1	1		3	1		2	4			1	2
80 to 84 years		1	1				1	7	1	3		1
85 years and over		1		1		1		2	1	1	2	1
18 years and over	82	78	92	99	70	75	427	447	113	120	154	165
Median age	28.8	31.0	30.5	30.1	20.0	22.5	25.8	25.5	27.1	27.3	29.7	28.8
Nonwhite population		2					129	127			26	38
Under 5 years							11	12			1	4
5 to 9 years							26	19			3	7
10 to 14 years							18	15			3	6
15 to 19 years							5	11			3	2
20 to 24 years		1					2	1			1	1
25 to 29 years							4	7			1	4
30 to 34 years							6	13			2	5
35 to 39 years							15	12			7	4
40 to 44 years		1					5	6			1	
45 to 49 years							10	9				
50 to 54 years							8	9				
55 to 59 years							5	2			2	2
60 to 64 years							6	3				2
65 to 69 years							4	2				
70 to 74 years							3	2			1	1
75 years and over							1	4			1	
18 years and over		2					71	74			17	19
21 years and over		2					68	69			16	19
Median age							28.1	28.9				
Total, 14 & over	98	84	106	112	77	82	479	486	123	130	171	187
Single	25	8	18	14	10	10	81	63	23	19	28	32
Married	71	70	86	86	67	68	383	389	96	98	136	138
Separated				1			3	4		2	1	3
Widowed	1	6	1	12		2	9	27	3	11	6	14
Divorced	1		1			2	6	7	1	2	1	3
Nonwhite, 14+		2					78	83			20	23
Single		1					14	10			4	6
Married							54	55			14	14
Separated							2	2			1	
Widowed		1					7	7			2	3
Divorced							3	3				

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0018S	021 0018T	021 0019	021 0020	021 0021N	021 0021P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	97	236	357	390	408	163
Owner occupied	73	202	267	346	354	143
White	67	202	256	346	340	138
Nonwhite	6		11		14	5
Renter occupied	20	9	60	39	42	14
White	16	9	56	39	40	14
Nonwhite	4		4		2	
Available vacant	4	22	10	4	6	2
For rent		2		2		
For sale only	4	20	10	2	6	2
Other vacant		3	20	1	6	4
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	97	236	357	390	408	163
Sound	94	235	320	379	384	153
With all plumbing facilities	78	233	312	376	380	151
Lacking only hot water		2	1	2		2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	16		7	1	4	
Deteriorating	3	1	20	11	18	8
With all plumbing facilities			13	5	15	5
Lacking only hot water			1	3		2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3	1	6	3	3	1
Dilapidated			17		6	2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10		15		16	5
Sound	10		9		11	3
With all plumbing facilities	2		7		10	2
Lacking some or all facilities	8		2		1	1
Deteriorating			4		3	1
With all plumbing facilities			1		2	1
Lacking some or all facilities			3		1	
Dilapidated			2		2	1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	97	236	357	390	408	163
1			1		1	
2	3	2	2	4	2	2
3	4	4	11	21	15	2
4	16	7	37	37	43	11
5	39	91	196	183	188	53
6	15	85	80	99	107	57
7	12	29	21	34	39	27
8 or more	8	18	9	12	13	11
Median	5.2	5.7	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10		15		16	5
1						
2	1					
3	1		1			
4	2		1		4	
5	4		8		3	3
6	1		1		6	2
7			3		3	
8 or more	1		1			
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	93	211	327	385	396	157
1	8	9	9	14	15	4
2	26	36	68	94	95	37
3	16	52	80	106	89	27
4	17	64	86	98	97	48
5	11	31	47	49	53	29
6 or more	15	19	37	24	47	12
Median	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10		15		16	5
1	2				1	
2	3		2		4	2
3			5		1	1
4	1		3		2	1
5	1		3			
6 or more	3		2		8	1
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	93	211	327	385	396	157
0.50 or less	40	80	102	141	138	53
0.51 to 0.75	17	58	80	109	114	63
0.76 to 1.00	24	63	113	115	115	33
1.01 or more	12	10	32	20	29	8
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10		15		16	5
0.50 or less	5		5		6	2
0.51 to 0.75			3		2	2
0.76 to 1.00	2		4		2	
1.01 or more	3		3		6	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0018S	021 004 021 0018T	021 004 021 0019	021 004 021 0020	021 004 021 0021N	021 004 021 0021P
Total population	394	770	1200	1324	1432	582
White	354	770	1142	1324	1350	561
Negro	40		58		82	21
Other races						
Total population	394	770	1200	1324	1432	582
Pop. in households	329	770	1200	1311	1432	576
Head of household	93	211	327	385	396	157
Head of prim. fam.	83	202	317	368	380	153
Primary individual	10	9	10	17	16	4
Wife of head	74	193	303	350	354	143
Child under 18	108	318	458	451	518	212
Other relative	47	43	103	104	157	62
Nonrelative	7	5	9	21	7	2
Pop. in group quarters	65			13		6
Inmate of institution	65					
Other				13		6
Pop. per household	3.54	3.65	3.67	3.41	3.62	3.67
Nonwhite population	40		58		82	21
Pop. in households	40		58		82	21
Head of household	10		15		16	5
Head of prim. fam.	8		15		15	5
Primary individual	2				1	
Wife of head	6		13		12	2
Child under 18	10		18		33	3
Other relative	13		11		20	11
Nonrelative	1		1		1	
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household			3.87		5.13	

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	226	168	389	381	602	598	665	659	703	729	281	301
Under 1 year	2	4	15	12	14	13	26	14	15	19	4	1
1 year	5	5	12	19	28	18	23	19	12	24	8	7
2 years	6	1	14	13	18	16	23	24	17	18	5	1
3 years	5	3	15	18	13	24	21	19	13	16	11	9
4 years	1	4	11	10	15	13	16	9	13	18	5	10
5 years	2	8	15	5	17	21	16	18	18	17	5	9
6 years	3	5	11	9	17	16	19	18	18	18	8	13
7 years	1	1	11	7	14	11	15	12	21	13	1	9
8 years	4	3	7	10	13	9	9	9	13	21	9	5
9 years	4	3	5	7	16	13	8	7	21	7	5	13
10 years	2	3	8	6	18	13	15	9	23	16	5	6
11 years	5	4	6	5	8	12	12	8	25	12	8	9
12 years	7	3	11	9	14	12	10	9	20	17	7	8
13 years	12	2	10	8	16	10	10	7	16	16	8	5
14 years	16	2	5	6	5	7	10	9	7	7	2	7
15 years	18	3	5	4	9	6	4	11	10	13	6	4
16 years	19	2	6	7	7	8	4	3	6	13	6	5
17 years	10	2	4	3	8	9	11	11	10	11	4	2
18 years	2	1		2	7	6	4	12	6	6	1	4
19 years	3	2	3		6	7	6	7	11	6	2	5
20 years	1		1	4	6	13	4	5	5	12	1	1
21 years and over	98	104	214	217	333	341	399	419	403	429	170	168
Total population	226	168	389	381	602	598	665	659	703	729	281	301
Under 5 years	19	17	67	72	88	84	109	85	70	95	33	28
5 to 9 years	14	23	49	38	77	70	67	64	91	76	28	49
10 to 14 years	42	14	40	34	61	54	57	42	91	68	30	35
15 to 19 years	52	10	18	16	37	36	29	44	43	49	19	20
20 to 24 years	7	15	13	28	31	52	38	56	39	67	8	7
25 to 29 years	12	7	33	39	67	74	64	82	70	72	16	18
30 to 34 years	10	14	46	47	55	47	73	58	54	54	28	37
35 to 39 years	16	11	47	36	47	35	51	50	54	54	41	34
40 to 44 years	12	18	30	29	32	41	35	34	46	58	22	19
45 to 49 years	10	6	20	14	31	33	30	38	57	47	16	18
50 to 54 years	7	7	12	13	33	28	38	26	36	28	15	10
55 to 59 years	6	7	5	3	14	8	20	16	21	26	10	10
60 to 64 years	4	5	4	3	12	11	14	16	11	11	2	1
65 to 69 years	6	3	2	2	11	8	18	16	6	9	4	4
70 to 74 years	6	6	1	4	3	7	6	15	9	9	4	7
75 to 79 years		3	2	3	1	5	8	8	2	2	2	1
80 to 84 years	1	1			2	3	3	4	1	2	1	2
85 years and over	2	1				2	5	5	2	2	2	1
18 years and over	104	107	218	223	352	367	413	443	425	453	174	178
Median age	18.7	28.6	26.1	25.3	25.5	25.2	27.5	27.3	26.3	25.7	31.2	28.2
Nonwhite population	20	20			29	29			40	42	12	9
Under 5 years	1	2			4	1			2	3	1	1
5 to 9 years	1	3			4	6			6	4	1	3
10 to 14 years	2	2			2	2			10	6		
15 to 19 years	2				2	1			5	7	1	2
20 to 24 years	1	2				3					1	
25 to 29 years	2	1			4	1			1	1	1	
30 to 34 years	1					2			1	2	1	1
35 to 39 years	1	2			3	2			3	8	1	
40 to 44 years	1	4			2	2			5	4		
45 to 49 years	2				4	3			4	1		1
50 to 54 years						2				3	2	
55 to 59 years	2	1			1	1			2	1		
60 to 64 years	1	2			1							
65 to 69 years					2	1				2	2	1
70 to 74 years	2					1					1	
75 years and over	1	1				1			1			
18 years and over	14	13			17	19			18	23	9	5
21 years and over	14	13			17	19			17	22	9	3
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	167	116	238	243	381	397	442	477	458	497	192	196
Single	79	16	29	28	57	49	53	62	67	65	30	26
Married	82	84	198	199	316	319	371	368	383	389	154	153
Separated	2	3			3	1	1	4	7	6	4	2
Widowed	5	14	11	14	2	28	12	36	7	35	4	15
Divorced	1	2		2	6	1	6	11	1	8	4	2
Nonwhite, 14+	16	13			19	21			23	31	10	5
Single	5	3			4	4			7	9	3	
Married	10	10			14	15			15	15	4	4
Separated	2	2							2	1	1	
Widowed	1				1	2			1	6	1	1
Divorced										1	2	

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0022	021 0023N	021 0023P	021 0024N	021 0024P	021 0024R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	424	91	244			
Owner occupied	347	78	139			
White	347	71	116			
Nonwhite		7	23			
Renter occupied	65	9	101			
White	65	7	98			
Nonwhite		2	3			
Available vacant	6	1	3			
For rent	2		2			
For sale only	4	1	1			
Other vacant	6	3	1			
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	424	91	244			
Sound	417	88	237			
With all plumbing facilities	409	83	229			
Lacking only hot water	3					
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5	5	8			
Deteriorating	7	1	4			
With all plumbing facilities	4	1	3			
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3		1			
Dilapidated		2	3			
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		9	26			
Sound		8	23			
With all plumbing facilities		4	15			
Lacking some or all facilities		4	8			
Deteriorating			1			
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities			1			
Dilapidated		1	2			
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	424	91	244			
1						
2	3		2			
3	14	3	29			
4	65	28	95			
5	159	38	59			
6	112	12	29			
7	50	7	28			
8 or more	21	3	2			
Median	5.3	4.9	4.5			
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		9	26			
1						
2			1			
3		1	1			
4		2	8			
5		1	7			
6		3	5			
7		1	4			
8 or more		1				
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	412	87	240			
1	16	2	24			
2	99	21	66			
3	97	23	50			
4	109	25	54			
5	57	11	23			
6 or more	34	5	23			
Median	3.4	3.4	3.1			
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		9	26			
1			3			
2		2	7			
3		4	5			
4		1	2			
5			2			
6 or more		2	7			
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	412	87	240			
0.50 or less	139	25	83			
0.51 to 0.75	156	25	73			
0.76 to 1.00	97	34	62			
1.01 or more	20	3	22			
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		9	26			
0.50 or less		2	10			
0.51 to 0.75		5	7			
0.76 to 1.00		1	7			
1.01 or more		1	2			
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0022	021 004 021 0023N	021 004 021 0023P	021 004 021 0024N	021 004 021 0024P	021 004 021 0024R
Total population	1445	304	788	198	157	242
White	1448	267	692	104	127	173
Negro	1	37	96	94	30	68
Other races						1
Total population	1445	304	788	198	157	242
Pop. in households	1445	304	788		1	
Head of household	412	87	240			
Head of prim. fam.	392	84	214			
Primary individual	20	3	26			
Wife of head	372	77	199			
Child under 18	520	94	268			
Other relative	128	40	76			
Nonrelative	13	6	5		1	
Pop. in group quarters				198	156	242
Inmate of institution				198	156	242
Other						
Pop. per household	3.51	3.49	3.28			
Nonwhite population	1	37	96	94	30	69
Pop. in households	1	37	96			
Head of household		9	26			
Head of prim. fam.		8	23			
Primary individual		1	3			
Wife of head		6	18			
Child under 18		6	14			
Other relative		13	36			
Nonrelative	1	3	2			
Pop. in group quarters				94	30	69
Inmate of institution				94	30	69
Other						
Pop. per household			3.69			

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	728	717	165	139	371	417	197	1	146	11	238	4
Under 1 year	21	16	5	5	14	16						
1 year	15	7	4	4	14	14						
2 years	12	12	4	1	3	15						
3 years	20	15	3	3	13	13						
4 years	17	15	4	2	10	10						
5 years	17	12	4		9	8						
6 years	18	19	4	4	13	8						
7 years	19	17	5	4	4	5						
8 years	13	12	4	2	6	5						
9 years	20	17	4	2	9	7						
10 years	14	22	4	1	6	10						
11 years	11	20	4	1	5	5						
12 years	19	9	3	2	6	7						
13 years	23	22	5	1	5	6						
14 years	9	8	1	2	5	6						
15 years	10	13	2		4	5						
16 years	6	14	2	2	3	5						
17 years	13	15	6	4	4	8						
18 years	7	11	2	1	6	9						
19 years	6	6	4	2	2	5						
20 years	7	12	2	3	1	9			1		3	
21 years and over	431	423	89	93	223	241	197	1	145	11	235	4
Total population	728	717	165	139	371	417	197	1	146	11	238	4
Under 5 years	85	65	20	15	60	68						
5 to 9 years	87	77	21	12	41	33						
10 to 14 years	76	81	17	7	27	34						
15 to 19 years	42	59	16	9	19	32						
20 to 24 years	44	43	6	8	28	41			3		9	
25 to 29 years	45	48	13	14	39	35	5		21		22	
30 to 34 years	57	59	14	15	38	29	19		23	1	32	1
35 to 39 years	70	63	17	14	26	30	24		27	2	45	2
40 to 44 years	65	70	14	12	26	30	32		27	6	32	
45 to 49 years	47	46	9	5	19	25	28		16	1	22	
50 to 54 years	44	35	3	7	16	16	18		4	1	17	
55 to 59 years	29	25	4	3	13	15	5		2		2	
60 to 64 years	15	9	2	12	6	13	36	1	12		22	
65 to 69 years	10	16	8	1	4	6	16		9		21	
70 to 74 years	5	7		2	6	5	12		2		10	1
75 to 79 years	4	6	1		1	2	1				2	
80 to 84 years	3	6		1	1	2	1				2	
85 years and over		2		2	1	1						
18 years and over	451	452	97	99	232	264	197	1	146	11	238	4
Median age	28.3	28.5	26.0	31.5	26.3	25.1	48.3		39.8		41.7	
Nonwhite population		1	23	14	46	50	94		30		68	1
Under 5 years			1		6	5						
5 to 9 years			1	2	4	2						
10 to 14 years			5		2	4						
15 to 19 years			3	1	6	5						
20 to 24 years			1	1	2	5			2		2	
25 to 29 years		1	2	1	3	3			4		4	
30 to 34 years				1	3	3	14		4		13	1
35 to 39 years			3	1	2	4	14		5		14	
40 to 44 years			3	2	3	2	20		7		13	
45 to 49 years					2	4	16		2		6	
50 to 54 years			1	2	5	5	7				4	
55 to 59 years			1		3		1		1			
60 to 64 years				1	1	2	14		4		4	
65 to 69 years			1	1		2	4		1		5	
70 to 74 years				1	3	3	4				3	
75 years and over			1		1	1						
18 years and over		1	13	11	31	35	94		30		68	1
21 years and over		1	13	10	28	32	94		30		67	1
Median age						31.7	44.8				40.4	
Total, 14 & over	489	502	108	107	248	288	197	1	146	11	238	4
Single	88	69	23	12	30	47	43		41	3	80	2
Married	384	391	82	81	206	210	111	1	88	6	118	1
Separated	3	7	1		1	4	19		9		13	
Widowed	9	35	2	12	2	22	17		2		14	
Divorced	8	7	1	2	4	9	26		15	2	26	1
Nonwhite, 14+		1	16	12	34	40	94		30		68	1
Single		1	8	3	10	11	21		7		21	
Married			7	7	22	24	57		19		38	1
Separated						2	13		7		5	
Widowed			1	2	1	5	8		1		4	
Divorced					1		8		3		5	

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0024S	021 0025N	021 0025P	021 0025R	021 0026N	021 0026P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	32	404	94	34	72	111
Owner occupied		262	72	24	48	79
White		258	28	24	27	71
Nonwhite		4	44		21	8
Renter occupied	32	137	18	9	22	29
White	32	137	2	9	16	25
Nonwhite			16		6	4
Available vacant		5	1			1
For rent		4	1			
For sale only		1				1
Other vacant			3	1	2	2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	32	404	94	34	72	111
Sound	32	384	73	30	47	85
With all plumbing facilities	31	381	64	29	46	80
Lacking only hot water		2	1		1	1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	1	8	1		4
Deteriorating		16	7	2	6	13
With all plumbing facilities		12	1	2	4	10
Lacking only hot water		1	1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		3	5		2	3
Dilapidated		4	14	2	19	13
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		4	60		27	12
Sound		2	41		13	5
With all plumbing facilities		2	32		12	4
Lacking some or all facilities			9		1	1
Deteriorating			7		4	1
With all plumbing facilities			1		2	
Lacking some or all facilities			6		2	1
Dilapidated		2	12		10	6
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	32	404	94	34	72	111
1			2			
2		2	3		3	5
3		37	4	2	8	4
4	27	178	20	6	18	27
5	1	110	35	15	25	37
6	1	50	13	8	14	26
7	2	20	12	3	2	9
8 or more	1	7	5		2	3
Median		4.4	5.0		4.8	5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		4	60		27	12
1			2			
2			2		2	3
3			2		2	
4		1	15		7	4
5		1	22		8	2
6		1	7		6	1
7		1	5		1	1
8 or more			5		1	1
Median			4.9			
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	32	399	90	33	70	108
1		33	12		7	5
2	8	113	24	9	13	25
3	10	96	20	5	20	20
4	9	100	11	8	18	31
5	3	40	7	6	8	14
6 or more	2	17	16	5	4	13
Median		3.1	3.0		3.3	3.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		4	60		27	12
1		1	10		4	1
2		3	15		4	3
3			12		6	2
4			6		9	3
5			3		1	1
6 or more			14		3	2
Median			2.9			
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	32	399	90	33	70	108
0.50 or less	9	146	36	10	22	35
0.51 to 0.75	10	120	24	8	20	24
0.76 to 1.00	9	102	18	11	19	35
1.01 or more	4	31	12	4	9	14
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		4	60		27	12
0.50 or less		4	25		10	5
0.51 to 0.75			12		4	
0.76 to 1.00			11		9	3
1.01 or more			12		4	4
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0024S	021 004 021 0025N	021 004 021 0025P	021 004 021 0025R	021 004 021 0026N	021 004 021 0026P
Total population	180	1251	318	125	234	403
White	173	1244	96	124	140	354
Negro	7	4	222	1	94	48
Other races		3				1
Total population	180	1251	318	125	234	403
Pop. in households	110	1251	318	125	234	403
Head of household	32	399	90	33	70	108
Head of prim. fam.	32	358	75	33	63	103
Primary individual		41	15		7	5
Wife of head	31	333	70	31	51	95
Child under 18	44	416	105	52	72	144
Other relative	3	84	40	0	39	53
Nonrelative		19	13	1	2	3
Pop. in group quarters	70					
Inmate of institution						
Other	70					
Pop. per household	3.44	3.14	3.53	3.79	3.34	3.73
Nonwhite population	7	7	222	1	94	49
Pop. in households		7	222	1	94	49
Head of household		4	60		27	12
Head of prim. fam.		3	47		23	11
Primary individual		1	13		4	1
Wife of head		3	43		17	9
Child under 18			73		27	19
Other relative			34		21	10
Nonrelative			12	1	2	
Pop. in group quarters	7					
Inmate of institution						
Other	7					
Pop. per household			3.70		3.48	

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	61	119	617	634	171	147	65	60	125	109	206	197
Under 1 year	2	5	18	13	5	3	3	1	2	2	4	2
1 year	2	4	15	13	7	5	2	1	3		6	5
2 years	3	3	16	18	4		2	2	4	3	4	3
3 years	3		12	18	6	3	1	2	3	1	5	8
4 years	1	2	13	9	3	4	7	2	5	5	6	2
5 years	2	2	22	13	4	2	1	1	2	3	4	8
6 years		2	19	10	2	4		2	1	3	7	4
7 years	1	1	8	14	5	2	1	1	4	4	5	5
8 years	2		7	16	4		2	2	8		2	2
9 years	1	1	11	12	3	2			1		9	1
10 years	1		14	7	4	3	2	2	4	1	3	4
11 years			15	8	6	2	2		1	2	4	4
12 years			15	10	2	1	4		3	1	4	4
13 years		3	19	11		5	1	3	2	3	6	3
14 years		2	8	5		3		1	1			4
15 years			8	7	6			2		2	5	3
16 years	1		7	10	3	2	1		1	2	6	4
17 years			4	4	7	5	1		3	2	3	4
18 years	1		10	6	4	2	1		3	2	2	1
19 years			5	8		4	1	1	1	1	4	3
20 years			5	14	1	1		3	2	4	3	1
21 years and over	41	94	366	408	95	94	33	34	71	68	114	122
Total population	61	119	617	634	171	147	65	60	125	109	206	197
Under 5 years	11	14	74	71	25	15	15	8	17	11	25	20
5 to 9 years	6	6	67	65	18	10	4	6	16	10	27	20
10 to 14 years	1	5	71	41	12	14	9	6	11	7	17	19
15 to 19 years	2		34	35	20	13	4	3	8	9	20	15
20 to 24 years	1	20	41	59	8	8	3	6	12	11	12	11
25 to 29 years	9	15	48	47	8	6	4	4	11	11	10	17
30 to 34 years	10	15	52	60	8	16	1	6	10	5	14	14
35 to 39 years	8	9	57	78	13	16	7	4	6	11	16	16
40 to 44 years	1	12	45	40	8	10	5	4	9	8	19	18
45 to 49 years	4	10	51	40	16	12	8	8	6	6	21	15
50 to 54 years	5	6	24	30	15	12	3	2	5	7	8	5
55 to 59 years		2	24	25	11	5	2	2	4	2	6	8
60 to 64 years	2	3	5	14	3	4			5	3	1	6
65 to 69 years	1	1	13	11	3	2		1	2	3	7	6
70 to 74 years		1	8	10	3	3			1	4	3	3
75 to 79 years			2	7		1			2	1		3
80 to 84 years				1								
85 years and over			1									1
18 years and over	42	94	386	436	100	101	35	38	77	75	123	127
Median age	30.3	29.8	27.2	29.9	26.0	32.3	20.8	26.3	24.4	28.0	26.0	29.0
Nonwhite population		7	3	4	124	98		1	44	50	27	22
Under 5 years					18	11			4	3		1
5 to 9 years					14	8			8	7	3	4
10 to 14 years					9	6			2	4	5	1
15 to 19 years					10	11			5	6	3	5
20 to 24 years		1			6	5			1	2	2	
25 to 29 years		2	1	1	7	4			2	2	3	
30 to 34 years		1		1	4	9			2	1		
35 to 39 years		2	1		8	13			2	6	1	1
40 to 44 years					5	5			5	6	1	3
45 to 49 years					12	9		1	3	2	8	4
50 to 54 years		1			13	8			3	5	1	1
55 to 59 years					7	3			4	1		1
60 to 64 years					2	3			2	2		
65 to 69 years				1	2							1
70 to 74 years			1		1	2				2		
75 years and over				1		1			1	1		
18 years and over		7	3	4	71	67		1	28	31	17	13
21 years and over		7	3	4	66	61		1	24	29	16	11
Median age					24.2	32.2				35.0		
Total, 14 & over	43	96	413	462	116	111	37	41	82	81	137	142
Single	6	56	54	62	32	23	4	4	20	13	30	23
Married	35	36	344	350	76	80	32	34	55	56	104	105
Separated	1	1	3	9	3	4				1	4	1
Widowed		1	8	37	6	7	1	2	3	12	1	13
Divorced	2	3	7	13	2	1		1	4		2	1
Nonwhite, 14+		7	3	4	63	73		1	30	36	19	16
Single		5			28	16		1	8	9	9	5
Married		2	3	3	49	52			19	21	10	10
Separated		1			3	4				1		
Widowed				1	5	5			2	6		1
Divorced					1				1			

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0026R	021 0026S	021 0026T	021 0027N	021 0027P	021 0027R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	72	51	100	237	4	226
Owner occupied	62	43	88	178		135
White	62	43	88	178		135
Nonwhite						
Renter occupied	7	4	6	51		85
White	7	4	6	51		85
Nonwhite						
Available vacant	2	1	4	6		6
For rent	2	1	1	5		4
For sale only			3	1		2
Other vacant	1	3	2	2		
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	72	51	100	237		226
Sound	63	44	92	172		193
With all plumbing facilities	63	42	91	171		188
Lacking only hot water			1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		2		1		5
Deteriorating	9	4	5	63		32
With all plumbing facilities	8	3	5	45		28
Lacking only hot water		1		1		2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1			17		2
Dilapidated		3	3	2		1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
Sound						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated						
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	72	51	100	237		226
1		1				2
2	1	2	1	13		
3	3	2	5	17		7
4	3	4	17	24		84
5	35	17	33	94		40
6	15	18	31	61		61
7	12	4	10	23		20
8 or more	3	3	3	5		12
Median	5.3	5.5	5.3	5.2		5.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	69	47	94	229		220
1	1	1	5	16		8
2	7	19	24	51		76
3	18	13	27	37		55
4	16	10	16	59		40
5	21	2	14	36		22
6 or more	6	2	8	30		19
Median	4.0		3.2	3.7		3.0
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6 or more						
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	69	47	94	229		220
0.50 or less	14	24	43	65		103
0.51 to 0.75	27	15	21	58		59
0.76 to 1.00	22	7	25	86		47
1.01 or more	6	1	5	20		11
Housing units occupied by nonwhites						
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00						
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0026R		021 004 021 0026S		021 004 021 0026T		021 004 021 0027N		021 004 021 0027P		021 004 021 0027R	
Total population	275		141		317		840		11		714	
White	275		141		317		840		11		714	
Negro												
Other races												
Total population	275		141		317		840		11		714	
Pop. in households	275		141		317		840		11		714	
Head of household	69		47		94		229		4		220	
Head of prim. fam.	68		46		89		212		3		206	
Primary individual	1		1		5		17		1		14	
Wife of head	64		43		83		197		3		191	
Child under 18	113		37		112		345		3		218	
Other relative	28		14		28		65		1		75	
Nonrelative	1						4				10	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.99		3.00		3.37		3.67				3.25	
Nonwhite population												
Pop. in households												
Head of household												
Head of prim. fam.												
Primary individual												
Wife of head												
Child under 18												
Other relative												
Nonrelative												
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	143	132	69	72	159	158	410	430	6	5	344	370
Under 1 year	3		1	2	4	3	8	15			10	15
1 year	2	2			5	5	11	12	1		11	8
2 years	2	4	2	1	5	7	12	5			5	12
3 years	5	2		2	4	2	10	11			11	9
4 years	2	1	1		7	4	10	9			6	5
5 years	1	6		1	4	4	15	9			5	6
6 years	4	3	1		4	4	11	15			5	7
7 years	5	2	2		5	2	11	11		1	8	5
8 years	6	5		1	3	3	15	8			4	5
9 years	5	1	1	2	2	6	9	9			7	7
10 years	4	3	3	2	5	3	11	17		1	1	6
11 years	6	4			3	1	10	13			8	7
12 years	3	5	2		4	3	7	12			6	10
13 years	3	7	2	2		1	8	13			12	9
14 years	5	1	1		2	3	4	2			5	3
15 years	4		2	2	1	2	13	2			4	5
16 years	5	2		2	3	1	10	8			3	6
17 years	2	1	1	2		3	5	8			3	6
18 years		6		3	3	1	4	8	1		3	10
19 years	1	1	1	2	1		5	7			2	6
20 years	1	2	1		3	2	7	7			5	6
21 years and over	74	78	48	48	91	98	214	229	4	3	220	222
Total population	143	132	69	72	159	158	410	430	6	5	344	370
Under 5 years	14	9	4	5	25	21	51	52	1		43	49
5 to 9 years	21	17	4	4	18	19	61	52		1	29	30
10 to 14 years	21	20	8	4	14	11	40	57		1	32	30
15 to 19 years	12	10	4	11	8	7	37	33	1		15	33
20 to 24 years	5	4	3	6	6	7	20	30			37	45
25 to 29 years	1	9	6	4	10	16	31	31			38	25
30 to 34 years	15	9	1	3	15	14	23	43			21	26
35 to 39 years	10	17	9	8	17	11	44	30		1	32	33
40 to 44 years	18	13	7	8	12	11	35	31	1		26	24
45 to 49 years	8	8	11	8	9	15	24	26		1	19	22
50 to 54 years	9	3	3	4	11	10	19	13	1	1	15	15
55 to 59 years	5	3	3	3	7	7	7	8	1		15	12
60 to 64 years	1	4	3	1	3	3	5	2			9	13
65 to 69 years	1	1	2	2	1		6	4			7	6
70 to 74 years	1	3		1	2	5	2	3			4	2
75 to 79 years	1	1	1		1	1	2	5			1	3
80 to 84 years							3	1	1		1	1
85 years and over		1										1
18 years and over	76	83	50	53	98	101	230	251	5	3	230	244
Median age	23.5	28.3	37.5	33.3	29.3	29.4	24.0	23.5			27.1	24.8
Nonwhite population												
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years												
10 to 14 years												
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years												
25 to 29 years												
30 to 34 years												
35 to 39 years												
40 to 44 years												
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years												
55 to 59 years												
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over												
18 years and over												
21 years and over												
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	92	87	54	59	104	110	262	271	5	3	245	264
Single	21	11	7	13	15	13	51	31	1		34	33
Married	68	68	46	45	86	86	206	215	3	3	201	198
Separated	2	1	1				1	5			4	2
Widowed	2	8	1	1	1	10	3	16	1		4	22
Divorced	1				2	1	2	9			6	11
Nonwhite, 14+												
Single												
Married												
Separated												
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0029R	021 0029S	021 0030N	021 0030P	021 0031N	021 0031P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	146	159	71	184	32	
Owner occupied	112	134	49	140		
White	112	134	46	132		
Nonwhite			3	8		
Renter occupied	28	21	20	35	32	
White	28	21	12	30	32	
Nonwhite			8	5		
Available vacant	4	2		3		
For rent	2	1		2		
For sale only	2	1		1		
Other vacant	2	2	2	6		
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	146	159	71	184	32	
Sound	143	157	61	176	32	
With all plumbing facilities	139	156	55	161	32	
Lacking only hot water	1	1	1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3		5	15		
Deteriorating	2	1	9	2		
With all plumbing facilities	1		1			
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	1	8	2		
Dilapidated	1	1	1	6		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			11	13		
Sound			3	6		
With all plumbing facilities			1	1		
Lacking some or all facilities			2	5		
Deteriorating			7	2		
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities			7	2		
Dilapidated			1	5		
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	146	159	71	184	32	
1		1	2	5		
2	1	5		7		
3		24	9	21		
4	34	55	17	13	5	
5	39	33	27	69	19	
6	46	22	7	28	1	
7	19	11	7	33	2	
8 or more	7	8	2	8	5	
Median	5.5	4.4	4.8	5.2		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			11	13		
1			2			
2				1		
3			2	5		
4			2	2		
5			3	3		
6			1	1		
7			1	1		
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	140	155	69	175	32	
1	10	15	5	16		
2	37	46	13	33	4	
3	28	33	12	31	9	
4	33	31	19	47	8	
5	19	17	12	27	9	
6 or more	13	13	8	21	2	
Median	3.3	3.0	3.7	3.7		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			11	13		
1			2	1		
2			1	4		
3				1		
4			3	3		
5			1	3		
6 or more			4	1		
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	140	155	69	175	32	
0.50 or less	65	55	15	49	8	
0.51 to 0.75	32	46	22	44	10	
0.76 to 1.00	28	40	19	61	12	
1.01 or more	15	14	13	21	2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			11	13		
0.50 or less			1	4		
0.51 to 0.75			2	2		
0.76 to 1.00			4	2		
1.01 or more			4	5		
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 001 021 0029R	021 001 021 0029S	021 001 021 0030N	021 001 021 0030P	021 001 021 0031N	021 001 021 0031P
Total population	478	501	258	647	124	
White	478	501	209	599	124	
Negro			49	48		
Other races						
Total population	478	501	258	647	124	
Pop. in households	478	501	258	647	124	
Head of household	140	155	69	175	32	
Head of prim. fam.	129	138	64	152	32	
Primary individual	11	17	5	23		
Wife of head	121	128	57	137	31	
Child under 18	179	183	99	248	56	
Other relative	38	28	31	71	5	
Nonrelative	4	7	2	16		
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	3.41	3.23	3.78	3.70	3.88	
Nonwhite population			49	48		
Pop. in households			49	48		
Head of household			11	13		
Head of prim. fam.			9	11		
Primary individual			2	2		
Wife of head			8	9		
Child under 18			25	17		
Other relative			3	6		
Nonrelative			2	3		
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household						

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	227	251	243	258	124	134	327	320	64	60		
Under 1 year	3	4	12	9	1	4	8	10	2			
1 year	9	6	5	5	1	6	7	3		3		
2 years	8	4	8	4	2		7	3	1	2		
3 years	5	7	6	3	3	7	7	4	1	3		
4 years	3	6	8	4	3	5	5	7	2	3		
5 years	4	7	5	7	6	4	5	8	4	1		
6 years	5	6	10	5	3	5	9	7	1	4		
7 years	5	5	3	5	3	7	6	9	3	2		
8 years	4	12	4	7	5	3	10	6	1	1		
9 years	6	7	2	8		4	7	6	1	3		
10 years	4	1	2	8	4	4	6	8	2			
11 years	7	7	5	4	2	1	11	7	3	2		
12 years	6	5	5	6	1	2	11	17	2	4		
13 years	7	7	2	7	2	2	15	9	1			
14 years	2	5	3	2	3		9	3		1		
15 years	2	2	3	6	1		5	4				
16 years	5	4	5	4	2	4	9	9	1			
17 years	1	3	5	7	1	1	4	2	3			
18 years	1	5		4	1		2	6				
19 years	4	2	2	1	5	1	3	6	1			
20 years	1	4	3	8	1	2	4	4				
21 years and over	135	142	145	144	74	72	177	182	34	32		
Total population	227	251	243	258	124	134	327	320	64	60		
Under 5 years	28	27	39	25	10	22	34	27	6	10		
5 to 9 years	24	37	24	32	17	23	37	36	11	11		
10 to 14 years	26	25	17	27	12	9	52	44	8	7		
15 to 19 years	13	16	15	22	10	6	23	27	5			
20 to 24 years	18	18	14	19	9	10	16	13	2	1		
25 to 29 years	8	20	23	21	11	12	20	20		4		
30 to 34 years	24	17	18	21	13	11	17	22	4	3		
35 to 39 years	20	19	25	24	7	9	30	41	6	12		
40 to 44 years	24	24	14	14	9	13	29	24	14	6		
45 to 49 years	9	7	19	19	6	2	25	24	5	4		
50 to 54 years	9	8	9	10	6	4	18	11	3	1		
55 to 59 years	6	13	9	5	6	5	12	10				
60 to 64 years	4	7	9	5	4	3	4	7				
65 to 69 years	6	4	2	7	1	1	6	6				
70 to 74 years	5	4	2	3	2	2	2	5				
75 to 79 years	3	3	3	3	1	1		1		1		
80 to 84 years		2	1			1	2	1				
85 years and over				1				1				
18 years and over	141	153	150	157	81	75	186	198	35	32		
Median age	27.8	25.6	27.7	26.0	26.8	23.5	25.4	28.3	30.0	26.3		
Nonwhite population					26	23	25	23				
Under 5 years					5	7	2	1				
5 to 9 years					8	5	2	6				
10 to 14 years					1		4	2				
15 to 19 years							2					
20 to 24 years					1	2		1				
25 to 29 years					2	2	4	1				
30 to 34 years					4	1						
35 to 39 years						3	1	2				
40 to 44 years					2		1	1				
45 to 49 years							4	4				
50 to 54 years						1	1	2				
55 to 59 years					1	1		1				
60 to 64 years					1		1	2				
65 to 69 years						1	2					
70 to 74 years					1							
75 years and over							1					
18 years and over					12	11	16	14				
21 years and over					12	11	15	13				
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	151	167	166	176	88	80	213	216	39	33		
Single	21	19	27	24	22	10	50	37	5			
Married	127	131	132	135	63	66	149	153	34	32		
Separated			1	1		4	3	6				
Widowed	2	15	5	13	2	4	5	20		1		
Divorced	1	2	2	4	1		9	6				
Nonwhite, 14 +					12	11	17	14				
Single					3	1	4					
Married					9	9	12	12				
Separated						1	2	2				
Widowed						1	1	2				
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0032N	021 0032P	021 0032R	021 0032S	021 0032T	021 0032U
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	110	16	65	121	15	7
Owner occupied	68	8	42	94	7	3
White	68	8	42	82	7	3
Nonwhite				12		
Renter occupied	40	7	22	20	7	2
White	39	7	22	19	6	2
Nonwhite	1			1	1	
Available vacant	2			6	1	
For rent	1			2	1	
For sale only	1			4		
Other vacant		1	1	1		2
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	110	16	65	121	15	7
Sound	108	9	59	119	10	5
With all plumbing facilities	102	3	58	117	9	3
Lacking only hot water			1			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	6	6		2	1	2
Deteriorating	2	5	5		2	1
With all plumbing facilities	2	2	3			
Lacking only hot water			2			
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		3			2	1
Dilapidated		2	1	2	3	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			13	1	
Sound	1			12		
With all plumbing facilities	1			11		
Lacking some or all facilities				1		
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated				1	1	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	110	16	65	121	15	7
1	4					
2	11			1		
3	22	3	4		2	1
4	35	7	7	5	2	1
5	18	3	32	68	5	3
6	12	2	18	33	3	1
7	5		1	7	2	1
8 or more	3	1	3	7	1	
Median	4.0		5.2	5.3		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			13	1	
1						
2				1		
3	1				1	
4				2		
5				5		
6				3		
7						
8 or more				2		
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	108	15	64	114	14	5
1	14	3		4	1	
2	30	3	10	15	1	3
3	27	2	12	21	3	1
4	23	3	20	34	3	1
5	11	3	5	16	1	
6 or more	3	1	17	24	5	
Median	2.9		4.0	4.0		
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			13	1	
1				1		
2	1			1		
3				1	1	
4				3		
5				3		
6 or more				4		
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	108	15	64	114	14	5
0.50 or less	32	7	12	24	3	3
0.51 to 0.75	33	2	17	37	3	1
0.76 to 1.00	28	3	24	42	4	1
1.01 or more	15	3	11	11	4	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			13	1	
0.50 or less				2		
0.51 to 0.75	1			4		
0.76 to 1.00				4	1	
1.01 or more				3		
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 001 021 0032N	021 001 021 0032P	021 001 021 0032R	021 001 021 0032S	021 001 021 0032T	021 001 021 0032U
Total population	320	48	269	473	65	13
White	318	48	269	410	62	13
Negro				63	3	
Other races	2					
Total population	320	48	269	473	65	13
Pop. in households	320	48	269	473	65	13
Head of household	108	15	64	114	14	5
Head of prim. fam.	92	12	64	110	13	5
Primary individual	16	3		4	1	
Wife of head	85	12	58	101	13	5
Child under 18	86	18	120	207	23	3
Other relative	32	3	26	49	12	
Nonrelative	9		1	2	3	
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	2.96		4.20	4.15	4.64	
Nonwhite population	2			63	3	
Pop. in households	2			63	3	
Head of household	1			13	1	
Head of prim. fam.	1			12	1	
Primary individual				1		
Wife of head				11	1	
Child under 18				21		
Other relative	1			17	1	
Nonrelative				1		
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household				4.85		

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	165	155	23	25	132	137	237	236	33	32	8	5
Under 1 year	6	2	2		7	5	3	1		1		
1 year	3	2			4	5	8	7		1		
2 years	6	1		2	4	4	7	4	3	1		
3 years	4	4		1	3	5	9	3				
4 years	4	5		2	7	6	9	8		3		
5 years	5	3	1	2	3	3	6	4		2		
6 years	1	5	1		5	6	10	5		1		
7 years	2	2	1		1	2	4	7	1			
8 years	1		1		4	7	7	7	1	1		
9 years	7	6			3	5	6	9		2		
10 years	1	1			5	2	7	2	1		1	
11 years		1			2	1	7	9	1			
12 years	2	2	1		1	2	5	4	1			
13 years	1	2		1	1	3	8	12	1	1		
14 years	2	1		1	1	2	7	3		1		
15 years	2	2			4	2	3	4	1	1	2	
16 years	3	1		1	2	1	3	7	3			
17 years	2	2		1	1	2	5	6	1	1		
18 years	3	4		1	3	3	4	2	1	1		
19 years		6			2	4	2	3	1			
20 years	2	6			1	1	3	3				
21 years and over	108	97	16	13	68	66	114	126	17	15	5	5
Total population	165	155	23	25	132	137	237	236	33	32	8	5
Under 5 years	23	14	2	5	25	25	36	23	3	6		
5 to 9 years	16	16	4	2	16	23	33	32	2	6		
10 to 14 years	6	7	1	2	10	10	34	30	4	2	1	
15 to 19 years	10	15		3	12	12	17	22	7	3	2	
20 to 24 years	17	18		1	8	11	9	13	3	1		
25 to 29 years	15	13	2	4	10	14	10	25	1	2		
30 to 34 years	20	8	2		17	14	16	12	1	1		
35 to 39 years	10	11	1		7	6	21	26	3	2		
40 to 44 years	13	13	1	2	10	6	20	17	1	3		
45 to 49 years	6	7	1	2	7	6	21	17	3	2	1	1
50 to 54 years	6	6	1	1	1	3	10	6	1	1	1	
55 to 59 years	8	15	5	1	6	2	1	3	2	1	1	2
60 to 64 years	5	5	1	1	2	1	3	4	1	1		1
65 to 69 years	6	3	1			2	1	3	1	1	1	
70 to 74 years	1	1			1	1	3	1			1	1
75 to 79 years	1	2	1			1		1				
80 to 84 years	1			1				1				
85 years and over	1	1					2					
18 years and over	113	113	16	14	74	74	123	134	19	16	5	5
Median age	28.5	27.9			21.9	19.4	19.6	24.2				
Nonwhite population		2					34	29	2	1		
Under 5 years							6	2				
5 to 9 years							3	4				
10 to 14 years							3	2				
15 to 19 years		1					5	2	1			
20 to 24 years		1					4	3				
25 to 29 years							1	3				
30 to 34 years								3				
35 to 39 years							2	1				
40 to 44 years								4				
45 to 49 years							6	2	1	1		
50 to 54 years							1					
55 to 59 years							1					
60 to 64 years								1				
65 to 69 years							1					
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over							1	2				
18 years and over		1					19	10	2	1		
21 years and over		1					16	18	1	1		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	122	110	16	17	82	81	141	154	24	19	7	5
Single	18	16	3	4	15	11	29	30	9	3	2	
Married	97	80	12	12	64	65	107	113	13	13	5	5
Separated	5	1				1	1	4				
Widowed	2	10	1	1	2	4	4	6		2		
Divorced	5	8			1	1	1	5	2	1		
Nonwhite, 14+		2					23	21	2	1		
Single		2					8	4	1			
Married							14	15	1	1		
Separated												
Widowed							1	2				
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: _____

Housing characteristics	021 0032W	021 0033NA	021 0033NB	021 0033P	021 0033R	021 0033S
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	48	66	3	45	63	85
Owner occupied	31	39		31	38	62
White	29	35		15	30	56
Nonwhite	2	4		16	8	6
Renter occupied	16	25		11	23	23
White	15	23		8	23	22
Nonwhite	1	2		3		1
Available vacant		1		1		
For rent		1		1		
For sale only						
Other vacant	1	1		2	2	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	48	66		45	63	85
Sound	45	50		33	55	77
With all plumbing facilities	39	50		29	44	64
Lacking only hot water	1			1	5	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	5			3	6	13
Deteriorating	1	13		11	6	8
With all plumbing facilities		9		2	3	2
Lacking only hot water					2	1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	4		9	1	5
Dilapidated	2	3		1	2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3	6		19	8	7
Sound	2	4		11	6	7
With all plumbing facilities	2	4		9	3	7
Lacking some or all facilities				2	3	
Deteriorating		2		7	1	
With all plumbing facilities				1		
Lacking some or all facilities		2		6	1	
Dilapidated	1			1	1	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	48	66		45	63	85
1	3	12				
2	6	1		3	1	1
3	1	10		4	5	10
4	18	14		12	25	15
5	11	17		8	21	22
6	6	7		10	8	22
7	2	3		3	2	8
8 or more	1	2		5	1	7
Median		4.2			4.5	5.3
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3	6		19	8	7
1						
2	1			1		
3		1			1	
4	1	2		4	4	3
5	1	2		1	3	2
6				8		1
7				2		1
8 or more		1		3		
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	47	64		42	61	85
1	3	13		4	2	4
2	9	24		17	18	22
3	10	10		6	8	14
4	11	6		4	16	22
5	6	7		2	8	9
6 or more	8	4		9	9	14
Median		2.3			3.7	3.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3	6		19	8	7
1		3		3	1	
2	2	1		7	3	1
3		1		2	1	1
4				3	2	2
5					1	1
6 or more	1	1		4		2
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	47	64		42	61	85
0.50 or less	12	23		20	21	27
0.51 to 0.75	8	11		6	13	25
0.76 to 1.00	16	19		5	16	19
1.01 or more	11	11		11	11	14
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	3	6		19	8	7
0.50 or less	2	5		11	4	1
0.51 to 0.75				2	1	1
0.76 to 1.00				2	2	4
1.01 or more	1	1		4	1	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 001 021 0032W	021 001 021 0033NA	021 001 021 0033NB	021 001 021 0033P	021 001 021 0033R	021 001 021 0033S
Total population	176	189	4	146	228	316
White	164	175		81	205	283
Negro	12	14		65	23	33
Other races						
Total population	176	189		146	228	316
Pop. in households	176	178		146	228	316
Head of household	47	64		42	61	85
Head of prim. fam.	44	46		38	57	80
Primary individual	3	18		4	4	5
Wife of head	36	38		33	53	72
Child under 18	74	57		33	88	113
Other relative	18	13		36	21	35
Nonrelative	1	6		2	5	11
Pop. in group quarters		11				
Inmate of institution						
Other		11				
Pop. per household	3.74	2.78		3.48	3.74	3.72
Nonwhite population	12	14		65	23	33
Pop. in households	12	14		65	23	33
Head of household	3	6		10	8	7
Head of prim. fam.	3	3		16	7	7
Primary individual		3		3	1	
Wife of head	1	2		13	5	7
Child under 18	6	5		8	5	15
Other relative	2	1		25	5	
Nonrelative						4
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household				3.42		

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	91	85	99	90			70	76	109	119	158	158
Under 1 year	1	3		2			1	3	4	2	6	3
1 year	1	8	4	2			1	2	4	2	2	3
2 years	5	4	1	1			3	3	4	2	2	3
3 years	5	3	2	3			2			3	6	5
4 years	3	2	3	1			2	3	1	3	3	3
5 years	2	1	3	3			2	2	3	2	5	3
6 years	2	3	2	1				1	3	1	5	6
7 years	2	3	3	1			1	2	2	2	5	2
8 years	2		1	2			5		1	6	3	2
9 years	3	2		2			1	2	4	4	2	8
10 years	3	1	4	2				2	3		6	1
11 years	4	2		3				2	1	6	6	1
12 years	3		2	1			1	1	2	2	6	2
13 years	1	2	3	1			2	1	3	4	4	4
14 years	4	1		2					1	3	1	5
15 years		1	1	1					1	4	2	2
16 years	1			2				1	4	2	1	1
17 years		3	1	1			1		1	1	1	4
18 years		3		2				1	1	1	3	3
19 years		1	1	1						2	5	2
20 years	2	1	2	1			1	2	2	3	1	4
21 years and over	47	44	66	58			47	46	64	68	83	91
Total population	91	85	99	90			70	78	109	119	158	158
Under 5 years	15	17	10	9			9	11	13	12	19	17
5 to 9 years	11	9	9	9			9	7	13	15	20	21
10 to 14 years	15	6	9	9			3	6	10	15	23	13
15 to 19 years	1	8	3	7			1	2	7	10	12	12
20 to 24 years	11	4	6	4			6	5	8	11	5	16
25 to 29 years	8	8	4	9			2	5	4	4	11	7
30 to 34 years	6	6	13	6			9	8	6	9	8	11
35 to 39 years	6	5	8	5			2	2	11	6	12	11
40 to 44 years	4	5	7	4			4	4	7	10	11	5
45 to 49 years	5	2	5	11			3	4	11	8	8	10
50 to 54 years	2	7	8	3			4	7	7	6	7	5
55 to 59 years	4	1	8	6			6	4	7	3	7	6
60 to 64 years		1	6	3			5	5	1	2	4	10
65 to 69 years	1	3		3			3	3	2	5	5	7
70 to 74 years	1	3		2			2	3	1	2	3	5
75 to 79 years			2				2		1		1	2
80 to 84 years	1		1							1	2	
85 years and over												
18 years and over	49	49	69	59			48	51	67	70	92	100
Median age	21.6	23.1	33.3	28.9			32.8	31.3	29.4	23.4	25.0	25.0
Nonwhite population	7	5	5	9			27	38	9	18	17	16
Under 5 years	2	1		2			5	3		1	2	5
5 to 9 years	1	1	3	1			2	3	1	1	3	1
10 to 14 years	1							5		2	5	1
15 to 19 years								2				2
20 to 24 years	1			1			3	2				1
25 to 29 years							1	4			1	
30 to 34 years				1			2	3	1	1	1	1
35 to 39 years	1	1					1	1	2	1	1	2
40 to 44 years	1						1	2		2	1	
45 to 49 years				2			1	2	2	1	1	1
50 to 54 years			2				2	3	1	2	1	2
55 to 59 years							3	2	1		1	
60 to 64 years		1					3	3	1			
65 to 69 years		1		2			1	1		2		
70 to 74 years							1	2		1		
75 years and over							1					
18 years and over	3	3	2	6			20	26	8	10	7	8
21 years and over	3	3	2	6			20	24	8	10	7	7
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	54	58	71	65			49	52	74	80	97	112
Single	11	6	8	13			9	4	12	18	15	20
Married	41	43	53	43			39	39	60	59	79	82
Separated	1	1	2	1			3	3				2
Widowed	1	8	6	5			1	8	2	6	2	7
Divorced	1	1	4	4				1		1	1	3
Nonwhite, 14+	4	3	2	6			20	27	8	10	7	10
Single	3						3	4	1			3
Married	1	2	2	3			16	18	7	7	7	7
Separated							1	3				
Widowed		1		2			1	4		3		
Divorced				1				1				

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0034N	021 0034P	021 0034R	021 0034S	021 0035NA	021 0035NB
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	52	157	84	107	106	4
Owner occupied	30	110	68	98	72	
White	23	91	55	98	54	
Nonwhite	7	19	13		18	
Renter occupied	19	43	13	8	26	
White	16	37	12	8	13	
Nonwhite	3	6	1		13	
Available vacant	1	2	1	1	1	
For rent	1		1		1	
For sale only		2		1		
Other vacant	2	2	2		7	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	52	157	84	107	106	
Sound	47	118	79	106	78	
With all plumbing facilities	38	104	76	106	72	
Lacking only hot water	2	2			1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	7	12	3		5	
Deteriorating	2	30	5	1	15	
With all plumbing facilities		13	3	1	8	
Lacking only hot water		2			1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	2	15	2		6	
Dilapidated	3	9			13	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10	25	14		31	
Sound	6	17	14		14	
With all plumbing facilities	3	15	14		8	
Lacking some or all facilities	3	2			6	
Deteriorating	2	5			5	
With all plumbing facilities		4			1	
Lacking some or all facilities	2	1			4	
Dilapidated	2	3			12	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	52	157	84	107	106	
1		1			4	
2	1	6	3	1	9	
3	2	20	9	5	18	
4	7	41	26	9	29	
5	22	46	30	18	12	
6	9	25	10	29	18	
7	7	13	4	24	7	
8 or more	4	5	2	21	9	
Median	5.2	4.7	4.6	6.2	4.3	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10	25	14		31	
1					2	
2					5	
3		1			6	
4	1	3	2		6	
5	2	8	9		5	
6	4	6	1		5	
7	2	5	2			
8 or more	1	2			2	
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	49	153	81	106	98	
1	4	7	7	4	6	
2	9	34	18	20	32	
3	9	30	19	26	19	
4	14	31	23	21	21	
5	4	29	10	24	11	
6 or more	9	22	4	11	9	
Median		3.7	3.3	3.6	3.1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10	25	14		31	
1	1				2	
2	2	3	2		13	
3	2	9	5		6	
4		5	5		3	
5		2	2			
6 or more	5	6			7	
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	49	153	81	106	98	
0.50 or less	15	43	25	46	35	
0.51 to 0.75	12	31	22	35	24	
0.76 to 1.00	14	51	27	21	23	
1.01 or more	8	28	7	4	16	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	10	25	14		31	
0.50 or less	4	11	3		8	
0.51 to 0.75	1	4	5		7	
0.76 to 1.00	1	3	6		8	
1.01 or more	4	7			8	
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 001 021 0034N		021 001 021 0034P		021 001 021 0034R		021 001 021 0034S		021 001 021 0035NA		021 001 021 0035NB	
Total population	198		589		266		392		335		9	
White	141		482		217		392		222		9	
Negro	57		107		47				113			
Other races					2							
Total population	198		589		266		392		335		9	
Pop. in households	198		589		266		392		335		9	
Head of household	49		153		81		106		98		4	
Head of prim. fam.	45		143		74		102		90		2	
Primary individual	4		10		7		4		8		2	
Wife of head	41		126		66		96		83		2	
Child under 18	68		213		81		160		105		2	
Other relative	37		84		37		29		46		1	
Nonrelative	3		13		1		1		3			
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	4.04		3.85		3.28		3.70		3.42			
Nonwhite population	57		107		49				113			
Pop. in households	57		107		49				113			
Head of household	10		25		14				31			
Head of prim. fam.	9		24		14				28			
Primary individual	1		1						3			
Wife of head	9		19		11				23			
Child under 18	16		33		9				27			
Other relative	19		24		15				31			
Nonrelative	3		6						1			
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	5.70		4.28						3.65			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	106	92	315	274	127	139	195	197	162	173	7	2
Under 1 year	3	2	4	5	2	3	3	3	5	4		
1 year	7		10	6	1	1	9	2	3	1		
2 years	3	3	9	8	1		6	2	2	8	1	
3 years	3	1	3	5	3	3	5	3	4	3		
4 years	4	2	7	4	2	2	4	4	3	3	1	
5 years	4	2	10	6	5	2	4	4	4	4		
6 years	1		11	5	2	4	6	8	3	4		
7 years	3	2	7	12	2	1	4	5	1	3		
8 years	4	1	6	4	3	1	1	8	5	3		
9 years	2	3	6	8	1	6	5	2	5	1		
10 years	4		4	8	3	4	7	11	1	4		
11 years		5	6	4	6	2	1	3	4	2		
12 years	1	2	13	11	2	10	3	3	4	4		
13 years		2	14	4	1	2	4	6	3	3		
14 years	1		14	3	2	2	2	5	4	5		
15 years	2	2	5	6	2	2	3	6		4		
16 years	4	1	4	3	4	2	4	5	4	6		
17 years	2	3	7	4	2	3	6	4	2	6		
18 years	3	4	8	5	2	4	5	1	3	1		
19 years			3	4	2	2	2	1	3	3		
20 years	3	1	6	5		1	1		2	3		
21 years and over	52	56	158	154	79	82	110	111	97	98	5	2
Total population	106	92	315	274	127	139	195	197	162	173	7	2
Under 5 years	20	8	33	28	9	9	27	14	17	19	2	
5 to 9 years	14	8	40	35	13	14	20	27	18	15		
10 to 14 years	6	9	51	30	14	20	17	28	16	18		
15 to 19 years	11	10	27	22	12	13	20	17	12	20		
20 to 24 years	5	4	20	12	4	7	3	1	10	12		
25 to 29 years	3	8	11	16	9	2	6	14	9	7	3	1
30 to 34 years	9	10	22	24	6	10	17	13	15	14		
35 to 39 years	7	5	25	39	12	13	22	23	6	17		
40 to 44 years	8	5	22	18	8	14	18	25	15	11	1	
45 to 49 years	5	9	23	16	13	17	18	10	15	13		
50 to 54 years	7	2	13	7	12	7	9	5	8	11		
55 to 59 years	1	3	11	11	6	4	5	5	9	4		
60 to 64 years	4	1	7	5	2		4	4	3	6	1	1
65 to 69 years	2	3	5	10	4	4	1	2	5	2		
70 to 74 years	2	7	2		1	2	2	1	4	2		
75 to 79 years			2	1	2	2		4		2		
80 to 84 years	1					1	6	2				
85 years and over	1		1					2				
18 years and over	58	61	175	168	83	89	118	113	105	105	5	2
Median age	22.0	29.4	21.6	28.1	32.1	32.3	31.3	29.1	29.4	26.8		
Nonwhite population	30	27	50	57	20	29			53	60		
Under 5 years	7	3	7	4	1				4	7		
5 to 9 years	4	1	6	7	1	1			6	6		
10 to 14 years		3	9	7		5			4	5		
15 to 19 years	4	6	4	4	3	3			6	11		
20 to 24 years	2			1		1			4	4		
25 to 29 years		1	1	3	1				4	2		
30 to 34 years		1	2	6		1			4	5		
35 to 39 years	2	2	7	10	3	5			1	6		
40 to 44 years	3	1	4	4	3	3			3	1		
45 to 49 years	1	3	3	3	5	2			5	5		
50 to 54 years	4	2	2		1	3			4	4		
55 to 59 years	1	1	1	1	1	1			2	1		
60 to 64 years		1	1	2					1	1		
65 to 69 years	1		1	5	1	3			1			
70 to 74 years	1	2				1			4	1		
75 years and over			2							1		
18 years and over	16	17	27	36	10	22			36	34		
21 years and over	14	14	24	35	15	20			32	31		
Median age			18.8	32.1					28.1	21.3		
Total, 14 & over	67	67	205	184	93	98	133	133	115	126	5	2
Single	19	18	56	25	17	16	26	23	22	26	2	
Married	45	43	134	139	75	74	104	102	88	87	3	2
Separated	1		2	3	3	5						
Widowed	3	8	6	12		5	2	7	5	9		
Divorced		2	9	8	1	3	1	1		4		
Nonwhite, 14+	19	20	32	39	18	24			39	44		
Single	6	7	9	10	5	7			10	13		
Married	13	11	22	24	13	14			26	27		
Separated	1		1		1	1						
Widowed		2		4		2			3	3		
Divorced			1	1		1				1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0048 A	021 0048 B	021 0048 C	021 0049	021 0050	021 0004N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	95	208	2	189	100	49
Owner occupied	4	146		111	54	48
White		64		109	54	48
Nonwhite	4	82		2		
Renter occupied	88	53		70	40	
White		39		67	40	
Nonwhite	88	14		3		
Available vacant	3	5		2	3	1
For rent	3	5		1	3	
For sale only				1		1
Other vacant		4		6	3	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	95	208		189	100	49
Sound	92	176		165	65	49
With all plumbing facilities	92	165		142	51	49
Lacking only hot water		3		5	2	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		8		18	12	
Deteriorating	3	18		19	32	
With all plumbing facilities		14		10	18	
Lacking only hot water		2		2	2	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3	2		7	12	
Dilapidated		14		5	3	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	92	96		5		
Sound	90	85		4		
With all plumbing facilities	90	83		4		
Lacking some or all facilities		2				
Deteriorating	2	7				
With all plumbing facilities		5				
Lacking some or all facilities	2	2				
Dilapidated		4		1		
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	95	208		189	100	49
1	1	1				
2	1	3		3	4	
3	8	16		22	13	
4	16	60		53	28	
5	20	72		54	26	3
6	31	34		41	21	21
7	12	14		12	8	13
8 or more	6	8		4		12
Median	5.5	4.8		4.8	4.7	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	92	96		5		
1	1					
2	1					
3	6	1				
4	16	20		1		
5	19	37		1		
6	31	21		1		
7	12	9		1		
8 or more	6	8		1		
Median	5.6	5.2				
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	92	199		181	94	48
1	10	18		8	9	2
2	21	54		58	27	13
3	27	52		43	18	12
4	21	35		39	22	15
5	10	21		19	7	4
6 or more	3	19		14	11	2
Median	3.1	3.0		3.1	3.1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	92	96		5		
1	10	3		1		
2	21	24				
3	27	30		1		
4	21	17		3		
5	10	12				
6 or more	3	10				
Median	3.1	3.2				
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	92	199		181	94	48
0.50 or less	48	83		74	40	32
0.51 to 0.75	21	48		42	18	10
0.76 to 1.00	21	45		47	22	6
1.01 or more	2	23		18	14	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	92	96		5		
0.50 or less	48	42		2		
0.51 to 0.75	21	22		2		
0.76 to 1.00	21	22		1		
1.01 or more	2	10				
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 005 0450 021 0048 A		021 005 0450 021 0048 B		021 005 0450 021 0048 C		021 005 0450 021 0049		021 005 0450 021 0050		021 006 021 0004N	
Total population	348		661		1070		600		319		156	
White			313				583		319		155	
Negro	348		346		1070		17				1	
Other races			2									
Total population	348		661		1070		600		319		156	
Pop. in households	286		661		4		600		319		156	
Head of household	92		199		2		181		94		48	
Head of prim. fam.	80		174				172		85		45	
Primary individual	12		25		2		9		9		3	
Wife of head	71		153				143		72		44	
Child under 18	83		197				160		102		50	
Other relative	27		87				107		48		12	
Nonrelative	13		25		2		9		3		2	
Pop. in group quarters	62				1066							
Inmate of institution												
Other	62				1066							
Pop. per household	3.11		3.32				3.31		3.39		3.25	
Nonwhite population	348		348		1070		17				1	
Pop. in households	286		348		4		17				1	
Head of household	92		96		2		5					
Head of prim. fam.	80		87				4					
Primary individual	12		9		2		1					
Wife of head	71		78				4					
Child under 18	83		113				3					
Other relative	27		42				4					
Nonrelative	13		19		2		1				1	
Pop. in group quarters	62				1066							
Inmate of institution												
Other	62				1066							
Pop. per household	3.11		3.63									
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	157	191	286	375	536	534	290	310	148	171	74	82
Under 1 year	3	1	4	14			3	6	3	4		2
1 year	6	3	4	6			5	1	3	3	2	2
2 years	4	3	6	8			9	2	2	5	2	
3 years	5	5	8	4			9	1	2	2	1	1
4 years	3	1	6	7			5	7	11	2	4	3
5 years	3	2	11	0			2	6	3	0		1
6 years	3	2	7	4			7	2	5	4	4	2
7 years	3	2	4	10			7	5	4	2	1	4
8 years	5	2	4	10			8	1	4	4		2
9 years	1	2	2	8			4	4	2	4	2	2
10 years	3	2	7	3			5	4	2	2	2	2
11 years	5	4	3	7		1	4	12	2	3	1	2
12 years		5	2	7	1		6	5	1	5	1	1
13 years	1	1	2	8			6	7	4	3		1
14 years	3	1	4	5		1	4	6	3	1		1
15 years	1	2	5	7		1	5	5	3	2	1	1
16 years	3		3	6			4	5	2	1	2	
17 years		1	5	5	14	35	5	6	1	3		
18 years		2	2	5	79	103	5	3	1	3	1	1
19 years	2	4	4	7	120	144	5	5	1	2	1	
20 years		3	4	3	115	120	9	5	2	1		2
21 years and over	103	143	189	232	202	129	173	212	87	109	49	52
Total population	157	191	286	375	536	534	290	310	148	171	74	82
Under 5 years	21	13	28	39			31	17	21	16	9	8
5 to 9 years	15	10	28	41			28	18	18	20	7	11
10 to 14 years	12	13	18	30	1	2	25	34	12	14	4	7
15 to 19 years	6	0	19	30	218	283	24	24	8	11	5	2
20 to 24 years	5	22	17	22	277	239	25	21	9	6	1	5
25 to 29 years	12	16	18	29	36	5	18	20	6	12	1	2
30 to 34 years	11	22	27	33	4	4	18	22	13	10	6	8
35 to 39 years	16	24	22	20		1	27	22	13	17	12	10
40 to 44 years	17	9	20	17			25	22	10	7	7	7
45 to 49 years	17	15	18	30			12	22	5	8	5	6
50 to 54 years	8	14	22	19			17	22	5	6	8	8
55 to 59 years	10	8	18	22			17	10	5	11	6	2
60 to 64 years	3	9	12	12			11	19	8	10	1	2
65 to 69 years	2		8	8			8	13	7	7		1
70 to 74 years		4	7	12			1	13	4	8	2	1
75 to 79 years		1	2	7			1	7	1	4		1
80 to 84 years		2	1	3			1	3	1	4		1
85 years and over	2		1	1			1	1	2			
18 years and over	105	152	199	247	516	496	192	225	91	115	51	55
Median age	33.4	32.8	32.8	28.4	20.9	19.7	28.3	34.8	30.0	33.3	36.7	33.8
Nonwhite population	157	191	144	204	536	534	8	9				1
Under 5 years	21	13	17	24								
5 to 9 years	15	10	17	26								
10 to 14 years	12	13	10	17	1	2	1					
15 to 19 years	6	0	3	11	218	283	1	3				
20 to 24 years	5	22	4	14	277	239	1					1
25 to 29 years	12	16	11	19	36	5						
30 to 34 years	11	22	15	22	4	4						
35 to 39 years	16	24	12	10		1	1	1				
40 to 44 years	17	9	12	10			2	1				
45 to 49 years	17	15	9	12				1				
50 to 54 years	8	14	10	11			1	1				
55 to 59 years	10	8	10	9								
60 to 64 years	3	9	5	6								
65 to 69 years	2		3	3			1					
70 to 74 years		4	4	6				2				
75 years and over	2	3	2	4								
18 years and over	105	152	98	131	516	496	6	7				1
21 years and over	103	143	96	124	202	129	6	6				
Median age	33.4	32.8	33.3	27.6	20.9	19.7						
Total, 14 & over	112	156	216	270	535	533	210	247	100	122	54	57
Single	23	52	34	56	516	506	46	36	17	21	8	8
Married	85	80	171	174	19	21	159	162	79	81	45	46
Separated	1	3	7	5		3	2	2	2	2		1
Widowed	1	0	3	32		1	1	42	2	16	1	3
Divorced	3	6	8	8		5	4	7	2	4		
Nonwhite, 14+	112	156	102	140	535	533	8	9				1
Single	23	52	12	33	516	506	4	3				1
Married	85	89	86	93	19	21	4	4				
Separated	1	3	2	5		3						
Widowed	1	0	3	12		1		2				
Divorced	3	6	1	2		5						

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0040	021 0041	021 0046P	021 0051N	021 0051PA	021 0051PB
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	349	172		107	290	1
Owner occupied	302	135		71	219	
White	292	126		27	178	
Nonwhite	10	9		44	41	
Renter occupied	39	26		31	51	
White	36	21		16	28	
Nonwhite	3	5		15	23	
Available vacant	2	7		1	9	
For rent	2			1	8	
For sale only		7			1	
Other vacant	6	4		4	11	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	349	172		107	290	
Sound	301	142		71	240	
With all plumbing facilities	289	129		66	190	
Lacking only hot water	1	1		3	2	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	11	12		2	48	
Deteriorating	24	18		21	45	
With all plumbing facilities	15	9		8	2	
Lacking only hot water		2		7		
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	9	7		6	43	
Dilapidated	24	12		15	5	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	13	14		59	64	
Sound	3	6		41	40	
With all plumbing facilities	2	2		41	20	
Lacking some or all facilities	1	4			20	
Deteriorating	6	3		11	19	
With all plumbing facilities	2	2		3		
Lacking some or all facilities	4	1		8	19	
Dilapidated	4	5		7	5	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	349	172		107	290	
1		1			3	
2	11	5		2	7	
3	30	10		5	13	
4	60	19		38	56	
5	95	52		21	99	
6	81	50		25	69	
7	48	28		11	24	
8 or more	24	7		5	19	
Median	5.3	5.5		4.9	5.2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	13	14		59	64	
1		1			1	
2		1		1	2	
3	1	1		1	2	
4	4	2		18	16	
5	2	4		15	24	
6	3	2		13	17	
7		2		6	1	
8 or more	3	1		5	1	
Median				5.1	5.0	
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	341	161		102	270	
1	16	8		7	15	
2	76	35		21	59	
3	69	35		23	56	
4	82	38		16	65	
5	56	22		22	32	
6 or more	42	23		13	43	
Median	3.6	3.6		3.5	3.6	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	13	14		59	64	
1	1	2		6	3	
2		3		11	12	
3	7	2		11	8	
4	1	3		6	14	
5	3	1		16	5	
6 or more	1	3		9	22	
Median				3.8	4.1	
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	341	161		102	270	
0.50 or less	113	50		33	98	
0.51 to 0.75	96	50		29	67	
0.76 to 1.00	93	42		25	67	
1.01 or more	39	19		15	42	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	13	14		59	64	
0.50 or less	3	4		21	13	
0.51 to 0.75	6	4		14	13	
0.76 to 1.00	3	3		14	19	
1.01 or more	1	3		10	19	
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 004 021 0040	021 004 021 0041	021 005 021 0046P	021 005 021 0051N	021 005 021 0051PA	021 005 021 0051PB
Total population	1263	606		384	1012	55
White	1211	546		153	728	
Negro	51	60		231	284	55
Other races	1					
Total population	1263	606		384	1012	55
Pop. in households	1263	606		384	1012	6
Head of household	341	161		102	270	1
Head of prim. fam.	323	153		92	258	1
Primary individual	18	8		10	16	
Wife of head	297	144		80	222	1
Child under 18	461	209		143	335	4
Other relative	148	84		49	171	
Nonrelative	18	8		10	14	
Pop. in group quarters						49
Inmate of institution						46
Other						3
Pop. per household	3.70	3.76		3.76	3.75	
Nonwhite population	52	60		231	284	55
Pop. in households	52	60		231	284	6
Head of household	13	14		59	64	1
Head of prim. fam.	12	12		51	60	1
Primary individual	1	2		8	4	
Wife of head	9	8		42	49	1
Child under 18	15	16		84	102	4
Other relative	14	22		37	63	
Nonrelative	1			9	6	
Pop. in group quarters						49
Inmate of institution						46
Other						3
Pop. per household	4.00	4.29		3.92	4.44	

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	655	608	303	303			197	187	479	533	30	25
Under 1 year	12	11	9	6			3	7	9	12		
1 year	15	8	12	9			6	4	5	12	1	
2 years	11	19	6	4			5	6	13	8		
3 years	15	6	6	9			5	3	12	13	1	
4 years	11	14	7	5			3	4	7	14	2	
5 years	20	9	3	7			4	4	10	13	1	1
6 years	12	13	9	6			5	2	10	9	1	3
7 years	17	12	6	8			7	5	8	12	4	2
8 years	15	15	8	9			5	4	20	13	2	3
9 years	14	21	8	6			5	5	12	9	3	1
10 years	15	10	7	7			3	3	5	10	2	2
11 years	19	12	6	6			3	4	14	18	1	2
12 years	14	16	13	6			6	5	12	8	1	1
13 years	17	6	10	7			6	2	4	13	3	2
14 years	13	12	4	8			7	2	12	10	3	2
15 years	19	4	4	2			5	1	5	9	1	1
16 years	11	11	5	3			7	4	12	12	1	1
17 years	14	13	3	8			2	4	5	5		
18 years	14	8	3	1			2	4	7	8	2	
19 years	14	7	3	2				6	5	7		
20 years	3	14	5	3			5	5	5	4		
21 years and over	360	367	166	181			103	103	287	314	1	4
Total population	655	608	303	303			197	187	479	533	30	25
Under 5 years	64	58	40	33			22	24	46	59	4	
5 to 9 years	78	70	34	36			26	20	60	56	11	10
10 to 14 years	78	56	40	34			25	16	47	59	10	9
15 to 19 years	72	43	18	16			16	19	34	41	4	2
20 to 24 years	28	33	14	16			12	9	24	29		
25 to 29 years	40	32	13	17			9	15	36	40	1	1
30 to 34 years	35	45	28	30			15	16	32	36		
35 to 39 years	56	64	30	28			20	13	33	30		1
40 to 44 years	47	55	29	27			16	16	32	35		
45 to 49 years	48	38	19	20			10	16	33	34		
50 to 54 years	32	33	11	13			5	8	24	29		1
55 to 59 years	30	29	8	9			4	5	24	27		
60 to 64 years	18	18	10	8			3	4	19	9		1
65 to 69 years	10	15	5	8			5		10	24		
70 to 74 years	11	7	2	3			3	1	9	14		
75 to 79 years	5	5	1	3			4	3	8	6		
80 to 84 years	2	6					1	2	5	5		
85 years and over	1	4	1	2			1		3			
18 years and over	391	396	177	187			110	118	304	333	3	4
Median age	25.9	31.3	27.1	29.9			24.0	26.8	29.0	27.8		
Nonwhite population	24	28	24	36			115	116	123	161	30	25
Under 5 years	2	2	5	4			9	16	14	20	4	
5 to 9 years	4	4	3	8			19	9	19	28	11	10
10 to 14 years	1	3	4	4			14	13	16	16	10	9
15 to 19 years	3	1	1	3			10	13	3	14	4	2
20 to 24 years	2	1	1	1			7	6	7	9		
25 to 29 years	2	4	1	2			2	0	9	7	1	1
30 to 34 years	2		1	2			8	10	5	7		
35 to 39 years	2	2	2	2			14	0	4	6		1
40 to 44 years	1	2	2	3			12	11	9	14		
45 to 49 years	1	2					6	12	12	8		
50 to 54 years		1	1	2			3	3	5	8		1
55 to 59 years	1	3	2	1			3	1	7	10		
60 to 64 years	2	1	1	2				3	4	5		1
65 to 69 years	1	2		2			3		3	7		
70 to 74 years							2		2	2		
75 years and over							3	1	4			
18 years and over	17	19	11	18			64	72	72	88	3	4
21 years and over	14	17	10	17			60	62	69	82	1	4
Median age							23.9	25.6	26.4	21.4		
Total, 14 & over	448	436	193	208			131	120	338	369	8	8
Single	110	72	32	30			34	21	78	69	7	6
Married	318	310	154	157			90	93	237	245	1	2
Separated	4	8	2	4			1	3	3	9		1
Widowed	7	37	4	19			5	11	13	40		
Divorced	13	8	3	2			2	4	10	15		
Nonwhite, 14+	18	19	13	22			79	70	76	99	8	9
Single	8	4	3	6			26	18	17	27	7	6
Married	9	12	9	12			50	53	52	55	1	2
Separated			1	4				2	1	4		1
Widowed		3	1	4			3	4	5	11		
Divorced	1							4	2	6		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0052	021 0053 A	021 0053 B	021 0054NA	021 0054NB	021 0054P
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	213	353	76	78	270	38
Owner occupied	137	281	59	52	198	24
White	83	257	41	35	194	18
Nonwhite	54	24	18	17	4	6
Renter occupied	58	58	16	24	47	13
White	34	43	9	18	47	5
Nonwhite	24	15	7	6		8
Available vacant	5	4			13	1
For rent	3	2			11	1
For sale only	2	2			2	
Other vacant	13	10	1	2	12	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	213	353	76	78	270	38
Sound	141	244	50	46	227	31
With all plumbing facilities	60	232	32	33	199	28
Lacking only hot water	5	4	4		3	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	76	8	14	13	25	3
Deteriorating	38	57	14	21	36	6
With all plumbing facilities	1	32	2	2	7	1
Lacking only hot water		5			2	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	37	20	12	19	27	5
Dilapidated	34	52	12	11	7	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	78	39	25	23	4	14
Sound	22	2	13	2	3	8
With all plumbing facilities	4	2	3	1	1	6
Lacking some or all facilities	18		10	1	2	2
Deteriorating	26	1	5	12		5
With all plumbing facilities						1
Lacking some or all facilities	26	1	5	12		4
Dilapidated	30	36	7	9	1	1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	213	353	76	78	270	38
1	1	2	1		2	
2	14	20	4	1	5	
3	19	20	6	7	17	6
4	61	80	26	22	62	5
5	45	115	19	22	85	16
6	45	74	13	12	69	7
7	19	29	3	9	21	2
8 or more	9	13	4	5	9	2
Median	4.8	5.0	4.6	4.9	5.1	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	78	39	25	23	4	14
1	1	1	1		1	
2	8	11	3	1		
3	2	4	2	3		4
4	24	11	6	4	2	2
5	14	7	3	7	1	4
6	20	5	7	5		2
7	7		1	2		1
8 or more	2		2	1		1
Median	4.8					
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	195	339	75	76	245	37
1	18	26	6	4	16	3
2	33	84	19	17	64	9
3	33	80	20	16	57	9
4	33	71	17	12	44	10
5	30	35	3	11	37	4
6 or more	48	43	10	16	27	2
Median	3.9	3.2	3.1	3.6	3.2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	78	39	25	23	4	14
1	4	4	3		1	1
2	9	7	2	5		3
3	5	3	6	2		5
4	8	3	7	3	1	2
5	12	3	1	3		2
6 or more	40	19	6	10	2	1
Median	5.6					
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	195	339	75	76	245	37
0.50 or less	57	116	30	26	95	11
0.51 to 0.75	43	94	21	10	60	11
0.76 to 1.00	40	83	11	19	62	14
1.01 or more	55	46	13	21	28	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	78	39	25	23	4	14
0.50 or less	11	8	9	5	1	4
0.51 to 0.75	13	2	5			5
0.76 to 1.00	13	6	2	6	1	4
1.01 or more	41	23	9	12	2	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 005 021 0052	021 005 021 0053 A	021 005 021 0053 B	021 005 021 0054NA	021 005 021 0054NB	021 005 021 0054P
Total population	865	1210	264	324	851	122
White	389	992	154	187	834	74
Negro	476	218	110	137	17	48
Other races						
Total population	865	1210	264	324	851	122
Pop. in households	865	1210	264	324	851	122
Head of household	195	339	75	76	245	37
Head of prim. fam.	177	311	66	70	226	34
Primary individual	18	28	9	6	19	3
Wife of head	153	279	56	60	197	28
Child under 18	333	436	69	133	280	32
Other relative	170	149	58	50	122	25
Nonrelative	5	7	6	5	7	
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	4.44	3.57	3.52	4.26	3.47	3.30
Nonwhite population	476	218	110	137	17	48
Pop. in households	476	218	110	137	17	48
Head of household	78	39	25	23	4	14
Head of prim. fam.	70	34	21	22	3	13
Primary individual	8	5	4	1	1	1
Wife of head	62	32	17	16	3	10
Child under 18	201	102	40	68	8	13
Other relative	131	43	25	28	2	11
Nonrelative	8	2	3	2		
Pop. in group quarters						
Inmate of institution						
Other						
Pop. per household	6.10	5.59	4.40	5.96		

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	434	431	605	605	129	135	173	151	416	435	65	57
Under 1 year	12	15	14	15	1	2	8	5	6	14	1	1
1 year	11	11	13	15	1	2	3	5	7	9		2
2 years	13	12	12	14	1	3	3	2	4	13	3	
3 years	11	10	14	10	2	1	3	3	13	6	2	
4 years	6	9	9	13	1	4	5	4	11	9	2	1
5 years	9	15	8	13	2	2	8	8	7	8	3	
6 years	8	12	20	11	3	1		5	9	7		
7 years	13	8	15	11	3	3	2	6	5	7	2	1
8 years	6	5	14	16	3	5	5	2	4	12	1	
9 years	17	10	17	10	2	1	6	3	7	9	2	
10 years	10	11	11	12	3	1	4	5	7	5	1	
11 years	10	16	11	7	2	4	5	1	7	8		2
12 years	16	12	21	16	1	2	6	4	14	8	1	1
13 years	10	10	17	8	3	6	7	4	8	7	3	2
14 years	7	10	18	11	1	1	10	1	8	5	2	2
15 years	9	18	8	12	3	4	5	1	15	6	1	1
16 years	16	11	15	17	2	2	3	3	9	6		
17 years	12	5	12	11	2	3	4	4	9	7	1	
18 years	8	9	12	7	3	4		2	4	10	1	
19 years	3	6	6	10	2		2	2	5	4		
20 years	11	7	6	5		4	1	2	6	6	2	1
21 years and over	216	209	332	361	88	80	83	79	251	269	37	43
Total population	434	431	605	605	129	135	173	151	416	435	65	57
Under 5 years	53	57	62	67	6	12	22	19	41	51	8	4
5 to 9 years	53	50	74	61	13	12	21	24	32	43	8	1
10 to 14 years	53	50	78	54	10	14	32	15	44	33	7	7
15 to 19 years	48	49	53	57	12	13	14	12	42	33	3	1
20 to 24 years	34	26	26	30	14	11	6	8	25	22	6	6
25 to 29 years	24	22	29	31	10	7	7	10	28	32	5	6
30 to 34 years	22	18	42	45	6	9	3	7	33	29	3	6
35 to 39 years	24	26	50	61	9	11	13	20	32	33	2	1
40 to 44 years	24	33	54	46	9	7	11	7	23	30	6	4
45 to 49 years	32	27	34	42	9	7	8	5	24	25	5	4
50 to 54 years	9	17	32	25	5	4	6	3	30	22	2	7
55 to 59 years	21	15	26	19	9	10	6	10	18	18	6	2
60 to 64 years	13	10	10	16	3	5	10	2	13	18	1	1
65 to 69 years	14	10	16	19	6	8	2	4	9	21	1	3
70 to 74 years	6	4	11	11	6	4	9	4	7	9		2
75 to 79 years	4	1	4	11	2		3	1	10	8	1	2
80 to 84 years		5	3	8		1			4	5	1	
85 years and over		2	1	2					1	3		
18 years and over	238	231	356	383	93	88	86	85	266	289	40	44
Median age	21.5	20.1	26.6	30.3	29.8	28.9	19.1	23.4	29.3	30.6	25.5	32.9
Nonwhite population	241	235	112	106	56	54	79	58	10	7	25	23
Under 5 years	32	38	13	15	3	5	10	5	1	2	2	1
5 to 9 years	38	39	20	16	5	8	13	12	2	1	5	
10 to 14 years	38	36	20	16	9	6	19	6	1		3	4
15 to 19 years	28	32	13	12	8	8	12	7	1	1	1	1
20 to 24 years	18	13	7	5	5	3	4	3	1	1	1	1
25 to 29 years	14	14		2	5	1	1	2	1		3	3
30 to 34 years	13	8	4	6	1	4		4	1	1	1	2
35 to 39 years	10	13	7	7	3	1	4	7		1	1	1
40 to 44 years	11	10	9	6		6	3	2	1		2	3
45 to 49 years	15	12	4	6	2	1	2	1			4	1
50 to 54 years	4	7	4	3	4	2	2				1	4
55 to 59 years	9	5	4	3	5	5	3	6			1	
60 to 64 years	4	4	1	1	1	1	1		1			
65 to 69 years	5	3	2	2	1	2		2				1
70 to 74 years	1		2	2	3		4	1				1
75 years and over	1	5	2	4	1	1	1					
18 years and over	111	107	53	51	35	29	27	30	6	3	14	17
21 years and over	99	90	44	47	31	25	24	27	4	3	13	17
Median age	17.2	16.3	16.2	17.5	23.0	20.0	14.3	10.3				
Total, 14 & over	282	275	409	434	101	98	108	94	307	313	44	47
Single	90	62	105	83	27	19	31	18	74	50	9	6
Married	179	182	294	305	67	67	68	69	211	215	32	33
Separated	5	6	2	6	4	4	2	2	4	3	1	1
Widowed	8	26	8	44	5	10	7	7	13	40	3	8
Divorced	5	5	2	2	2	2	2		9	8		
Nonwhite, 14+	137	130	66	62	40	36	43	35	6	4	15	19
Single	51	38	29	18	10	13	21	10	2	1	3	3
Married	82	84	34	38	21	20	20	21	3	3	11	12
Separated	3	4		3	2	1	1	2				
Widowed	4	10	3	5	3	2	2	4	1		1	4
Divorced		2		1		1						

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0028N	021 0028P	021 0028R	021 0028S	021 0028T	021 0029N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	232	16	126	37	58	127
Owner occupied	194	5	95	29	46	105
White	194	5	92	29	41	104
Nonwhite			3		5	1
Renter occupied	36	7	25	8	10	17
White	35	6	22	6	10	15
Nonwhite	1	1	3	2		2
Available vacant		4				1
For rent						1
For sale only		4				
Other vacant	2		6		2	4
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	232	16	126	37	58	127
Sound	231	15	118	37	52	125
With all plumbing facilities	227	15	112	30	37	118
Lacking only hot water				1	1	1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	4		6	6	14	6
Deteriorating	1	1	5		5	1
With all plumbing facilities			4			
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	1	1		5	1
Dilapidated			3		1	1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1	1	6	2	5	3
Sound	1	1	4	2	3	2
With all plumbing facilities	1	1	3		1	1
Lacking some or all facilities			1	2	2	1
Deteriorating					2	
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities					2	
Dilapidated			2			1
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	232	16	126	37	58	127
1	4	2				
2	2		3		3	
3	3		6	2	6	4
4	48		24	9	13	10
5	95	3	43	15	15	56
6	55	3	30	4	13	32
7	12	5	13	5	7	15
8 or more	13	3	7	2	1	10
Median	5.1		5.2		5.0	5.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1	1	6	2	5	3
1	1					
2			1		1	
3				1	1	
4			2	1	2	1
5			1		1	
6		1				
7			2			2
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	230	12	120	37	56	122
1	12	2	10	2	1	5
2	45		31	12	12	19
3	44	3	14	10	9	21
4	53	3	25	2	13	28
5	37	3	21	6	13	25
6 or more	39	1	19	5	8	24
Median	3.8		3.7		4.0	4.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1	1	6	2	5	3
1	1		1			1
2			2		2	
3				2	1	
4		1				1
5			2			
6 or more			1		2	1
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	230	12	120	37	56	122
0.50 or less	72	3	44	14	9	33
0.51 to 0.75	51	3	23	13	15	32
0.76 to 1.00	78	5	43	5	24	41
1.01 or more	29	1	10	5	8	16
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1	1	6	2	5	3
0.50 or less			2			1
0.51 to 0.75		1	1	1	2	1
0.76 to 1.00	1		2	1	1	
1.01 or more			1		2	1
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 003 021 0028N		021 003 021 0028P		021 003 021 0028R		021 003 021 0028S		021 003 021 0028T		021 003 021 0029N	
Total population	880		46		444		126		224		510	
White	879		42		422		120		205		495	
Negro	1		4		22		6		19		15	
Other races												
Total population	880		46		444		126		224		510	
Pop. in households	880		46		444		126		224		510	
Head of household	230		12		120		37		56		122	
Head of prim. fam.	216		10		109		32		55		113	
Primary individual	14		2		11		5		1		9	
Wife of head	200		10		101		28		49		106	
Child under 18	374		19		182		52		88		221	
Other relative	50		5		37		6		29		51	
Nonrelative	26				4		3		2		10	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.83				3.70		3.41		4.00		4.18	
Nonwhite population	1		4		22		6		19		15	
Pop. in households	1		4		22		6		19		15	
Head of household	1		1		6		2		5		3	
Head of prim. fam.			1		5		2		5		2	
Primary individual	1				1						1	
Wife of head			1		4		2		2		1	
Child under 18			2		11		1		3			
Other relative					1		1		9		8	
Nonrelative											3	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	446	434	21	25	218	226	62	64	107	117	266	244
Under 1 year	14	17	1		2	5	5		5	1	4	5
1 year	13	9	1	2	8	10	4	3	3	1	7	9
2 years	15	6	3	2	7	7	2	4	4		2	5
3 years	20	14		2	2	5	1	2	2	4	4	14
4 years	20	13		2	8	6	2	3	1	2	9	3
5 years	19	9	1		5	4	1	2		3	4	6
6 years	15	16	1		7	3		2	4	4	9	6
7 years	6	12		1	7	4	1	1	2	5	11	6
8 years	14	13	1	1	5	3	1	1	3	3	10	1
9 years	8	11			5	8	2	6	2	3	8	6
10 years	8	17		1	8	5	1		3	3	9	7
11 years	14	13			4	7	1	1		4	12	2
12 years	10	10		1	11	4			6	3	10	5
13 years	9	7			4	12				4	8	11
14 years	6	4	1		2	5	2	1	3	4	9	4
15 years	8	7			3	5	2		2	2	2	6
16 years	8	2	1		4	2	1		1	2	4	8
17 years	3	7		1	3	4			1	3	6	3
18 years	3	3		1	2	1			5	2	6	2
19 years	3	3			3	2					4	5
20 years	2	5			4	3			1	1	2	1
21 years and over	228	236	11	11	114	121	36	38	59	63	126	129
Total population	446	434	21	25	218	226	62	64	107	117	266	244
Under 5 years	82	50	5	8	27	33	14	12	15	8	26	36
5 to 9 years	62	61	3	2	29	22	5	12	11	18	42	25
10 to 14 years	47	51	1	2	29	33	4	2	12	18	48	29
15 to 19 years	25	22	1	2	15	14	3		9	9	22	24
20 to 24 years	22	26	1		17	15	3	2	4	4	13	16
25 to 29 years	28	44		3	10	17	6	9	8	9	12	19
30 to 34 years	49	46	3	3	19	19	7	6	7	6	17	15
35 to 39 years	42	43	3	1	21	19	7	2	7	10	29	20
40 to 44 years	31	23			13	15	4	4	8	4	12	17
45 to 49 years	23	21	1	3	15	7	2	1	2	9	17	20
50 to 54 years	15	16	2	1	9	11		1	8	7	8	2
55 to 59 years	8	8			5	5	2	2	7	4	7	9
60 to 64 years	5	3			5	5	2	4	3	4	6	2
65 to 69 years	2	3			4	4		4	2	2	3	5
70 to 74 years	1	4	1			6	2	1	2	2	1	3
75 to 79 years	3	1					1		2	1	1	2
80 to 84 years		3				1		1		1	2	
85 years and over	1							1		1		
18 years and over	236	247	11	12	123	127	36	38	65	66	138	137
Median age	21.6	24.6			22.6	23.7	26.7	27.2	26.6	25.8	18.9	22.5
Nonwhite population		1	1	3	8	14	3	3	10	9	8	7
Under 5 years				1	1	3			2		1	
5 to 9 years					2				1	1	2	1
10 to 14 years					1	2	1		1	1		
15 to 19 years				1		2						1
20 to 24 years										1	1	
25 to 29 years					1	2			2	1		1
30 to 34 years				1	1				1	2		
35 to 39 years			1		2	3						
40 to 44 years							1	2	1			
45 to 49 years											2	1
50 to 54 years		1				1				1	1	
55 to 59 years						1			1	1	1	2
60 to 64 years								1		1		
65 to 69 years									1			
70 to 74 years												1
75 years and over							1					
18 years and over		1	1	1	4	7	2	3	6	7	5	5
21 years and over		1	1	1	4	7	2	3	6	6	4	5
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	261	267	13	13	135	143	41	39	72	77	159	158
Single	45	30	2	2	27	18	12	3	18	12	40	25
Married	213	221	11	10	106	108	29	30	53	56	114	120
Separated	3	3		1					1	2		
Widowed	1	14			1	14		6	1	7	5	10
Divorced	2	2		1	1	3				2		3
Nonwhite, 14+		1	1	2	4	10	3	3	6	8	5	6
Single				1		5	1	1	1	1	3	1
Married		1	1	1	4	4	2	2	5	5	2	3
Separated									1	1		
Widowed										1		2
Divorced						1				1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0029P	021 0031R	021 0042	021 0043	021 0044 A	021 0044 B
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	54		423	290	228	
Owner occupied	44		323	229	144	
White	44		313	188	107	
Nonwhite			10	41	37	
Renter occupied	10		51	49	72	
White	10		49	43	48	
Nonwhite			2	6	24	
Available vacant			22	1	4	
For rent			9		2	
For sale only			13	1	2	
Other vacant			27	11	8	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	54		423	290	228	
Sound	54		377	247	143	
With all plumbing facilities	51		324	205	95	
Lacking only hot water			8		2	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	3		45	42	46	
Deteriorating			33	13	41	
With all plumbing facilities			4	4	12	
Lacking only hot water			3		1	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water			26	14	28	
Dilapidated			13	25	44	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			12	47	61	
Sound			6	29	15	
With all plumbing facilities				15	5	
Lacking some or all facilities			6	14	10	
Deteriorating			3	5	16	
With all plumbing facilities					1	
Lacking some or all facilities			3	5	15	
Dilapidated			3	13	30	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	54		423	290	228	
1			4	3	4	
2			22	7	16	
3	2		32	12	23	
4	7		76	73	58	
5	14		91	85	44	
6	19		103	61	44	
7	5		68	29	16	
8 or more	7		27	20	23	
Median	5.7		5.4	5.1	4.8	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			12	47	61	
1				1	1	
2			1	1	9	
3			1	3	7	
4			4	21	22	
5				11	9	
6			4	7	7	
7					4	
8 or more			2	3	2	
Median					4.1	
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	54		374	278	216	
1	1		21	15	21	
2	10		84	51	50	
3	11		71	39	34	
4	9		82	62	36	
5	10		52	45	22	
6 or more	13		64	66	53	
Median	4.1		3.6	4.0	3.6	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			12	47	61	
1			1	2	6	
2			1	10	9	
3				9	8	
4			1	6	3	
5			2	11	9	
6 or more			7	9	26	
Median					5.0	
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	54		374	278	216	
0.50 or less	17		120	82	68	
0.51 to 0.75	15		103	54	42	
0.76 to 1.00	18		94	72	59	
1.01 or more	4		57	70	47	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			12	47	61	
0.50 or less			2	15	11	
0.51 to 0.75			1	8	10	
0.76 to 1.00				8	10	
1.01 or more			9	16	30	
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 003 021 0029P		021 003 021 0031R		021 003 021 0042		021 003 021 0043		021 003 021 0044 A		021 003 021 0044 B	
Total population	227				1442		1153		859		104	
White	227				1349		954		544		13	
Negro					93		199		315		91	
Other races												
Total population	227				1442		1153		859		104	
Pop. in households	227				1442		1153		859			
Head of household	54				374		278		216			
Head of prim. fam.	52				350		261		193			
Primary individual	2				24		17		23			
Wife of head	50				325		242		167			
Child under 18	98				587		479		322			
Other relative	22				136		111		142			
Nonrelative	3				20		43		12			
Pop. in group quarters											104	
Inmate of institution											97	
Other											7	
Pop. per household	4.20				3.86		4.15		3.98			
Nonwhite population					93		199		315		91	
Pop. in households					93		199		315			
Head of household					12		47		61			
Head of prim. fam.					11		44		54			
Primary individual					1		3		7			
Wife of head					10		38		42			
Child under 18					44		50		129			
Other relative					18		50		76			
Nonrelative					9		14		7			
Pop. in group quarters											91	
Inmate of institution											91	
Other												
Pop. per household					7.75		4.23		5.16			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	116	111			718	724	579	574	435	424	104	
Under 1 year	1	3			21	26	16	13	7	12		
1 year	3	6			20	18	17	8	14	12		
2 years	4	3			15	22	13	12	11	9		
3 years	3	3			21	22	17	16	14	7		
4 years	3	3			14	17	21	14	12	9		
5 years	3	2			13	22	16	16	16	19		
6 years	4	4			19	23	17	21	10	10		
7 years	4	4			16	12	12	18	11	11		
8 years	5	1			16	15	17	21	11	13		
9 years	4	2			20	21	17	13	13	10		
10 years	4	3			12	9	14	13	12	9		
11 years	6	2			25	19	7	18	6	14		
12 years	4	3			23	18	15	10	9	12		
13 years	2	3			18	12	15	18	9	13		
14 years	1	2			11	16	14	10	9	3		
15 years	4	1			20	12	12	7	8	12		
16 years	3	2			11	15	12	14	7	9	1	
17 years		1			16	14	14	8	12	5	1	
18 years		2			4	9	9	5	8	5	3	
19 years		1			5	11	5	6	4	2	1	
20 years	2				4	8	4	2	3	6	5	
21 years and over	56	60			389	383	295	311	229	222	93	
Total population	116	111			718	724	579	574	435	424	104	
Under 5 years	14	18			91	105	84	63	58	49		
5 to 9 years	20	13			84	93	79	89	61	63		
10 to 14 years	17	13			89	74	65	69	45	51		
15 to 19 years	7	7			61	61	52	40	39	33	6	
20 to 24 years	4	6			36	41	17	30	15	28	16	
25 to 29 years	6	8			49	49	33	39	25	24	30	
30 to 34 years	12	10			56	66	43	46	20	31	16	
35 to 39 years	4	6			71	64	48	54	30	28	16	
40 to 44 years	10	8			49	47	43	32	26	30	10	
45 to 49 years	6	6			42	39	38	28	24	20	4	
50 to 54 years	7	4			22	16	16	19	19	20	4	
55 to 59 years		4			21	23	19	16	17	14	1	
60 to 64 years	4	3			24	17	9	18	20	10		
65 to 69 years	2	3			10	10	14	15	12	6	1	
70 to 74 years	1				6	8	6	7	8	8		
75 to 79 years	1	1			4	5	10	7	9	5		
80 to 84 years		1			3	5	2	1	3	2		
85 years and over	1					1	1	1	4	2		
18 years and over	58	63			407	411	313	324	244	235	102	
Median age	20.0	23.8			24.7	23.5	22.8	24.3	24.8	22.9	30.0	
Nonwhite population					43	50	96	103	154	161	91	
Under 5 years					8	13	7	7	25	20		
5 to 9 years					7	10	9	8	23	32		
10 to 14 years					7	7	7	11	20	24		
15 to 19 years					3	4	13	13	20	13	6	
20 to 24 years					3	2	5	6	4	12	16	
25 to 29 years					1	3	3	5	3	6	27	
30 to 34 years					3	3	7	5	6	13	13	
35 to 39 years					2	2	5	9	12	9	15	
40 to 44 years					3	2	7	9	6	10	9	
45 to 49 years					1	1	12	7	8	4	2	
50 to 54 years					2		5	3	7	3	2	
55 to 59 years					2	3	5	4	3	9	1	
60 to 64 years							1	7	5	1		
65 to 69 years							3	6	6	2		
70 to 74 years					1		2	2	1	1		
75 years and over							5	1	5	2		
18 years and over					20	17	64	68	70	73	89	
21 years and over					18	16	59	64	64	69	80	
Median age						11.4	32.9	31.5	17.3	16.7	29.4	
Total, 14 & over	66	69			465	468	365	363	280	264	104	
Single	9	8			104	76	88	60	78	52	44	
Married	53	54			344	350	263	266	185	187	51	
Separated					4	4	3	3	4	8	11	
Widowed	4	6			11	35	7	34	12	20	4	
Divorced		1			6	7	7	3	5	5	5	
Nonwhite, 14+					22	21	75	80	89	85	91	
Single					4	7	25	23	35	22	42	
Married					12	12	48	49	49	54	45	
Separated					1		1	2		7	10	
Widowed					1		1	8	5	9	1	
Divorced						2	1				3	

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0004P	021 0004R	021 0004S	021 0005N	021 0005P	021 0005R
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	119	130	97	167	136	4
Owner occupied	104	122	94	155	98	
White	104	122	94	154	98	
Nonwhite				1		
Renter occupied	11	1		7	6	
White	10	1		7	6	
Nonwhite	1					
Available vacant	2	6	1	2	32	
For rent		1				
For sale only	2	5	1	2	32	
Other vacant	2	1	2	3		
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	119	130	97	167	136	
Sound	119	129	97	164	131	
With all plumbing facilities	119	128	97	163	130	
Lacking only hot water		1				
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water						
Deteriorating		1		1	1	
With all plumbing facilities				2	3	
Lacking only hot water				2	3	
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		1				
Dilapidated				1	2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			1		
Sound	1					
With all plumbing facilities	1					
Lacking some or all facilities						
Deteriorating						
With all plumbing facilities						
Lacking some or all facilities						
Dilapidated				1		
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	119	130	97	167	136	
1					2	
2	1	1		1		
3	3	1		1		
4	5	10		2	1	
5	12	18	2	14	8	
6	20	37	10	44	26	
7	33	48	50	62	47	
8 or more	45	15	35	43	52	
Median	7.1	6.4	7.2	6.8	7.2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			1		
1						
2	1					
3						
4						
5						
6						
7				1		
8 or more						
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	115	123	94	162	104	
1	8	7		6	3	
2	31	27	14	35	26	
3	21	28	17	30	18	
4	29	33	37	45	28	
5	12	19	19	32	14	
6 or more	14	9	7	14	15	
Median	3.4	3.5	3.9	3.7	3.7	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			1		
1						
2	1					
3						
4						
5						
6 or more				1		
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	115	123	94	162	104	
0.50 or less	68	65	49	84	61	
0.51 to 0.75	33	36	38	59	27	
0.76 to 1.00	10	20	6	15	14	
1.01 or more	4	2	1	4	2	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	1			1		
0.50 or less						
0.51 to 0.75						
0.76 to 1.00	1			1		
1.01 or more						
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 006 021 0004P		021 006 021 0004R		021 006 021 0004S		021 006 021 0005N		021 006 021 0005P		021 006 021 0005R	
Total population	399		429		366		597		393		12	
White	396		429		365		588		391		12	
Negro	3				1		9		2			
Other races												
Total population	399		429		366		597		393		12	
Pop. in households	399		429		366		597		392		12	
Head of household	115		123		94		162		104		4	
Head of prim. fam.	107		116		94		156		101		4	
Primary individual	8		7				6		3			
Wife of head	105		115		92		150		96		4	
Child under 18	148		170		152		260		160		4	
Other relative	29		20		27		12		26			
Nonrelative	2		1		1		13		6			
Pop. in group quarters									1			
Inmate of institution												
Other									1			
Pop. per household	3.47		3.49		3.89		3.69		3.77			
Nonwhite population	3				1		9		2			
Pop. in households	3				1		9		2			
Head of household	1						9		2			
Head of prim. fam.	1						1					
Primary individual							1					
Wife of head	1											
Child under 18							1					
Other relative							2					
Nonrelative	1				1		2					
Pop. in group quarters							3		2			
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	194	205	210	219	179	187	291	306	199	194	7	5
Under 1 year	4	2	8	6	2	9	10	7	8	8		
1 year	5	8	8	5	1	2	9	10	6	8		
2 years	3	8	4	9	7	6	10	6	5	5		
3 years	7	8	12	7	3	3	7	9	7	7		
4 years	5	10	2	9	7	3	11	16	8	8		
5 years	6	3	6	4	8	11	9	10	7	6	1	
6 years	6	9	10	7	7	8	8	11	5	5		1
7 years	7	8	4	3	8	5	13	6	3	5		
8 years	4	5	5	6	3	2	3	5	5	3		
9 years	4	2	7	4	4	9	7	12	3	7		
10 years	2	5	4	6	8	3	7	5	9	3	1	
11 years	1	7	3	7	4	3	11	6	8	4		
12 years	6	3	2	1	5	4	7	11	3	1		
13 years	2	1	3	7		6	5	4	2	7		
14 years	7	3	3	3	7	1	4	3	5	1		
15 years		2	2	1	2	5	5	4	1	5		
16 years	3	2		2	1	3	1	6		2		
17 years	1	4	1	1	1	3	3		4	2	1	
18 years	1		1		2	1			1			
19 years		1	1		1	1				1		
20 years	2	1	2		1			1		1		
21 years and over	118	128	122	131	101	103	161	174	113	113	4	4
Total population	194	205	210	219	179	187	291	306	199	194	7	5
Under 5 years	24	25	34	36	20	23	47	48	30	28		
5 to 9 years	27	23	32	24	30	31	40	44	23	26	1	1
10 to 14 years	18	19	15	24	20	17	34	29	27	16	1	
15 to 19 years	5	9	5	4	7	13	9	10	6	10	1	
20 to 24 years	6	8	7	8	4	3	1	5		7		
25 to 29 years	6	18	6	15	2	5	11	24	5	12		
30 to 34 years	21	19	22	22	21	22	28	37	21	21	1	1
35 to 39 years	17	17	32	23	23	22	47	40	28	29	1	1
40 to 44 years	17	17	16	23	18	21	24	26	22	13		
45 to 49 years	15	15	14	13	15	12	24	9	10	10		
50 to 54 years	14	12	15	9	11	6	11	13	8	3	1	2
55 to 59 years	8	10	5	5	6	4	3	13	7	8	1	
60 to 64 years	3	8	2	8	3	2	6	1	6	5		
65 to 69 years	9	8		3		2	1	1	2	2		
70 to 74 years	3	9	2	2	1	1	2	3	7	2		
75 to 79 years	1	2	3	2		3	2	2	1	2		
80 to 84 years		1		2								
85 years and over		1					1	1				
18 years and over	121	130	126	131	105	105	161	175	114	115	4	4
Median age	32.6	32.2	31.4	28.5	31.5	30.3	30.6	28.5	32.0	29.2		
Nonwhite population	1	2				1	2	7		2		
Under 5 years												
5 to 9 years								1				
10 to 14 years								1				
15 to 19 years												
20 to 24 years	1					1				1		
25 to 29 years		1										
30 to 34 years								1				
35 to 39 years							1	1				
40 to 44 years										1		
45 to 49 years												
50 to 54 years		1						2				
55 to 59 years								1				
60 to 64 years												
65 to 69 years												
70 to 74 years												
75 years and over							1					
18 years and over	1	2				1	2	5		2		
21 years and over	1	2				1	2	5		2		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	132	141	132	138	116	117	174	188	124	125	5	4
Single	19	17	15	9	18	15	16	21	14	14	1	
Married	109	100	115	116	97	96	154	156	99	100	4	4
Separated	2	1					1	1	1			
Widowed	4	11	2	12	1	6	2	10	8	6		
Divorced		4		1			2	1	3	5		
Nonwhite, 14+	1	2				1	2	5		2		
Single						1		3		1		
Married	1	2					2	2		1		
Separated		1					1	1				
Widowed												
Divorced												

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0005S	021 0005T	021 0006N	021 0006P	021 0006R	021 0016N
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	41	71	197	202	142	120
Owner occupied	32	64	153	175	119	115
White	32	49	153	175	109	115
Nonwhite		15			10	
Renter occupied	2	3	34	6	18	3
White	2		34	6	13	3
Nonwhite		3			5	
Available vacant	7	4	9	12	4	2
For rent	1	1	1		4	
For sale only	6	3	8	12		2
Other vacant			1	9	1	
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	41	71	197	202	142	120
Sound	39	58	197	202	128	120
With all plumbing facilities	39	52	195	202	128	119
Lacking only hot water						1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		6	2			
Deteriorating	1	9			3	
With all plumbing facilities	1	3			2	
Lacking only hot water						
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		6			1	
Dilapidated	1	4			11	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		18			15	
Sound		8			2	
With all plumbing facilities		5			2	
Lacking some or all facilities		3				
Deteriorating		7			2	
With all plumbing facilities		1			1	
Lacking some or all facilities		6			1	
Dilapidated		3			11	
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	41	71	197	202	142	120
1		1	1			
2		1	3	1	1	
3		5	6		3	1
4		10	18	1	20	2
5	1	7	33	20	43	13
6	16	25	55	39	41	48
7	19	13	48	87	11	34
8 or more	5	9	33	54	23	22
Median		6.0	6.2	7.0	5.6	6.4
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		18			15	
1						
2					1	
3		4				
4		6			7	
5					8	
6		5			1	
7		2			2	
8 or more		1				
Median						
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	34	67	187	181	137	118
1		6	18	3	11	2
2	9	10	41	31	28	25
3	9	19	36	36	25	25
4	9	10	45	55	33	34
5	2	12	31	44	24	20
6 or more	5	10	16	12	16	12
Median		3.4	3.5	3.9	3.6	3.7
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		18			15	
1		5			1	
2		1			2	
3		3			3	
4		2			1	
5		3			1	
6 or more		4			7	
Median						
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	34	67	187	181	137	118
0.50 or less	20	29	92	79	52	52
0.51 to 0.75	10	18	68	82	43	46
0.76 to 1.00	3	11	23	18	33	20
1.01 or more	1	9	4	2	9	
Housing units occupied by nonwhites		18			15	
0.50 or less		6			3	
0.51 to 0.75		3			4	
0.76 to 1.00		3			1	
1.01 or more		6			7	
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 006 021 0005S		021 006 021 0005T		021 006 021 0006N		021 006 021 0006P		021 006 021 0006R		021 006 021 0016N	
Total population	124		249		645		688		501		436	
White	124		179		642		686		428		434	
Negro			70		3		2		73			
Other races											2	
Total population	124		249		645		688		501		436	
Pop. in households	124		249		645		688		501		436	
Head of household	34		67		187		181		137		118	
Head of prim. fam.	34		60		168		178		123		115	
Primary individual			7		19		3		14		3	
Wife of head	34		53		154		172		114		113	
Child under 18	53		83		250		294		205		169	
Other relative	2		41		49		37		38		32	
Nonrelative	1		5		5		4		7		4	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household	3.65		3.72		3.45		3.80		3.66		3.69	
Nonwhite population			70		3		2		73		2	
Pop. in households			70		3		2		73		2	
Head of household			18						15			
Head of prim. fam.			12						14			
Primary individual			6						1			
Wife of head			9						11			
Child under 18			25						22			
Other relative			14						23			
Nonrelative			4		3		2		2		2	
Pop. in group quarters												
Inmate of institution												
Other												
Pop. per household			3.89						4.87			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	70	54	134	115	315	330	353	335	237	264	218	218
Under 1 year	1	1	4	2	4	3	9	6	7	9	5	2
1 year	3	2	6	1	9	7	10	10	4	10	5	6
2 years	4	1	3	6	8	5	16	10	7	8	4	4
3 years	4	2	1	4	9	5	12	13	11	5	6	4
4 years	3	3	2		2	15	11	9	6	9	8	4
5 years	2	2	6	2	14	7	17	5	8	8	1	6
6 years	3	1	6	3	13	10	13	16	9	7	7	6
7 years	3		2	1	9	10	8	12	9	7	6	4
8 years	2	1	3	1	14	4	13	5	10	6	6	4
9 years	2	1	2	2	5	10	10	12	6	3	6	7
10 years	1		3	2	9	5	10	6	6	6	6	5
11 years	1	1	2	1	9	11	8	1	6	3	4	4
12 years	2	1	2	4	3	8	12	7	3	8		3
13 years	2		4	2	6	6	6	9	3	2	5	12
14 years	1	1	3	2	4	3	1	4	5	5	7	4
15 years		1	3	1	5	4	1	2	3	4	5	3
16 years	1		1	4	4	4	7	2	1	1	3	6
17 years			1	3	6	5	1	2	2	8	7	
18 years			3		2	3	3	2		1	5	
19 years			2		3	1	1	3		1	1	1
20 years	1		3	5	4	3				2	1	1
21 years and over	34	36	72	69	173	201	184	199	131	151	120	132
Total population	70	54	134	115	315	330	353	335	237	264	218	218
Under 5 years	15	9	16	13	32	35	58	48	35	41	28	20
5 to 9 years	12	5	19	9	55	41	61	50	42	31	26	27
10 to 14 years	7	3	14	11	31	33	37	27	23	24	22	28
15 to 19 years	1	1	10	8	20	17	13	11	6	15	21	10
20 to 24 years	1	4	4	12	14	13	3	6	3	8	1	3
25 to 29 years	9	8	14	11	10	17	13	28	12	27	2	4
30 to 34 years	7	9	10	9	23	39	48	52	35	36	11	29
35 to 39 years	6	2	10	10	34	26	42	33	29	17	30	27
40 to 44 years	3	6	7	11	27	37	28	23	18	16	27	22
45 to 49 years	3	2	11	4	23	18	19	16	8	12	18	16
50 to 54 years	1	2	9	2	11	15	12	15	8	9	11	7
55 to 59 years	3	1	4	4	7	6	11	7	8	4	8	6
60 to 64 years	1		1	1	6	10	2	6	1	6	3	5
65 to 69 years		1	4	4	7	8	1	7	6	2	2	3
70 to 74 years	1			3	4	6	4	3	1	6	2	7
75 to 79 years			1	2	3	6		2	1	3	4	1
80 to 84 years		1		1	2	3		1	1		2	2
85 years and over							1			7		1
18 years and over	35	38	80	74	182	208	188	204	131	155	127	134
Median age	20.0	28.1	26.4	27.0	26.7	31.2	26.7	29.6	29.0	27.4	38.1	32.9
Nonwhite population			40	30		3		2	33	40	1	1
Under 5 years			4	3					6	3		
5 to 9 years			7	1					5	4	1	1
10 to 14 years			6	4					4	7		
15 to 19 years			5	2				1		1		
20 to 24 years			2	5		1			2	4		
25 to 29 years			3						1	4		
30 to 34 years						1			1	1		
35 to 39 years				1					1	1		
40 to 44 years				6					3			
45 to 49 years			7	1					2	5		
50 to 54 years			3					1	2	3		
55 to 59 years			1	1					3			
60 to 64 years			1			1				1		
65 to 69 years				3					2			
70 to 74 years				1					1	1		
75 years and over			1	2						5		
18 years and over			21	20		3		2	18	25		
21 years and over			16	17		2		1	18	24		
Median age												
Total, 14 & over	37	38	88	84	201	224	198	214	142	173	149	147
Single	3	2	18	13	36	36	17	18	18	31	30	20
Married	34	35	62	61	158	159	178	179	118	120	115	115
Separated		1	2	1		1		1				1
Widowed		1	6	9	4	22	2	14	5	18	3	11
Divorced			2	1	3	7	1	3	1	4	1	1
Nonwhite, 14+			25	22		3		2	19	27		
Single			9	5		1		1	3	8		
Married			12	11					13	15		
Separated			2	1								
Widowed			4	6		1		1	2	3		
Divorced						1			1	1		

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name:

Housing characteristics	021 0016P	021 0016R	021 0016S	021 0017	021 0037	021 0038
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status						
All housing units	160	124	87	5	367	564
Owner occupied	145	99	70		248	439
White	145	99	55		180	403
Nonwhite			15		68	36
Renter occupied	10	11	11	5	91	75
White	10	11	10	5	64	66
Nonwhite			1		27	9
Available vacant	3	10	3		3	29
For rent					3	1
For sale only	3	10	3			28
Other vacant	2	4	3		25	21
Condition and Plumbing						
All housing units	160	124	87	5	367	564
Sound	158	120	76	5	172	459
With all plumbing facilities	158	115	69	5	155	426
Lacking only hot water			1			8
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water		5	6		17	25
Deteriorating	2	1	6		96	21
With all plumbing facilities	1		1		69	14
Lacking only hot water					3	1
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	1	1	5		24	6
Dilapidated		3	5		99	84
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			16		95	45
Sound			10		20	14
With all plumbing facilities			4		11	10
Lacking some or all facilities			6		9	4
Deteriorating			3		19	3
With all plumbing facilities			1		7	1
Lacking some or all facilities			2		12	2
Dilapidated			3		56	28
Number of Rooms						
All housing units	160	124	87	5	367	564
1		1			6	3
2	3	2	4	1	13	12
3	21	5	17	2	31	51
4	17	8	27		52	97
5	38	31	10	1	86	166
6	32	42	15	1	66	130
7	18	21	8		50	71
8 or more	31	14	6		63	34
Median	5.5	5.9	4.3		5.4	5.2
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			16		95	45
1					1	2
2					5	3
3			3		9	5
4			6		19	4
5			5		24	6
6			1		17	15
7			1		9	2
8 or more					11	8
Median					5.1	
Number of Persons						
All occupied housing units	155	110	81	5	339	514
1	7	6	6	2	27	23
2	32	24	27	3	88	118
3	44	22	25		66	106
4	38	24	14		53	124
5	22	19	5		46	76
6 or more	12	15	4		59	67
Median	3.4	3.6	2.8		3.3	3.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			16		95	45
1			3		9	5
2			6		21	10
3			4		15	7
4			3		10	8
5					14	3
6 or more					26	12
Median					3.8	
Persons Per Room						
All occupied housing units	155	110	81	5	339	514
0.50 or less	58	48	31	4	140	152
0.51 to 0.75	55	29	26	1	75	161
0.76 to 1.00	30	27	18		83	133
1.01 or more	12	6	6		41	68
Housing units occupied by nonwhites			16		95	45
0.50 or less			8		28	18
0.51 to 0.75			5		16	9
0.76 to 1.00			2		29	5
1.01 or more			1		22	13
Value of Property						
Owner-occupied housing units						
Less than $5,000						
$5,000 to $9,900						
$10,000 to $14,900						
$15,000 to $19,900						
$20,000 to $24,900						
$25,000 or more						
Median ... dollars						
Contract Rent						
Renter-occupied housing units						
Average ... dollars						

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 006 021 0016P		021 006 021 0016R		021 006 021 0016S		021 006 021 0017		021 006 021 0037		021 006 021 0038	
Total population	543		410		244		155		1261		1919	
White	543		410		205		155		851		1717	
Negro					39				410		202	
Other races												
Total population	543		410		244		155		1261		1919	
Pop. in households	543		410		244		8		1251		1919	
Head of household	155		110		81		5		339		514	
Head of prim. fam.	146		103		75		3		305		486	
Primary individual	9		7		6		2		34		28	
Wife of head	136		96		70		3		267		445	
Child under 18	216		182		64				375		708	
Other relative	32		18		29				240		232	
Nonrelative	8		4						30		20	
Pop. in group quarters							147		10			
Inmate of institution							132					
Other							15		10			
Pop. per household	3.50		3.73		3.01				3.69		3.73	
Nonwhite population					39				410		202	
Pop. in households					39				400		202	
Head of household					16				95		45	
Head of prim. fam.					13				82		38	
Primary individual					3				13		7	
Wife of head					10				59		27	
Child under 18					3				90		59	
Other relative					10				144		62	
Nonrelative									12		9	
Pop. in group quarters									10			
Inmate of institution												
Other									10			
Pop. per household									4.21		4.49	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population	279	264	212	198	119	125	3	152	624	637	951	968
Under 1 year	8	8	6	7	3	4			6	12	22	29
1 year	9	6	7	6	7	2			13	16	22	25
2 years	9	13	5	9	5	4			14	10	22	22
3 years	9	9	8	4	3	4			16	15	19	30
4 years	14	3	7	3	2	2			13	18	28	23
5 years	6	7	6	6	2	4			12	14	29	23
6 years	4	7	5	3	2	4			14	15	29	25
7 years	3	7	7	4	3	5			20	18	25	23
8 years	8	5	6	4	1				14	11	20	25
9 years	4	3	6	7		2			17	15	26	22
10 years	8	7	4	3	1	1			12	11	22	23
11 years	6	8	9	5	1			2	15	15	13	26
12 years	6	6	8	7	2			7	18	15	25	17
13 years	13	5	3	6	1	1		24	9	15	24	22
14 years	2	5	6	3		2		29	11	11	11	9
15 years	4	4	3	1	2	2		26	10	3	18	7
16 years	2	2	2	3	2			26	13	8	20	19
17 years	1	1	4	3				17	5	7	11	10
18 years		1	1			3		1	7	10	9	13
19 years	2	1		1		3			14	4	10	13
20 years	2	1	1		1	7			8	9	6	8
21 years and over	159	150	108	113	81	75	3	20	363	385	540	554
Total population	279	264	212	198	119	125	3	152	624	637	951	968
Under 5 years	49	30	33	29	20	16			62	71	113	129
5 to 9 years	25	26	30	24	8	15			77	73	129	118
10 to 14 years	35	27	30	24	5	4		62	65	67	95	97
15 to 19 years	9	9	10	8	4	8		70	49	32	68	62
20 to 24 years	11	11	6	8	14	17			37	31	46	49
25 to 29 years	18	33	13	9	15	13			34	39	55	62
30 to 34 years	41	27	14	25	8	10	1	1	39	44	86	93
35 to 39 years	30	23	24	23	6	7			44	54	79	85
40 to 44 years	23	15	22	15	8	7		2	48	50	59	62
45 to 49 years	14	16	7	9	10	8		3	32	42	60	44
50 to 54 years	10	8	5	3	4	3		6	43	32	41	46
55 to 59 years	7	10	4	5	4	4	1	7	26	31	34	29
60 to 64 years	4	6	7	6	2	7		1	18	15	27	20
65 to 69 years		7	3	4	4	3	1		22	25	27	29
70 to 74 years		4	2	3	2	2			10	7	13	21
75 to 79 years	3		1	1	5	1			14	10	8	12
80 to 84 years			1						3	8	8	5
85 years and over				2					1	6	3	5
18 years and over	163	162	110	114	82	88	3	21	392	408	565	588
Median age	27.9	27.6	22.5	28.3	27.8	26.0		16.0	28.2	30.6	27.2	27.3
Nonwhite population					20	19			201	209	98	104
Under 5 years					2	1			29	25	20	16
5 to 9 years					3				26	26	13	13
10 to 14 years									23	18	11	11
15 to 19 years									13	13	6	8
20 to 24 years						1			13	15	6	4
25 to 29 years					1	2			13	17	6	9
30 to 34 years									10	13	8	6
35 to 39 years					1	1			10	9	5	9
40 to 44 years					1				15	21	3	5
45 to 49 years					2	3			7	9	9	5
50 to 54 years					1	1			12	11		6
55 to 59 years					3	2			9	9	4	1
60 to 64 years					1	5			6	3	4	5
65 to 69 years					2	1			7	10	2	5
70 to 74 years						1			2	3		
75 years and over					3	1			6	7	1	1
18 years and over					15	18			118	135	50	60
21 years and over					15	17			107	123	47	56
Median age									23.7	27.2	19.2	25.0
Total, 14 & over	172	174	125	124	86	92	3	119	431	437	625	633
Single	24	18	21	13	5	6		99	116	77	127	94
Married	144	138	102	103	76	79	3	7	292	299	470	479
Separated	5		2	2	2	2			7	13	5	2
Widowed	2	15	1	6	4	4		7	19	51	20	51
Divorced	2	3	1	2	1	3		6	4	10	8	9
Nonwhite, 14+					15	18			128	142	57	66
Single					1				42	37	21	22
Married					11	12			74	77	33	33
Separated					1	1			5	11	3	1
Widowed					3	3			12	24	1	9
Divorced						3				4	2	2

18th Decennial Census
Form No. 60-07-107

Advance table PH-1.--POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1960

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Major Area Code: 54

Name: **CHESTERFIELD COUNTY**

Housing characteristics	021 0039
Tenure, Color & Vacancy Status	
All housing units	324
Owner occupied	203
White	173
Nonwhite	30
Renter occupied	104
White	65
Nonwhite	39
Available vacant	2
For rent	1
For sale only	1
Other vacant	15
Condition and Plumbing	
All housing units	324
Sound	236
With all plumbing facilities	192
Lacking only hot water	3
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	41
Deteriorating	44
With all plumbing facilities	9
Lacking only hot water	2
Lacking private toilet or bath or running water	33
Dilapidated	44
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	69
Sound	22
With all plumbing facilities	6
Lacking some or all facilities	16
Deteriorating	19
With all plumbing facilities	
Lacking some or all facilities	19
Dilapidated	28
Number of Rooms	
All housing units	324
1	1
2	24
3	24
4	69
5	77
6	65
7	35
8 or more	29
Median	5.1
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	69
1	
2	8
3	12
4	17
5	13
6	12
7	2
8 or more	5
Median	4.4
Number of Persons	
All occupied housing units	307
1	22
2	63
3	64
4	60
5	41
6 or more	57
Median	3.6
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	69
1	5
2	14
3	12
4	8
5	4
6 or more	26
Median	3.9
Persons Per Room	
All occupied housing units	307
0.50 or less	109
0.51 to 0.75	67
0.76 to 1.00	69
1.01 or more	62
Housing units occupied by nonwhites	69
0.50 or less	17
0.51 to 0.75	9
0.76 to 1.00	13
1.01 or more	30
Value of Property	
Owner-occupied housing units	
Less than $5,000	
$5,000 to $9,900	
$10,000 to $14,900	
$15,000 to $19,900	
$20,000 to $24,900	
$25,000 or more	
Median ... dollars	
Contract Rent	
Renter-occupied housing units	
Average ... dollars	

Race, relationship, age, and marital status	021 006 021 0039	
Total population	1232	
White	877	
Negro	355	
Other races		
Total population	1232	
Pop. in households	1228	
Head of household	307	
Head of prim. fam.	280	
Primary individual	27	
Wife of head	250	
Child under 18	421	
Other relative	228	
Nonrelative	18	
Pop. in group quarters	8	
Inmate of institution		
Other	8	
Pop. per household	3.99	
Nonwhite population	355	
Pop. in households	347	
Head of household	69	
Head of prim. fam.	62	
Primary individual	7	
Wife of head	49	
Child under 18	108	
Other relative	118	
Nonrelative	7	
Pop. in group quarters	8	
Inmate of institution		
Other	8	
Pop. per household	5.03	
	Male	Female
Total population	626	606
Under 1 year	17	11
1 year	18	8
2 years	14	17
3 years	14	14
4 years	17	15
5 years	17	17
6 years	16	19
7 years	14	13
8 years	13	18
9 years	16	14
10 years	17	16
11 years	14	9
12 years	9	18
13 years	17	8
14 years	15	16
15 years	12	9
16 years	6	7
17 years	11	12
18 years	9	11
19 years	8	5
20 years	6	12
21 years and over	346	337
Total population	626	606
Under 5 years	80	65
5 to 9 years	76	81
10 to 14 years	72	67
15 to 19 years	46	48
20 to 24 years	39	39
25 to 29 years	39	35
30 to 34 years	30	50
35 to 39 years	46	42
40 to 44 years	52	33
45 to 49 years	27	32
50 to 54 years	20	22
55 to 59 years	30	17
60 to 64 years	20	27
65 to 69 years	18	27
70 to 74 years	16	12
75 to 79 years	9	12
80 to 84 years	5	1
85 years and over	1	
18 years and over	369	365
Median age	25.0	26.0
Nonwhite population	183	172
Under 5 years	28	20
5 to 9 years	25	28
10 to 14 years	21	21
15 to 19 years	16	13
20 to 24 years	14	15
25 to 29 years	11	13
30 to 34 years	7	7
35 to 39 years	7	9
40 to 44 years	12	9
45 to 49 years	10	8
50 to 54 years	6	4
55 to 59 years	12	6
60 to 64 years	2	6
65 to 69 years	5	6
70 to 74 years	4	3
75 years and over	3	4
18 years and over	98	97
21 years and over	92	86
Median age	20.5	21.3
Total, 14 & over	413	409
Single	112	73
Married	280	282
Separated	2	4
Widowed	17	50
Divorced	4	4
Nonwhite, 14+	114	108
Single	41	25
Married	66	68
Separated		2
Widowed	6	14
Divorced	1	1

ENUMERATION DISTRICTS BY CENSUS TRACT

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY - 1960 POPULATION

C-1	
1	1,171
2N	338
2P	400
3	1,104
7N	553
7P	218
7R	368
8N	428
8P	295
8R	295
9	1,006
10N	1,036
10P	456
11	1,257
12	886
13	1,018
14	1,999
15N	241
15P	264
15R	342
15S	279
Total	13,954

C-2	
18N	1,530
18P	380
18R	514
18S	394
18T	770
19	1,200
20	1,324
21N	1,432
21P	582
22	1,445
26T	317
40	1,263
41	606
Total	11,757

C-3	
23N	304
23P	788
24N	198
24P	157
24R	242
24S	180
25N	1,251
25P	318
25R	125
26N	234
26P	403
26R	275
26S	141
27N	840
27P	11
27R	714
Total	6,181

C-4	
29R	478
29S	501
30N	258
30P	647
31N	124
31P	-
32N	320
32P	48
32R	269
32S	473
32T	65
32U	13
32W	176
33NA	189
33NB	4
33P	146
33R	228
33S	316

Research Services
Richmond Chamber of Commerce

C-4 Cont.

34N	198
34P	589
34R	266
34S	392
35NA	335
35NB	9
45	894
Total	6,938

C-5

35P	198
35R	128
35S	204
35T	305
36N	839
36P	451
46NA	1,435
46NB	139
47	1,902
Total	5,601

C-6

48A	348
48B	661
48C	1,070
49	600
50	319
51N	384
54P	122
Total	3,504

C-7

46P	-
51PA	1,012
51PB	55
52	865
53A	1,210
53B	264
54NA	324
54NB	851
Total	4,581

C-8

28N	880
28P	46
28R	444
28S	126
28T	224
29N	510
29P	227
31R	-
42	1,442
43	1,153
44A	859
44B	104
Total	6,015

C-9

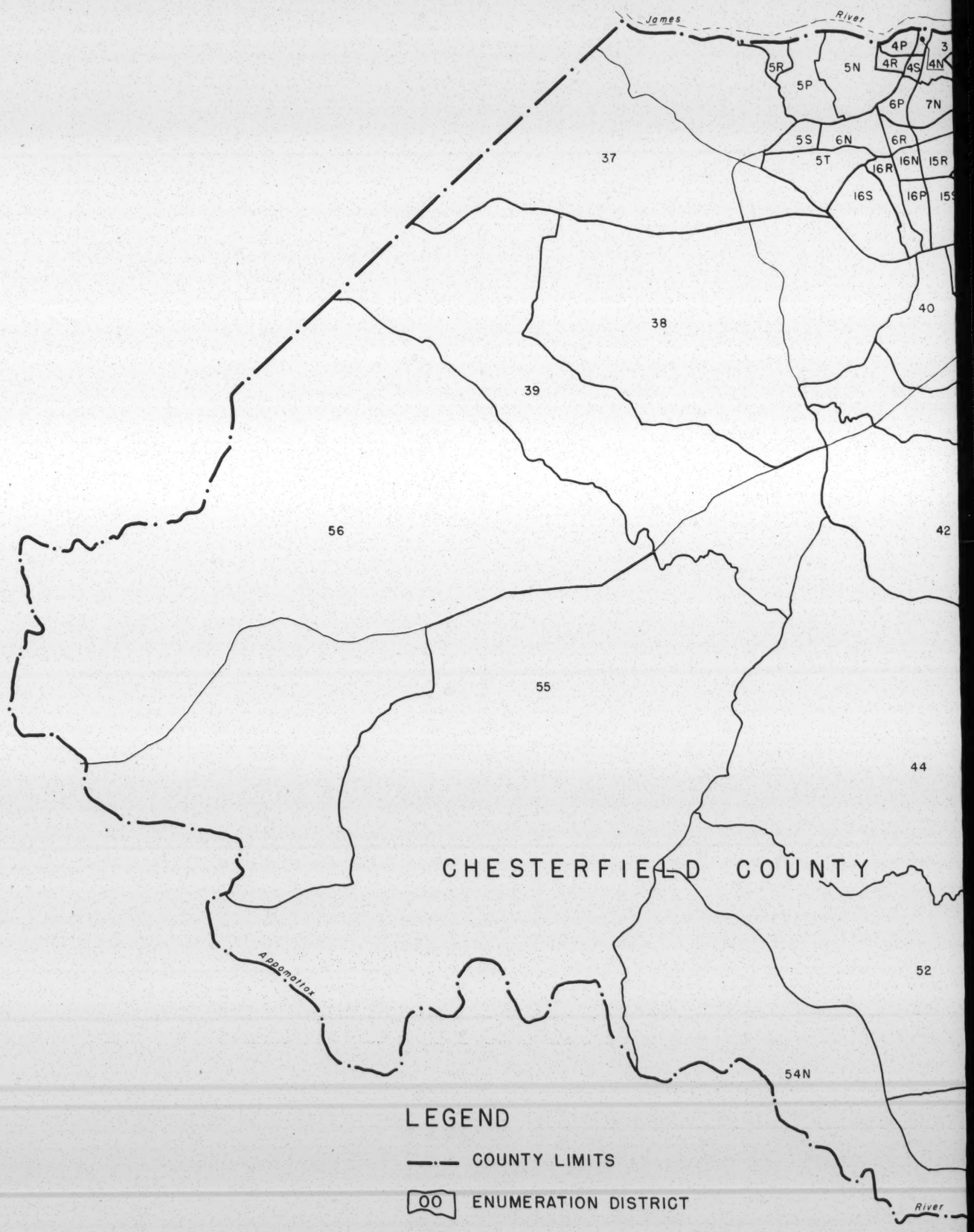
4N	156
4P	399
4R	429
4S	366
5N	597
5P	393
5R	12
5S	124
5T	249
6N	645
6P	688
6R	501
16N	436
16P	543
16R	410
16S	244
17	155
37	1,261
38	1,919
39	1,232
Total	10,759

C-10

55	1,036
56	871
Total	1,907

Research Services
Richmond Chamber of Commerce

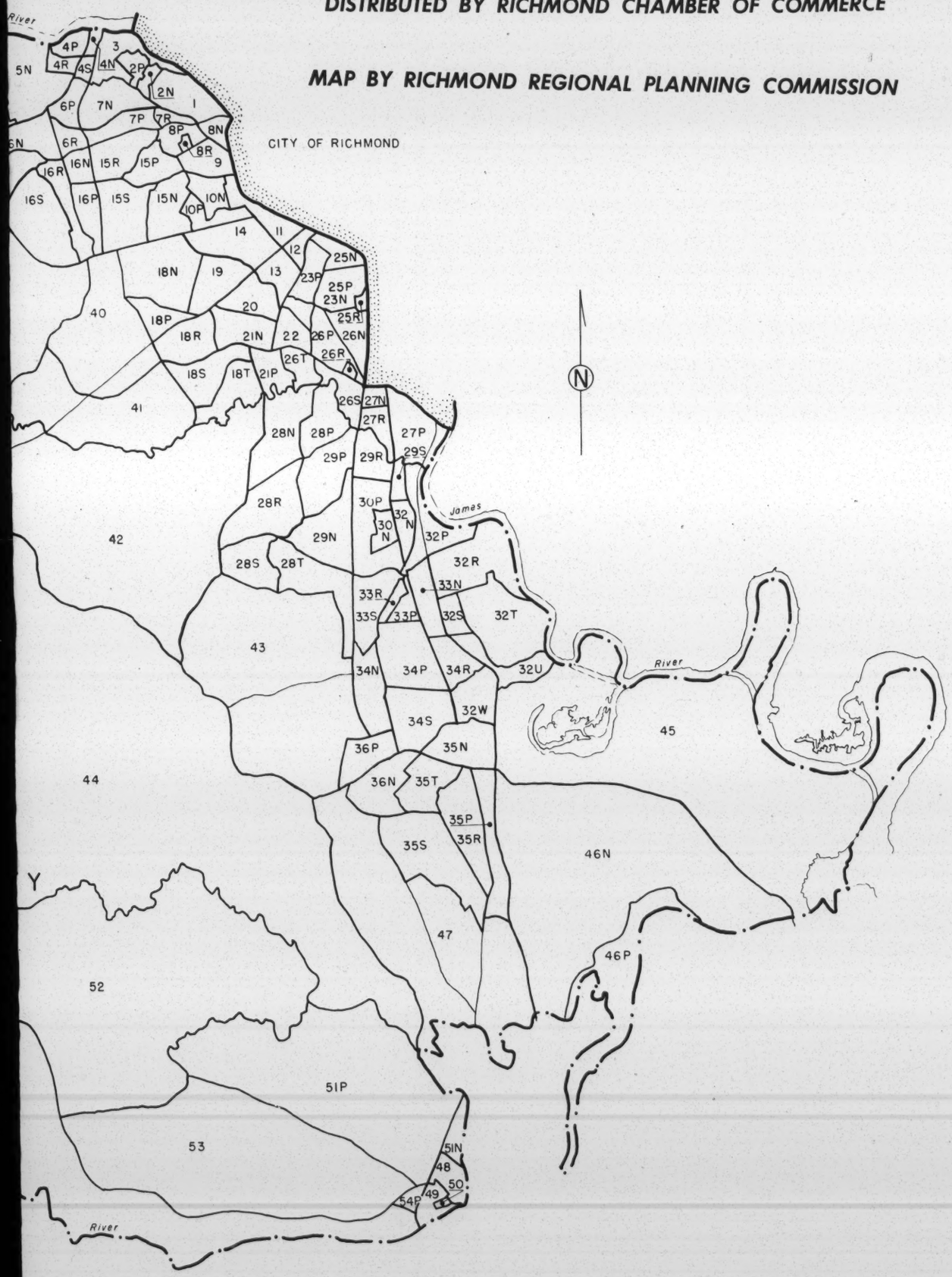
CHESTERFIELD COUNTY E



Y ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

DISTRIBUTED BY RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MAP BY RICHMOND REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION



Richmond,
1950 to 1965 -

Metropolitan Richmond -
City of Richmond + Henrico + Chesterfield + Hanover

C of C says corp. Rich pop'n down from 230,310 (1950) to 220,100 (1965). But Metro Richmond up from 328,000 to 486,800 (1950 to 1965), and expected to reach 600,000 by 1980.

1965 - est - personal income $9,409 per family.
2,834 per capita.

School population in city up from 33,000 (1950) to 44,300 (1965).
In 1950, 60% were white. 1965, 60% Negro.

Recreation study –

Ed Peeples, sociologist, MCV
mid 30's

Native of Richmond
Va approach permeates – Conserv, laissez-faire,
"we have no probs," last to admit, last to initiate
Richmond line of race relations –
"We don't initiate anything." No discussion Head-in-the-sand Avoid the question.

No teacher desegr in Rich schools.
Rich system will not use Title IV funds to help desegr.

Fred Fay a good man to see. Sawyer is his man (Fay's) in charge of housing. Sawyer is in chg of pub housing.
Housing (Pub) is one area where Rich has done more.

Public Health – do very little. No director at present. Home care, med. care to indigent, sanitation enforcement of codes (housing) is very poor.
Even white area (Oregon Hill, East of Cem East of Byrd Pk)

Urban renewal projects – gov't has no qualms about tearing up residential n'hoods for public, redevel, & hwy facilities because all property is owned by negroes. No objection to take it up.
"Richmond is a microcosm of Virginia."

See Father McMahon about his experiences [THREATS] on northside. Problem on N-side is middle class vs moving into working class n'hood.

Great deal of disparity in enforcement of sanitation and housing. Negro slum housing own by whites and Negro City

Councilman — Cephus!

Negro slum streets tend to be more paved than other slum cities in South.

All white slums streets paved. Not all Negro slum streets paved. Never seen a white slum street unpaved.

Ordinarily, councilman who comes in first becomes mayor. Cephus came in second, first placer (Mr Shepard) refused it. Cephus didn't become mayor, because he was Negro. Couldn't have N mayor in Richmond.

Richmond's poorer housing looks deceptively good because outsides are better maintained. more paint. further north — weather factor.

~~Loren Thompson — pop'n — U of Va Sociological Institute (Charlottesville), Councilman.~~

Diff. to document indiv instances of enforcement of ordinances on housing + sanitation. Only way to notice it is to look at the conditions of the n'hoods.

Bruce Randolph — "the Richmond bureaucrat" type. Naturally elusive. Probably will not talk about his city honestly. Don't expect criticism of city from him or Ross.

Richmond Council on Community Relations — up until recently very ineffective.

White groups in Richmond tend to be very paternalistic. Negro groups tend to be suspicious, and with good reason. Contact between races —

Herbert Ross — bureaucrat. Knows something about city conditions. Knows little about housing.

Ruby Clayton — Negro girl. Worked with NAACP — youth council. Potential source of info on Richmond conditions. // Woman United Giver — sympatico. — Recreation study.

Peeples, cont'd:

Doctors have desegregated the local medical society.

News Leader editorial critical of proposed city ordnance which would have req'd hot water (at least one spigot in every dwelling) because health not directly related to hot water.

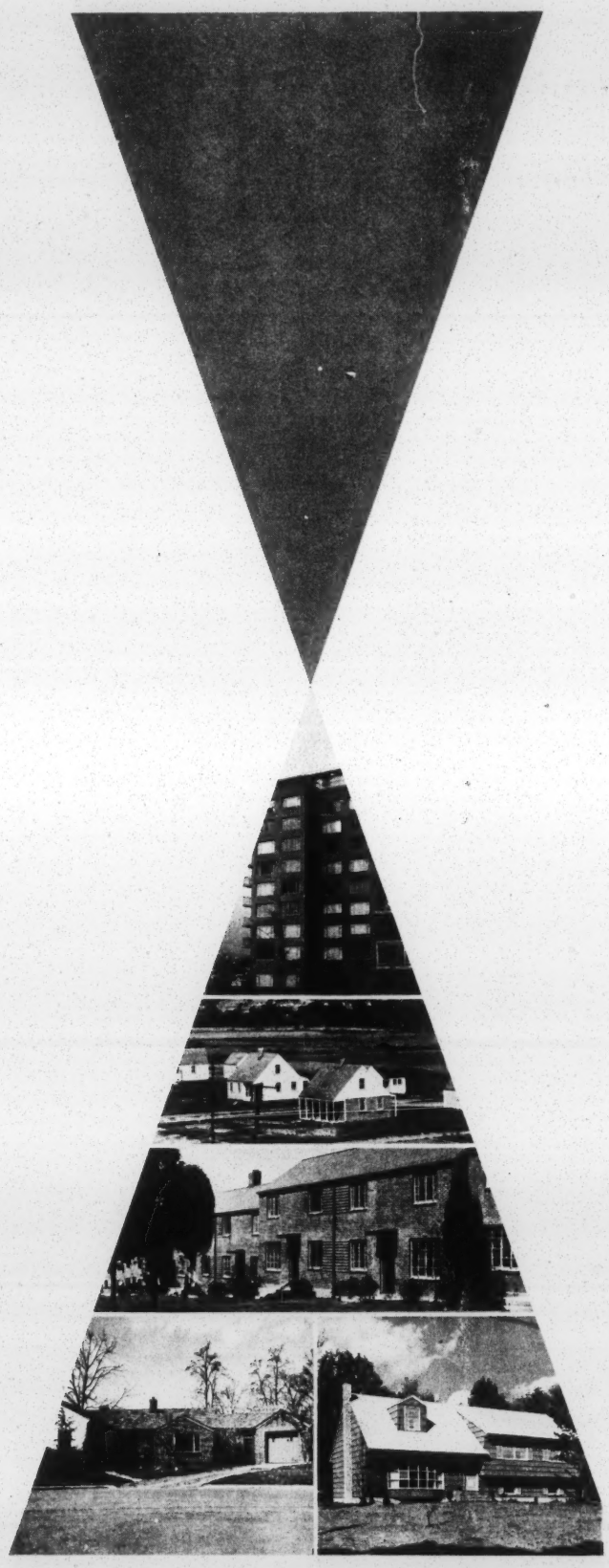
City of Richmond's housing programs - public housing - probably where city gov't has it's best record - but that's only because record in other areas of social service is poor.

U.S. CENSUS OF HOUSING: 1960

Series HC(3)–403

CITY BLOCKS

Richmond, Va.



Prepared under the supervision of
WAYNE F. DAUGHERTY, Chief
Housing Division

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Luther H. Hodges, *Secretary*

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Richard M. Scammon, *Director (From May 1, 1961)*
Robert W. Burgess, *Director (To March 3, 1961)*

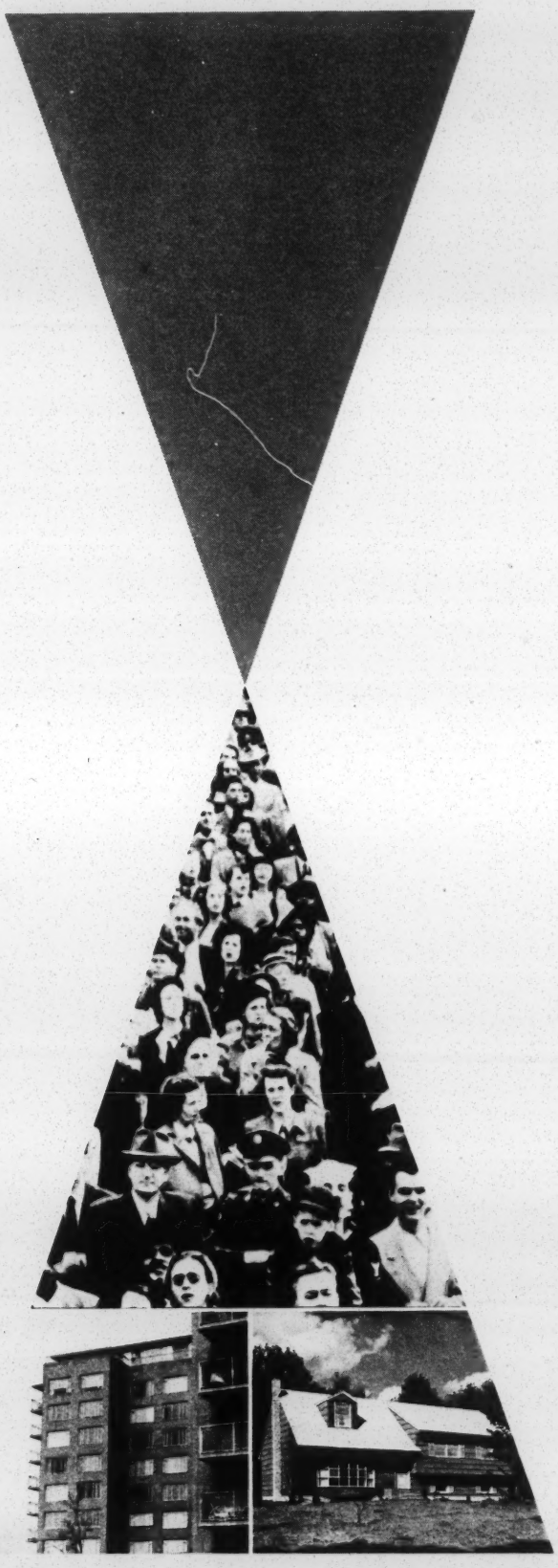
U.S. CENSUSES OF POPULATION AND HOUSING : 1960

Final Report PHC(1)–126

CENSUS TRACTS

Richmond, Va.

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area



Prepared under the supervision of
HOWARD G. BRUNSMAN, Chief
Population Division, and
WAYNE F. DAUGHERTY, Chief
Housing Division

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Luther H. Hodges, *Secretary*
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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON

THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11063

ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D.C.
February 1, 1963

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
ON
THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11063
ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

PURPOSE AND EFFECT

What is the overall purpose of the Executive Order?

To help achieve freedom of choice in housing for all Americans.

How can the Order achieve this purpose?

By assuring that the benefits of Federal housing programs and assistance are made available without discrimination as to race, color, creed, or national origin.

How will the Order be administered?

Departments and agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government will take appropriate action to prevent discrimination in housing and related facilities that they own or operate, and in housing and related facilities assisted by programs that they administer. Also, the Order establishes the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, with general supervisory and coordinating responsibilities, to give leadership in carrying out the purposes of the Order.

When did the Order become effective?

When the President signed it on November 20, 1962.

What forms of housing assistance are covered by the Order?

The Order covers all kinds of Federal financial assistance, direct or indirect, for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, including land to be developed for residential use. Federal loans, advances, grants, contributions, and insurance or guarantees of loans are covered by the Order.

Can community or citizen groups help to implement the Order?

Yes, They can help to dispel racial misunderstandings and promote public acceptance of equal opportunity in housing for all Americans. The President's Committee will encourage educational programs outside the Government to support the objectives of the Order. The HHFA and its constituent agencies have intergroup relations specialists, and other specialists and advisers, who can assist in planning for the dissemination of information and development of informed opinion in particular communities.

COVERAGE OF HOUSING

What housing is affected by the Order?

The Order applies to housing --

(1) owned or operated by the Federal Government;
(2) provided in whole or in part with the aid of Federal loans, grants, advances, or contributions;
(3) provided in whole or in part by loans insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government; or
(4) provided by the development or redevelopment of real property made available by a State or local public agency through Federal financial assistance for slum clearance and urban renewal.

Does the Order affect existing housing?

Yes. Existing housing is affected since Section 102 of the Order specifically directs the HHFA and other departments and agencies to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices in housing and

related facilities provided with Federal assistance before November 20, 1962, by using their good offices and taking other appropriate action permitted by law. In addition, the Order prohibits discrimination in all housing that is owned or operated by the Federal Government, no matter when provided.

How does the Order affect new housing?

Section 101 of the Order directs all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government to prevent discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance made available after November 20, 1962. The Order includes definite enforcement provisions for this directive.

Are there any exceptions to coverage?

Yes. Each department and agency responsible for implementing the Order is authorized to make exemptions and exceptions consistent with law and the purposes of the Order.

Is new public housing covered by the Order?

Yes. All federally assisted low-rent public housing projects for which annual contributions contracts had not been signed prior to November 21, 1962, are affected by the Order. Annual contributions contracts signed after November 20, 1962, include mandatory non-discrimination agreements. The Public Housing Administration's long-standing requirement that public housing must be provided in the local community on the basis of need, regardless of race, continues in effect.

Are new federally aided urban renewal projects covered by the Order?

Yes. The non-discrimination requirements of the Urban Renewal Administration, issued pursuant to the Order and related policies, apply both to housing and related facilities, and to all publicly owned and many other non-housing facilities, provided in urban renewal project areas aided by Federal loans and grants where the loan-and-grant contract is signed after November 20, 1962. The requirements apply to all facilities provided by communities as non-cash local grants-in-aid. This affects all new project applications, and all projects in planning stages as of the effective date of the Order.

Is new College Housing financed with Federal loans covered by the Order?

Yes. College student and faculty housing and related facilities, and housing for student nurses, internes, and resident physicians at hospitals, financed with Federal loans from the Community Facilities Administration, are covered if the loan agreement is signed after November 20, 1962.

Is new Senior Citizens Housing financed with Federal loans covered?

Yes. Housing for Senior Citizens financed with direct loans from the Community Facilities Administration is covered by the Order. Housing assisted under FHA and PHA programs for the elderly similarly is covered, as stipulated in the regulations and instructions issued by these agencies. CFA had a non-discrimination policy with reference to Senior Citizens Housing prior to November 21, 1962. Since then, CFA has incorporated in its loan agreements a covenant against discrimination.

Is defense housing covered by the Order?

Yes. The Order covers all housing owned or operated by the Defense Department, as well as any housing that is financed with the aid of FHA mortgage insurance for defense personnel.

WHO IS AFFECTED BY THE ORDER

Are builders and developers of new housing affected?

Yes. They are prohibited from discrimination in the sale or rental of housing they produce under the Federal loan insurance or guarantee programs if applications with respect to such housing are filed after the effective date of the Order.

Are home financing institutions affected?

Yes. Home financing institutions are prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin in their lending practices with respect to housing loans which are insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government as the result of applications filed after the effective date of the Order.

Are local housing authorities and public urban renewal agencies affected?

Yes. Under regulations issued by the Public Housing Administration and the Urban Renewal Administration such local agencies must agree to prevent discrimination in federally assisted housing and related facilities for which Federal contract authorizations are signed after the effective date of the Order.

Is an individual homeowner who sells his FHA or VA-financed house affected?

No. The Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration have exempted owner-occupants of one- or two-family houses from the regulations issued by these agencies to implement the Order. Lenders, however, who do business under FHA or VA programs may not refuse a loan to a qualified buyer in such cases because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE ORDER

How will the Order be enforced?

Each Federal department and agency is primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of the Order in its own operations and programs. Each agency has, or will establish, procedures for the handling of violation complaints.

How will complaints of violations be handled?

Complaints will be handled under the procedures and regulations set up by each agency that are applicable to the programs it administers.

Complaints with respect to any of the affected programs should be addressed to the administering agency.

In general, the responsible agency will first inquire into the full facts of the complaint to determine its validity and whether it falls within the scope of the Order and applicable regulations. If appropriate, it will try to correct the violation through conference, conciliation, and persuasion, as directed in the Order. In addition, any of the appropriate sanctions set forth in the Order may be invoked.

What sanctions are authorized by the Order?

Each department or agency shall take actions appropriate under its own governing statutes to obtain compliance within its programs or operations. Enforcement provisions of the Order include such sanctions as contract cancellation and refusal to extend further Federal aid.

In general, the ultimate action which might be taken by a department or agency in a case of proven violation would be to deprive the violator of the benefits of future Federal assistance. For example: a developer or sponsor of housing might be debarred from Federal loan programs or might be denied the benefits of Federally insured or guaranteed loans. A home financing institution might be denied Federal loan insurance or guarantees. A State or local public agency might be denied further Federal aid for low-rent public housing or urban renewal.

The Order also stipulates that one Federal department or agency may apply its own sanctions against a builder, lender, or other firm or person who has violated the rules, regulations, procedures, or enforcement provisions of another department or agency.

What about resort to the courts?

If legal action appears warranted and necessary, departments and agencies may refer violations to the Attorney General for such action as he may deem appropriate.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

How is the President's Committee constituted?

The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing includes the heads of principal Federal departments and agencies providing assistance to housing or supervising home financing institutions, plus such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public. Its Chairman and Executive Director is former Governor David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania who serves as a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President. The Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members will constitute an executive committee. The Committee may establish subcommittees, whose members are appointed by the Chairman.

What Federal agency heads are designated to serve on the Committee?

The Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Secretary of Agriculture, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, and the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

What are the powers and responsibilities of the President's Committee?

The President's Committee recommends general policies and procedures to implement Executive Order No. 11063, promotes coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under the Order, and reports to the President on actions and results. It may confer with representatives of any Federal department or agency, State or local public agency, or private group directly or indirectly affected by the Order. The President's Committee may hold public or private hearings for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes. It encourages educational programs by non-governmental groups to support the objectives of the Order.

FEDERAL LAW

Direct Loans—Housing for the Elderly or Handicapped

Excerpts from

HOUSING ACT OF 1959

As Amended Through October 1, 1964

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Washington, D.C. 20410

DIRECT LOANS—HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY OR HANDICAPPED

EXCERPTS FROM THE HOUSING ACT OF 1959

AS AMENDED THROUGH OCTOBER 1, 1964

Public Law 86-372, 86th Congress

12 U.S.C. 1701q

* * * * * *

TITLE II—HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY OR HANDICAPPED

* * * * * *

Loan Program

SEC. 202. (a) (1) The purpose of this section is to assist private nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, or public bodies or agencies to provide housing and related facilities for elderly or handicapped families.

(2) In order to carry out the purpose of this section, the Administrator[1] may make loans to any corporation (as defined in subsection (d) (2)), to any consumer cooperative, or to any public body or agency for the provision of rental or cooperative housing and related facilities for elderly or handicapped families, except that (A) no such loan shall be made unless the applicant shows that it is unable to secure the necessary funds from other sources upon terms and conditions equally as favorable as the terms and conditions applicable to loans under this section, (B) no such loan shall be made unless the Administrator finds that the construction will be undertaken in an economical manner and that it will not be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials, and (C) no such loan shall be made to a public body or agency unless it certifies that it is not receiving financial assistance from the United States exclusively pursuant to the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(3) A loan under this section may be in an amount not exceeding the total development cost (as defined in subsection (d) (3)), as determined by the Administrator; shall be secured in such manner and be repaid within such period, not exceeding fifty years, as may be determined by him; and shall bear interest at a rate determined by him which shall be not more than the higher of (A) 2¾ per centum per annum, or (B) the total of one-quarter of 1 per centum added to the average annual interest rate on all interest-bearing obligations of the United States then forming a part of the public debt as computed at the end of the fiscal year next preceding the date on which the loan is made and adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum.

(4) There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $350,000,000 which shall constitute a revolving fund to be used by the Administrator in carrying out this section.

(b) In the performance of, and with respect to, the functions, powers, and duties vested in him by this section the Administrator shall (in addition to any authority otherwise vested in him) have the functions, powers, and duties set forth in section 402 (except subsection (c) (2)) of the Housing Act of 1950.

(c) (1) Housing constructed with a loan made under this section shall not be used for transient or hotel purposes while such loan is outstanding.

(2) As used in paragraph (1), the term "transient or hotel purposes" shall have such meaning as may be prescribed by the Administrator, but rental for any period less than thirty days shall in any event constitute use for such purposes. The provisions of subsections (f) through (j) of section 513 of the National Housing Act (as added by section 132 of the Housing Act of 1954) shall apply in the case of violations of paragraph (1) as though the housing described in such subsection were multifamily housing (as defined in section 513(e)(2) of the National Housing Act) with respect to which a mortgage is insured under such Act, except that for purposes of this subsection the Administrator shall perform the functions vested in the Commissioner by such section 513.

(3) The Administrator shall take such action as may be necessary to insure that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors and subcontractors in the construction of housing assisted under this section shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing in the locality involved for the corresponding classes of laborers and mechanics employed on con-

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[1] The Housing Administrator's Organizational Order No. 4 provides that the program of loans for housing for the elderly shall be administered by the Commissioner of the Community Facilities Administration, a constituent of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

struction of a similar character, as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Act of March 3, 1931, as amended (the Davis-Bacon Act); but the Administrator may waive the application of this paragraph in cases or classes of cases where laborers or mechanics, not otherwise employed at any time in the construction of such housing, voluntarily donate their services without full compensation for the purpose of lowering the costs of construction and the Administrator determines that any amounts saved thereby are fully credited to the corporation, cooperative, or public body or agency undertaking the construction.

(d) As used in this section—

(1) The term "housing" means structures suitable for dwelling use by elderly or handicapped families which are (A) new structures, or (B) provided by rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement of existing structures which are otherwise inadequate for proposed dwelling use by such families.

(2) The term "corporation" means any incorporated private institution or foundation no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder, contributor, or individual, if such institution or foundation is approved by the Administrator as to financial responsibility.

(3) The term "development cost" means costs of construction of housing and of other related facilities, and of the land on which it is located, including necessary site improvement.

(4) The term "elderly or handicapped families" means families which consist of two or more persons and the head of which (or his spouse) is sixty-two years of age or over or is handicapped, and such term also means a single person who is sixty-two years of age or over or is handicapped. A person shall be considered handicapped if such person is determined, pursuant to regulations issued by the Administrator, to have a physical impairment which (A) is expected to be of long-continued and indefinite duration, (B) substantially impedes his ability to live independently, and (C) is of such a nature that such ability could be improved by more suitable housing conditions. The Administrator shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to prevent abuses in determining, under the definitions contained in this paragraph, the eligibility of families and persons for admission to, and occupancy of, housing constructed with assistance under this section.

(5) The term "State" includes the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the possessions of the United States.

(6) The term "Administrator" means the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

(7) The term "construction" means erection of new structures or rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement of existing structures.

(8) The term "related facilities" means (A) new structures suitable for use by elderly or handicapped families as cafeterias or dining halls, community rooms or buildings, workshops, or infirmaries or other inpatient or outpatient health facilities, or other essential service facilities, and (B) structures suitable for the above uses provided by rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement of existing structures which are otherwise inadequate for such uses.

(e) Nothing in this section or in regulations promulgated under this section shall prevent a corporation or consumer cooperative from obtaining a loan under this section for the provision of housing and related facilities for elderly or handicapped families, notwithstanding the fact that such corporation or cooperative has theretofore obtained a commitment from the Federal Housing Administration for mortgage insurance under section 231 of the National Housing Act with respect to the housing involved, if (1) such corporation or cooperative is otherwise eligible for such loan under this section, (2) such commitment was obtained prior to the date of enactment of the Housing Act of 1961,[1] and (3) the Administrator determines that the financing of such housing through a loan under this section rather than through mortgage insurance under such section 231 is necessary or desirable in order to avoid hardship for the elderly or handicapped families who are the prospective tenants of such housing.

Approved September 23, 1959.

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[1] June 30, 1961.

OTHER LAWS THAT AUTHORIZE ASSISTANCE TO HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED

National Housing Act, Public Law 479, 73d Congress, 12 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.

Rental housing and nursing homes financed with mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration.

Purchase of a home can be financed with an insured mortgage by an elderly person with the downpayment made by friends, relatives, or (if approved by FHA) a corporation, or where a qualified third party becomes a cosigner of the mortgage.

United States Housing Act of 1937, Public Law 412, 75th Congress, 42 U.S.C. 1401 et seq.

Low Rent Public Housing.

Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87–70, 42 U.S.C. 1436.

Grants for demonstrations of new or improved means of providing housing for low income persons and families, including the elderly and the handicapped.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965 O—759–721

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C., 20402 - Price 10 cents

FEDERAL LAW

College Housing Loans

Excerpts from

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1950

As Amended Through October 1, 1964

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Washington, D.C. 20410

EXCERPT FROM THE HOUSING ACT OF 1950, AS AMENDED THROUGH OCTOBER 1, 1964

TITLE IV—HOUSING FOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS [1]

Public Law 475, 81st Congress
[64 Stat. 48, 77; 12 U.S.C. 1749]

Federal Loans

SEC. 401.[2] (a) To assist educational institutions in providing housing and other educational facilities for students and faculties, the Administrator[3] may make loans of funds to such institutions for the construction of such facilities: *Provided*, That (1) no such loan shall be made unless the educational institution shows that it is unable to secure the necessary funds for such construction from other sources upon terms and conditions equally as favorable as the terms and conditions applicable to loans under this title, and (2) no such loan shall be made unless the Administrator finds that the construction will be undertaken in an economical manner, and that it will not be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials.

(b) Any educational institution which, prior to the date of enactment of this Act, has contracted for housing or other educational facilities may, in connection therewith, receive loans authorized under this title, as the Administrator may determine: *Provided*, That no such loan shall be made for any housing or other educational facilities, the construction of which was begun prior to the effective date of this Act, or completed prior to the filing of an application under this title.

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[1] Title IV has been amended by the Housing Amendments of 1953, Public Law 94, 83d Congress, approved June 30, 1953, 67 Stat. 121, 128; the Housing Act of 1954, Public Law 560, 83d Congress, approved August 2, 1954, 68 Stat. 590, 646; the Housing Amendments of 1955, Public Law 345, 84th Congress, approved August 11, 1955, 69 Stat. 635, 644; the Housing Act of 1956, Public Law 1020, 84th Congress, approved August 7, 1956, 70 Stat. 1091, 1113; the Housing Act of 1957, Public Law 85-104, approved July 12, 1957, 71 Stat. 294, 303; the Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 688; sec. 2(b), Public Law 86-788, approved September 14, 1960, 74 Stat. 1027, 1028; the Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 172; and the Housing Act of 1964, Public Law 88-560, approved September 2, 1964, 78 Stat. 769, 806.

[2] As originally enacted, sec. 401 read as follows:

"SEC. 401. (a) To assist educational institutions in providing housing for their students and faculties the Administrator may make loans of funds to such institutions for the construction of such housing: *Provided*, That no such loan shall be made unless the educational institution shows that it is unable to secure the necessary funds for such housing from other sources upon terms and conditions generally comparable to the terms and conditions applicable to loans under this title: *And provided further*, That no such loan shall be made unless the Administrator finds that the housing will be undertaken in such manner that economy will be promoted in its construction, and that it will not be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials. Any educational institution which, prior to the date of enactment of this Act, has contracted for housing may, in connection therewith, receive loans authorized under this title, as the Administrator may determine: *Provided further*, That no such loan shall be made for any housing, the construction of which was begun prior to the effective date of this Act. A loan to an educational institution may be in an amount not exceeding the total development cost, as determined by the Administrator, of the housing; shall bear interest at the annual rate of interest (or, if there shall be two or more such rates of interest, the highest thereof) specified in the most recently issued bonds of the Federal Government having maturity of ten years or more determined at the date the contract for the loan is made, plus one-fourth of 1 per centum per annum; and shall be secured in such manner and be repaid within such period, not exceeding forty years, as may be determined by the Administrator.

"(b) To obtain funds for loans under this title, the Administrator may issue and have outstanding at any one time notes and obligations for purchase by the Secretary of the Treasury in an amount not to exceed $300,000,000.

"(c) Notes or other obligations issued by the Administrator under this title shall be in such forms and denominations, have such maturities, and be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Administrator, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or other obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the current average rate on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as of the last day of the month preceding the issuance of such notes or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes and other obligations of the Administrator issued under this title and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act, as amended, are extended to include any purchases of such notes and other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

"(d) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Administrator such sums as may be necessary, together with loan principal and interest payments made by educational institutions assisted hereunder, for payments on notes or other obligations issued by the Administrator under this section."

Sec. 24(b), Housing Amendments of 1953, Public Law 94, 83d Congress, approved June 30, 1953, 67 Stat. 121, 128, amended the third sentence of sec. 401 to read as follows:

"A loan to an educational institution may be in an amount not exceeding the total development cost of the housing, as determined by the Administrator; shall be secured in such manner and be repaid within such period, not exceeding forty years, as may be determined by him; and, with respect to loan contracts entered into after the first minimum annual rate has been specified as provided herein, shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Administrator which shall be not less than the minimum annual rate which the Secretary of the Treasury shall specify as applicable to the six-month period (beginning with the six-month period ending December 31, 1953) during which the contract for the loan is made: *Provided*, That such minimum annual rate for each six-month period shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury by estimating the average yield to maturity, on the basis of daily closing market bid quotations or prices during the month of May or the month of November, as the case may be, next preceding such six-month period, on all outstanding marketable obligations of the United States having a maturity date of fifteen or more years from the first day of such month of May or November, and by adjusting such estimated average annual yield to the nearest one-eighth of one per centum."

The third sentence of sec. 401 was further amended by sec. 808(b), Housing Act of 1954, Public Law 560, 83d Congress, approved August 2, 1954, 68 Stat. 590, 646, by substituting "is approved by the Administrator" for the word "made" immediately preceding the proviso.

Sec. 301, Housing Amendments of 1955 (the "College Housing Amendments of 1955"), Public Law 345, 84th Congress, approved August 11, 1955, 69 Stat. 635, 644, amended section 401 to read as set forth in the text except for the amendments made by later laws as shown by subsequent footnotes.

[3] "Administrator" is the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Under Organizational Order No. 1 of the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, 19 Fed. Reg. 9303, the college housing loan program is administered by the Community Facilities Commissioner of the Community Facilities Administration, a constituent unit of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, under the supervision and direction of the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

(c) A loan to an educational institution may be in an amount not exceeding the total development cost of the facility, as determined by the Administrator; shall be secured in such manner and be repaid within such period, not exceeding fifty years, as may be determined by him; and with respect to loan contracts under which loan funds have not been fully disbursed prior to the date of enactment of the College Housing Amendments of 1955 shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Administrator which shall be not more than the higher of (1) 2¾ per centum per annum, or (2) the total of one-quarter of 1 per centum per annum added to the rate of interest paid by the Administrator on funds obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury as provided in subsection (e) of this section.

(d) To obtain funds for loans under subsection (a) of this section,[4] the Administrator may issue and have outstanding at any one time notes and obligations for purchase by the Secretary of the Treasury in an amount not to exceed $1,675,000,000,[5] which amount shall be increased by $300,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1961 through 1964:[6] *Provided*, That the amount outstanding for other educational facilities, as defined herein, shall not exceed $175,000,000,[7] which limit shall be increased by $30,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1961 through 1964:[8] *Provided further*,[9] That the amount outstanding for hospitals, referred to in clause (2) of section 404(b) of this title, shall not exceed $100,000,000,[10] which limit shall be increased by $30,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1961 through 1964.[11]

(e) Notes or other obligations issued by the Administrator under this title shall be in such forms and denominations, have such maturities, and be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Administrator, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or other obligations issued to obtain funds for loan contracts entered into after the effective date of the College Housing Amendments of 1955 shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury which shall be not more than the higher of (1) 2½ per centum per annum, or (2) the average annual interest rate on all interest-bearing obligations of the United States then forming a part of the public debt as computed at the end of the fiscal year next preceding the issuance by the Administrator and adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes and other obligations of the Administrator issued under this title and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public-debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act, as amended, are extended to include any purchases of such notes and other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public-debt transactions of the United States.

(f) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Administrator such sums as may be necessary, together with loan principal and interest payments made by educational institutions assisted hereunder, for payments on notes or other obligations issued by the Administrator under this section.

(g)[12] In the case of any loan made under this section to a nonprofit student housing cooperative corporation referred to in clause (5) of section 404(b), the Administrator shall require that the note securing such loan be co-signed by the educational institution (referred to in clause (1) of such section) at which such corporation is located; and in the event of the dissolution of such corporation, title to the housing constructed with such loan shall vest in such educational institution.

General Provisions

SEC. 402. (a) In the performance of, and with respect to, the functions, powers, and duties vested in him by this title, the Administrator, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, shall—

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[4] Sec. 601, Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 681, substituted "subsection (a) of this section" for "title".

[5] This limit was increased from $500,000,000 to $750,000,000 by sec. 601, Housing Act of 1956, Public Law 1020, 84th Congress, approved August 7, 1956, 70 Stat. 1091, 1113; from $750,000,000 to $925,000,000 by sec. 601(a), Housing Act of 1957, Public Law 85-104, approved July 12, 1957, 71 Stat. 294, 303; from $925,000,000 to $1,175,000,000 by sec. 601, Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 681, and from $1,175,000,000 to $1,675,000,000 by sec. 2(b), Public Law 86-788, approved September 14, 1960, 74 Stat. 1027, 1028.

[6] The increase of $300,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1961 through 1964 was added by sec 401, Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 172.

[7] This limit was increased from $100,000,000 to $125,000,000 by sec. 601, Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 681, and further increased from $125,000,000 to $175,000,000 by sec. 2(b), Public Law 86-788, approved September 14, 1960, 74 Stat. 1027, 1028.

[8] The increase of $30,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1961 through 1964 was added by sec. 401, Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 172.

[9] This proviso inserted by sec. 601(a), Housing Act of 1957, Public Law 85-104, approved July 12, 1957, 71 Stat. 294, 303.

[10] This limit was increased from $25,000,000 to $50,000,000 by sec. 601, Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 681, and further increased from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 by sec. 2 (b), Public Law 86-788, approved September 14, 1960, 74 Stat. 1027, 1028.

[11] The increase of $30,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1961 through 1964 was added by sec. 401, Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 172.

[12] Subsection (g) added by sec. 603(b), Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 682.

(1) prepare annually and submit a budget program as provided for wholly owned Government corporations by the Government Corporation Control Act, as amended; and

(2) maintain an integral set of accounts which shall be audited annually by the General Accounting Office in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to commercial transactions as provided by the Government Corporation Control Act, as amended, and no other audit shall be required: *Provided,* That such financial transactions of the Administrator as the making of loans and vouchers approved by the Administrator in connection with such financial transactions shall be final and conclusive upon all officers of the Government.

(b) Funds made available to the Administrator pursuant to the provisions of this title shall be deposited in a checking account or accounts with the Treasurer of the United States. Receipts and assets obtained or held by the Administrator in connection with the performance of his functions under this title, and all funds available for carrying out the functions of the Administrator under this title (including appropriations therefor, which are hereby authorized), shall be available, in such amounts as may from year to year be authorized by the Congress, for the administrative expenses of the Administrator in connection with the performance of such functions.

(c) In the performance of, and with respect to, the functions, powers, and duties vested in him by this title, the Administrator, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, may—

(1) prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title;

(2) consult with and secure the advice and recommendations of the Office of Education in the Federal Security Agency;[13]

(3) sue and be sued;

(4) foreclose on any property or commence any action to protect or enforce any right conferred upon him by any law, contract, or other agreement, and bid for and purchase at any foreclosure or any other sale any property in connection with which he has made a loan pursuant to this title. In the event of any such acquisition, the Administrator may, notwithstanding any other provisions of law relating to the acquisition, handling, or disposal of real property by the United States, complete, administer, remodel and convert, dispose of, lease and otherwise deal with, such property: *Provided,* That any such acquisition of real property shall not deprive any State or political subdivision thereof of its civil or criminal jurisdiction in and over such property or impair the civil rights under the State or local laws of the inhabitants on such property;

(5) enter into agreements to pay annual sums in lieu of taxes to any State or local taxing authority with respect to any real property so acquired or owned;

(6) sell or exchange at public or private sale, or lease, real or personal property, and sell or exchange any securities or obligations, upon such terms as he may fix;

(7) obtain insurance against loss in connection with property and other assets held;

(8) subject to the specific limitations in this title, consent to the modification, with respect to the rate of interest, time of payment of any installment of principal or interest, security, or any other term of any contract or agreement to which he is a party or which has been transferred to him pursuant to this title; and

(9) include in any contract or instrument made pursuant to this title such other covenants, conditions, or provisions as he may deem necessary to assure that the purposes of this title will be achieved.

(d) Section 3709 of the Revised Statutes shall not apply to any contract for services or supplies on account of any property acquired pursuant to this title if the amount of such contract does not exceed $1,000.

(e)[14] The provisions of section 309 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1950 (63 Stat. 662), which are applicable to corporations or agencies subject to the Government Corporation Control Act, shall also be applicable to the activities of the Administrator under this title.

(f)[14] The Administrator shall take such action as may be necessary to insure that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on any project assisted under this title, the construction or rehabilitation of which was commenced after the date of enactment of the Housing Act of 1959, (1) shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on the same type of work on similar construction in the immediate locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Act of March 3, 1931 (Davis-Bacon Act), as

[13] All functions of the Federal Security Agency were transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1953, effective April 11, 1953, 67 Stat. 631.

[14] Subsection added by sec. 602, Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 681.

amended, and (2) shall be employed not more than forty hours in any one week unless the employee receives wages for his employment in excess of the hours specified above at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; but the Administrator may waive the application of this subsection in cases or classes of cases where laborers or mechanics, not otherwise employed at any time in the construction of such project, voluntarily donate their services without full compensation for the purpose of lowering the costs of construction and the Administrator determines that any amounts saved thereby are fully credited to the educational institution undertaking the construction.

Apportionment

SEC. 403. Not more than 12½ per centum[15] of the funds provided for in this title in the form of loans shall be made available to educational institutions within any one State.

Definitions

SEC. 404. For the purposes of this title, the following terms shall have the meanings, respectively, ascribed to them below:

(a) "Housing" means (1) new structures suitable for dwelling use, including single-room dormitories and apartments, and (2) dwelling facilities provided by rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement of existing structures which are otherwise inadequate for the proposed dwelling use.

(b)[16] "Educational institution" means (1) any educational institution offering at least a two-year program acceptable for full credit toward a baccalaureate degree, including any public educational institution, or any private educational institution no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, (2) any hospital operating a school of nursing beyond the level of high school approved by the appropriate State authority, or any hospital approved for internships by recognized authority, if such hospital is either a public hospital or a private hospital, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, (3) any corporation (no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual) (A)[17] established for the sole purpose of providing housing or other educational facilities for students or students and faculty of[18] one or more institutions included in clause (1) of this subsection without regard to their membership in or affiliation with any social, fraternal, or honorary society or organization, and (B) upon dissolution of which all title to any property purchased or built from the proceeds of any loan secured under this title[19] will pass to such institution (or to any one or more of such institutions) unless it is shown to the satisfaction of the Administrator that such property or the proceeds from its sale will be used for some other nonprofit educational purpose, (4) any agency, public authority, or other instrumentality of any State established for the purpose of providing or financing housing or other educational facilities for students or faculty of any public educational institution included in clause (1) of this subsection, but nothing herein contained shall require an institution included in clause (1) of this subsection to obtain loans through any instrumentality included in this clause of this subsection,[20] and (5) any nonprofit student housing cooperative corporation established for the purpose of providing housing for students or students and faculty of any institution included in clause (1) of this subsection. In[21] the case of any loan made under section 401 to a corporation described in clause (3) of this subsection which was not established by the institution or institutions for whose students or

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[15] Sec. 402, Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 173, substituted "12½ per centum" for "10 per centum".

[16] Subsection (b) amended to read as set forth in the text by sec. 601(b), Housing Act of 1957, Public Law 85-104, approved July 12, 1957, 71 Stat. 294, 303, except for later amendments shown by subsequent footnotes.

As originally enacted subsection (b) read as follows:

"(b) 'Educational institution' means educational institutions of higher learning, including (a) any public educational institution or (b) any private educational institution, no part of the net earnings of which shall inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual."

Sec. 303(1), Housing Amendments of 1955 (the "College Housing Amendments of 1955"), Public Law 345, 84th Congress, approved August 11, 1955, 69 Stat. 635, 645, amended subsection (b) to read as follows:

"(b) 'Educational institution' means (1) any educational institution offering at least a two-year program acceptable for full credit towards a baccalaureate degree, including any public educational institution, or any private educational institution no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and (2) any corporation (no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual) (A) established by any institution included in clause (1) of this subsection for the sole purpose of providing housing or other educational facilities for students or students and faculty of such institution without regard to their membership in or affiliation with any social, fraternal, or honorary society or organization, and (B) upon dissolution of which all title to any property purchased or built from the proceeds of any loan secured under this title will pass to such institution."

[17] Sec. 403(a)(1), Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 173, substituted "established for the sole purpose" for "established by any institution included in clause (1) of this subsection for the sole purpose".

[18] Sec. 403(a)(2), Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 173, substituted "one or more institutions included in clause (1) of this subsection" for "such institution."

[19] Sec. 403(b), Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 173, substituted the words "will pass to such institution (or to any one or more of such institutions) unless it is shown to the satisfaction of the Administrator that such property or the proceeds from its sale will be used for some other nonprofit educational purpose" for "will pass to such institution."

[20] Sec. 603(a), Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372, approved September 23, 1959, 73 Stat. 654, 682, added the rest of this sentence.

[21] Sec. 403(c), Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87-70, approved June 30, 1961, 75 Stat. 149, 173, added this sentence.

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students and faculty it would provide housing, the Administrator shall require that the note securing such loan be cosigned by such institution (or by any one or more of such institutions): *Provided*,[22] That where the law of any State in effect on the date of enactment of the Housing Act of 1964 prevents the institution or institutions, for whose students or students and faculty the housing is to be provided, from cosigning the note, the Administrator shall require the corporation and the proposed project to be approved by such institution (or by any one or more of such institutions) in lieu of such cosigning.

(c) [23] "Development cost" means costs of the construction of the housing or other educational facilities and the land on which it is located, including necessary site improvements to permit its use for housing or other educational facilities.

(d) "Faculties" means members of the faculty and their families.

(e) "State" shall include the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories and possessions of the United States.

(f) "Administrator" means the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

(g) "Construction" means erection of new structures, or rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement of existing structures.

(h) [24] "Other educational facilities" means (1) new structures suitable for use as cafeterias or dining halls, student centers or student unions, infirmaries or other inpatient or outpatient health facilities, and for other essential service facilities, and (2) structures suitable for the above uses provided by rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement of existing structures which are otherwise inadequate for such uses.

Approved April 20, 1950.

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[22] This proviso added by sec. 1002, Housing Act of 1964, Public Law 88-560, approved September 2, 1964, 78 Stat. 769, 806.

[23] Subsection (c) amended to read as set forth in the text by sec. 302, Housing Amendments of 1955 (the "College Housing Amendments of 1955"), Public Law 345, 84th Congress, approved August 11, 1955, 69 Stat. 635, 645.

As originally enacted subsection (c) read as follows:

"(c) 'Development cost' means costs of the construction of the housing and the land on which it is located, including necessary site improvements to permit its use for housing purposes."

[24] Subsection (h) added by sec. 303(2), Housing Amendments of 1955 (the "College Housing Amendments of 1955"), Public Law 345, 84th Congress, approved August 11, 1955, 69 Stat. 635, 646.

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DIGEST OF INSURABLE LOANS

Primary terms for mortgage and loan insurance authorized by the National Housing Act as amended and FHA Regulations as of January 1965

This digest is intended as a guide only. The appropriate regulations should be consulted for detailed information on current provisions. Note also that the insurable mortgage amounts, ratios of loan to value or loan to replacement costs, and mortgage maturities shown here are subject to underwriting considerations.

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PUBLIC WORKS ACCELERATION ACT

As Amended Through October 15, 1964

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No. 22 April-May 1965

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LEV

Commission Offers Guidelines to Realtors

Fair housing guidelines for California realty brokers were offered by FEPC in the following March 22 statement:

On January 6, 1965 this Commission issued a statement clarifying the status of the Rumford Fair Housing Act during the present period in which the constitutionality of Proposition 14 (Article I, Section 26 of the State Constitution) is being tested in the courts. We note that the California Real Estate Association (CREA) concurs essentially in our view and that of the Attorney General and Legislative Counsel that real estate brokerage firms, as business establishments, are still forbidden by law to discriminate because of race, religion, or ancestry.

Important questions remain, however, as to just what the realty broker and salesman may or may not do as agent for the residential property owner, and how the realtor could best serve the stated purpose of his association's new "Code of Practices"--promotion of nondiscriminatory housing opportunity. We now offer guidelines and suggestions relating to these questions.

CREA took a first step of potential significance in promulgation of its Code of Practices. As local realty boards adopt the Code, the critical test of actual impact on restrictive practices lies ahead: whether there is to be full and decisive implementation of this policy by each board, and whether meaningful action will be taken by the other main divisions of the housing industry, the homebuilders and apartment house owners. This statement is concerned solely with the opportunities and obligations today facing real estate brokers (using the term to include salesmen) and their organizations.

First and foremost, we remind all brokers that they have the right not to accept discriminatory listings, and that if they would together exercise that right the impact on race barriers in the housing market would be tremendous. Proposition 14 allows homeowners to discriminate, but in no way obliges brokers to involve themselves in this harmful process. If all or most realtors in a given area were to commence, by common consent, to decline such business, racially restricted home sales would drastically decrease almost overnight. Realtors are not only free to make such a decision, but have ample facilities for concerted action through their local boards and state association.

According to the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the realtor's functions "impose grave social responsibility...obligations beyond those of ordinary commerce," and it is held that he "should endeavor to eliminate in his community any practices which could be damaging to the public or to the dignity and integrity of the real estate profession..." CREA President David N. Robinson has advised all his vice presidents that it is their

(Continued on next page)

June 25 Is Deadline For FEP Staff Applications

Applicants for Consultant (investigator-conciliator) positions with FEPC must file applications with the State Personnel Board by June 25 in order to take the required examination, scheduled for July 10.

Requirements include three years of full-time or five years of part-time experience in the industrial relations or intergroup fields. College graduation or additional qualifying experience is required also. Candidates for Specialist-Consultant positions will take an additional test in Spanish. Salaries for both jobs range from $717 to $870 per month.

Application blanks, with complete requirements and job descriptions, are available at local State Department of Employment offices or from the Personnel Board in Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Realtors' Guidelines

(Continued from first page)

duty to work in their respective communities to overcome housing inequities. We suggest that, if this CREA goal is to be realized, the time has come for realtors to conduct their business altogether without participation in any discriminatory practice.

If, however, brokers should fail to make this clean break from the old restrictive practices, and continue to serve as agents for discriminatory owners, we strongly recommend that at least the following guidelines be observed:

1. The broker has a compelling duty to the buyer or tenant prospect to inform him of all listings which might interest him. Also, as emphasized in the CREA Code, the broker "has a legal and ethical responsibility to receive all offers and to communicate them to the property owner," and to "exert his best efforts to conclude the transaction."

2. In keeping with the "equal service to all clients" theme of the CREA Code, the broker must not volunteer information as to the race of either party to the prospective transaction. He should fully understand the essential irrelevance of race and the illegality of injecting this factor into his dealings.

3. In taking a listing, the broker must not in any way suggest or encourage a restriction as to race, religion, or ancestry (hereinafter "race" for brevity), or inquire as to the client's intention in this regard. It is illegal to raise the question. As CREA states, such a listing may occur only "at the property owner's instance without any influence whatsoever by the agent."

4. If the listing owner raises the question of race restriction, the broker should seek earnestly to dissuade him from insisting on such discrimination. This is not only the realtor's duty, if he means seriously to promote the objective of the CREA Code of Practices; it is legally prudent as well. In such a situation the broker faces an interesting challenge to the depth of his knowledge of residential property and to his effectiveness as a salesman. Over many years these talents have generally fostered discrimination; now their influential thrust should be reversed.

5. Even if the listing owner persists in expressing discriminatory intent, the broker should endeavor to keep the situation flexible, urging that the listing not be formalized in restrictive terms. The owner should be made aware of the advantages of considering all prospective buyers or tenants on their merits, rather than denying himself in advance this free range of choice. (This is one of the points at which, if the broker's best efforts to secure a nonrestrictive listing fail, he could decline the listing.)

6. Where the owner insists on a discriminatory listing, he must do so explicitly and in writing. It would appear inadvisable for the broker to employ any kind of prepared or printed form to accommodate such listings.

7. If a formal restrictive listing exists, and if the broker has a prospect who is of the minority group proscribed by the owner, the broker should do everything possible to bring this prospect into contact with the owner or to show the property, or both. Discriminatory inclinations often evaporate when two persons of comparable economic or educational level meet face-to-face.

8. Where a restrictive listing exists, we recommend that this fact appear only in the formal listing document and nowhere else in the records, forms, notices, signs, advertisements, or the like kept or used by the broker's office.

9. We hold serious doubts as to the legality of a multiple listing service accepting, recording, or processing a restrictive listing, and we strongly recommend that all these services follow the lead of those which prohibit such practices.

10. We suggest that careful study be given to the view that brokers may not legally handle discriminatory listings on behalf of tract builders or others engaged in housing as a business.

These are some of the ways--under existing law and pursuant to CREA's declared opposition to housing discrimination--in which California brokers could generate substantial progress toward equal housing opportunity. Their example could spark similar actions on the part of homebuilders and apartment house owners. Should the housing industry as a whole move ahead in such fashion and achieve meaningful results, all Californians who sincerely support the right to residence without discrimination would heartily applaud.

Realtors contend that racism in housing can be overcome through "education." We remind them that their own practices--including the information and advice they give to clients--comprise the most powerful single educational force in the housing market. We hope, accordingly, that the California Real Estate Association and its affiliated local boards will enlarge on a good beginning and strengthen their present Code of Practices along the lines suggested above.

FEPC will continue, in any event, to discharge its responsibilities under the law and to cooperate fully with sincere and realistic affirmative fair housing programs.

Integrated TV Commercials

When Negro actors were employed for integrated TV commercials, advertisers were fearful of criticism. It never came. Lever Brothers, one of TV's biggest advertisers, reports: "We've had millions of exposures with our integrated commercials. We've had less than 100 letters from viewers--and, believe me, they write if they have something to say--and only a third of those were unfavorable."

Advisory Group Surveys San Mateo Job Skills

Forty volunteers recently helped the San Mateo Area Advisory Committee to FEPC conduct a survey of job skills among workers in the San Mateo minority community. The survey took place on two Saturdays during March and covered a 40-block area in San Mateo peopled largely by minority families. Most of the volunteers, directed by Committee Chairman Horace Marshall, were students at San Mateo Junior College.

The purpose of the survey was to find qualified people who had been unable to get work, and also to determine which were underemployed at jobs requiring use of less than their full training or experience.

A full report on the outcome of the survey will be available soon.

The San Mateo Area Advisory Committee also sponsored a luncheon in February at which twelve prominent San Mateo business leaders met with Commissioner Elton Brombacher to discuss ways of fully implementing job policies that would offer equal opportunity to all minority applicants.

Second Bank of America Report on Minority Hiring

The second report on Bank of America hiring practices, covering the four months ending November 30, 1964, shows continued progress by the Bank in providing job opportunities for minority workers.

During the period covered by the report, which was released in March, the number of minority workers increased from 3,839 to 3,867. Total employment was 28,619, a decrease, because of seasonal fluctuation, from 28,856, the total number of employees at the time of FEPC's first report in September 1964.

The reports are issued as the result of an affirmative action agreement entered into in June 1964 as a means of aiding the Bank in recruiting, hiring and promoting members of minority groups on an equal opportunity basis.

During the last reporting period, the number of Negro employees increased from 826 to 864; other nonwhite employees from 531 to 540; Spanish surname from 1,841 to 1,854. The number of Oriental employees dropped from 640 to 608.

The report said that "intensive recruiting efforts in the minority communities undoubtedly contributed to the increase in the number of Negro and Spanish surname employees.... The slight decrease in Oriental employees is attributed to the same seasonal fluctuations which affect the overall work force."

Commissioner Louis Garcia, in charge of the program with the Bank, urged that "the full original impetus in recruiting and hiring be maintained," if the affirmative action is to have continued effectiveness.

The work of the Bank's human relations specialist, newly appointed at the time of the affirmative action agreement between FEPC and the Bank, was found to have growing value, especially in those branches which he visited personally.

Aileen Hernandez To New Federal FEP Commission

Mrs. Aileen Hernandez, assistant chief of the California FEPC since November 1962, has been appointed by President Johnson to the federal five-member Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Hernandez

Headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., former Undersecretary of Commerce, the new Commission is authorized under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to enforce prohibitions against racial discrimination in employment.

Other members are Richard Graham, Wisconsin business executive; Rev. Luther Halcomb of Dallas, Texas; and Samuel Jackson, Topeka, Kansas, lawyer.

Mrs. Hernandez, a graduate of Howard University, has an M.A. in government from Los Angeles State College, and has done graduate work at UC, USC, and the University of Oslo. For 10 years before her FEPC appointment she was education director of the Pacific Coast Region, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In 1960 she lectured in Latin America as a State Department labor education specialist, and in 1961 the Community Relations Conference of Southern California named her "Woman of the Year."

FEPC Case Highlights

Affirmative Action: Goals and Results

Most of FEPC's time and effort is devoted to investigating and resolving individual job complaints alleging discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. In 1964, 846 such complaints were received; 4,171 have been docketed since the agency was formed in 1959. But the importance of broad-gauged affirmative actions has also become clear. Like other major fair employment agencies around the nation, FEPC seeks increasingly to move through such programs.

Affirmative action is a procedure in which employers (including both private firms and public agencies), unions, or other organizations cooperate voluntarily with FEPC for the purpose of strengthening their use of minority workers. The action is not initiated on the supposition that a violation of the FEP law has occurred. The key feature of the entire process is the willing cooperation of the employer.

Voluntary participation in these programs has come from a wide variety of the State's leading employers--large industries, major utilities, firms in trade and commerce, statewide educational institutions, governmental agencies, federal defense installations, and labor organizations. By the end of April 1965, 43 such programs had been launched with 29 still in progress.

The advantages of the affirmative-action approach are increasingly obvious. Basic recruitment and hiring patterns are modified so as to include workers of every group. A single affirmative action agreement between FEPC and a cooperative employer may lead to employment of hundreds of minority workers. Through these affirmative actions the Commission can address itself, on a planned basis, to main problem areas and to employment situations likely to yield good results.

To see how various kinds of affirmative actions have worked in broadening the job market for minority job seekers, it may be instructive to look briefly at a few such FEPC cases.

A Metropolitan Airport

When a major California city opened its new airport in 1961, the first minority workers were employed mostly in such "traditional" jobs as porters. It was at this time that FEPC staff, under the direction of Commissioner Dwight R. Zook, made contact with the various concessionaires in the huge airport complex and urged upon them adoption of equal employment opportunity, particularly in considering nonwhite applicants for public contact jobs not before open to them.

Following groundwork discussions, contacts between FEPC and employers were renewed periodically, and four years after the airport opened, a thorough check was made among the restaurants, bars, newsstands and tobacco stands. These concessions alone employed nearly 600 people. About one-fourth of that number were Negro, with other minorities also employed.

Many of the positions filled by these new employees had not previously been available to minorities--such as cashiers, waitresses, snack bar attendants, and car rental agents. It is additionally significant that during the period in which FEPC and the airport employers were working together, at least two major airlines began employing Negro hostesses for the first time.

A Major Utility

Affirmative action can also materially aid a firm to close certain gaps between its intentions and its practices in employment integration.

In 1959, following passage of the FEP Act by the State Legislature, a major communications utility reaffirmed its policy of affording "opportunity in employment without discrimination because of race, religious creed, color, national origin or ancestry." This had been management's stated policy for many years--but there was a serious lag in the way it was being carried out at lower levels.

In late 1960, under the direction of Commissioner Elton Brombacher, FEPC staff made its first contact with the company in Northern California, and discovered that the problem for minority applicants began with the initial job interview. Interviewers, bypassing the company's stated policy, were found to extend different treatment to white and Negro applicants. Lengthy investigation revealed few minority employees in public contact jobs and none in management.

FEPC's purpose was to encourage and aid the implementation of a fully equal job policy throughout the entire structure of the company. This was done by the company in part through advertising in minority newspapers; through contact with schools and colleges having high minority enrollments; by close liaison with minority specialists in all State Department of Employment offices in given hiring areas; by issuing an attractive brochure showing minority employees at work with the company; and by making every effort to place minority workers in public contact positions. The company also undertook a program of looking beyond the scores in aptitude tests taken by minority prospects to determine which had the ability to learn, regardless of test scores.

Additionally, the company participated in several local job training programs for minority youth, and developed an audio-visual program which is effective both in urging young people to stay in school and in pointing out the types of training needed for good jobs with the company.

By 1964 the fruits of this affirmative action had become apparent. An excellent pattern of employment had been established, and, as a

predictable result of the open-door hiring policy, minority workers were beginning to move into good management and public contact positions.

In San Joaquin Valley

Midway in 1963 FEPC learned from the Fresno Area Migrant Ministry that a sugar company was shortly to open a new processing plant near Fresno. A telephoned inquiry by the FEPC executive officer to the company's headquarters brought ready agreement to confer informally concerning opportunities at the new plant. Commissioner C. L. Dellums was assigned to the undertaking. He and staff opened discussions with personnel authorities of the large firm, then surveyed employment patterns in three of the company's other installations, to gain a view of what hiring practices might be expected in the new plant.

While Mexican Americans were employed at all three of these locations, it was learned that out of 1,500 employees, only about 25 were Negroes.

In subsequent meetings FEPC representatives and the employer worked out ways in which the recruiting practice of the employment office at the new plant could be broadened so as to include minority applicants. Hiring officials, with FEPC aid, informed the local Department of Employment office that they wanted to interview, among others, qualified Negro applicants. Through newspapers advertisements they stressed their equal opportunity policy; and they informed the private employment agency through which they also recruited that "all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, creed or national origin."

Operating upon this broadened recruitment base, the plant opened in September 1963. FEPC maintained contact with the company and in 1964 checked the employment pattern. Over 300 employees had been hired, about 50 of whom were Mexican American, 40 Negro and one American Indian. When FEPC staff visited the company again a few months later, it was found that a number of minority employees had been upgraded to higher positions.

A Large Rubber Company

In July 1963, FEPC learned of the plans of a rubber company to open a new plant in the "X" Valley, and immediately arranged a meeting with the industrial relations director of that company to discuss recruitment and hiring policy.

During the course of the meeting it was discovered that the company proposed to hire 400 production workers for the factory. About 90 had already been hired, none of whom was Negro. Another 100 were to be employed in the office, and of the 65 already hired, none were Negro.

The company was most willing to implement a broad, equal opportunity employment policy, and to have FEPC advice to this end. The company was conducting its recruiting entirely through the Department of Employment at "X", and it was decided that it would be desirable also to recruit through the "Y" office of that Department in order to include in the pool of possible employees the large population of Negroes in that area, and to reach Mexican Americans living there as well. These minority communities were then informed of the new opportunities in this situation and encouraged to look into them.

Contact was maintained by Commissioner Brombacher and staff. By September 1964 the company had hired 466 employees, of whom 26 percent were Mexican American, five percent Filipino, and almost four percent Negro. Negro workers included front office personnel and the important position of plant nurse. Supervisory staff included two Mexican Americans and one Oriental.

Of special interest here is the fact that as the company actively extended its employment recruiting to the full range of potential applicants, it happened that the levels of minority representation in the work force became approximately those which obtain in the population generally in that labor market area.

A somewhat different approach to affirmative action has been followed by Commissioner Elton Brombacher with a number of large employers in the San Francisco Bay Area. Meeting periodically on an informal basis, top-level representatives of such firms as a major oil company, a packing company, a variety chain store, banks, a clothing manufacturer, and a nationwide chain of retail department stores talk over situations they have encountered in seeking to implement equal opportunity policies, and explore ways of coping with problems and of attaining fair employment goals.

Affirmative Recruitment By Unions

"We must engage in affirmative recruitment of qualified minority applicants to get the best, to encourage them to apply. It is necessary to support supplemental educational opportunities for those interested in union membership and who seek to meet legitimate qualifications for union membership....The sooner we get the job done, the better off we are going to be."

--Vice President Hubert Humphrey
at an AFL-CIO conference

The potential for extending such affirmative action programs is great. Around the State many firms that employ large numbers of workers may show apparent indifference toward equal opportunity and make no move on their own to institute better practices. Yet, once approached, they may be willing to cooperate in extending their hiring and upgrading policies to include applicants and workers of all groups, and to utilize FEPC consultative assistance to this end.

The need for and benefits of affirmative action have been clearly demonstrated. The number and breadth of such affirmative action programs which FEPC can undertake are limited only by the bounds of budget and staff.

SF Housing Authority: First Report By FEPC

In a preliminary report on an investigation of the hiring and tenant placement practices of the San Francisco Housing Authority, FEPC Commissioner C. L. Dellums on February 2 asked the Authority to discontinue coding pre-employment applications according to the race of the applicant.

Commissioner Dellums said the existence of special code letters on applications of Negro and Jewish job-seekers was "an indication of willful disregard on the part of management of a State law."

In his report, the Commissioner recommended that the Authority--

+ hire more minority group workers in headquarters jobs and as project managers;

+ recruit minority "craft personnel" from other sources if building trade unions failed to provide such workers;

+ explore the possibility of setting up apprenticeship positions, some of which could be filled by minority individuals.

The report also recommended discontinuing the racial coding of pre-tenancy records, since this could lead to abuses.

The FEPC investigation was started last August after both the Housing Authority and the San Francisco branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People requested that FEPC examine the Authority's practices. Following the report, San Francisco Mayor John Shelley asked the City Human Relations Commission to maintain a check on the Authority's hiring and placement procedures.

New Airline Hostess

One of American Airlines' new stewardesses is Natalie Ann Glover, who has lived in Los Angeles since 1960. A graduate of high school in Noblesville, Indiana, where her parents still live, Miss Glover also studied sociology at Compton Junior College. Before starting her airlines career, she worked as a secretary to an attorney.

Miss Glover

Among Other Items . . .

The Commission has authorized formation of an FEPC advisory committee in Palo Alto, following requests from citizens' groups in that community....Commissioner Audrey Sterling was elected April 25 to serve on the board of directors of the Los Angeles Urban League....Long Beach members of the Women's Advisory Council to FEPC have released a survey of the Long Beach community that includes information on minority population characteristics, training and employment opportunities for minorities, a survey of community agencies, plus statistical information bearing on ethnic groups. The report was authored by the Mmes. Charles Terry, Myron Blumberg, and Alexis Jacoubowsky.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION
State of California, Edmund G. Brown, Governor
Department of Industrial Relations, Ernest B. Webb, *Director*

Clive Graham, *Chairman*
Elton Brombacher, C. L. Dellums, John Anson Ford,
Louis Garcia, Audrey M. Sterling, Dwight R. Zook, *Commissioners*
Edward Howden, *Division Chief*

FEPC FAIR PRACTICES NEWS

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RETURN REQUESTED

5/19/65 – Letter from Richmond FHA (Admin). –

How FHA acquires properties – FHA insures private lenders against loss on home mortgages. When a mortgagor defaults in his pyts, the lender forecloses on the mortgage and conveys the property to the FHA Commissioner.

Who May Purchase An FHA Acquired Property – Any individual, regardless of race, creed or color, or any co. or corp. meeting the downpyt and credit requirements of the FHA, may offer to buy any FHA acquired property.

Procedure – General practice is to list FHA properties on an "open" basis, which means you can deal thru any qualified or licensed local real estate broker, or, if you prefer, you may deal directly with the FHA. The sales price + terms will be the same.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

on the Effect on HHFA Programs of the Nondiscrimination Requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

HOUSING and HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

WASHINGTON D.C. 20410

MAY 1965

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

on the
Effect on HHFA Programs of the Nondiscrimination Requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"No person in the United States shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

--Title VI, Section 601
Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"It is simple justice that all should share in programs financed by all, and directed by the government of all the people."

--President Lyndon B. Johnson.

HOUSING and HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington, D.C. 20410

May 1965

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

General

1. Q. What is Title VI?

   A. Title VI is that portion of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that deals with nondiscrimination in federally-assisted programs. It assures that no person in the United States shall be discriminated against on the ground of race, color or national origin in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

2. Q. What HHFA programs are affected by the nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI?

   A. All HHFA programs listed in Appendix A (see page 7) are covered by Title VI.

3. Q. Are the FHA mortgage insurance programs covered by the language of the law?

   A. No. Programs involving "a contract of insurance or guaranty" are specifically excluded by the language of Title VI. Activities under the FHA mortgage insurance programs are thus excluded. However, Executive Order 11063 on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which prohibits discrimination in all Federal housing programs, continues to apply to the FHA programs.

4. Q. What is the effective date of HHFA regulations under Title VI?

   A. HHFA regulations were approved by the President on December 3, 1964 and published in the Federal Register on the following day. The regulations became effective January 3, 1965.

5. Q. How is "Federal financial assistance" defined under Title VI?

   A. "Federal financial assistance" is defined to include:

      1. Grants, loans and advances of Federal funds.
      2. Donations of Federal property.
      3. Detail of Federal personnel.
      4. Sale, lease and permission to use Federal property either at a nominal consideration or at a reduced consideration in order to serve the public interest.
      5. Any Federal agreement which has as one of its purposes the provision of assistance.

6. Q. How is "recipient" of Federal financial assistance defined?

A. "Recipient" is defined to include any individual or entity - public or private - to whom Federal financial assistance is extended for any program or activity (such as a local housing authority in the public housing program), or who otherwise participates in carrying out such program or activity (such as a redeveloper in the urban renewal program).

7. Q. Does Title VI cover employment practices of recipients of Federal assistance?

A. No, unless a primary objective of Federal financial assistance is to provide employment, as in the case of the Accelerated Public Works Program.

8. Q. How are the regulations to be enforced?

A. Enforcement responsibility is vested in the departments and agencies involved. HHFA regulations require assurances of compliance from recipients and provide for compliance reports and reviews. In addition, the regulations provide for investigation of noncompliance.

9. Q. What assurances of compliance are required?

A. New contracts for Federal financial assistance must contain or be accompanied by assurances that the program or activity will be conducted in compliance with all requirements of Title VI and the regulations. On contracts executed prior to the effective date of the regulations, but where funds have not been fully disbursed, similar assurance may be required if deemed necessary. On contracts executed prior to the effective date of the regulations, but providing for periodic payments to continue the program or activity, as in low-rent public housing, the recipient is required to submit a statement satisfying the Agency that the program or activity is being conducted in compliance with the requirements of Title VI and the regulations, or give reasonable assurance that any noncompliance indicated will be corrected.

10. Q. What happens in the case of a refusal to submit the required assurances?

A. A refusal to furnish required assurances constitutes a violation of the regulations and appropriate procedures may be instituted to effect compliance.

11. Q. What actions may be taken in the case of a violation of the regulations?

A. The Agency may suspend, terminate or refuse to grant or continue financial assistance, or take some other enforcement action such as referring the matter to the Department of Justice for appropriate proceedings.

12. Q. What are the procedures to be followed before financial assistance may be cut off?

A. Attempts will be made to secure compliance by voluntary means. If voluntary compliance cannot be secured, the recipient will be advised of his failure to comply and will be given an opportunity for a hearing. Following the hearing and an express finding on the record of a failure to comply, further compliance action must be approved by the Administrator. No action withholding financial assistance, however, may actually be taken until 30 days after the Administrator has filed with the Committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action.

13. Q. Is there a right of judicial review in the case of Agency action cutting off financial assistance?

A. Yes. Section 603 of Title VI provides for judicial review in the case of a cut off of funds.

Low-Rent Public Housing

1. Q. Is all federally-aided low-rent public housing covered by the regulations?

A. The regulations apply to all federally-aided low-rent public housing receiving Federal financial assistance on the effective date of the regulations. This means that except for those few federally-aided projects that were paid off before the effective date of the regulations, every federally-aided low-rent project provided since the inception of the public housing program in 1937 is subject to the nondiscrimination requirements.

2. Q. What kind of assurances of compliance must local housing authorities give under the regulations?

A. For new projects, a local housing authority must agree in writing that it will comply with all requirements imposed by Title VI and the regulations and PHA requirements issued thereunder. For existing low-rent projects, the local housing authority must also give assurance of compliance. It must state whether or not existing projects are currently operated in compliance with those requirements, and it must submit a description of policies and practices in receiving applications, selecting tenants, and assigning applicants to dwelling units. If existing projects are not currently operated in compliance, the local housing authority must explain the extent of noncompliance and action it proposes to correct it.

3. Q. What actions may be taken in the case of a violation of Title VI or the regulations?

A. Approval of further low-rent projects may be refused or, if the annual contributions contract so provides, remedies may be invoked for breach of the contract, including recovery of title or possession by the Federal agency. In addition the matter may be referred to the Department of Justice for appropriate judicial remedies. The sanction of cutting off annual contributions will not be used in the case of public housing violations, in that the full faith and credit of the United States are pledged to their payment as security for bonds issued for financing of the project.

Urban Renewal

1. Q. To what extent are federally-aided urban renewal activities covered by Title VI and the regulations?

A. Title VI and the regulations apply to all future federally-aided urban renewal projects and to all such projects already under way on the effective date of the regulations to the extent that any project land remained to be disposed of by the local urban renewal agency.

2. Q. What assurance of compliance is required of the local urban renewal agency?

A. The local agency must submit assurances in the form of a resolution of its governing body that it recognizes and will comply with all regulations and requirements under Title VI.

3. Q. Are private redevelopers of urban renewal project land affected?

A. Yes. Private redevelopers are expressly included in the definition of "recipient" contained in the regulations. All land disposal agreements between the local urban renewal agency and the redeveloper must require the deed to contain a covenant against discrimination by the redeveloper. The deed must stipulate that the United States is a beneficiary of the covenant and is entitled to enforce it.

4. Q. Do the regulations cover a facility proposed as a "noncash local grant-in-aid"?

A. Yes. Under the urban renewal program, public facilities such as schools and parks, or certain expenditures by colleges and hospitals may be offered for credit as part of the locality's required contribution to the cost of the urban renewal project. These will be accepted for credit on the condition that the facility or institution is operated on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Community Facilities

1. Q. Are all Community Facilities Administration (CFA) programs covered by the nondiscrimination regulations?

A. Yes. College Housing, Senior Citizens Housing, Public Facility Loans, Advances for Public Works Planning, and Accelerated Public Works. The nondiscrimination requirements applicable to the Accelerated Public Works Program extend also to employment practices.

2. Q. What assurance of compliance is required of recipients of CFA financial assistance?

A. Assurance of compliance must be submitted, signed by an authorized official and agreeing to comply with Title VI and all requirements imposed pursuant to HHFA regulations under Title VI.

3. Q. In the case of financial assistance for a public facility, is the required assurance limited to the particular facility aided?

A. No. The assurance extends to the entire system of such facilities operated by the recipient of the aid. For example, assurances of nondiscrimination in the case of a public library provided with Federal aid extend to the recipient's entire public library system.

4. Q. What assurances of nondiscrimination are required of colleges and universities?

A. The assurances from colleges and universities extend not only to the operation of the housing or other facilities provided with Federal financial assistance, but to the institution's admission practices and all other practices relating to the treatment of students.

5. Q. In the case of a college or university which operates several campuses, does the assurance of nondiscrimination extend to the entire institution?

A. Generally, yes. More limited assurance is permitted only where the institution can demonstrate that practices in part of its operation in no way affect its practices in the part federally-aided. This would be a rare case.

6. Q. What assurances of nondiscrimination are required of hospitals?

A. Nondiscrimination must extend to the admission or other treatment of patients, to the admission or other practices relating to the treatment of interns, student nurses and residents, and to the privileges of physicians, dentists, or other professionals to practice at the hospital.

Appendix A

PROGRAMS OF THE HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY COVERED BY TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

1. Community Disposition Program
2. Low-Income Housing Demonstration Grant Program
3. Mass Transportation Demonstration Grant Program
4. Rehabilitation Direct Loan Program
5. Training and Fellowship Programs
6. Urban Mass Transportation Programs
7. Low-Rent Public Housing Program
8. Open Space Land Program
9. Urban Renewal Demonstration Grant Program
10. Urban Renewal Program (Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal)
11. College Housing Loan Program
12. Community Facilities Administration Liquidation Programs
13. Program of Advances for Public Works Planning
14. Public Facility Loans Program
15. Public Works Acceleration Act Program
16. Senior Citizens Housing Loan Program

News-Leader 6/9/65

Long-range anti-slum program to be released mid-July —

Under the plan, Richmond will be ÷ into 19 districts, and the desirable & undesirable features of each will be ident.

Forsees 6-yr. program to clear up slums & urban blight — using both public & private means.

FUNDS SHIFTED

More Money Slated For Rt. 60 Project

An extra $200,000 has been allocated by the State Highway Commission to money available in 1965-66 for improvement of U. S. Rt. 60 west of Williamsburg.

On the recommendation of Richard S. Holland, commission member from the Suffolk district, the $200,000 was taken from $1,900,000 earmarked for work on U. S. Rt. 13 on the Eastern Shore.

Holland told the commission yesterday the Eastern Shore work would cost less than expected.

The switch of funds from U. S. Rt. 13 to U. S. Rt. 60, putting $400,000 in the pot for that work, was the only change the commission made yesterday in the 1965-66 interstate and primary road allocations tentatively approved earlier.

With the formal approval of spending plans, the commission wound up three days of public hearings. It met for two days in Roanoke and finished with the final session in Richmond.

ROAD ALLOCATIONS

The allocations for the two road systems total 142 million dollars, 95 million for the interstate system and the rest for primary and primary arterial roads.

The total 1965-66 budget, including money for urban and secondary roads and for maintenance and operations, totals 252 million dollars.

Before the final session was completed, the commission heard itself praised for the projects it has approved—and was asked for more.

Del. Shirley T. Holland and a delegation from Isle of Wight County appealed for funds to begin for a by-pass of Smithfield along U. S. Rt. 258 and State Rt. 10.

Del. Lyman C. Harrell Jr. of Emporia requested an allocation to four-lane U. S. Rt. 58 between Emporia and Lawrenceville.

Robert Thraves, a member of the Albemarle county board of supervisors, asked the commission for money to improve State Rt. 20 from Barboursville to U. S. Rt. 250.

ANOTHER APPEAL

William R. Blandford, commonwealth's attorney of Powhatan county, asked for funds to four-lane U. S. Rt. 60 from the Chesterfield county line westward to an intersection with U. S. Rt. 522.

E. Floyd Yates, another member of the Powhatan delegation, remarked the commission had "sadly let us down" on U. S. Rt. 60.

Garland Moss, mayor of Chase City, asked the commission for more money to improve State Rt. 49.

The only suggestion which bore fruit, however, came from Del. Russell M. Carneal of Williamsburg and Dr. Murray Lornig of the James City county board of supervisors.

They appealed to the commission for more money for the U.S. Rt. 60 improvement work. It now calls for four-laning the highway to an interchange with Int. Rt. 64 north of Anderson's Corner in James City county.

Real Estate Sale Pattern To Be Studied

A study of real estate selling patterns in Richmond neighborhoods undergoing racial change will be made this summer by three organizations, it was announced today.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations said it will join with the Richmond Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta in making the study.

Staff economists from the Atlanta organization will help conduct the study.

PANIC SELLING

"An attempt will be made to discover what causes underlie panic selling of homes," the Rev. Robert L. Combs, Virginia Council on Human Relations executive secretary, said.

He said the study will start with letters to selected residents of some neighborhoods asking them to describe what, in their opinion, contributes to "panic selling."

Mr. Combs said purpose of the study will be two-fold: "To discover the effects of panic selling and the purchase of a home by another person under these conditions."

He said the study will be incorporated in a report to be made available late in August.

Neighborhoods in a few sections of the city have undergone racial transition in recent months.

The Federal Housing Administration, in addition, has sold some homes to Negroes in the midst of white neighborhoods under its policy of non-discrimination. The homes were real estate on which FHA mortgages had been foreclosed.

Mr. Combs declined to specify which neighborhoods will be studied.

RT. 95 INTERCHANGE

$300,000 Bond Likely In Construction Row

Legal counsel for the state Highway Department says a Chesterfield county motel owner, seeking to halt construction of a new Int. Rt. 95 interchange, may be asked to put up a $300,000 bond.

The notice came from Paul D. Stotts, an assistant Attorney General.

Teh motel owner, John J. McDonald Jr., has asked federal District Court here to enjoin construction of the interchange where State Rt. 660 now crosses the interstate road in Hanover county.

McDonald, the owner of the Indian Hills Motel, located at a Chesterfield county interchange with Int. Rt. 95, contends he will suffer irreparable injury if the new interchange is built.

McDonald is one of a number of businessmen who protested the State Highway Commission's decision to permit construction of the new interchange.

TO PAY COST

The interchange construction cost will be paid for by Speed & Briscoe, Inc., a truck terminal now located on U. S. Rt. 1. By-passed by Int. Rt. 95, the terminal owners say they are losing money.

When the new interchange is built they would re-locate the terminal there.

Stotts' contention is that the transfer of funds to the highway department from Speed & Briscoe is on a conditional basis. The Hanover county board of supervisors, serving as intermediary, passed on the $300,975 check to the department.

TO SEEK REFUND

But the supervisors' resolution says that if the interchange is not approved in all respects by July 1, it will ask the highway department to refund the money.

This would leave the department responsible for the financing, said Stotts, unless McDonald was ordered by the federal court to post a covering bond.

McDonald's suit, filed Wednesday, names both the federal and Virginia governments as defendants. He contends they acted illegally in approving the interchange.

Judge John D. Butzner Jr. has been asked to give time for a hearing at 10 a.m. Tuesday. He would be asked then to issue a temporary injunction, prohibiting construction. Later he would be asked to make the injunction permanent.

Although others have criticized the commission for allowing Speed & Briscoe to build their own interchange, most of the opposition has come from businessmen already located at other interchange sites.

They contend they paid prime prices for their choice locations and that property values will be lessened if new interchanges are allowed.

The highway commission yesterday, disregarding McDonald's suit, awarded a contract for the interchange project to the sole bidding contractor, the Via Construction Co. of Richmond.

The $300,975 check covers the company's $273,315 bid with 10 per cent added for contingencies.

Downtown Area Is Off 'Slum' Lists

Private capital apparently is providing the impetus to rehabilitate a 14-block downtown area which was declared in need of urban renewal two years ago.

The area in question, bounded generally by Broad, Fourth, Seventh and Eighth sts. and the Richmond-Petersburg turnpike, was proposed for a slum clearance and redvelopment project by the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority.

Now Frederic C. Fay, the agency's executive director, says circumstances have changed so much that public redevelopment no longer is necessary.

Since the time in July, 1963, when City Council rejected 8-1 the redevelopment proposal, a number of new commercial ventures have been undertaken in the area.

The city also proposes to build its downtown coliseum there, near the new federal building.

An example of increased property values in the area: one parcel which sold for $4.80 a square foot three years ago went for $7.50 recently.

W. C. Chewning, a realtor and consultant to a group which opposed the federally sponsored redevelopment proposal, said properties in the area are being purchased by speculators who don't have an immediate use in mind for the property, but who believe in the future of the area.

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Fri., June 11, 1965

Downtown Tract No Longer 'Slum'

By Ed Grimsley

A 14-block downtown area considered two years ago to be a slum in need of clearance and redevelopment is no longer regarded a potential urban renewal project area.

Frederic A. Fay, executive director of the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, says circumstances and conditions "have changed so much" that urban renewal action is not considered necessary for the area.

Two years ago, the authority proposed a massive anti-slum program for the area bounded generally by Broad, Fourth, Seventh and Eighth sts. and the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike.

Using federal funds, the authority intended to purchase the property, raze slum structures and sell the land for redevelopment. High-rise apartments, office buildings and off-street parking facilities were among the new uses contemplated for the redeveloped area.

Rejected Two Years Ago

But in July, 1963, City Council rejected the plan by a vote of 8 to 1.

Since then, Fay said, several downtown office and apartment buildings have been constructed. Additional parking facilities, including some in the area proposed for urban renewal, have been developed. And an interchange to serve Interstate Rt. 64 is to be built within the area.

Consequently, the area is "not attractive for redevelopment," Fay said.

W. C. Chewning, a realtor who was consultant to a group that opposed the urban renewal project, said private investors are showing a keen interest in the area.

"Property values have increased tremendously," he said. "Some have doubled."

One parcel that sold for $4.80 a square foot three years ago sold recently for $7.50 a square foot.

Chewning said investors are assembling small parcels into larger tracts that could be used for major commercial ventures. The investors don't necessarily have specific projects in mind.

Many slum houses have been demolished. Pending its need for other projects, the land on which many of these houses stood is being used for parking.

Unquestionably, one of the major factors contributing the revival of private investors' interest has been the public building activity in the area.

RICHMOND AREA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA - 23219

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RICHMOND AREA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - JUNE 1965 NEWS NOTE

"A GARDEN PARTY"

WHEN????? JUNE 22ND 7:30 P.M. AND ON

WHERE???? 4311 COVENTRY ROAD (WINDSOR FARMS) RICHMOND

FOR WHOM: ALL MEMBERS OF RICHMOND AREA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Refreshments Soft Lights Good Companionship

This is not a purely social event, but a chance for all to get together and frankly discuss our mutual concern as to why so many people think that, with Civil Rights Act, Economic Opportunity Act, Education Act and a Voting Act, all the problems of human relations have been solved by the Government. They have not as we all must realize. The question is how to combat this apathy among friends and neighbors. There is a solution. We hope you will help us to find it.

Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Membership Committee Chairman, will be there to receive your membership if youcare to renew at this time.

On Feb 20, 1962 Kennedy signed Exec. Order #11063. entitled Equal Opportunity in Housing. The purpose of the Order is to help to achieve freedom of choice in housing for all Americans by assuring that the benefits of Federal housing programs and assistance are made available to all without discrim. as to race, color, creed, or national origin.

The Order covers all kinds of Ederal financial assistance, direct or indirect, for the provision, rehabilitation or operation of housing and related facilities, including land to be developed for residential use. Federal loans, advances, grants, contributions, and insurance or guarantees of loans are also covered by the Order.

The Order directs all departments and agencies in the Exec. Branch of the Fed. Gov. to prevent discrim. in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance made available after NOVEMBER 20, 1962. THE ORDER INCLUDES ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS FOR THIS DIRECTIVE.

The Order specifically directs the HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY and other departments and agencies of the Fed. Gov. to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistanc BEFORE NOV. 20, '62 by USING THEIR GOOD OFFICES nad by taking

appropriate action permitted by law. (I wonder what that means.) In addition, the Order prohibits discrimination in alll housing that is owned or operated by the Federal Gov., NO MATTER WHEN PROVIDED.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

What it is / What it does

College Housing

Urban Renewal

Mortgage Insurance

Community Facilities

Home Improvement

Secondary Mortgage Market

Urban Planning Assistance

Low-Rent Housing

Housing for the Elderly

Community Development

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

RT-D 12-30-62

Most Negroes Live in City, Creating Woes

Occupancy Area Drops While Population Rises

Editor's note: Richmond shares a problem with most major cities: while the total population of the city is decreasing, the Negro population is increasing—increasing at such a rate that demands for adequate housing cannot be met. This is the first of five articles that explore the area of Negro housing as to the problems and solutions.

By Conrad Lemon
Times-Dispatch Real Estate Editor

Nearly all Negro families that live in the Richmond area live n the city, creating a housing problem.

While the city's Negro population continues to increase, areas of Negro occupancy are decreasing.

"There are," according to Reuben A. Clay, intergroup relations advisor for the Federal Housing Administration office here, 69,000 housing units in the city, 24,000, or 34 per cent of which are occupied by nonwhites.

"I could once approximate the land area occupied by this group," he continued, "but with our redevelopment, our toll road and civic center demolition, which falls directly upon this group, I can only say 42 per cent of the people (Richmond Negro population) live in 34 per cent of the housing on somewhat less than 30 per cent of the land area."

DEMOLITION IN RICHMOND has been, according to Clay, "99 and 44/100 per cent nonwhite. Because the Negro is low on the economic scale, he is defenseless . . . As it does in all other fields of endeavor, the woes of the world of housing fall most heavily on the weakest, and in the America of the 20th Century, these are racial minorities."

The problem Richmond faces is not unlike the problem encountered by most American cities—a greater proportion of the central population is becoming nonwhite, creating housing difficulties.

Why do Negroes come to the city if there is less space for them to live?

"When the Negro is displaced from the farm," said Clay, "he doesn't stop in the suburbs. He comes to the heart of the central city . . . he is excluded from the suburbs, not by statutes, but by economics."

Part of this exclusion, Clay said, centers around transportation. A Negro family may be able to afford to buy a suburban house but, because of limited income, cannot afford to buy a car that may be needed if the house is not near a bus line.

A builder who has constructed homes for Negroes in the suburbs, but who did not wish to be quoted by name, put it more simply: "I have found Negroes want to live in the city," he said.

WITH THE NEGRO POPULATION steadily increasing in Richmond and with the space available for housing decreasing, the Negro housing problem is "a place to build—living room," Clay said.

"The Negro housing problem is becoming increasingly apparent," said Howe Todd, director of City Planning. "Because of the shortage of vacant land, Negro rental housing is not being built at the speed demanded by the increasing population. There is area left suitable for construction of free-standing houses," he said, "but not much for apartments. The real need is vacant land and vacant land is in the county."

But the Negro population is excluded from the county—the suburbs, said Clay, because of economics.

And what are these economics?

The median yearly income for all families in the city is $5,156. The median yearly income for nonwhite families is $3,387.

The Federal Housing Administration uses, as a rule-of-thumb, the formula that a family can afford a house which costs about 2½ times the total of a family's yearly income.

THIS MEANS THAT Negroes families as a group, can afford homes in the $8,000 price range. Since there are few homes in the suburbs selling for this price, most Negroes live in the city where they are likely to find neighborhoods around the central core in various states of deterioration. Here, property values are relatively low.

Even in the city, however, there are few houses that can be bought with such a low income, fewer still that receive approval from a lending institution for a mortgage loan.

Many Negro families, to buy a home, lease sections of it to other Negroes to supplement their income and when housing restrictions are relaxed or not enforced, crowded conditions are likely to develop.

These conditions speed the deterioration of the entire neighborhood by wearing out not only the houses involved but also the schools and other community facilities.

The likely result: a slum.

The likely solution: slum clearance.

"We as a people have come at long last to the awareness that our cities are going to destroy the slums or the slums will destroy the city," Clay said.

But, he added, provisions must be made for persons displaced by slums.

HOMES OWNED by displaced persons are, Clay said, bought by the redevelopment authority or other builder at a "fair market price."

This price, he said, may be a figure "like three thousand dollars which appears to be a good price for the house. But," he

Continued on Page 3, Col. 3

The following Richmond statistics are based on United States census figures:

	1950	1960
Total city population*	230,310	219,958
Nonwhite city population	73,082	92,331
Nonwhite population percentage	31.7%	42%
Median income for all families and unrelated individuals	$2,555	$3,871
Median income for all nonwhite families and unrelated individuals	$1,565	$2,615

*Population estimates made by the University of Virginia bureau of public administration indicate that the white population of the city is declining at the rate of 1,792 a year, while the Negro population is rising at the rate of 2,980 a year. If the trend continues, the Negro population will exceed the white population of the city in late 1967 or early 1968.

Negroes Living in City Create Housing Woes

Continued from First Page

asked, "what can a man do with three thousand dollars? He can't buy another house for that amount."

Not unless the house is in another area of deterioration.

And not even then, in many cases, without income from another source.

Again this source is usually tenants and another slum is in the making.

The spread of the Negro population has, with but few exceptions, fanned out solidly from Richmond downtown.

The large areas most recently converted from all-white to Negro include most of Church Hill and Barton Heights.

"It was like wildfire on Church Hill," said one city official.

"Unless," said Clay, "there is something in these redevelopment plans which decrees that land will be made available for displaced persons and low income groups, redevelopment will cause greater housing problems. . . . There are no compensating areas for occupants of demolished areas. . . . If the normal market is willing to receive the Negro, he'll probably be priced out of it."

REDEVELOPMENT of one area, said Clay, usually brings about a slum in another area. But, he added, "people don't make slums—people are the victims of slums. Pigs aren't naturally dirty—we make them dirty by penning them up and crowding them."

Every free-standing house that has become available for Negro occupancy in Richmond in recent years, he said, has been quickly taken as have private rental projects. There is, he said, simply not enough housing available for the Negro population, and this shortage is

—Rich TD 1-3-63 p. 6

Blockbusting Called Effective Negro Tool

Editor's note: Negroes, 42 per cent of the city's population, live in 34 per cent of the city's housing on about 30 per cent of the city's area, according to an FHA official. Attempts to solve this problem are being made in public and private housing. The federal government has another answer. This is the last of five articles and deals with President Kennedy's housing order.

By Conrad Lemon
T-D Real Estate Editor

The federal government, in November, issued an executive order that bans all forms of racial discrimination in federally owned, assisted or insured housing.

This order could open new Negro living areas—not areas that would be occupied in ghetto fashion, but neighborhoods where whites and non-whites would have houses.

Before issuance of the order, the Negro population had only one effective tool with which to enlarge its living areas — blockbusting.

Blockbusting, a move whereby one Negro family buys a home in an all-white block or neighborhood, takes three general forms.

Can Come by Default

It may come by default. The white population, faced with a deteriorating neighborhood of its own making and panicked by fears of further decline in property values which, it feels, is brought about by the existence of Negro neighborhoods nearby, abandons the area and moves farther away.

It may take the form of an organized campaign on the part of Negroes to break a neighborhood that is not in a state of decline and is not in the immediate front of the "black belt."

The white residents may offer resistance in the form of a pact under which they agree not to sell regardless of pressure exerted.

Pacts Often Fail

If Negroes are determined to occupy a block, said Howe Todd, director of city planning, these pacts usually fail. One or two of the white residents are offered prices far above market value. While this pressure can be resisted for a while, holding out against such offers becomes more difficult when one home owner feels that his neighbors may have been made the same offer. Knowing that his home will not be bought for the inflated price, or perhaps not even for its market price once one of the houses on the block is sold, he breaks. His distrust, fear and greed take the form of a sales contract and the block is broken.

Blockbusting may take a third form organized pressure by real estate agents, professional blockbusters, who use a technique similar to that used by organized Negroes. They, however, seek to break the block for a profit and whites and Negroes share the cost.

Under this system agents attempt to stampede owners into selling houses at below market prices on the fear that Negroes are going to move in. They augment their pitch with ready cash. Once an owner and the neighborhood panic, the agents buy the property and immediately inflates the price, knowing that Negroes, trying to find better housing and to escape crowded conditions, are willing to pay more for decent homes.

There are no professional blockbusters in Richmond, according to Todd and Pleasant H. Bagby, president of the Real Estate Board of Richmond, but there are agents, Todd added, who are standing by, waiting to take advantage of a broken block though they did not help to break it.

Regardless of the technique used, once a block or neighborhood is opened to Negroes, the Negroes almost immediately fill the area.

Once Negroes move into a new area, adjacent neighborhoods become the targets of the blockbusters, a product of fear of declining property values.

Could End Fear

The federal order could end this fear. If Negroes are allowed to move into the suburbs as individuals the intent of the open-occupancy order it would appear that pressure around the borders of the black belt would subside as would white fear of declining values. It is not, said Reuben A. Clay, intergroup relations advisor for the FHA office here, Negro occupancy that brings about deflated property values; it is white panic.

But, ask some builders, won't the order simply mean that Negro neighborhoods will be formed in other sections, bringing about new pressures for expansion in the suburbs.

Clay and other Negro leaders say no.

"I do not think," Clay said, "there will be any inundation of what are considered white neighborhoods."

Dr. Picott Agrees

Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, agreed.

"It is my judgment and sincere belief," he said, "that this will be done in an orderly fashion.

Most Negro leaders questioned said they felt the order, if applied to owner-occupied homes as well as to tract developments, would help stimulate what has been a rather slow home-sale market in the Richmond area. Houses not wanted by the white population may be desired by Negroes.

Better Situation Seen

B. A. Cephas, a real estate broker and a member of the city planning commission, said he thought the order "is going to help the situation. We have people who are in a position to pay above the average rent but can't find suitable locations. It is an opportunity to give the people who can afford it more modern apartments and homes. They will be available in wider areas."

The President's order, which has been questioned as to its constitutionality by at least two Virginia political leaders and which has been called the worst thing that ever happened to the building industry by a Richmond building executive, could bring chaos to the Richmond home construction industry.

Or it could be a step toward solving the Richmond Negro housing problem.

T-D series - #4 - Jan 3, 1963

Title: Negro Apts Called Big City Need

"The N hsng mkt will never be saturated in Richmond" - Paul Gordon, who builds N hses, (LE: among other things. He's an operator!)

Gordon built Hickory Apts - 48 units - for N's on North side.

"I have found ... that Negroes want conventional housing, not public, and they don't want to rent anything that looks like public housing."

He builds freestanding houses for N's, but not many because there aren't enough sites for many, and these are in bad n'hoods which makes diff. getting loans for houses.

∴ he concludes, need apts for N's in Rich. Lenders, he says, won't lend to N's for houses - even new - in rundown n'hoods, but will lend to reputable builders for apts.

Harve Todd disagrees with Gordon, who said N's didn't want to build in rundown areas avail to N's. Says N will build in such area because "he does not look down on the area as others might." Claims some like to build in such areas because their new houses, however modest, look "luxurious" in comparison to neighbors, and "more luxurious" than they would in comparable houses area. Todd says what is needed is private capital to go into areas already zoned for multifamily houses (Gordon had tried unsuccess to get a couple areas rezoned for apts.)

Jacob Clayman - had built 350 units in 4-unit bldgs, renting apts for under $60/month. "They go as fast as we can build them," he said," and there is still a demand for them. There is a need for many more N. apts in the city."

Gordon - Mkt for N apts better than that for new homes. His Hickory Apts - received 600 applications for the 48 units.
Gordon: Tremendous Mkt for N apts

But Todd says - before more bldrs get into field, "the negro has got to want better housing. He's got to get a + prop. of family into hsng." Then private developers can get into the field. "They (the dev.) don't (go into the field) now because apparently they can't afford to.

Reg Harris - N's are willing to spend more for hsng if its offered them. So handling University Terrace - $65 a month, all leased immediately, and there's a waiting list.
Harris handled, too:
Byrd Park Apts - purchased 1962 by new owner - converted from W to N. Had high vacancy rate as W apt. Filled immed. as N apts. Rents up to $120/month.
Harris - "Give them something nice, and they will take it."

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* Blockbusting Called Effective Negro Tool is the fifth article in the series.

Richmond T-D housing Series
Article 3 - January 1, 1963

Title: Sales to Negroes are Slow in Private Housing Project"

After city cleared Carver Slum Clearance area - two private firms - Viking Dev. Corp. of Norfolk, and Reynolds Metals subsid - Reynolds Aluminum Service Corp. Built 98 unit condominium development - Hartshorn homes. Houses are sold as individual homes" for $11,500. At the same time, the buyer purchases a share in the community facilities, such as the $35,000 swimming pool."

Selling very slowly. Only half sold at the time of article. J. Reg. Harris was managing agent for the property.

Harris - Reason was "certain misconceptions about the homes on the part of the public."
"The misconception is that Hartshorn homes is a public housing project. Because the land was cleared by a public agency, and because certain facilities are owned in common, the public generally has come to believe that it is public hsng."

Harris - "A Negro may have at one time been in financial difficulty, and got back on his feet with the aid of P.H. When he is back on his feet and his y has to the point where he can afford something better, what is the first thing he wants to stay away from? It's public housing." (Concl: that's why HH's not selling)

Project director of Reynolds A S Co - Can redevelop on small scale. Must renew whole area and who area environment in order to redevelop successfully.

Problem with environment of N homes – surrounding blighted area, including city's gas tank – RR tracks, warehouses, R-P turnpike. An oasis – but gad, what a desert around it! Compensations – near downtown, recreation, schools.

Reuben Clay – What Richmond needs is more land avail for N hsng, and more N housing developed by private capital free from the "taint" of public hsng. Negroes not as poor as they are painted. Can afford to buy "their share of consumer goods and low- and middle-cy hsng."

Problem 1 per author:

Local bldrs – 3 br. brick veneer could be built in Rich for $9 – $10 M. Using FHA guidelines 2½ x ann. fam y – families with $4 M annual could afford them. Only ⅓ of N fams in Rich have this much y. 3/4 of W fams do.

Conclusion – N hsng mkt exists, but its small.

Clay – "If suitable ~~bldng~~ growing areas could be found near the city, there would be no trouble finding developers and builders," Clay said.

But – white builder skeptical –

Sometimes you have to sell the house two and 3 times. Negroes poor credit risk.

Yet – Mort Sobel, of M.S. Associates, has found opposite true. Sobel built Cornel Ct. on Cool Lane. 33 houses. Says normally you can expect to lose half your buyers between contract and closing times because they can't get loans. Loss rate (buyers) for Cornel Ct. only ⅓.

Sobel: "Negroes can afford more than currently recognized. It appears that credit agencies start off with the assumption that N's are poor credit risks."

Article IV, cont'd -

Because of his success with Corneal, Sobel is ~~bldg~~ planning another subdiv, Oakwood Manor in East Rich. Corneal houses sold $13,000 - Oakwoods to be $10,250 to $12,750.

Other relatively new Negro subdivs -

(22) Archmore - T street between 23rd & 24th Sts - $9000.

(10) Cardinal Ct - Canepa St. - $9300.

(24) Skyview - Amelia St. - $12000.

All the above 3 built by Viking. Little difficulty selling them.

Sobel - "The Negro market is just waking up, and I find it has a good future."

Times-Dispatch Housing Series - Article II
Dec. 31, 1962

Richmond's first pub. housing - Gilpin Ct., 297 units, built 1942.

RRHA - slum clearance is its primary function, not public hsng, tho it did build Richmond's p-h. projects.

The R-P turnpike, the Belvder st. extension, construct. around MCV, Civic center, + "the clearance of the 17th St. Bottom for a city jail have swept away hundreds of slum dwellings, mostly occup by N's. This area, added to the 400 ~~[illegible]~~ acres cleared by the RRHA, substantially reduces areas of Negro occupancy within the city.

Residents displaced by governmental action are given preference in their applications for public housing, but public housing has not been able to accomodate all.

~~November 30~~ end of, 1962 - housing authority had 1,003 verified eligibles on waiting list. This is a normal waiting list, per officials.

Sorp person must be a bona fide Rich resident to qualify for eligibility.

There was a Fulton clearance plan for constructing 450 pub housing units.

Fay vs Clay on Negro removal. See below *

Before clearance can be approved:
Supposedly (per Fay) state law requires construction of "decent, safe and sanitary dwellings ... substantially equal in number to the number of slum dwellings destroyed by clearance if such units are not already available, with rents within the financial reach of the persons displaced."

Have Todd, director of city planning — "you must be careful not to strangle the downtown with public housing. There are better uses of the land."

* When Negro areas are demolished, and when their occupants are not absorbed by p.h., it means they must find, or would rather find, compensating areas. Ruben Clay — "There is always a group somewhere that just disappears following redev'ment. They just fade away."

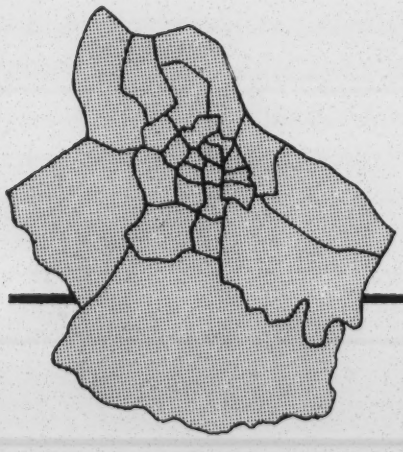
Example — when 850 families were displaced by R-P turnpike, but only 300 moved into p.h. "The others found housing on their own."

Negro families such as these may move into other N n'hoods, or n'hoods of white occupancy. Existing N n'hoods are already crowded (said Clay) "and when you are overcrowded, you wear out things (faster) because they are overused. The qlty of citizenship goes down in those areas, as do taxes because several fams may pay taxes on a single piece of property instead of on several."

Fay — didn't want to fill city with public housing. Said best way to solve slum problems is via urban redev't, "which enlists the aid of private capital" to do the job.

RECREATION IN METROPOLITAN RICHMOND

■ an analysis of area differences



RICHMOND AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

RICHMOND-PETERSBURG AREA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
April 13, 1964

Dear Fellow Richmonder:

I am aware of the pride that we of the Northside feel in our neighborhood and our homes. We cherish the atmosphere of permanence and stability in this part of Richmond, and we recognize that our homes are more substantially built and often more comfortable than many of the newer homes in other parts of the city.

In the area bounded by Brookland Park Boulevard, North Avenue, Claremont, and Brook Road there are many of us who have put our roots down deep.

No one can predict how real estate patterns will develop in the future. We do know that many Negro families are seeking homes which they can take care of and be proud of, and that more and more are moving into previously all-white neighborhoods seeking pleasant and comfortable surroundings.

We know, too, that the continued stability of such a neighborhood depends in large measure on the attitude of the residents presently living there. For this reason we of the Richmond Council on Human Relations would like to ascertain how many there are in this part of the Northside who, because of moral principle or because of deep roots in the neighborhood, would be willing to maintain their residence here even if Negro families should purchase homes among us.

If you feel that you would likely maintain your home here in such circumstances, we would appreciate your checking the first box on the enclosed slip of paper and returning the slip to us. You would not be committing yourself to any movement or organization, and your name would not be made public.

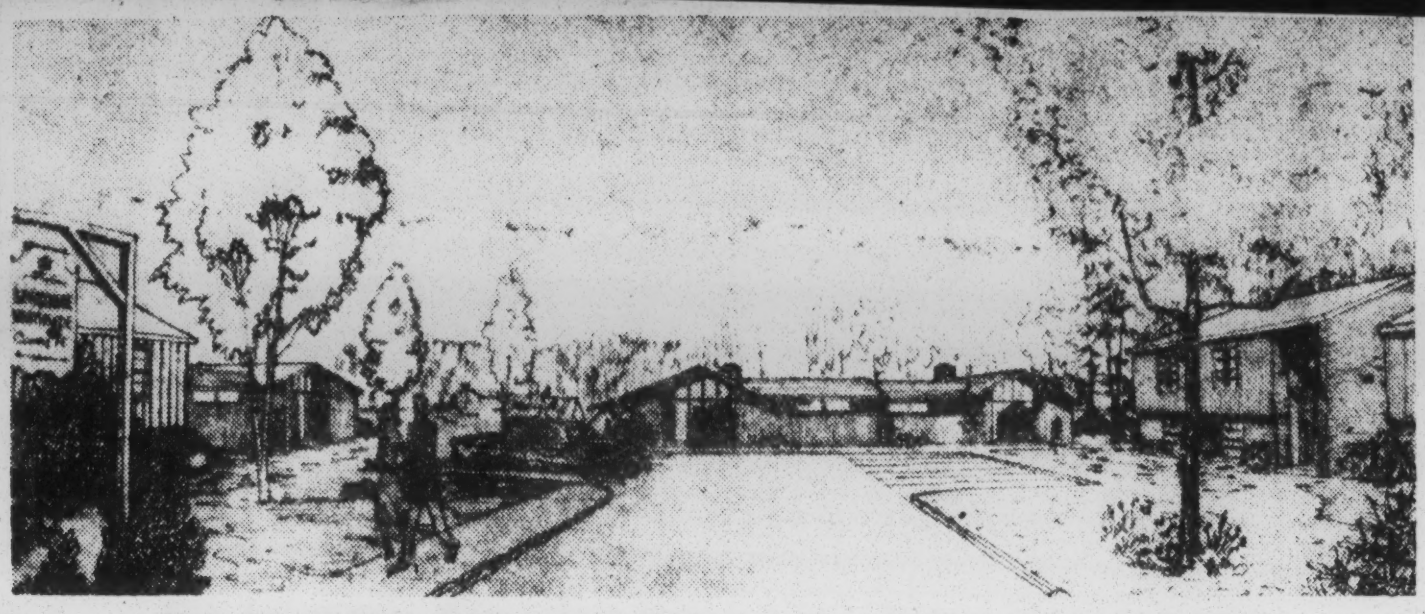
If you would like to attend a discussion meeting on this same topic, please check the second box. The meeting will be held on Thursday, April 30, 8:00 P.M., at the Ginter Park Presbyterian Church, 3601 Seminary Avenue. The title of the discussion will be "No Hiding Place."

Thank you for your consideration and cooperation.

Cordially yours,

John J. McMahon

Rev. John J. McMahon, President
Richmond Council on Human Relations



New Community Would Have Different Style Houses Placed in Groups

Area's First Cluster Community Planned in Suburbs for Negroes

RTD 6-14-64 p D-1

By Conrad Lemon

The Richmond area's first cluster community, which also is the first suburban subdivision that will be sold on a condominium basis, is being planned by a Richmond developer for a tract north of the city.

The development for Negroes, Newtowne Northside, will be built on an 11½-acre site at the southwest corner of Mountain and Greenwood rds.

Seventy-eight houses, all with three bedrooms, that will range in price from $16,000 to $21,000 are planned.

A cluster community is one in which the houses are placed in groups on relatively small lots and the land saved on the lots is incorporated into common areas such as courts and recreation areas.

Under the condominum concept, the buyer obtains full ownership of his house (the same as in buying a house in a conventional subdivision) and at the same time obtains an interest in the common property of the subdivision, such as the recreation areas.

One condominium project has been completed in the city—Hartshorn Homes in the Carver redevelopment area.

The development was built by Viking Development Corp. of Norfolk and by Reynolds Metals Co. After the sale of the homes was complete, Reynolds and Viking utrned the operation of the community over to a community council composed of Hartshorn residents. Community property at Hartshorn includes a swimming pool.

Five Cluster Groups

The builder of Newtowne Northside is Mort Saber Associates. Saber was with Viking during the Hartshorn development. He has since, on his own, built Cool Lane Court, a Negro subdivision, and has built some non-speculative Negro houses.

Newtowne Northside will have five clusters grouped around dead end streets.

There will be at least three different structural designs in each court, said Saber, but the houses of each court will be harmonious in appearance. He said he plans no stereotype community such as Hartshorn.

Some of the houses will be free standing, some will be attached by garages and some will be attached directly but offset from each other.

Landscaping Planned

George Weir Wilson, a landscape architect, has planned the basic landscaping, but the residents of each cluster may make plans for the complete landscaping of the courts.

There will be one large recreation area of about two acres. The developer will provide such things as picnic tables and barbecue pits, but final plans for the area will be left up to the community.

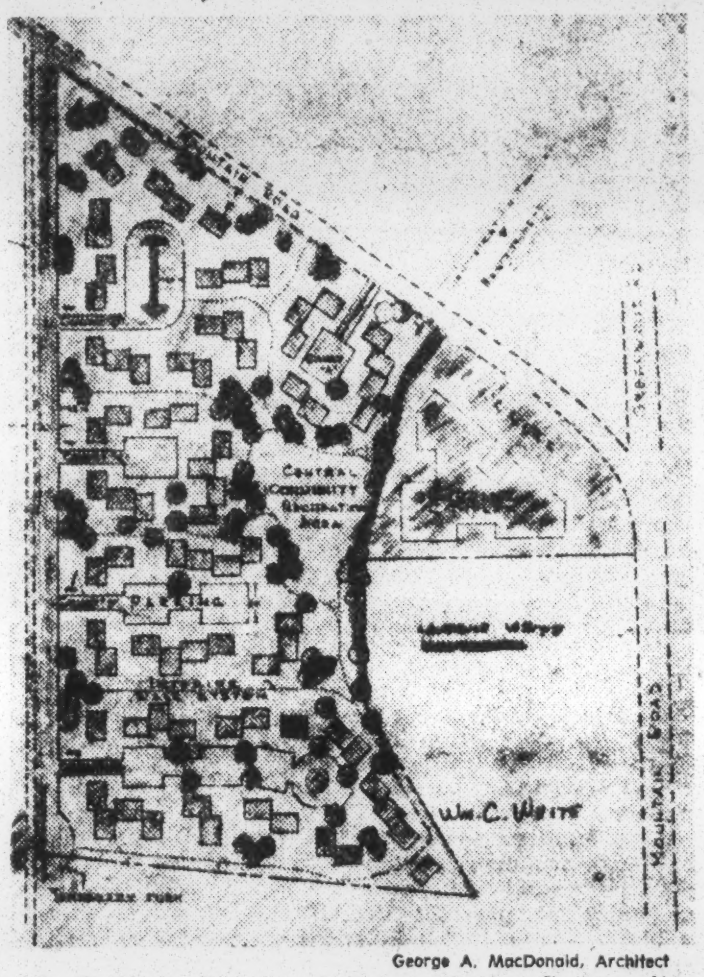
In addition to holding fee simple title to his house, a homeowner in Newtowne Northside, Saber said, will have individual ownership of some land surrounding the house. Lots with a minimum of 80-foot frontage are planned.

But the homeowner will not be responsible for the maintenance of his lot nor of the exterior of the house.

Included in mortgage payments, Saber said, will be funds that will be set aside by the developer to maintain the community areas, to maintain individual lots and to provide such exterior maintenance as painting.

"No one in the community," said Saber, "will have to worry about his neighbor not mowing his lawn. Everyone's lawn will be mowed."

The developer will retain control of the community until its completion, scheduled for about two years. At that time, as with Hartshorn, the developer will turn control of the community over to its residents. Funds which the developer will have been using to maintain the community, will be diverted to the residents who probably will administer it through a council.



George A. MacDonald, Architect

Preliminary Layout of Negro Cluster Community

Shopping Area Planned Adjacent to Development

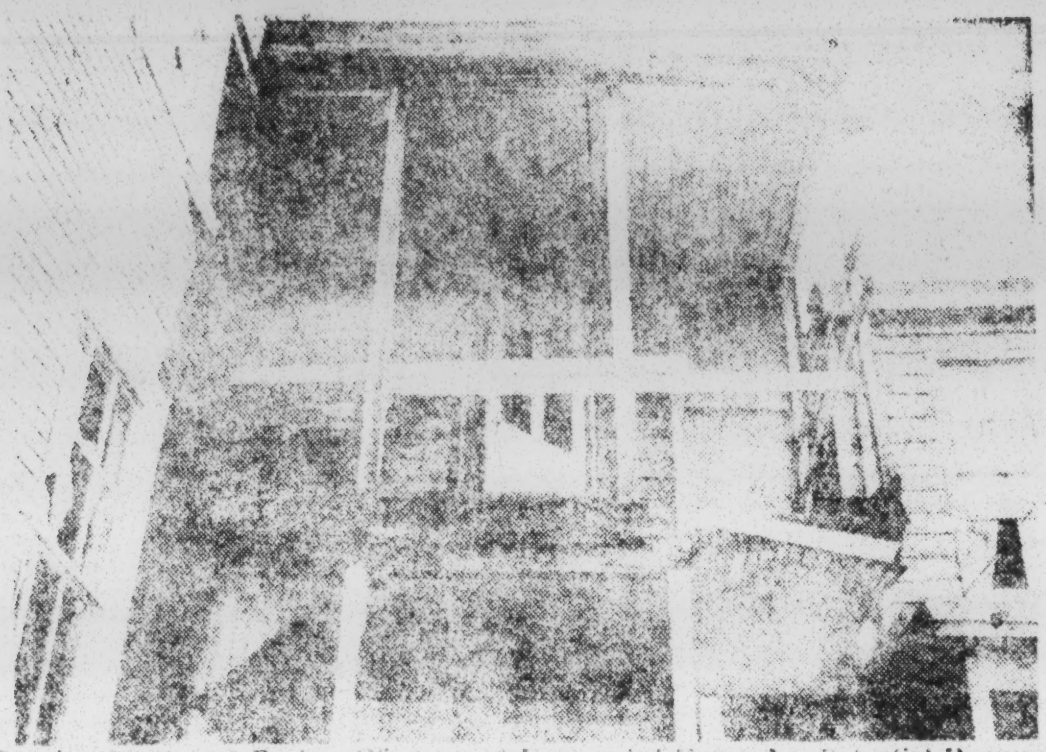
Savings Are Cited

The principal advantage of the cluster is savings in installation and maintenance costs of roads and utilities since the houses are placed on relatively small and grouped lots and include the maintenance of open areas within a community without reducing the number of houses that can be built on a given tract.

The principal advantages of condominium ownership include the advantages of full home ownership without maintenance worries and include part ownership in community recreational facilities.

Saber, who has two backers—one from New York and the other from Washington—plans to build a small shopping center adjacent to the community.

House plans are now being developed by architect George A. MacDonald of Falls Church.



Sagging Porch and Broken Windows of Unoccupied House Are Potential Dangers
Sanitarians Are Correcting Such Evils During Neighborhood Rehabilitation

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

Health Bureau, Residents Lifting Face of Oregon Hill

By Carole [illegible]

Oregon [illegible]

[illegible] the city Bureau of [illegible] Mental Health [illegible] have been [illegible] brushes [illegible] hammers and planing [illegible]

[illegible] division chief of [illegible] with 140 neighborhood residents, he [illegible] them the steps the department would take to help the residents restore the area's appearance. The improvements were to be made in [illegible] individual property [illegible]

[illegible] aspect [illegible] up [illegible] the alleys. This [illegible] has had to [illegible] and inside once [illegible] board sheds with wooden floors had to be demolished and replaced with cement-floored outbuildings.

Refuse areas were chosen and covered garbage pails stored off the ground. Rotting fences were replaced. Unstable porches and outside stairways had to be shored up and made safe. High weeds had to be cut in vacant lots.

Inside, the health code insists on walls from which plaster, paint and wallpaper are not peeling. Adequate ventilation, hand wash basins in rooms that up until now contained only toilets, stable stair rails and steps are necessary.

Despite the efforts of a neighborhood citizens committee, and the co-operation of the area's William Byrd Community Center, some Oregon Hill residents had reservations about the project.

Mrs. Elizabeth Marion of [illegible] Mrs. Marion [illegible] wash [illegible] [illegible] house [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

News Leader March 26, 1965

Arson suspected - fire did extensive damage to house occupied by Negro family in predom. white n'hood in South Side Richmond.
1109 Porter St.
"Fire Prevention Chief M.E. Willcox said there appeared to be no doubt that two fires, fed with some type of liquid accelerator, were deliberately set...."
[Two fires in (to) same house]
Resident (named Horace Threat) told police he had been harassed by white neighbors since moving in. Windows had been broken and rocks thrown at his children.

Investigate —

Church Hill Area —

Broad about 20th —

Move-in by whites

"town house" restorations —

has gone the complete cycle,
in 100 years
post the civil War.

From middle class white to

A negro moving into Richmond area would not be able to get a new home unless he built it himself.

However, lots of N opts being built (esp. by Paul Gordon). Possibility of info on housing avail to negroes.

Source: Roberta McCarty

low class white to better
Class of negro to lower class
negro to middle class & upper
class whites (the restorers)
Look into this.

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Managing Broker

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Enclosure

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Agent
E. B. Thompson Jr.

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United States

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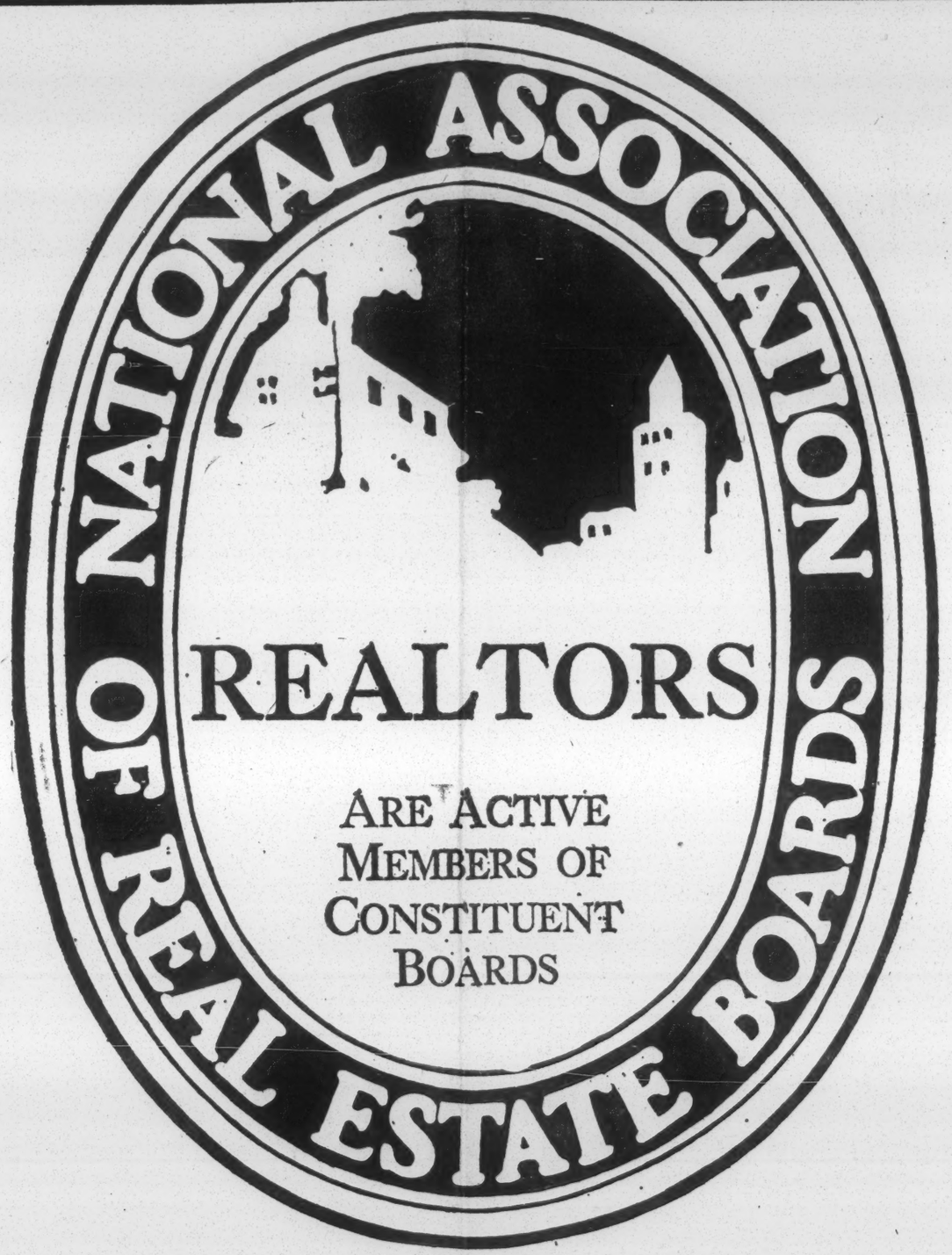
Attention: E. B. Thompson, Jr.



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WILLIAMSBURG RD.—(Off) Attractive 52' brick rambler. Lovely built-in kitchen, paneled den with fireplace, 3 bedrooms; oil baseboard heat, full basement with recreation room and garage. Acre lot. Cash down, $900. "Henie" Matthews, Matthews & Foltz, Broker, RE 7-1566, RE 7-4924. 23

Williamsburg Rd. (Off)
$300 TOTAL CASH FHA
$59 MONTH
Cozy bungalow for young couple, 2 bedrooms, big bright kitchen, range, refrigerator, perfect condition, 30-day possession.
$8,900
SPILMAN SHORT (HOME AT 2-3883)
REALTORS (OFFICE 355-2841)
SPILLMAN SHORT, INC.
"Homes For Living" X

WILLIAMSBURG ROAD AREA
$00 Down GI
No Closing Cost
$66 Per Month
Corner rancher, 5 rooms, tile bath, screened porch, excellent location.
Leo O. Whitlow
649-1296 Realtor 648-0424 20

WILLIAMSBURG ROAD AREA
$500 Down
Assume Loan
$75 Per Month
BUNGALOW OF 5 ROOMS, BATH, UTILITY ROOM, TOOL SHED. CHEAPER THAN RENT.
LEO O. WHITLOW
649-1296 REALTOR 648-0424 20

ASSUME LOAN
$1,750 down. $103 per month. 3 bedrooms, family room, 1½ baths, kitchens with built-ins. Exclusive with Johnson-Thomas, Inc. 20

6.7 ACRES—HIGHLAND SPRINGS
4-room bungalow with outhouses and fishing pool, off Mullins Lane and Washington St. C. Harry Felton, 288-6037. Charles Knott, Inc., Realtors. 20

ONLY $400 CASH NEEDED
OWNER PAYS CLOSING COST
Immaculate 3-bedroom ranch. Set on beautifully landscaped lot; screened porch; garage with attached workshop. Immediate occupancy. Only $13,250.
644-7831, Robert R. Bara, 24 Hours
John L. Holt, Inc., Realtors 20

OFF WILLIAMSBURG ROAD—CITY
$325 Down—$73 Per Month
Lovely brick, 2-bedroom home with separate dining room. No closing costs.
ASK FOR DAVE FAY
288-2824 Realtors AT 8-7401
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

OFF MECHANICSVILLE PIKE
$12,500
Nice home in perfect condition. Large lot, 3 bedrooms, large eat-in kitchen, built-in stove. Garage and well insulated home.
KARL BRUCKMAN
EXECUTIVE REALTY, INC.
BR 2-1463 X

COLORED: Central Gardens, brick ranch, corner lot, $13,500. FHA. 746-5281, Barbara Rogers, 746-5692 ROY ROGERS & CO., INC. 20

COLORED
MECHANICSVILLE PIKE OFF)
Lovely 3-bedroom rancher, located on corner lot, $11,950. FHA.
MORRIS GUNN
288-2824 Realtors 282-8220
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

CENTRAL GARDENS
COLORED—$450 DOWN F.H.A.
1809 CLEARY ROAD
Seller Pays Closing
OR ASSUME LOAN—$85 MONTH
NO RED TAPE—MOVE IN

BRICK RANCH—GARAGE
Plus tool house. Nice 3 bedrooms, bath with vanity, eat-in kitchen with range. Venetian blinds, storm windows and doors. Call E. B. Wood, 355-6431 or 359-5018.
BANNER REALTY CO., EXCLUSIVE 20

Houses For Sale—Zone 5

South Between James River, Hull St. and the Midlothian Turnpike. See Map.

BELLWOOD
FALLING CREEK HILLS

Houses for Sale—Zone 5

Chester Area
Bryan Ridge
New brick rancher; 3 bedrooms, living room with fireplace, modern eat-in kitchen and family room, large utility, 1½ tiled baths. Electric heat. Beautiful wooded lot. Also others to choose from, 10% down. Off Routes 1 and 301, one mile south of Route 10. Call Bill Long, MI 8-1631 or BE 2-6108, Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors. X

CHESTERFIELD — 3-bedroom brick. Jerry Van Ausdal, 355-7854, Brokers Ltd. 20

CHESTERFIELD—$12,000. Near Plaza on Warwick Rd., 2 bedrooms with large utility room, hot-water baseboard heat, modern kitchen situate on 2 acres. BE 2-6358. 23M

CHESTERFIELD—(Plaza area) 3-bedroom masonry. 2 baths, storm windows, wooded lot. FHA, $400 down, $89 mo. No close. Mrs. Moring, EL 8-2956. Girard Realty, 272-4795. 20

CHESTERFIELD—(Branch's area) 3-bedroom brick ranch. Large lot. $450 down, $89 mo. Mrs. Moring, EL 8-2956. Girard Realty, 272-4795. 20

CHESTERFIELD — (Close in.) 7½ acres, 7-room brick Colonial, 2 baths, rec. room. Price $31,500. Call W. W. Hampton, BE 2-6724, 275-0266. S. B. Franklin, broker. X

CHESTERFIELD
Assume loan, payment $54 mo., two bedroom, nice lot, walk to Broad Rock School. George Putney, 233-4954 or MI 9-0764. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors. X

CHESTERFIELD — $13,500 and up. Brick ranchers and basements. Pick your lot and floor plans. Small down payment, easy financing. Deal direct with builder and save, 233-6607 or 232-7167. 18

CHESTERFIELD — Near Plaza shopping. Brick ranch, 6 rooms, 1½ baths, oil hot-water heat, fireplace. A-1 condition. Public sewer and water, $19,500. Al Morris, BE 2-3272. Kahl Realty, Inc., 232-8991. X

CHESTERFIELD—Close in. 3-bedroom brick rancher. Large fenced lot, convenient to shopping. Loan can be assumed. $12,950.
272-5019 G. M. Hill 643-1444
OXFORD REALTY CO. 20

CHESTERFIELD — (Walmsley and Route 10 area). 3515 Woodmere Dr. 3-bedroom brick, tool house, pretty yard.
CAPITAL INC., REAL ESTATE
MI 9-1563 RE 7-2091 21

CHESTERFIELD—KEN-RAY, OFF NEW TRI-LEVELS, $19,950 60
Large, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, big family room, fireplace, other features. Bud Adams, 232-6746, no answer, call BR 2-0475, Mann Realty, Inc. 20

CHESTERFIELD
Now starting construction on 2 brick tri-levels. Buy now and choose your decorations. Full acre lot and ½ acre lot.
JEAN FAULK—282-5851
232-6746 Mann Realty, Inc. 22

CHESTERFIELD—CLOSE IN
SIX-ROOM BRICK RANCH
Extra Large Rooms—Fenced Yard
$675 Cash—$16,575
OWNER PAYS CLOSING
DICK THOMAS
232-7891, Realtors—Home, 288-2720
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. X

CHESTERFIELD—$13,600
BRANCH'S CHURCH AREA
ASSUME 4¾% GI, $74 MONTHLY
3 bedroom brick, large eat-in kitchen, corner lot, chain link fence. Possession any time.
TOMMY THOMPSON
BR 2-3782, Home; 233-5493, Office
BOB FIRESTONE & CO. 20

Chesterfield
WORTHINGTON FARMS—$14,500
$600 total cash to move in, $98 monthly payment. Three-bedroom brick. Large kitchen, range and oven built in. Sizable utility Next to wooded area. Call Ted Wilkins, EL 5-4875 Horner & Newell, Inc., Realtors, BE 3-7641. 20

CHESTERFIELD—$11,950
$450 total cash, $79 per mo. for this well kept Cape Cod 3-bedroom, living room, side screened porch, formal dining, eat-in kitchen, fenced yard. Close in location.
MARVIN JOHNSON
BE 2-7891 Realtors; BE 2-4844 Home
JOHNSON-THOMAS INC. 21

CHESTERFIELD
ACRE LOT
Lovely lawn and brick house with garage, screened porch, part basement, eat-in kitchen, 2 bedrooms, living room with fireplace. On No. 360 near Courthouse Rd. George Putney, 233-4954 or MI 9-0764. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

CHESTERFIELD—$19,950
No closing costs. Over 1 acre. Brick

Houses for Sale—Zone 5

Chesterfield
GO OUT — GET IN
Go out a ways, get in on the savings. New Gold Medallion brick ranch with 3 bedrooms, 2½ baths, family room with fireplace, de luxe kitchen with built-in oven, range, dishwasher. Price just $18,950. Located near Providence and Courthouse Roads.
PAUL FARRELL
Home, BR 2-4373 Realtors, 232-4457
CARROLL FOSTER, INC. 20

Chesterfield
Full Basement
Located on a quiet street, about 8 miles from the Plaza, between Rt. 60 and 360. This 2-year-old brick ranch features 4 big bedrooms, 2½ baths, 14 ft. dining room, 15 ft. kitchen with built-ins and a plenty of cherry cabinets, 35 ft. family room with fireplace, spacious workshop, storage and utility rooms. Attractively priced at $22,500, condition perfect!
PAUL FARRELL
Home, BR 2-4373; Realtors, 232-4457
CARROLL FOSTER, INC. 20

Chesterfield
Space, Garden, Horses
If you want plenty of space, garden area, room for horses, ponies, dogs, etc. this is planned with you in mind. A big family rancher featuring 19' living room; today's kitchen with built-in range, stainless steel sink, hood and fan and loaded with custom birch cabinets; adjacent paneled family room with log-burning fireplace; 3 full family-size bedrooms, 1½ baths, large utility room with washer and dryer connections. Planned for tomorrow with 200 amp. total electric service and carefree electric heat. A Gold Medallion home nestled on a 200'x400' beautifully wooded parcel. Beyond planned annexation, near new county reservoir. Call E. K. Hunt, 233-7535 home, 233-1558 Ravee Norris Jr., Realtor. 21

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY—Warwick Acres. Open daily 1 to 7. As low as $600 cash, new ranchers and tri-levels. Virginia Real Estate, 233-4714; Janice Baylor, 266-3569; Richard Brooks, 232-3147; Shirley Ittner, 277-3614. 30

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY—$14,950
0 DOWN GI; $450 DOWN FHA
OR $1,950 AND ASSUME
Long brick ranch 3 bedrooms, large eat-in kitchen, fenced yard, ceramic bath. This house is beautiful and better than new.
BILL WARD—BR 2-1357
EXECUTIVE REALTY—BR 2-1463 20

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY
9 ACRES, CLOSE IN
2-ACRE STOCKED LAKE
5-room ranch and garage. Completely secluded by trees, for someone looking for privacy, beauty. Under $25,000.
BLANKENSHIP REALTY, EL 5-1969 20M

Chesterfield County
Don't try to keep up with the Jones', be Jones in your neighborhood. This 3-bedroom brick ranch home needs nothing to be desired. Rear yard (approximately 100x150) has chain link fence, 16x25 patio with dyed concrete, wall to wall carpet, living room, dining room and hall. Let's go and have a look at this dream home for only $16,500. Warren Chapman, 359-1371, home 233-1503. J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., Realtors. Exclusive. 20

DuPONT AREA—2 bedroom in city. One block to bus and shopping center. $300 down, FHA. No closing cost. $65 a month. Owner 275-2932; 232-6830. 21

DuPONT AREA
Only $400 down, FHA, owner pays closing cost, no down, GI, $200. Closing cost. Brick bungalow, newly decorated, fenced yard with garage. Call M. McLean, 359-3593. Banner Realty Co., Exclusive. 20

DUPONT AREA—6-ROOM ASBESTOS SHINGLES, OIL DUCT HEAT, BACKYARD FENCED, STOVE AND REFRIGERATOR. ONLY $10,525. FHA, $325 DOWN OR ASSUME GI LOAN. BARBARA HARRISON, 232-5826 OR 275-8801. ROSCOE MOODY REALTY CO. 20

FALLING CREEK HILLS—3-bedroom brick ranch, 1½ baths, recreation room with fireplace, built-in kitchen. Reduced to $17,500. Call Rufus Blackburn, 353-2800 or 288-1613. Colonial Builders, Inc. 10

FOREST ACRES—10214 Ronaldton Rd. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths. Below appraisal. BR 2-3017, BR 2-0431. 15

FOREST HILL — 3711 Brookside Road. Two-story, brick, 4 bedrooms, bath and a half, basement. Near Forest Hill Park. Convenient to schools and transportation. Gee Bros. Realtors, W. E. Bass, BE 2-2307;

Houses for Sale—Zone 5

SOUTH SIDE — CITY
$11,750.00—0 DOWN G.I.
OWNER PAYS CLOSING COSTS. THREE BEDROOM RANCH, NEW ALUMINUM SIDING AND PERMA-STONE, CERAMIC TILE BATH, FENCED YARD. IMMEDIATE POSSESSION.
Bill Ward
EXECUTIVE
BR 2-1463 — REALTY — BR 2-1357 20

South Side—City
GI No Cash
#2203 Fairfax Ave. Nice 6 room and bath bungalow. Asbestos shingles. Closed in back porch, large workshop, extra lot. Only $7,950. approximately $55.00 per month including everything. Call Bill Long or A. J. Onesty MI 8-1631, Rose and Lafoon Co. Realtors. X

SOUTHSIDE PLAZA
In walking distance, but quiet and shady, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, brick with den. Custom built, screened porch, hot-water heat, fireplace, $1,300 down. Crawley Joyner, III, AT 8-7080 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. 20

WILLIS ST.—Four rooms and bath. $137.50 down, $62.50 month. Bailey & Childress, MI 4-3013. X

WOODSTOCK—MUST SELL!
NO CLOSING COST
Six-room brick, 1½ baths. Lovely fenced yard. FHA $17,500, cash needed $700. GI, no down payment. Act fast on this one.
BOB HAYMAKER 233-7779
MANN REALTY INC., 232-6746 22

WOODSTOCK
First offering on this lovely 3-bedroom, 1½-bath brick rancher, formal dining, large eat-in kitchen, western cedar paneling in family room with fireplace, $21,500 FHA. No closing costs.
DOUG BOBBITT, BR 2-0602
EXECUTIVE REALTY, BR 2-1463 20

Woodstock
(First Offering)
6 room rancher, excellent condition. New hot water furnace, fenced back yard, priced to sell quickly at $15,250. Call Wales B. Ingram, Jr. 272-6554 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc. Realtors, MI 9-0764. 21

WORTHINGTON FARMS—6565 Ludwig Rd. 3-bedroom brick. End of dead-end street. Ideal for children. Call BR 2-3447, after 6. 21

AT FALLING CREEK
Iron Bridge Rd. 5 large rooms (now used as 3 bedrooms), 2 baths, utility, oil duct heat, aluminum siding, storm windows and doors, storage building and garage. Near acre lot. Can't be beat at $13,500 Call now, Bob Moore Realty, 355-1910. XE

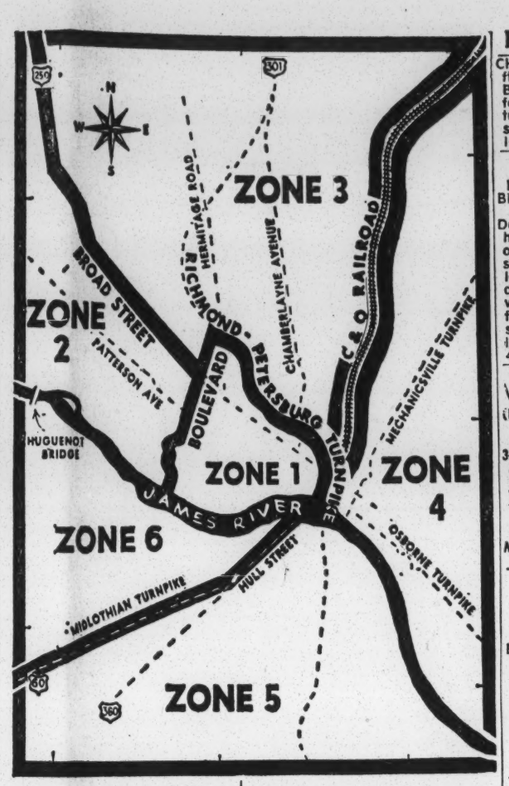
Ranch Duplex
Home and Income
Convenient location across from DuPont. Each side has 2 bedrooms, living room, eat-in kitchen, bath, oil heat, utility room. Everything separate. Public sewer and transportation. Exclusive with Bill Long, MI 8-1631 or BE 2-6108; Rose and Lafoon Co., Realtors. X

COLORED: GORDON AVE.
Extra clean. 4-bedroom Cape Cod, with full basement. Fenced yard.
MORRIS GUNN
288-2824 Realtors 282-8220
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

COLORED: 1011 E. 15TH ST.
Nice 2-bedroom bungalow, just redecorated. $7,000. FHA.
MORRIS GUNN
288-2824 Realtors 282-8220
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

SOUTH SIDE—COLORED
NOTHING DOWN TO GI
Only $6,500!
NICE 5 ROOM HOME
With big living room, separate dining room, eat-in kitchen, two nice bedrooms, and bath. Buy with $50 per month.
W. S. HASTINGS
282-9777 MLS 282-4677
TOWN & COUNTRY 20

COLORED—SOUTH SIDE
4 Bedrooms—2 Baths
Nice bungalow near good school. House is not old. Owner moving to



Houses for Sale—Zone 6

BON AIR—HOBBY HILL FARMS
Colonial brick rancher. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, large entrance hall, formal dining, large all electric kitchen and family room combination with fireplace, with adjacent screen porch. Lovely view of the lake. $29,950.
DOUG BOBBITT BR 2-0602
EXECUTIVE REALTY BR 2-1463 20

Bon Air
4 Bedrooms, Full Basement
Brick ranch home on dry lot, in a choice area for only $23,950. Also has fireplace in the living room, formal dining room, eat-in kitchen (with built-in oven and range), 2½ baths, recreation room with fireplace and large work-storage area. Exclusive, Larry Leitwein, Napier & Savage, Realty, 272-1415; home, 272-5871. 20

BON AIR—Assume loan on this like-new brick ranch or refinancing with 10 per cent down. Paneled den with fireplace, 3 bedrooms, 2 full ceramic baths, separate dining room, eat-in kitchen with built-ins, spacious utility. Storage shed, patio and backyard full of trees with established yard. Doctor moving out of state. Best buy in this county at $18,950. Exclusive: Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875, or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

BON AIR—$17,950
4 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS
SCREENED PORCH—BREEZEWAY
½-ACRE WOODED LOT
DINING AND PLAYROOM
HOT-WATER HEAT
A big house in good condition in an excellent neighborhood. Close to best elementary school in Bon Air. Excellent for children.
W. EUGENE GLENN
232-7891 or 282-6945
JOHNSON-THOMAS INC. 20

BON AIR—STAFFORDSHIRE
2851 PENROSE DR.
OPEN SUN., 2-6:30
Assume and save on this lovely tri-level. Corner wooded lot, 140x176. Just 1 year old, in perfect condition. 3 bedrooms, 3 full baths, entrance foyer, formal dining, huge rec. room, in prestige area of better homes. Tremendous room on 4th level to finish. Don't miss this one!
TOMMY THOMPSON
Home, 272-3782—Office, 233-5493
BOB FIRESTONE & CO., INC. 20

BON AIR—(Traylor Estates.) May we show you these two lovely homes in Bon Air's most exclusive section for better homes. A 4-bedroom ranch with exposed beam family room, 3 baths, recreation room, game room and 2-car garage. An English Colonial with curved stairway, master bedroom suite, family room with random width pegged floors, 3 baths, screened porch and garage. Recreation area on James River for residents. Call Bob Cornell, 288-7101; office, 272-1471, Bon Air Realty Co., Realtors.

Houses for Sale—Zone 6

BON AIR—(Traylor Estates). 2-story, 4-bedroom Colonial. BR 2-4966. 10

BON AIR
ENGLEWOOD
RANCHER WITH CARPORT
$21,950
This home has been freshly redecorated inside and out. Large lot 100'x200', livig nroom, dining area, large eat-in kitchen (built-ins), 3 bedrooms, 2 ceramic tile baths. An excellent family neighborhood.
CALL JOHN COVERT
MI 9-0764 272-4083
SLATER & VAUGHAN, INC.
REALTORS MLS 20

Bon Air
Rarely
In this area and price range are we able to offer a nearly new brick ranch home with all these desirable features, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, paneled family room (fireplace), eat-in kitchen with built-ins, living room, formal dining room, separate sewing room, large and private screened porch and patio, all on wooded lot. See today. Only $19,950.
272-1415 — Bill Woolard — 266-5420
Napier & Savage, Inc. 20

Bon Air
Exceptional—$23,950
(First Offering)
Truly a quality house. Brick rancher with the finest workmanship and materials. Extras such as laminated walls, fully insulated, and drain tile. All large rooms consisting of 2 bedrooms, dining room, eat-in kitchen, living room, western cedar in family room and fireplace, screened porch, basement with fireplace, and garage—2 full baths. Must see to appreciate. Exclusive: Wales B. Ingram, Jr. 272-6554; Slater & Vaughan, Realtors, MI 9-0764. 22

BON AIR — $34,950
FIRST OFFERING
Large beautiful home, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, 2 porches, full basement, garange, fenced yard, 2 zone heating system, family room and recreation room, asphalt drive, paneled office, storm windows and doors, all the extras. Prestige neighborhood. This won't last long.
BILL WARD
EXECUTIVE
BR 2-1463 — REALTY — BR 2-1357 20

BON AIR AREA—Hobby Hill Farms.

Houses for Sale—Zone 6

CHESTERFIELD—Bon Air, new 64 ft. rancher, over acre lot, $21,750. Brick, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, paneled family room, built-ins, other features. Bud Adams, 232-6746. No answer, call BR 2-0475, Mann Realty, Inc. 20

CHESTERFIELD—BEST AREA
3½ ACRES APPROXIMATELY
PRIVATE SECLUDED LOCATION
Big, Big Brick Ranch, 83 ft. x 33 ft.
ATTENTION: EXECUTIVES
Do you want a quality custom-built home on a babbling creek, with lots of trees and shrubs and a picturesque setting. Features entrance hall, extra large built-in kitchen, banquet size dining room, 3 huge bedrooms, den with fireplace, full basement (unfinished), under priced for a quick sale. Ask $37,500. Call Ralph Copeland, home 266-6850, or office 272-4672. Ambassador Realty. 20

CHESTERFIELD
WILLOW OAKS AREA
(Near Stratford Hills Shopping Center)
6417 Glynden Lane
3-bedroom brick with plastered walls. Eat-in kitchen, den with fireplace, 1½ baths, baseboard heat, storm windows. Nice yard with chain link fence. Excellent condition.
CAPITAL, INC.
MI 9-1563 REAL ESTATE RE 7-2091 14

CHESTERFIELD (BON AIR)
4 Bedrooms
2½ Baths
BRICK TRI-LEVEL FEATURING ENTRANCE FOYER, LIVING ROOM, DINING ROOM, EAT-IN KITCHEN WITH BUILT-INS, FAMILY ROOM, FIREPLACE, UTILITY ROOM; OIL HOT-WATER HEAT; SCREENED PORCH. $24,950.
CALL RAY RALPH, 355-2841
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
"Homes for Living" X

CHESTERFIELD — $32,500
70-Foot Brick Rancher
Full Basement, Garage
Approximately
1½ Acres
Near Willow Oaks
ALMOST FINISHED
4 bedrooms, 2 baths, huge country kitchen with fireplace, large formal dining room, huge rec room, secluded. Exclusive with Jack Sims, 272-1487 or 233-5177.
JACK L. SIMS REALTY 20

FERNLEIGH—BY OWNER
Must sell, 3,000 sq. ft. 3 levels, 4 bedrooms, 1 level. 272-6125. 20

FOREST HILL — 2-bedroom ranch, $9,750, close to bus. Va. Duchene, 272-0389, Girard Realty, 272-4795. X

FOREST HILL—Lovely older home. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, hot-water heat. On quiet street. Priced low, $13,500. Mrs. Hudson, 232-8991. Kahl Realty, Inc. X

FOREST HILL—W. 42nd St., just off Riverside Dr., 2-story brick, slate roof, 6 rooms, basement, screened side porch. $1,275 and assume. Mrs. Naumann, 232-3646, Mann Realty Inc., 232-6746. 22

FOREST HILL AREA
4-bedroom, 1½ baths, 2-story home. Has sleeping porch, foyer, living room with fireplace, dining room, large kitchen, screened porch and ½-basement, plus a garage. $12,500.
DOUG BOBBITT BR 2-0602
EXECUTIVE REALTY BR 2-1463 20

FOREST VIEW HEIGHTS—Brick, 5 rooms, bath, lot 85x200, $12,750. BE 2-6105. 4

GLENWOOD GARDENS—Modern, 2-bedroom bungalow. Automatic heat and hot water. Tile bath with shower, hardwood floors, screens. $63 per month. Apply 2901 Ralph Blvd. Phone MI 9-2781. 23

GRANITE ACRES
Huge rancher, 4 bedrooms, 2 full baths, garage in basement, 2 fireplaces, located on .2-acre lot. Priced to sell.
MORRIS GUNN
288-2824 Realtors 282-8220
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

GRANITE HILLS—WEXFORD LANE
4 bedrooms, 2 baths, rec. room, living room, (fireplace), dining room, kitchen (built-ins), screened porch, carport. Only $24,750. Call "Mr. Augie" Lange, Jr., EL 5-4696, Joseph A. Lange Realtor, MI 3-2805. MLS Member. 20

JAHNKE RD. (OFF)
$250 Cash—$57.50 Mo.
Bungalow. Living room, eat-in kitchen, two bedrooms and bath. 70x130 lot.

Houses for Sale—Zone 6

Stratford Hills
$25,950
Centrally air conditioned, 4 bedrooms, 2-story home, situated in a most sought-after area. Walking distance of Southampton School. Due to transfer, seller has occupied home for less than one year. Call Juan Anderson, 282-6296 for appointment. Napier & Savage, Realtors, 272-1415 21

STRATFORD HILLS
ATTRACTIVE—4 BEDROOMS
Brick rambler with ground level basement, 24 x 15 living room, lovely dining room, spacious kitchen with built-in oven and dishwasher, family room and storage in basement. This property has charm and snuggles low to the ground. Exclusive: Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

Stratford Hills
$18,925
Hard to believe but we haven't had a new brick tri-level to offer comparable to this since 1959. Ready for you to pick the colors. Bright eat-in kitchen, separate dining room and wait until you see the dream bath on the 3-bedroom level. Fireplace in big family room with sliding doors to patio. For appointment, call W. B. Lumpkin, Jr., BR 2-1656. Gray Realty Corp., MI 3-7421. 21

Stratford Hills
"OXFORD PROPER"
OWNER TRANSFER
$32,950
4 Bedrooms, 2½ Baths
14' Study
30' Family Room
Spotless and heart broken due to loving owners transfer. Huge kitchen with "cherry cabinets" and built-ins, 20' screened porch, this won't wait. See today! R. T. Crawley, 288-3185; home, 272-4825. Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

STRATFORD HILLS—MOVE IN
1—$23,950. No closing costs, 3-bedroom brick tri-level, 2½ baths, large L shaped family room (fireplace), 2 picture windows overlooking forest and stream. 145'x419' deep wooded lot. Immediate possession.
2—$27,900. Brand new brick tri-level, 4 twin size bedrooms 2½ baths, formal living and banquet size dining room, modern kitchen with oven, range, and dishwasher, study room, family room (fireplace), large foyer. Your choice of colors.
BR 2-4672 CARL CASH BR 2-1463
Ambas★sador Realty 20

Stratford Hills
FIRST OFFERING
This charming old brick home with slate roof has a gracious entrance foyer, large living room with fireplace, dining room, screen porch (accessible from both the dining room and kitchen), large eat-in kitchen with built-ins, three twin-sized bedrooms, 2 large full baths (the one off the master bedroom has a dressing area), recreation room with powder room, one-car garage, large well landscaped lot and priced at only $3,295.00 Exclusive with John Bowers, Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965 or home 288-6183.
ANOTHER VALUE OF
H&B 21

STRATFORD HILLS AREA—$300 including closing. 3-bedroom, 1½-bath, brick home. C. W. Matze, Agent, BR 2-3626. 22

STRATFORD HILLS AREA — 3-bedroom brick ranch, 2 baths, family room. $22,000. Owner transferred. 282-9322 or 353-9674. 20

STRATFORD HILLS AREA—Assume loan with $2,300 cash and $123 month on this pretty 6-room completely air-conditioned brick rancher on large wooded lot. Kahl, 232-8991, BE 3-9492. Kahl Realty, Inc. 20

STRATFORD HILLS AREA — Brick rancher. 3 bedrooms, den, eat-in kitchen, $825 cash. No closing. Price $18,500. Garland Waddell, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home AT 2-6603. X

STRATFORD HILLS AREA — Handsome 4-bedroom, 2½-bath, brick rancher with ground-level basement containing bedroom, family room, bath, workshop and laundry or 2nd kitchen if needed for in-law situation. $31,750. Kahl, 232-8991, BE 3-9492. Kahl Realty, Inc. 20

Stratford Hills Area
$800 DOWN—NO CLOSING
Very attractive 3-bedroom ranch near the river. Separate dining room, paneled family room. Breezeway. Beautiful wooded lot. Other features. Fred Tarves, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home BR 2-3593. X

STRATFORD HILLS AREA

Houses for Sale—Zone 6

WESTOVER FARMS—$21,950
LIKE NEW 3 BEDROOM BRICK RANCH. 2 BATHS, FAMILY ROOM, DINING ROOM, EAT-IN KITCHEN, SCREENED PORCH, FENCED IN YARD WITH PONY STABLE.
GEORGE ELLINGTON
EXECUTIVE REALTY 272-1463 21

Westover Hills
"FIRST OFFERING"
Lovely Brick Colonial
This charming old brick Colonial on a pretty 100x172 lot near the James, offers a gracious center hall, beautiful living room, large dining room, excellent eat-in kitchen, 3 nice bedrooms, 2½ baths, recreation room with built-in bar, delightful 20-ft. private porch, full basement, garage, stairs to huge attic, hot-water heat, slate roof. Priced to sell. Exclusive.
P. H. PETERS, AT 8-1716
VAUGHAN & GREEN,
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

WESTOVER HILLS AREA
Charming, Spacious
3 Bedroom Ranch
BASEMENT
Large family room with fireplace, attached garage, 2½ baths, large eat-in kitchen with built-in dishwasher, range and oven. Many other features. Only 2 years old. Only $22,950. Assume existing loan or refinance. Call 288-3185 or 643-4539. Bill Brown. Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

WESTOVER HILLS AREA
$500 Down
Most attractive brick rancher, close-in location. Features include 3 bedrooms, living room, dining room or den, 1½ baths, eat-in kitchen. Call John Farley, 272-3149. Napier & Savage, Realtors, 272-1415. 20

WILLOW OAKS
4 Bedrooms—2 Baths
Basement
Charming brick rancher well located next to country club. Quality constructed with slate roof among comparable homes in the 40 to $50,000 priced range. Beautiful wooded lot and currently vacant Sales price, $42,750. Stuart Barden, 233-8635 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. 20

WILLOW OAKS AREA
FULLY AIR CONDITIONED
CONTEMPORARY BRICK RANCH
Modern decor. Large living room with fireplace, 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, double carport. Lovely setting. Only $21,500. FHA appraised.
282-9777 Herb Stone BR 2-3734
TOWN & COUNTRY REALTORS 20

WILLOW OAKS AREA
Under $20,000
FAMILY ROOM
Brick, 3-bedroom, lot with trees, quick possession George Putney, 233-4954, or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. 21

WOODLAND HEIGHTS — 3-bedroom ranch. 2 baths, family room, full basement. $16,000. FHA, $600 down, $110 mo. No close. Mrs. Moring, EL 8-2956. Girard Realty, 272-4795. 20

WOODMONT—TRI-LEVEL
4 BEDROOMS ON UPPER LEVEL
Brick and frame construction, 2½-bath screened porch off dining room, eat-in kitchen, fully paneled family room with fireplace. Early possession. Priced in upper $20's.
MARSHALL GRAVES
EL 3-1266, Realtors—Home, BR 2-4242
MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC. 20

$13,750
Buys this large older home, in city, 1 acre of ground for the gardener. Some work will put this home in A-1 shape.
644-7831 Thomas C. Propes 288-3597
JOHN L. HOLT, INC., REALTORS 20

Open for Inspection 135

Amber Heights
CHESTERFIELD COUNTY
OPEN 1:30 TO 5:30
New brick ranch, 2 baths, eat-in kitchen and dining area, family room with fireplace, nice size utility, baseboard hot water heat. This is a beautiful home. Come out to see

Plus foor house. Nice 3 bedrooms, bath with vanity, eat-in kitchen with range. Venetian blinds, storm windows and doors. Call E. B. Wood, 355-6431 or 359-5018.
BANNER REALTY CO., EXCLUSIVE 20

Houses For Sale—Zone 5

South Between James River, Hull St. and the Midlothian Turnpike. See Map.

BELLWOOD
FALLING CREEK HILLS
3-bedroom brick on corner lot. Fenced yard. Convenient to Bensley School. $600 total cash, $100 per month.
COLE REAL ESTATE
275-0842 748-5306 21

BELLWOOD AREA—9330 Russell Rd. 2 bedrooms, family kitchen, den, 1½-car garage. $9,500. $300 down. Al Livengood, 233-8167, 175-1530. 20

BELLWOOD AREA
TWO-BEDROOM RANCH DEN, GOOD STORAGE, GARDEN SPACE. $0 G. I., $68 A MONTH. MOVE IN. CALL MRS. HEMBY 272-3217.
ROBERT O. YOBS, REALTOR X

BELLWOOD AREA
Full Basement
$1,850 DOWN, $115 PER MONTH. BEAUTIFUL BRICK RANCHER FEATURING A 20' KITCHEN WITH BUILT-INS, 1½ BATHS; OIL HOT-AIR HEAT; FAMILY ROOM ON FIRST LEVEL.
CALL RAY RALPH, 355-2841
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
REALTORS
"Homes for Living" X

BRANCH'S CHURCH AREA—New, 1½-story Cape Cod. 4 bedrooms, 1½ baths. Convenient to DuPont, Bellwood shopping. Only $12,950. Call C. B. Wilson, MI 3-1444, BE 2-7518. Oxford Realty Co. 20

BRANCH'S CHURCH AREA
Convenient to Bellwood—DuPont
Beautiful 4-bedroom brick rancher with basement. 2 family rooms, 2 fireplaces, 3 baths, porch, garage, carport, perfect condition, 1½ acres of land, under 30 thousand. George Putney, 233-4954 or MI 9-0764. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors. 21

BRANCH'S CHURCH AREA
Early American home, excellent condition. 4 bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen, den, 2 large tile baths, oil duct heat, unusual setting. One acre lot. If you are looking for charm, peace and quiet and something different, this is it. Asking price $30,500. For Inspection, call Ralph Clinard, Realtor, Clinard Realty Corp., 355-8197; home 266-1722. 20

BROOKBURY—Near Branch's Church and Route 10. New ranch brick home. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, center hall, living room, dining room, modern kitchen, family room with open fireplace, laundry and storage room, porch, nice large lot. Price, $24,950. Call W. B. F. Johnson, BE 2-1268. 913 Hull Street. A. L. Adamson, Realtor. X

BROOKBURY—NEW
CHARMING 65-FT. RANCHER
Three large bedrooms, 2 full ceramic tile baths, paneled painted foyer with inlaid slate floor, beautifully paneled painted living room, extra large formal dining room, ultra modern eat-in country kitchen, very large utility room. Nice walnut paneled family room with raised hearth Miami stone fireplace (double sliding doors to large raised patio) intercom throughout, oil hot-water heat. This is a true quality home in one of Chesterfield's prestige areas. 30-day possession, buy now and choose the decor. An excellent value at only $24,950, will trade. Custom build homes your lot or ours, your plans or ours.
Office, EL 3-4471, call Pete Deaner, 282-9012 or Joe Craig, 232-2810
LAWRENCE REALTY CORP. 22

CHESTER — Large brick 3-bedroom ranch, 2 baths, ½ basement, screened porch, 24' kitchen, immediate occupancy. Assume loan. Longest Real Estate. 748-2240, 748-5015. 25

CHESTER — 4-bedroom brick. 2½ baths, full basement. Modern kitchen, family room, large shady lot. Shown by appointment. P. T. Curtis, Broker, 748-5033; agent, 748-5323. 20

CHESTER
7-room, 3-bedroom brick rancher; fenced yard, $18,500. GI no down payment, no closing cost. Alsage Realty, 1-733-7966; Mrs. Cunningham, SH 8-5136. 20

CHESTER—Harrowgate Road. Brick rancher, 7 rooms, family room, double carport, fireplace. $1,000 and assume loan, balance $19,400. Appraised for $23,250. Immediate possession. 748-5146. 21E

CHESTER — Custom brick. 4 bedrooms, 2½ baths, family room with fireplace, large built-in kitchen with dishwasher, screened porch, patio. Exclusive location. Owner transferred. Open 3 to 6 today. Directions: Turn off Rt. 10 to West Grove, to sign. Nela House, SH 8-2305, 275-1512. Kahl Realty, Inc., 232-8991. 20

Chester
GAY FARMS
(1) New 84' ranch with all modern conveniences, large wooded lot. Ready to move in.
(2) New Colonial, 4-bedroom brick, centrally air conditioned. Now ready for your choice of colors.
For your fine homes, buy or build where the zoning is Residential I. Open Sunday 2-6. Glen Reibsamen, SH 8-5018, McMonnell & Co., Realtors, AT 2-5401. 20

room, side screened porch, formal dining, eat-in kitchen, fenced yard. Close in location.
MARVIN JOHNSON
BE 2-7891 Realtors; BE 2-4844 Home
JOHNSON-THOMAS INC. 21

CHESTERFIELD
ACRE LOT
Lovely lawn and brick house with garage, screened porch, part basement, eat-in kitchen, 2 bedrooms, living room with fireplace. On No. 360 near Courthouse Rd. George Putney, 233-4954 or MI 9-0764. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

CHESTERFIELD—$19,950
No closing costs. Over 1 acre. Brick rancher, 3 twin-size bedrooms, 2 full ceramic baths, family room (fireplace), formal dining room, eat-in kitchen with range, fenced yard. A real buy.
BR 2-4672 CARL CASH BR 2-1891
AMBASSADOR REALTY 20

Chesterfield—Close In—Off Rt. 360
$875 TOTAL CASH
4 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS
SEPARATE DINING ROOM
FIREPLACE—2-CAR GARAGE
J. ROLAND FUSSELL
232-7891, Realtors Home, 202-8811

JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. X

CHESTERFIELD
$14,750
Near Plaza. New brick ranchers. 3 bedrooms, paneled family room, double utility room, built-ins. Up to 2½ baths. Open daily, 10-7; Sun., 2-7. 3000 Hopkins Rd.
N. P. MOORE REALTY CO.
BE 3-7739 BR 5-0417 8

CHESTERFIELD—HOLLANDALE
$450 TOTAL CASH, FHA
$83 PER MO.
3 bedrooms, kitchen, dining room, bath, side porch, duct heat, fenced back yard.
RAY BYRD
232-7891 Realtors 746-3938
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 2

CHESTERFIELD—BRICK RANCHER
$50 DOWN, GI, FHA, $500
OWNER PAYS CLOSING
3 BEDROOM HOME. Like new. Large eat-in kitchen, living room, utility room, large lot with patio, $98 monthly.
233-5493, Raymond Baker, 232-3630
BOB FIRESTONE & CO., INC. 20

CHESTERFIELD—BRANCH'S AREA
FAMILY ROOM AND PATIO
$100 CASH GI—$108 MONTH
$750 CASH, FHA—$112 MONTH
Shingle, 3 bedrooms (room for 4th), eat-in kitchen, separate dining room, workshop. Many other features. Spotless condition. Call anytime. Dick Allen Realty, 275-7388 or 275-1530. 25M

CHESTERFIELD
(MARLBORO AREA)
$1,400 DOWN, $85 MONTHLY
NEW 3-BEDROOM BRICK RANCHER, VERY LARGE BUILT-IN KITCHEN BIG UTILITY, DUCT HEAT. 300' LOT.
CALL RAY RALPH, 355-2841
SPILMAN SHORT, INC., REALTORS
"Homes for Living" X

Chesterfield
LITTLE WAYS OUT
ASSUME LOAN
Always in demand Almost acre. Brick rancher, attached garage, large spacious rooms. $2,300 down, payments $113.26. Terms can be arranged. Perfect for small family or retired couple. Beautiful lot.
Jerry Sauvain
Office, 233-9823—Home, 232-7929
W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors 21

CHESTERFIELD—OFF 360
SAVE $5.68 PER MO. INTEREST
ASSUME GI LOAN AT $79 PER MO.
ANYBODY CAN QUALIFY
Lovely 3-bedroom ranch. Living room, large eat-in kitchen, utility room, hot-water baseboard heat. Well shrubbed, $1,450 includes all necessary closing costs.
MARVIN JOHNSON
BE 2-7891 Realtors BE 2-4844 Home
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 21

Chesterfield
WORTHINGTON FARMS
NEW BRICK HOMES, $15,950
$560 WILL MOVE YOU IN
FAMILY ROOM WITH FIREPLACE
1½ BATHS, 3 BEDROOMS
21-FT. KITCHEN, RANGE BUILT-IN
INSIDE AND OUTSIDE UTILITY
See these quality-built homes today or call Ted Wilkins, EL 5-4875. Horner & Newell, Inc., Realtors, 233-7641. Directions: West on Rt. 360. Half mile past Southside Plaza, turn right on Warwick Rd., one mile to Whitehead Rd., turn left to model home. 20

CHESTERFIELD—$35,500
WALL-TO-WALL BEAUTIFUL!
A beautiful home you'll have to see to appreciate—Mt. Vernon Colonial brick, 2 story home. You'll love the spaciousness—4 or 5 bedrooms, 3 full baths, over 3,000 sq ft. of quality living area Call now
TOM ISRAEL, JR.
EL 9-1371, Realtors Home AT 2-1200
J. F. BATTE & SONS INC. 20

CHESTERFIELD (DU PONT AREA)
Best Offer Over $20,000
FOR THIS LOVELY 3-BEDROOM RANCH FEATURING A FAMILY ROOM, LARGE EAT-IN KITCHEN, SEPARATE DINING ROOM, ONE FULL BATH, TWO ½ BATHS, 2 FIREPLACES, SCREENED PORCH, AND WOODED LOT.
CALL RAY RALPH, 355-2841
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
REALTORS
"Homes for Living" X

LOAN, BARBARA HARRISON, 232-5826 OR 275-8801. ROSCOE MOODY REALTY CO. 20

FALLING CREEK HILLS—3-bedroom brick ranch, 1½ baths, recreation room with fireplace, built-in kitchen. Reduced to $17,500. Call Rufus Blackburn, 353-2800 or 288-1613. Colonial Builders, Inc. 10

FOREST ACRES—10214 Ronaldton Rd. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths. Below appraisal. BR 2-3017, BR 2-0431. 15

FOREST HILL — 3711 Brookside Road. Two-story, brick, 4 bedrooms, bath and a half, basement. Near Forest Hill Park. Convenient to schools and transportation. Gee Bros. Realtors. W. E. Reese, BE 2-2307; evenings, BE 2-7211. 20

Garland Heights
5 BEDROOMS
4 level brick in neighborhood of fine homes. Convenient to Meadowbrook Country Club. Foyer, eat-in kitchen with built-ins, 2½ baths, formal dining room, large paneled recreation room with fireplace, utility room, oil hot-water heat. Lots of closets and extra storage space. $28,500.
William M. Benton, Builder
233-3053 or 275-0788 9

GEORGE WYTHE AREA
3905 Marcy Place. Frame with asbestos shingle. 2 bedrooms and den with permanent stairway to an expandable attic, completely fenced. $11,750.00. Bob Bruce, 233-5083, Horner & Newell, Inc., Realtors, 233-7641. 20

McGUIRE AREA — Convenient, 5 rooms, utility, porches, duct heat, fence. Extra large lot, $10,750.
HAROLD M. TAYLOR, JR.
EL 3-1266, Realtors; Home, 748-4182
MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC. 20

McGUIRE AREA
Off Broad Rock Road. Semi-bungalow 3 bedrooms expandable to four, living room, kitchen, dining room, bath. FHA appraised at $10,075. $325 down. Payments $67.00 per month including everything. Call Bill Long, MI 8-1631 or BE 2-6108. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors. Member MLS. X

MEADOWBROOK HIGH AREA — Neat 3-bedroom ranch. Chain fenced yard. $11,300. GI $00 down. Chesterfield, off Rt. 360, 2 miles to Plaza. Like new 3-bedroom brick. Family room with fireplace, huge kitchen, 1½ baths. $17,500. FHA, $700 down. Dorothy Burns, 275-2932. Smith Realty Co. 275-9253. 20

MEADOWBROOK
4 bedrooms and 3 full baths, a home custom built. 2 large closets in each oversized bedroom, abundant and convenient storage space, 2-car garage, ample room for expansion. Call me quick, Warren Chapman, 359-1371, home 233-1503, J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., Realtors. Exclusive. 20

ROCK SPRING FARMS—3-bedroom, brick ranch, wooded lot, 1½ baths, paneled den with fireplace, dining area, patio, $17,950. Call Owner, 275-1353. 20

SOUTH SIDE—Halifax St. Neat 2-bedroom home. Just $200 cash and pay $51 monthly. Owner, EL 3-0413. 20

SOUTH SIDE — Woodland Heights. Near river. 8-room frame, slate roof. In nice location. Priced right. B. O. Taurman, MI 3-9011. Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors. 20

SOUTH SIDE—Winber Drive. Brick, 5 rooms, tile bath, attic, utility room, oil hot-water heat; large lot. G. S. Riggs, MI 4-9451; home, EL 3-8251. Elam & Funsten, Realtors. 22M

SOUTHSIDE—2105 Warwick Ave., $13,000. 3021 DuPont Ave., $12,500. FHA or conventional finance.
275-8088 Don Tabor 358-3572
H. P. Miller Realty, Inc. 20

SOUTH SIDE—5630 Benika Dr. (Off Cogbill Road). 2 bedrooms, storm windows, garage, fenced yard. $9,650 with "0" down G.I. and no closing costs. $62 per month. M. L. Appelrouth & Co., EL 5-2836 or AT 2-6905. 20M

SOUTH SIDE—Millenbeck St. 2-bedroom bungalow on large lot. Convenient to school, Plaza.
"I'm Ready Anytime to Assist You"
D. B. SOULIOS OLYMPIC CORP.
233-4361 Real Estate 358-1474 20

SOUTH SIDE—2-bedroom brick with expandable attic. $10,525. Only 1 block from bus line. GI, nothing down, FHA $300. Owner pays closing.
748-2790 Latane Jenkins 233-5493
BOB FIRESTONE & CO., INC. 20

SOUTH SIDE
DuPONT AND REYNOLDS AREA
$8,500 FHA—$300 DOWN
2911 Ernest Rd. Neat 2-bedroom home on large wooded lot. Storm windows, stove and refrigerator included. Only $62 per month. M. L. Appelrouth & Co., Realtors, EL 5-2836 or AT 2-6905. 20M

SOUTH SIDE (FRANKLIN SCHOOL)
(a) $7,875 for good 4-bedroom bungalow on East 34th St. GI $00 down. Payments $56 month.
(b) $7,000 for 2-story house on Lawson St. GI $00 down, payments $53 month. Big lot and jalousied porch.
John Wilkerson
Office, BE 3-9823 Home, 233-7591
W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors 21

Only $8,700
NICE 5 ROOM HOME
With big living room, separate dining room, eat-in kitchen, two nice bedrooms, and bath. Buy with $50 per month.
W. S. HASTINGS
282-9777 MLS 282-4677
TOWN & COUNTRY 20

COLORED—SOUTH SIDE
4 Bedrooms—2 Baths
Nice bungalow near good school. House is not old. Owner moving to North Carolina. MI 8-4741, Rucker & Richardson, Realtors. MLS. X

Houses For Sale—Zone 6

West Between James River, Hull St. and the Midlothian Turnpike. See Map.

BON AIR—1455 Belleau. Three-bedroom ranch. BR 2-3017, BR 2-0431. 30

BON AIR—Woodmont, air conditioned, 3 bedroom, 2 baths, ranch, large rooms, $19,950, owner. 272-6686. 21

BON AIR — Large tri-level, garage, large lot, $27,000. Va. Duchene 272-0389, Girard Realty, 272-4795. X

BON AIR—Brick ranch. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, basement, garage, family room. Owner, EL 3-9506, EL 5-0700. 12

BON AIR—2-bedroom, den, family room, partial basement, acre lot. 8442 W. Pinetta Dr. (Piney Lane). $16,000. By owner, 272-5746. 20

Bon Air
ONLY $2,800
Assumes loan on 3-bedroom, 2-bath, ranch in new house condition, with den, dining room and pretty lot. J. T. Clanton, Jr., 358-6751, 359-0522 (home). Coffey & Co., Realtors. 21

BON AIR—$17,625
Four-bedroom brick rancher. Eat-in size kitchen with range, 1½ baths, carport, patio, 235' deep wooded lot.
RALPH COPELAND
BR 2-4672 266-6850
AMBASSADOR REALTY 20

BON AIR—$900 down FHA and $122 monthly buys this brick home featuring 3 bedrooms, fireplace, 2 baths, family room, eat-in, built-in kitchen and separate dining. A value home. George Coffey, 358-6751 or AT 8-4785. Coffey & Co., Realtors, "Ready to Serve." 21

BON AIR—(Westchester.) Lovely 4-bedroom, 2-story home on corner lot. Living room, dining room, fully equipped kitchen with dinette, family room with corner fireplace, 2½ baths, on public water and sewer. Call J. R. Henshaw, 272-2236; office, 272-1471. Bon Air Realty Co., Realtors. 20

BON AIR—Custom-built 4-bedroom home, fully air conditioned, 2½ baths, large recreation room, attractive eat-in kitchen with built-in oven and range, beautiful lot, excellent location. Priced at $31,500. Call Joyce D. Raine, 272-3396; office, 272-1471. Bon Air Realty Co., Realtors. 20

BON AIR—Brighton Green. Early American charm in this 3-bedroom brick rancher with 1½ baths. Fireplace in living room and full basement. Kitchen has built-in oven, range and dishwasher. All on large lovely corner lot with lots of trees, shrubs and azaleas. $21,900. Call Owner, 272-4182. 20

BON AIR—(Crestwood Farms.) Brick, 4 bedrooms, 2½ baths, recreation room, 2-car garage plus basement. Lovely 1 acre wooded lot with stream. Lots of bonus features. Owner transferred out of State. $7,000 cash down. 288-3185 or 270-3640. Carl Soyars, Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

BON AIR
Owner transferred, large tri-level on lovely wooded corner lot, has 3 bedrooms, plus 4th unfinished, 2½ baths, formal dining, eat-in electric kitchen, screen porch, paneled family room, fireplace. $27,950.
DOUG BOBBITT, BR 2-0602
EXECUTIVE REALTY, BR 2-1463 20

BON AIR
FIRST OFFERING
Carport and storage area plus eat-in built-in kitchen are special features of this spotless brick home with 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths and separate dining. Priced at $16,950.
CALL BOB LACY
COFFEY AND COMPANY
REALTORS 358-6751
"Ready to Serve" 22

BON AIR—Unusually attractive Early American style home with stairway to second floor. First floor: living room, foyer, dining room, family room, built-in kitchen, fireplace, 2 baths, and 3 bedrooms. Large wooded lot with cobble stone driveway. $2,300 down. Immediate possession. George Coffey, 358-6751 or AT 8-4785. Coffey & Co., Realtors. "Ready to Serve." 21

Bon Air—Woodmont
L-SHAPED RANCH—GARAGE
Individuality Plus
Features entrance hall, spacious pine paneled living room, 3 twin bedrooms, two full baths, beautiful corner lot. Sewer and water. Immaculate.
CALL CHRISTINE HILL
MI 8-5881, Realtors—MLS. 282-5979
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC. X

Home, 272-3782—Office, 233-5493
BOB FIRESTONE & CO., INC. 20

BON AIR—(Traylor Estates.) May we show you these two lovely homes in Bon Air's most exclusive section for better homes. A 4-bedroom ranch with exposed beam family room, 3 baths, recreation room, game room and 2-car garage. An English Colonial with curved stairway, master bedroom suite, family room with random width pegged floors, 3 baths, screened porch and garage. Recreation area on James River for residents. Call Bob Cornell, 288-7101; office, 272-1471. Bon Air Realty Co., Realtors. 20

BON AIR
4 BEDROOMS
FAMILY ROOM
2½ BATHS
PARK-LIKE LOT
$26,950
JOHN FARLEY
272-3149 272-1415
NAPIER & SAVAGE, INC. 20

Bon Air—Englewood
1ST OFFERING
Looking for a home with unusual charm and eye appeal, situated on 200-ft. wooded lot, quiet dead-end street and lovely neighborhood? I have it today. Owner transferred and sick about leaving this like-new 2-year-old home. Colonial brick with columned portico, foyer, sunken living room with tri-bay window, dining room, wall-to-wall carpet, eat-in kitchen, uniquely paneled family room with corner fireplace, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, utility. Only $20,950. Be first to see. Bob Rutledge, 272-0136 or Napier & Savage, Realtors, 272-1415. 20

BON AIR—$18,900
Family Living
3-bedroom brick and frame split-level with 2 full baths, paneled family room with fireplace, good storage and eat-in kitchen. Owner will decorate inside and out to your needs. Call
TOM ISRAEL, JR.
EL 9-1371, Realtors Home, AT 2-1200
J. F. BATTE & SONS INC. X

BON AIR (WEST OF)
4 Bedrooms
2½ baths, 2 fireplaces. Gold medallion. Big acre lot with big trees. Brand new and almost ready to occupy under thirty. George Putney, 232-4954; or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors. X

Bon Air
Assume Loan
This new tri level is situated in one of Bon Air's most sought after areas. It offers inviting large foyer, beautiful family room with sliding glass doors overlooking shaded back yard. 3 bedrooms, 2½ baths, formal dining room. Call Juan Anderson, 282-6296 or John Farley, 272-3149.
NAPIER & SAVAGE REALTORS
272-1415 21

Bon Air—Oxford Area
4 Bedrooms—2½ Baths
STORAGE GALORE—DOUBLE CARPORT
Beautiful tri-level home on a well shrubbed ¾ acre corner lot with large eat-in kitchen, 2 fireplaces, paneled rec room and in excellent condition. Will sell GI at $28,200 or low down payment FHA. Vacant, show any time. Call E. D. Lowry (355-8330, home), Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965 X

BON AIR
Best Buy
Air Conditioned
4 BEDROOMS, 3 BATHS
Excellent quality custom home with lovely wooded lot with practically new lined drapes and wall to wall carpet included at low price of $33,500.
WAYLAND RENNIE, 353-7708
ALFRED J. DICKINSON, INC.
288-2841 X

BON AIR—SACRIFICE
BRICK RANCH—$18,350.00
$0 DOWN GI
Three bedrooms, eat-in kitchen, paneled family room with fireplace, 1½ baths, beautiful, wooded corner lot, prestige neighborhood, owner transferred.
Bill Ward
Executive
BR 2-1463—REALTY—BR 2-1357
20

BON AIR
$19,950
RANCH WITH ½ BASEMENT
3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, living room, full dining room, built-in kitchen. Partially finished rec room in basement. 2 fireplaces. Excellent condition. Beautiful wooded lot. No down payment to GI or 10% down on conventional loan. Exclusive.
F. C. WYATT
Office MI 8-1631 MLS Home BE 2-9108
ROSE & LAFOON CO., REALTORS X

baths, 2 porches, full basement, garage, fenced yard, 2 zone heating system, family room and recreation room, asphalt drive, paneled office, storm windows and doors, all the extras. Prestige neighborhood. This won't last long.
BILL WARD
EXECUTIVE
BR 2-1463 — REALTY — BR 2-1357
20

BON AIR AREA—Hobby Hill Farms. New 2-story and tri-level homes featuring 4 and 5 bedrooms. Priced from $28,500 to $32,950. Will trade. Call M. L. Appelrouth & Co., Realtors. EL 5-2836 or AT 2-6905. 20M

BON AIR AREA—New, brick, tri-level, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, large family room, screened porch, carport. $25,700. GI or FHA. Al Palmieri, BR 2-6613. Olympic Corp., 233-4361. 20

BON AIR AREA—Will build on our wooded lots. 3 and 4-bedroom tri-level, 2 baths, living room, dining room, kitchen with built-ins, paneled family room with fireplace, expandable attic, separate utility room or basement. $21,450, $22,950. Will trade. A. W. Grandis, General Contractor, 355-4886. 20M

Bon Air Area
8703 Old Spring Rd.
OPEN 2:30 TO 6:00
Excellent brick ranch on a high landscaped lot. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, eat-in kitchen with built-in oven, range and dishwasher, screened porch, two car garage. A fine value at $20,000.
Directions: First road on right past Huguenot Bridge.
Carl Lindell (home 272-6611) with
KINSEY-PERDUE-McCALL, INC.
REALTORS MLS MI 4-0376 20

Bon Air Proper
"Merry Mount"
Serenity of small county estate yet located on Old Bon Air. Four-bedroom, 2-story home with den, screened porch, and part basement. This property can be bought for only $23,500. Call E. G. Galleher, 282-3146 or 288-3976 (home).
MUHLEMAN
and Co., Inc., Realtors. MLS. 20

CHEROKEE HILLS — Stratford Hills section. 3-bedroom brick tri-level, 1½ baths, recreation room and workshop. On large wooded lot in desirable section. Price $23,500. For appointment call T. W. Jenkins, Home EL 9-5347; Office MI 8-4771. Raab & Co., Inc., Realtors—MLS. X

CHESTERFIELD — Brick ranch. 3 bedrooms, living room, paneled den, eat-in kitchen; fenced-in yard. $2,500 cash and assume loan. By Owner, BE 3-5395. 21

CHESTERFIELD—CLOSE IN
Near Westover Hills
Brick rancher. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, living room, family room and kitchen together. Fireplace, hot-water heat. $17,350. Wales B. Ingram, Jr., 272-6554. Slater & Vaughan, Realtors, MI 9-0764. 21

CHESTERFIELD—HUNTLAND RD. Not just a house, but a home. 8-room brick ranch, including living room, dining room, kitchen with built-ins, 3 bedrooms, den and 1½ baths. Fireplace in front of house for a different approach.
CALL: A. L. CARROLL
288-2824 Realtors Home 737-6109
EARL NORTHERN & CO. X

Chesterfield—(Bon Air Area)
4 BEDROOMS, 2½ BATHS
Lovely tri-level on beautiful lot, paved drive, lots of trees and many extras. Won't last long at only $23,950. FHA, GI, or conventional financing.
CALL C. W. HUNNICUTT
288-2824 Realtors 288-4404
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

CHESTERFIELD—CLOSE IN
This home offers real living. 3-bedroom brick ranch with eat-in kitchen, separate dining room, living room, 2 baths and den with fireplace, also ¾ basement with drive-in garage, placed in a community where the neighbors are right. Priced to sell fast.
A. L. CARROLL
288-2824, Realtors—Home, 737-6109
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

CHESTERFIELD—CLOSE IN
This home offers real living. 3 bedroom brick ranch with eat-in kitchen, separate dining room, living room, 2 baths, and den with fireplace. Also ¾ basement with drive-in garage. Placed in a community where the neighbors are right. Priced to sell fast.
CALL A. L. CARROLL
288-2824 Realtors; Home 737-6109
EARL NORTHERN & CO. X

Chesterfield (Huguenot School)
NEW—4 BEDROOMS—3 BATHS
FULL BASEMENT
If you have been searching for a home offering you enough space for your family, with some left over for shop or boat storage, put this home on your "must see" list. Delightful eat-in kitchen with dishwasher, 12x18 side screened porch. Colonial front entrance. Priced, $25,950.
Jerry Sauvain
Office, BE 3-9823—Home, 232-7929
W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors 21

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

GRANITE HILLS—WEXFORD LANE
4 bedrooms, 2 baths, rec. room, living room, (fireplace), dining room, kitchen (built-ins), screened porch, carport. Only $24,750. Call "Mr. Augie" Lange, Jr., EL 5-4696, Joseph A. Lange Realtor, MI 3-2805. MLS Member. 20

JAHNKE RD. (OFF)
$250 Cash—$57.50 Mo.
Bungalow. Living room, eat-in kitchen, two bedrooms and bath, 70x130 lot, floor furnace, storm windows and doors.
CALL A. J. ONESTY—MI 8-1631
ROSE & LAFOON CO. X

OXFORD—3030 Scherer. New! New! 4-5 bedrooms, 30' family room. See it today. C. Sterling, EL 9-6872. XM

Oxford
Dutch Colonial
With full basement. New, brick, 4 bedrooms, 3½ baths, study or 5th bedroom (on first floor), recreation room, garage, workshop, 3 zone hot water baseboard heat, wooded lot on dead-end street. This home is very spacious and quality built. Priced in mid-thirties. Exclusive.
F. C. WYATT
Office MI 8-1631 Home BE 2-9108
ROSE & LAFOON CO., REALTORS X

SHENANDOAH (RT. 60)
4 BEDROOMS
2-story Colonial, 2½ baths, solid wood paneled family room with fireplace, entrance foyer, 21 ft. living room, separate dining room and decorator kitchen with breakfast room, Gold Medallion, Central air, mid $20, call D. K. Wootolk, Spratley-Wootolk, Ltd., 272-5006, 272-0853. X

SHENANDOAH
New Homes
3 bedrooms, 2 baths, spacious brick ranch. Entrance foyer, oak paneled family room with fireplace, large eat-in kitchen, public sewer, wooded lot. $21,850.
3 bedroom spacious Colonial tri-level with richly paneled family room plus huge unfinished area. $23,950.
4 or 5 bedroom Colonial 2 story, 2½ baths, all spacious rooms. You must see this to appreciate it. Only $25,950.
Buy direct from builder, Archie McDonald. Directions: Out U. S. 60 1 mile past Buford Rd. on left. Open 2 to 5 Sunday; otherwise, call Wally Pilkinton, 272-4621. 20

SOUTHAMPTON ROAD, 4514
$29,750.00
DIRECT FROM OWNER
L-shaped, sunken living room, 3 bedrooms, two baths, large (eat-in) kitchen, den and dining room, two fireplaces, central air conditioning, large closets and storage, ½-basement partially finished. Much more. SHOWN BY APPOINTMENT ONLY
CALL 272-0540 19

STRATFORD HILLS—$18,900. GI, FHA appraised. Nothing down and others. 272-5344, Builder. 5

STRATFORD HILLS—Near river, on lovely wooded lot. 4 bedrooms, 2½-bath, Colonial. Low 30's, and others. 272-5344, Builder. 10

STRATFORD HILLS—Rancher, acre lot, double garage, screened porch, patio, fenced yard. Value $16,900. Save $500, buy from owner. $16,400. 272-5675. 21M

STRATFORD HILLS — $19,500. Attractive brick ranch on lovely wooded lot. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, full basement with garage and workshop, near shopping center. Assume 4½% loan or FHA. By owner, 272-0530. 21

STRATFORD HILLS—Charming brick rancher, 3 bedrooms, 2 full baths, formal dining room, fireplace in living room and paneled den, family kitchen with dishwasher. Entrance foyer, lots of closets, rear screened porch, $24,000. Call Mrs. Perry, 353-1334. Paul Gordon Assoc., RE 7-4174. 20

STRATFORD HILLS—(Near Riverside) $1,900 and assume $115.63 payment including taxes and insurance. 3-bedroom rancher. 1½ baths, large kitchen, utility room, large screen porch; wooded lot. Prime location. Exclusive, Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

STRATFORD HILLS—OXFORD
Brick ranch. Central air conditioning. 3 bedrooms (2 twin size), 2 full baths, den, living room with fireplace, kitchen with built-ins, wooded level lot. Large tool shed for outside storage. $2,400 cash, $126 mo. plus taxes. Exclusive, Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

STRATFORD HILLS
$19,650
3 BEDROOMS—1½ BATHS
SCREEN PORCH—CORNER LOT
1 BLOCK TO SHOPPING CENTER
4 BLOCK TO WILLOW OAKS
BUILT-IN KITCHEN—DISHWASHER
Immaculate rancher in perfect location. Big utility room, heavy Colonial moulding, fireplace in living room, beautiful yard. Refinance or
$2,350 AND ASSUME LOAN
W. EUGENE GLENN
232-7891 or 282-6945
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 20

Home AT 2-6803. X

STRATFORD HILLS AREA — Handsome 4-bedroom, 2½-bath, brick rancher with ground-level basement containing bedroom, family room, bath, workshop and laundry or 2nd kitchen if needed for in-law situation. $31,750. Kahl, 232-8991, BE 3-9492. Kahl Realty, Inc. 20

Stratford Hills Area
$800 DOWN—NO CLOSING
Very attractive 3-bedroom ranch near the river. Separate dining room, paneled family room. Breezeway. Beautiful wooded lot. Other features. Fred Tarves, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home BR 2-3593. X

STRATFORD HILLS AREA
$800.00 DOWN F.H.A.
Will buy this lovely 3-bedroom brick rancher with 1½ baths and fireplace in living room plus huge eat-in kitchen and separate dining room. Appraised $17,800.
SAM CRANE
MI 4-2965 Realtors 288-2341 Home
HARRISON & BATES, INC. 20

Stratford Hills Area
FIRST OFFERING—FIRST AD
Brick ranch in spotless condition in most desirable close-in location. Three bedrooms, 2 baths, dining room, screened porch, family room with fireplace, eat-inkitchen, utility, hot-water baseboard heat. Most attractive well-shrubbed lot with fruit trees. Owner transferred. Only $20,950. Be first to inspect. Bob Rutledge, 272-0136, or Napier & Savage, 272-1415. 20

Stratford Hills Area
SPIC & SPAN
Gleaming resale tri-level in Cherokee Estates at 7525 Brisbane Drive. 3 bedrooms, 3 baths, large paneled recreation room, 2 fireplaces, screened porch, patio with Bar-B-que pit. Immediate possession. Only $24,950. Call Napier & Savage, Realtors, 272-1415. 24

STRATFORD HILLS AREA
ASSUME LOAN
NO RED TAPE—IMMEDIATE POSSESSION
$2,950 DOWN—$137.14 PER MONTH
3-bedroom brick rancher with 2 baths, large living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, family room with fireplace and sliding glass doors to big screened porch, spacious closets, and fenced back yard.
OSCAR NAPIER 272-1415
Home 272-3894
Napier & Savage Realtors 22

STRATFORD HILLS AREA
ENJOY SUMMER IN
YOUR OWN BACK YARD
Relax or entertain this summer on the privacy of this nicely landscaped (.89 acre) wooded lot or on the big 21 ft. x 22 ft. screened porch with fireplace. The house also has 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, living room (fireplace) dining room, eat-in kitchen and basement with bar room, utility and 2-car garage. A real buy for only $22,950. Call Oscar Napier, 272-1415; home, 272-3894.
NAPIER & SAVAGE, REALTORS 22

STRATFORD HILLS PROPER—New, attractive, 3-bedroom ranch home with 2 full baths, paneled family room, screened porch. Baseboard heat. Fred Tarves, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home, BR 2-3593. X

WESTLAKE HILLS—Brick ranch with double garage, rear screen porch, three bedrooms, paneled den with fireplace, formal dining room, eat-in kitchen with built-ins, large utility room. Lovely wooded lot, fenced back yard. 10 per cent down, $20,950. Exclusive, Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

WESTOVER
5116 Forest Hill Avenue (west at Blvd.). Immaculate 2-bedroom home with aluminum siding and 2-car garage. All conveniences within walking distance. $15,500. Bob Bruce, 233-5083, Horner & Newell, Inc., Realtors, 233-7641. 20

WESTOVER HILLS
Charming all brick, 3-bedroom rancher, convenient to bus, shopping and schools. Large wooded lot. Basement, oil hot-water heat. Many other features. C. B. Farley, MI 3-1444, Oxford Realty Co. 20

WESTOVER HILLS
RANCH—FULL BASEMENT
Garage—Porch
"PRIVATE SECLUDED LOCATION"
First offering! On main floor there are 3 extra large bedrooms, 1½ baths, 22' living room (fireplace and bookshelves), spacious dining room, eat-in kitchen. Entire basement is finished with another full bath, 1-car garage. Fairly priced $25,500. Stuart Barden, 233-8635 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

WESTOVER HILLS
Riverside Drive
Breath-taking is the only way to describe this wooded 1½-acre site overlooking the James. The brick one-story residence has all the features you want for gracious and comfortable living. There are 4 bedrooms, 2½ baths, a 16x26 formal living room with 12-foot bay window, huge paneled recreation room, modern kitchen. For a complete description of the many other quality features, call Crawley Joyner III, AT 8-7080; or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. 20

FOR PROFIT and pleasure, read the Want Ads daily.

Buys this large older home, in city. 1 acre of ground for the gardener. Some work will put this home in A-1 shape.
644-7831 Thomas C. Propes 288-3577
JOHN L. HOLT, INC., REALTORS 20

Open for Inspection 135

Amber Heights
CHESTERFIELD COU

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

WEST END—Make an offer on this 3-bedroom brick ranch. Fireplace, eat-in kitchen, 1½ baths, screened porch. Dead end street. Assume loan. Call owner, 288-9459. 21

West End—County, Freeman Area
FULL BASEMENT
4-Bedroom Home
Custom built on lovely tree planted, landscaped lot in Westbury Estates. Living room, fireplace, dining room, kitchen, 2 bedrooms, bath down. 2 oversized bedrooms, ceramic bath up. Family room with fireplace and bar in ground level basement. Side porch, many extras. $22,950; Ruth Massey, 288-7975, John L. Holt Inc., Realtor, MI 9-1770. X

WEST END COUNTY
4 BEDROOMS
Family Room, 2 Baths
$850 DOWN, NO CLOSING COSTS
See this spacious home with modern kitchen with dishwasher, dryer, washer. Air conditioning. The best buy in town.
ASK FOR DAVE FAY
288-2824 Realtors
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

West End—City
Full Basement
Attractive solid brick Dutch colonial with full slate roof. There are three bedrooms on the second floor and a large screened porch on the rear of first floor. This home is in excellent condition and has been FHA appraised for $16,575. Barbara Call, AT 8-1913; home, AT 2-1309. J. B. Call & Co. 23

WEST END—ROSLYN HILLS
4 Bedroom—2½ Bath
RECREATION ROOM
Tri-level with large 15x15 screened porch. 120x210 lot. Needs redecorating but priced $1,500 below cost to owner. Call today. Taz Ellett, home, 272-0114.
ELLETT & CO.
Exclusive Realtors AT 2-4245 20

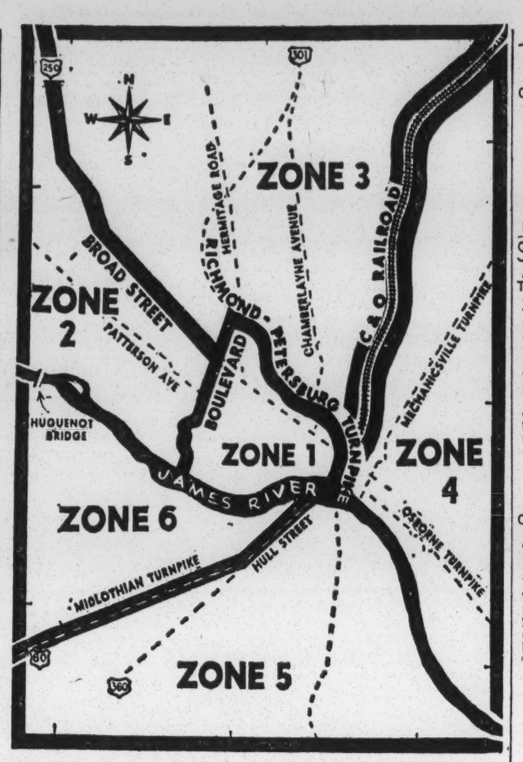
West End County
FIRST OFFERING
Immaculate 3-bedroom brick ranch. Living room with fireplace, separate dining room, kitchen, screened porch and brick garage. Nicely landscaped ground and fenced back yard. Just outside of city limits in nice neighborhood. Buy with small down payment. FHA appraised for $16,775. Co-exclusive with George Walters, MI 8-1671 or EL 8-3593 (home). Davenport Realty & Service Corp. X

WEST END
FARMINGTON
OPEN 3 TO 5
Extra Special! 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, family room. Wall to wall carpet, tool house, storm doors and windows. Range, refrigerator, washer, dryer, other extras including family room.
POPE NASH JR.
ELLETT & CO.
AT 2-4245 Realtors AT 8-2678
Directions: Out Patterson Ave. to Gayton Road—follow our signs. 20

West End—(County)
ROXBURY—9506 BONNIEDALE
NO CLOSING COSTS
Beat the Heat
SWIMMING POOL—CARPORT
FHA did not include the swimming pool in the appraisal of this 7-room brick rancher. Could be used as 4 bedrooms in pinch. Two baths, recreation room with fireplace, hot-water baseboard heat. Paved driveway, fenced yard, nice swimming pool with all equipment. Call AT 8-4149, 266-7559, MI 3-0201, Jones & Robins. X

WEST END
River Road
Price reduced on this 21.6 acres, over 1,000 ft. on River Road, ideal for subdividing, for immediate sale. Will sell as a whole or in part. This property has an excellent 6 room (3 bedroom) home on it, 2 baths, hot water oil radiator heat, plus garage and fish pond. Herbert E. Martin. 282-3146, home EL 3-7061.
MUHLEMAN
and Co., Inc., Realtors—MLS 21

West End
4100 Block



Houses for Sale—Zone 2

WEST END MANOR
$1,450 AND ASSUME GI
$89.60 Mo.
Immaculate 3-bedroom brick rancher, big 16' country kitchen with built-ins, 3 large double closets, duct heat. July 1, 1965, possession.
EDMUND GIBSON
EL 5-2841 REALTORS AT 8-6862
SPILMAN SHORT, INC. MLS 20

Westgate
4 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS
Tri-level featuring bay window and large screened porch. Low 20's. Bo Willcox, EL 3-9136, Malan Rutty Realtor. EL 5-7497. 20

WESTHAM
VERY SPECIAL
3 BEDROOMS, 2 BATHS
AIR CONDITIONED
Pleasantly individual 1-floor brick home featuring especially spacious family room with fireplace. Beautiful wooded lot. Current occupancy. Please call AT 8-5976, G. W. Deming, or EL 5-7981, Neville C. Johnson & Assocs., Realtors. MLS. 20

Westham—Old
1ST OFFERING
Situated on an outstanding lot with beautiful trees is this brick home with slate roof. Living room, dining room, completely equipped kitchen, family room and paneled play room, 3 excellent bedrooms, wall-to-wall carpeting and fenced lot. Exclusive with F. S. Campbell, 643-3406 or home, AT 8-9449, Chas. A. Rose Co. Inc., Realtors. 20

WESTHAM
CENTRALLY AIR CONDITIONED
Georgian Colonial
A handsome home of quality construction and design on beautiful 1.12-acre lot with stately oak trees and lovely shrubbery. 3 spacious bedrooms, 2½ baths, den, recreation room, 3 fireplaces, large kitchen with breakfast nook, screened porch, full basement, 2-car garage. Call Taz Ellett, home, 272-0114.
ELLETT & CO.
REALTORS AT 2-4245 20

WESTHAM AREA
Large brick 2-story with 3 spacious bedrooms and 2 baths up. Entrance hall, fireplace in living room, dining room, den, ½ bath and eat-in kitchen. Walk to city bus. Only $26,500. Call Chi Mills, Ellett & Co., Realtors, AT 2-4245 or SU 4-5114. 20

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

115 LIBBIE AVENUE—$11,500
$350 DOWN FHA—NO CLOSING
NO DOWN PAYMENT
4 huge bedrooms, 2-story home.
CALL KIM TAYLOR
233-9887 Realtors 282-7929
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

WEST
TOWN HOUSE—4 BEDROOM
2 baths, in prime location. Large living room and dining room, nice kitchen with built-in refrigerator, part basement. In top condition. Easily convertible to duplex or one-family and two efficiency apartments. All drapes, curtains and appliances remain. Exclusive, Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

MODERN
With
SWIMMING POOL
Large living room, den, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, acre of land. $26,000. R. E. Shannon, MI 4-9451. Elam & Funsten, Realtors. X

Hill and Dale—4 bedroom tri-level
Windsordale ----4 bedrooms, 2 story
Willow Lawn ----5 bedrooms, 2 story
Douglas Freeman --4 bedroom ranch
Oxford ----------5 bedroom tri-level
Realtor 355-7497 Res. 282-5113
MALAN RUTTY
21

South of River Road
Beautiful 90' rancher on 1½ acres corner lot. Features 4 twin-size bedrooms, 3½ baths, entrance hall, living room, fireplace, dining room, large screened porch adjoining modern eat-in kitchen, paneled den, fireplace, basement includes utility room, paneled playroom, 2-car garage, below cost. Immediate possession. Meb Davis, MI 8-1671 or AT 2-7022. Davenport Realty & Service Corp. X

4 BEDROOMS
$500 Down
Westbourne (county), 1½-story brick-and-frame. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, living room, dining room, kitchen, screened porch and garage. Real clean. Close to shopping. Need space? Be sure and see this nice home today.
270-1976 JOHN YOUNG 288-1909
E. C. VAUGHAN & CO., REALTORS 20

4800 BLOCK
Fitzhugh Ave.

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

South of River Road
TERRIFIC VALUE—$30's
One of Richmond's nicest ranch houses is available in a most desirable area. This immaculate 95' old brick ranch features an entrance hall, excellent living room with fireplace, formal dining room, modern kitchen breakfast room, family room with fireplace, 2½ baths and large screened porch. Exclusive, A. J. Dickinson, AT 2-2111. Alfred J. Dickinson, Inc., Realtors. 288-2841. X

SOUTH OF RIVER RD.
ARCHITECT DESIGNED BEAUTY
This finer Colonial brick ranch (1st offering) in quiet lovely landscaped to perfection setting, offering privacy without isolation, has magnificent space throughout and features central air conditioning, 19 ft. paneled library or family room with 2 walls of bookshelves, fireplace and bar—3 lovely bedrooms, 2½ baths, 16x15.6 dining room with bay window, attached 2-car garage. Inspiringly modern kitchen, laundry room, unbelievable closets, properly priced in the sixties.
WESTHAM RIDGE
Delightful Brick Ranch
One of the prettiest high lots in this desirable section this choice, one owner, 10-year-old custom-built center hall plan offers greater space for the buyer with a small family. Very large paneled family room with bar and fireplace, opening to private screened porch, 2½ baths, 2 very large lovely bedrooms, wonderful kitchen with bay window, breakfast area overlooking garden, laundry room, attached garage. Priced in low fifties. Exclusive.
RIVER ROAD
(View of University)
Perfect for Adult-
Teen-ager Family
WEST (COUNTY)
Handsome Brick Colonial
$29,500
On excellent landscaped lot in established neighborhood near Village Shopping center, Tuckahoe School district, city transportation, this pretty brick features 3 twin sized bedrooms, 2½ baths, center hall, carport, small den, screened porch, large dining room.
Mrs. Gant, AT 2-3628
Pollard & Bagby, Inc.
Realtors—MI 3-9011 20

Houses for Sale—Zone 3
North between Broad St. and the C&O Railroad. See map.

AZALEA AREA—HENRICO HIGH
Pretty and like new 3-bedroom ranch. Completely redecorated for your pleasure. $13,500. FHA or GI. Call E. M. (Ned) King, EL 3-9116, CO 6-3124. Claud Realty. 22

AZALEA AVENUE—(Off) (Near Henrico High). $14,300. GI., or FHA. Excellent three-bedroom brick rancher, huge modern kitchen, spacious utility room. Fenced lot. Immediate possession. Call William D. Snoody with Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors. MI 8-7216, home EL 9-4683.
P. H. I.
X

BRYAN PARK AREA
$14,500
First offering on this exceptionally nice 3-bedroom rancher. Separate dining room, pretty eat-in kitchen, carport, large corner lot. G. E. Jackson, 358-6719; 266-5134, home. G. Ray Edwards Co., MLS.
20

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS — New bricks, 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, family room; wooded lot. $16,950. 232-3928. 21

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS — Best quality buy for brick ranch with full basement and garage in area, $23,500.
W. W. RENNIE, 353-7708
ALFRED J. DICKINSON, INC.
REALTOR, 288-2841 X

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS—(Proper $16,575. G.I., or FHA. Brick rancher, three bedrooms, one bath, raised fireplace in living room, separate dining room and utility room. See it now! Call Thomas Jefferson III with Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors, 11 W. Grace Street. MI 8-7216, home EL 3-4096.

Houses for Sale—Zone 3

Cloverland
NO CLOSING COSTS
LETEM RUN
512 CRAIG AVE.
Yes, let the kids run in this full basement. 6-year-old brick rancher with full basement, 3 bedrooms, huge family kitchen, screened back porch for eat-in or sleeping, covered patio under porch. $700 down is all. Call 266-7559, AT 8-4149. MI 3-0201, Jones & Robins. X

CONVAIR LANE—ASSUME LOAN
$1,500 CASH, $83.60 PER MO.
Three-bedroom ranch, perfect. Immediate possession.
E. HAMLET WHITE
EL 3-1069 REAL ESTATE CO 6-6021 20

EAST LABURNUM AREA
2 bedrooms, small den, fenced yard, tool house. GI nothing down, owner pays closing. Only $9,400.
748-2790 Latane Jenkins 233-5493
BOB FIRESTONE & CO., INC. 20

FAYETTE PARK—Newly decorated ranch. 2 bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen and bath, utility room, screened porch, situated on lovely wooded lot. Priced to sell. Call owner, MI 9-1686. X

FIFTH AVE.—$9,500
Nothing down GI, $300 FHA, no closing cost. 3 bedrooms, 2 kitchens, 2 baths. Can be used as duplex, ¼ basement. Rent upstairs to take care of monthly payments. C. Harry Felton, 288-6037 or 232-4648, Charles Knott, Inc., Realtors. 20

GINTER PARK—Lovely 8-room home, with 4 bedrooms, 1½ baths, modern kitchen, new condition, $16,950. Ben R. Parker Real Estate, MI 3-3951, MI 8-7087. 20

GINTER PARK
Four-bedroom brick, 2½ baths, slate roof, full basement and attic. Low loan assumption. Call "Mr. Augie" Lange, Jr., EL 5-4696 or Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. MLS Member. 20

GINTER PARK
Four bedrooms plus small hobby or sewing room, 2½ baths, full basement, oversized breakfast nook and only $19,950. Oh, yes, all brick, too.
W. B. Lumpkin, Jr.
BR 2-1656 Gray Realty MI 3-7421
Realtors, MLS 21

Ginter Park
Looking for a 1st floor bedroom and bath? This home has this plus 2 other large bedrooms up and another full bath, plus living room with a fireplace, dining room, eat-in kitchen, den, and utility room. Transportation only a few steps away. This is a brick home in 1st class condition. Coexclusive, T. L. Currie, 272-6273, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. EL 9-5761. 20

HANOVER—4 rooms, bath, acre of land, hide-away, only $5,500. Matthews & Foltz, broker, RE 7-1566; RE 7-4924. 23

HANOVER COUNTY
ONE ACRE OR TWO ACRES
5720 WINDSOR
WINDY HILLS ESTATES
Almost new 75-ft. brick rancher, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, family room, 2 fireplaces, double carport. Situated on one acre of land and you can have another acre if wanted. Situated on Rt. 702 from Atlee Rd. Call 266-7559—AT 8-4149, MI 3-0201, Jones & Robins. X

HANOVER COUNTY
Brand New
¾ Acre
3-bedroom brick rancher, 2 full baths, eat-in kitchen with built-ins, large family room with fireplace. Nestled on a large wooded lot. Only $1,400 down. Call 288-3185 or 643-4539. Bill Brown, Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

HANOVER COUNTY
16 Acres
Beautiful 3-bedroom rancher with full basement plus permanent stairway to large expandable attic, 2 fireplaces. Home is well built and in excellent condition. Large apple orchard plus small home for rental income.
1¾ Acres
6-room rancher with ½ basement; range, refrigerator and air conditioner; oil hot-water heat. Only $11,950. Call 288-3185 or 643-4539. Bill Brown, Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

HANOVER COUNTY
YEAR-AROUND RETREAT
PRIVATELY LOCATED ON
BEAUTIFUL

Houses for Sale—Zone 3

HIGHLAND PARK—1517 Custer, $9,500. Older home, corner lot, nice inside with 3 or 4 bedrooms, 2 baths. Use as duplex (has 2 kitchens). Call Arnold Betts (I'm up at 5:45 A. M.), 288-7036; MI 3-0201, Jones & Robins. X

HIGHLAND PARK—
GROVELAND AVE.
$400 total cash FHA, $88.00 per mo., $11,500. 2-bedroom bungalow, den with fireplace, ceramic tile bath, front and back porch, slate roof.
RAY BYRD
232-7891 Realtors 746-3938
JOHNSON-THOMAS INC. 21

HIGHLAND PARK
$450 DOWN FHA
OWNER PAYS CLOSING
Lovely 2-story home, slate roof, large dining room, fireplace, side porch, basement, 2-car garage, located on corner lot. Close to bus and shopping.
MORRIS GUNN
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC.
288-2824 Realtors 282-8220 X

LABURNUM, $8,500
Sparkling new toolhouse with this 2-bedroom rancher, 2 air conditioners and stove included. GI nothing down. Call Harry Phillips, EL 9-3758. G. Ray Edwards Co., Inc., Realtors, 358-6719. 20

Laburnum Area
PRICE ONLY $8,650
2 bedrooms, ceramic tile bath, large corner lot, and storm windows. Side porch. Nothing down GI.
BILL LYNE McCONNELL & CO.
233-9083—Realtors—AT 2-5401 X

LAKESIDE—New, 3-bedroom brick, fireplace, 1½ baths. CO 6-0693. 26

LAKESIDE—New brick, 3-bedroom ranch, direct from owner. CO 6-7252. 25

LAKESIDE—3-bedroom brick ranch, with carport. Nice location. Call Joseph A. Lange, Jr., EL 3-4818 or Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. 20

LAKESIDE—Just one! It's very clean. 3 bedrooms, family room, family rooms, double garage. 0 down GI. Only $450 FHA. George Love, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801, home 270-2368. X

LAKESIDE
FINE BRICK HOMES
TO SELL
Call J. G. Pugh, 266-2924 or AT 2-6228, M. L. Hubbard & Son, Inc., Realtor. 20

LAKESIDE
MAPLEWOOD ROAD
$400.00
Cash down on this extra nice 3-bedroom home. Nice corner lot. Call J. G. Pugh, 266-2924 or AT 2-6228. M. L. Hubbard & Son, Inc., Realtor. 20

LAKESIDE—Clean as a pin. 3 bedrooms, fireplace, fenced yard, oil hot-water heat. Near bus and schools. $13,500. H. E. White.
BLAKE & BANE
266-2143 REALTORS MLS 353-2727 21

LAKESIDE—OFF
6-room bungalow
Double lot, garage, basement. Open Sunday 3 to 6 P. M. 2111 Nelson st. R. W. Hanson, 282-3882 home, J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., 359-1371, Realtors, MLS. 20

Lakeside—North of Hilliard
Owner Transferred
DEN, 3 BEDROOMS, GARAGE, PART BASEMENT. LOVELY 100-FT. LOT. $2,000 TO ASSUME.
Woody Ford—CO 6-1242—MLS
BLAKE & BANE, INC., 353-2727 20

LAKESIDE
Brick home, 7 years old. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, eat-in kitchen, living room, full dry basement, with fireplace. Oil hot-water heat. This home is like new. Call J. G. Pugh, 266-2924 or AT 2-6228, M. L. Hubbard & Son, Inc., Realtor. X

LAKESIDE
Maplewood Rd. Living room, fireplace, dining room, kitchen, screened porches, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths; oil heat. Nice yard. Price, $12,750. Call Geo. G. Jefferson, Elam & Funsten, Realtors, MI 4-9451 or EL 3-2888. X

LAKESIDE
CHECK THIS HOME
$400.00
Cash down on this extra clean 6-room bungalow. Living room with fireplace, full dining room, eat-in kitchen, utility room, large porch, nice corner lot with trees. Call J. G. Pugh, 266-2924 or AT 2-6228. M. L. Hubbard & Son, Inc., Realtor. 21

Lakeside
ASSUME LOAN
Quick possession on this Cape Cod brick. Large living room, fireplace, 2 bedrooms, screened porch, full basement, hot-water heat. $1,600 cash, $98.56 per month. Nice shady lot near bus. H. E. White.
BLAKE & BANE
266-2143 REALTORS MLS 353-2727 21

Lakeside

Houses for Sale—Zone 3

LAUREL DELL—$8,500. No closing cost. $300 down FHA. $00 down GI. Four rooms, screened porch, just decorated. Bob Henshaw, 266-5541; Mann Realty Inc., 232-6746. 22

NORTH SIDE (ONLY $8,750)
GI NOTHING DOWN—NO CLOSING
Nice 2-bedroom home, dining room, storm doors, close to shopping and city bus. Call on this one today.
CALL C. W. HUNNICUTT
288-2824 Realtors 288-4404
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

OAKMONT—3 bedrooms, living room with fireplace; dinette; kitchen with snack bar. Ceramic tile bath, circulating hot-water heat, washer and dryer connections, front porch, screened patio, storm windows and door, utility room; utility house optional. Nice high lot with fenced back yard. Convenient to schools, 1 block to city bus. Call 266-4905. 20E

PINEHURST GARDENS
$350 DOWN, $75 MONTH
MUST SELL
OWNER PAYS CLOSING
3 bedrooms, separate dining room, large screened porch; beautiful shade trees.
F.H.A. APPRAISED $11,000
358-1717 Maben Realty 270-4472 20

ROSEDALE — First offering, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, basement, large rooms. Convenient. Only $12,950. Call today, Arthur Marshall & Co., Realtors, AT 2-5404, AT 2-6521. 21

SHERWOOD PARK
Lovely brick Colonial (center hall plan) on large corner lot; 3 bedrooms, bath in master bedroom. Call Bill Carle with Joseph A. Lange Realtor, MI 3-2805 or EL 9-1813, MLS Member. X

STAPLES MILL RD. (off). New 3-bedroom brick located on nice lot with trees. Owner. 746-5250. 20

Valentine Hills
8205 RAMBLER DRIVE
$25,950
On lovely private lot featuring beautiful kitchen-family room combination, 3 large bedrooms, 1-car garage, 2 fireplaces. Call Frederick G. Cliff, Jr. 282-8688 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764.

WEST END—COUNTY
HUNTINGTON
Assume GI Loan from Owner
3-bedroom brick rancher, large living room, eat-in kitchen, den with fireplace, 1½ baths and large lot. 9303 Huron Ave. 270-1496. 21

West End
$2,000 AND ASSUME
$450 FHA—$00 GI
Seller Pays Closing
Brick 3-bedroom rancher on nice lot, big eat-in kitchen, built-in stove, carpeting, drapes. Call now for appointment. Charles Knott, AT 8-6037, or AT 2-5719, Charles Knott, Inc., Realtors. 21

West End—County
FIRST OFFERING
OWNER TRANSFERRED
Spotlessly kept 4-bedroom, 2 bath home with attached garage. One block to school. One block to pool. Air conditioned, stove, refrigerator, and washer included. $550 down, $106 monthly.
BOB LACY
358-6751 Realtor 358-6751
COFFEY & COMPANY
"Ready to Serve" 21

WEST END—COUNTY
(Near Willow Lawn)
5010 BETHLEHEM ROAD
FHA $450 Down
Seller Pays Closing
BRICK RANCH—CARPORT
Very nice, 3 bedrooms (or 2 and den), living room, dining area, kitchen with electric range, plenty storage space, on nice lot with trees, county water, sewer. Only $13,500, payments about $89 month, including everything.
CALL MAXEY WALLACE
282-3661—Realtor—359-5018
BANNER REALTY EXCLUSIVE 20

WILDWOOD SECTION
GI $80 Down, $78.50 Per Month
NO CLOSING COST
Only $11,500! Neatly shingled three-bedroom rancher with decorative shutters, oil heat, fenced yard, nice tool house and off street parking. Nice living room, dining area, bath, utility room, kitchen. Get out of the crowded sections, buy like rent.
W. S. HASTINGS
282-4677 MLS 282-9777
TOWN & COUNTRY REALTORS 20

Willow Lawn—1 Mile
DON'T BLAME ME
If you let someone else buy this handsome 2-story brick home in perfect condition! 3 big bedrooms, large panelled den, full attic, porch, kitchen, dining

Houses for Sale—Zone 3

COLORED: Moss Side Avenue, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, oil hot-water heat, basement. Garage, F.H.A. $400 down. J. B. Noble. MI 4-9235. Frank Weaver, 353-3041, Realty Sales, Inc., MI 9-0260. 20

COLORED
$16,750 OF PRIDE
Three bedrooms and brick too! Only 19 years old and quality throughout. F. G. Scruggs, MI 8-4741 or 353-0560. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MLS.
X

COLORED—NORTH SIDE
First Offer
ST. JOSEPH VILLA AREA
NEW BRICK RANCHER
3 BEDROOMS—1½ BATHS
$450 DOWN FHA — NO DOWN GI
Seller Pays Closing
See this very nice home, plenty storage space inside and outside utility area. Oil duct heat. This is realy a good buy at only $13,950. Call Mrs. McLean, 359-3593 today.
BANNER REALTY CO. EXCLUSIVE 20

Houses for Sale—Zone 4
Everything East of C&O Railroad and the James River. See map.

BLUE RIDGE AVE.—$9,300
$1,100 and $66.50
A month. Assume loan or can be handled with less cash and 2nd deed of trust. Neat ranch with completely fenced yard and lots of shrubs and trees. Wall-to-wall carpeting in living room, hall and dining area. 2 bedrooms and outside recreation building with bar. Storm windows and doors. Only 4 blocks to bus and shopping. Ideal for young couple or small family and less then rent!
JACK MEREDITH, 359-2383
MEREDITH REALTY, 272-1485 20

Central Gardens—Cute Ranch
Anyone Who Qualifies
Assume Loan, $63 Month
Three bedrooms, family kitchen, built-in range and oven. Price, $11,500.
Woody Ford, CO 6-1242, MLS
BLAKE & BANE, INC., 353-2727 20

EANES LANE—Off Williamsburg Rd. $11,950. 3 bedrooms, 15x18 living room, tile bath. By owner. 648-2184. 17M

EAST END—Open 312 N. Foxhill, Hechler Village, brick ranch, $13,500. Assume loan.
746-5281, Barbara Rogers, 746-5692
ROY ROGERS & CO., INC. 20

EAST HIGHLAND PARK—3-bedroom brick ranch. $400 down FHA, $88 month, owner pays closing cost. Near bus.
CALL R. C. STRICKLAND
288-2824 Realtors 282-5274
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

E. HIGHLAND PARK—First offering, excellent 5-room cottage at 3507 Waverly Blvd. Living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, pantry, 2 nice bedrooms, ceramic tile bath, shady porch, large lot with fine old trees, garden space. Quiet convenient location. Only $10,000.00.
C. S. Atack (Home CO 6-2232) with
KINSEY-PERDUE-McCALL, INC.
Realtors MLS MI 4-0376 X

EASTOVER GARDENS—5-room bungalow, completely redecorated in and out. Like new. No down payment to G.I. $56.00 month. Better call today.
R. C. STRICKLAND
288-2824 Realtors 282-5274
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

EASTOVER GARDENS
GI (NO DOWN PAYMENT)
Attractive 2-bedroom home with nice fenced-in yard. 1 block from transportation. 3210 Emporia St. $8,750.
CHARLES CLOUGH
288-2824 Realtors 288-2794
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

GLEN ECHO PARK
(Off Nine Mile Road)
507 Park Ave. Three-bedroom ranch, with built-ins, fenced yard, inside and outside utility rooms. Walk to elementary school.
CAPITAL INC., REAL ESTATE
MI 9-1663 RE 7-2091 21

HECHLER VILLAGE—$19,500
$1,000 TOTAL CASH, FHA
$126 PER MONTH
Four-bedroom brick rancher. 2 baths, kitchen, dining

Houses for Sale—Zone 4

MECHANICSVILLE AREA — 8-room tri-level. Immediate possession. Living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, family room with fireplace, 4 bedrooms, 2½ baths, hot-water baseboard heat, intercom, beautiful lot, will consider trade for smaller home, call Henry West, MI 3-5688, Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor AT 8-2871. 22

MECHANICSVILLE AREA — New brick rancher with attached garage, 3 bedrooms, living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, with built-ins, 1½ baths, oil hot-water baseboard heat. Large lot. Storm doors. Venetian blinds. Asphalt drive included. Price $16,950. Donald F. Duckhardt, AT 8-2871; home 746-3277. Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor. 21

MECHANICSVILLE AREA—Mayfield Farms, 6317 North Mayfield Lane. Guaranteed nicer than new. FHA appraised at $23,775. Lovely brick rancher. 2 fireplaces, elm paneled den, big utility room; hot-water baseboard heat. By appointment. E. W. Barnett, RE 7-1617 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. 20

MECHANICSVILLE AREA—New brick rancher, 3 oversized bedrooms, 2 full baths, entrance hall, large living room, dining room, big eat-in kitchen with built-ins, utility room with pantry, oil hot-water baseboard heat, Venetian blinds, storm doors, asphalt drive. Price only $17,500. Donald F. Duckhardt, AT 8-2871; home 746-3277. Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor. 21

MECHANICSVILLE AREA—Beautiful 4-bedroom brick tri-level. 2½ baths, paneled family room with fireplace, large living room, dining room with bow window, big eat-in kitchen with built-ins plus birch cabinets. Zoned hot-water baseboard heat. Spacious wooded lot. Many extra features with this home. Price, $21,750. Will consider trade. Donald F. Duckhardt, AT 8-2871; home, 746-3277. Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor. 21

MECHANICSVILLE AREA — Brick rancher, paneled family room with fireplace, 3 large bedrooms, 2 full baths, eat-in kitchen, dining room with bow window, living room, utility room, entrance hall, oil hot-water baseboard heat, storm doors, Venetian blinds, asphalt drive; many other features. Price $18,950. Donald F. Duckhardt, AT 8-2871; home 746-3277. Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor. 21

MECHANICSVILLE AREA
Cold Harbor Area
Southern Comfort
Awaits the purchaser of this large older home set in a beautiful grove of oak trees. 1½ acres, plus several outbuildings. Large front and side porch, 4 bedrooms, living room, dining room, big eat-in kitchen, bath. Outside just repainted. 15 minutes from downtown Richmond. Price $13,500. Call Bus Sheppard, 233-6119 or 282-3146.
MUHLEMAN
AND CO., INC., REALTORS—MLS 20

MONTROSE HEIGHTS—4 bedrooms, 2 baths, brick, full dining room, owner must sell. Call anytime to see this beauty. $14,500. Owner pays closing. Mrs. Shurm, MI 8-6031, Banner Realty Co. 20

MONTROSE HEIGHTS — 2316 Farrand Drive. Brick bungalow of 5 rooms, tile bath, steps to expandable attic, screened porch, part basement; hot-water heat. Only $11,250. Call 649-1296, Leo O. Whitlow, Realtor. X

MONTROSE HEIGHTS—Brick rancher. Living room, dining room, den, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, large kitchen. Child's swimming pool. Only $14,500. No down payment and no closing cost for GI. Other financing also. Call 649-1296 or 648-0424. Leo O. Whitlow, Realtor. 21

Montrose Heights
2020 NEWMAN ROAD
BRICK BUNGALOW, LIVING ROOM, DINING ROOM, KITCHEN, 3 BEDROOMS AND 2 BATHS, STEPS TO ATTIC, OIL DUCT HEAT, FENCED YARD.
C. P. HILLIARD
ROSE & LAFOON CO.
MI 8-1631 OR AT 8-0457
Member MLS X

MONTROSE HEIGHTS
1802 NEWMAN ROAD
$350 Down
$80 Per Month
Bungalow of 5 rooms, bath, porch, garage, radiator heat, fireplace.
Leo O. Whitlow

River Road

Price reduced on this 21.6 acres, over 1,000 ft. on River Road, ideal for subdividing, for immediate sale. Will sell as a whole or in part. This property has an excellent 6 room (3 bedroom) home on it, 2 baths, hot water oil radiator heat, plus garage and fish pond. Herbert E. Martin. 282-3146, home EL 3-7061.

MUHLEMAN

and Co., Inc., Realtors—MLS 21

West End

4100 Block

VACANT—IMMEDIATE POSSESSION Owner in Norfolk. This two-story Colonial is an exceptionally good buy at $27,950. Check these features: huge rooms throughout, den plus recreation room, 3½ baths, 3 fireplaces, screened porch, full basement, 3 bedrooms plus possibility of five, wall to wall carpeting, air conditioners. House needs very little decorating as this was done a year ago. Exclusive. Jack Null & Co., Realtor, 272-4990—nights AT 8-8281. X

West End—(County)

REDUCED

UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
8130 SAWMILL RD.
FREEMAN-TUCKAHOE ELEM.
You cannot find a better location for twice the money. 3-bedroom brick rancher, 2 baths, and bedrooms are large. Beautiful 109x200 lot, hot-water baseboard oil heat. AT 8-4149—266-7559, MI 3-0201, Jones & Robins. X

WEST END—COUNTY

$700 Down $110 Month

BRICK GARAGE
Ranch in excellent condition situated on a well kept lot. 3 bedrooms, living room (fireplace), separate dining room, bath, eat-in kitchen, nice utility room, screened porch. FHA $16,775. Co-Exclusive with Jack Bullard, Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965, AT 8-6691 (home).
"ANOTHER VALUE OF"

H&B

X

West End

South of River Road 4 Bedrooms

Custom-built, old-brick ranch with slate roof and excellent detail with over an acre of land. Gracious entrance hall, beautiful large living room, full dining room, spacious modern kitchen, first-floor family room with fireplace, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, screened porch and basement with playroom area. Immediate possession. A real bargain at $41,500. George Walters, MI 8-1671 or EL 8-3593 (home).

DAVENPORT

Realty & Service Corp. X

WEST END

Skipwith School Area

TUCKAHOE PARK—RANCH
3 bedrooms, 2 full baths, paneled family room, eat-in kitchen has dishwasher, disposer, built-in mixer-blender. 12x15 utility room, fenced yard.

WHISPERING PINES—SPLIT
3 bedrooms, 2½ baths, family room with fireplace, possible 4th bedroom, eat-in kitchen, wall-to-wall carpet, fenced yard, central air conditioning

Both have public and school bus stops at front door.
DOMOR CORP., REALTORS
288-6068—MLS—282 0053 21

WEST END OFF RIVER ROAD

GLENBROOKE HILLS 104 Twin Lake Lane

Open Sunday 3 to 5:30
"Reduced to Low 30's"
Lovely and Spacious
4 BIG BEDROOMS—2½ BATHS
26-FT. RECREATION ROOM
(IMMEDIATE POSSESSION)
You'll love this spacious tri-level on a beautiful 140x250 lot in this fine prestige neighborhood. There's a lovely 25-ft. living room, large dining room, big modern eat-in kitchen, 2 fireplaces, screened porch, large closets, big utility room, and huge attic. Tuckahoe - Freeman - Bridget schools.
Directions: West on River Rd., 4 streets past River Rd. Baptist Church, turn right at sign to home.
P. H. PETERS, AT 8-1716
VAUGHAN & GREEN,
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

WEST END MANOR—Assume GI loan, $93 monthly. Brick ranch, excellent new condition, 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, large kitchen-family room, nice corner lot. 270-4375. 20

WEST END MANOR — 3-bedroom brick rancher, den with fireplace, living room, dining room, kitchen, patio, 1½ baths, 3½ years old. Owner wishes to get closer to work. Assume loan. 270-4041. 22

lovely shrubbery. 3 spacious bedrooms, 2½ baths, den, recreation room, 3 fireplaces, large kitchen with breakfast nook, screened porch, full basement, 2-car garage. Call Taz Ellett, home, 272-0114.

ELLETT & CO.

REALTORS AT 2-4245 20

WESTHAM AREA
Large brick 2-story with 3 spacious bedrooms and 2 baths up. Entrance hall, fireplace in living room, dining room, den, ½ bath and eat-in kitchen. Walk to city bus. Only $26,500. Call Chi Mills, Ellett & Co., Realtors, AT 2-4245 or SU 4-5114. 20

Westham Area First Offering Walk To Tuckahoe School

Charming split level home, situated on a unique, shady lot and in an excellent location. There are 3 large bedrooms, 2 baths, spacious living room with fireplace, family dining room and modern kitchen with dishwasher and built-in range. Nice family room, large utility area and beautiful screened porch. Must be seen to be appreciated. Priced low at $28,500. By appointment only. Exclusive.
L. D. DELANO, EL 3-8565
VAUGHAN & GREEN
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

WESTHAM PARKWAY

Like the Unusual?

CONTEMPORARY RANCH
3 bedrooms, 1 bath, modern kitchen, huge living room, bright dining room tremendous patio. Carport. Beautiful arounds. Oil hot-water baseboard heat. Part basement.
W. S. PROCTOR, JR., EL 5-6547
OR AT 2-8333
PROCTOR & COS., REALTORS MLS 21

Westham Ridge

MR. EXECUTIVE

DON'T USE YOUR FUNDS
Because 100% Financing
Is possible if you qualify to purchase this custom-built home in Richmond's finest location!! $55,000. John Batte, EL 9-1371; home, AT 2-3466. J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., Realtors. 21

Westhampton

2-STORY BRICK
Best area, close to shopping, city bus and private schools. First floor offers entrance hall, living room (fireplace), dining room, kitchen, ½ bath. Second floor has 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, plus 22' playroom in finished attic, full basement and screened porch. Only $22,725; FHA, $1,725 down with immediate possession if desired. Exclusive with Jack Bullard, Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965, AT 8-6691 (home).
"ANOTHER VALUE OF"

H & B

20

WINDSORDALE — 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, den with fireplace; extras include built-in dishwasher, tool house, fenced yard, landscaping. AT 8-3278. 20

Windsor Farms Price Reduced

This 4-bedroom authentic Williamsburg home is most attractive with unusually good detail including random width floors. There is a spacious center hall, den, full basement with playroom and either 5th bedroom or maid's room, 2-car garage and screened porch. Immediate possession Exclusive, Wm. E. Woodroof, 288-7852, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors, EL 9-5761. 20

FOR prompt service when buying or selling. Olympic Corp. 233-4361. 30

SELLING homes is our business. Sullivan & Hall Realtors, 288-2255. 30

BRICK, 3-bedroom rancher. Lovely fenced lot. Many extras. Assume loan. Payments less than rent. George Love, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801, home 270-2368. X

SEVEN-room house which includes fireplace and large family room. Only $15,500. In excellent condition.
DON MATER
644-7831, Realtors
JOHN L. HOLT, INC. 20

LOAN ASSUMPTION
3-bedroom rancher in excellent area. Has family room. Like new, only 1 year old.
DON MATER
644-7831, Realtors
JOHN L. HOLT, INC. 20

CENTRAL: West End. Conveniently located on Roseneath, off Monument. This small, 4-bedroom home boasts living room with charming fireplace, full dining room and breakfast room. Overlooking pretty back yard. Full basement, oil hot-water heat. Only $11,950. Call and be first to see. A. N. Marshall, AT 2-5404; home, AT 2-6521, Arthur Marshall & Co., Realtors. 20

Corp. X

4 BEDROOMS $500 Down

Westbourne (county), 1½-story brick-and-frame. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, living room, dining room, kitchen, screened porch and garage. Real clean. Close to shopping. Need space? Be sure and see this nice home today.
270-1976 JOHN YOUNG 288-1909
E. C. VAUGHAN & CO., REALTORS 20

4800 BLOCK

Fitzhugh Ave.

One floor plan brick, two bedrooms, 1½ baths, den, modern kitchen, spacious glass enclosed rear porch off den, 2-car brick garage, lots of closets, storage attic with fan, two air conditioners, beautiful yard. Near transportation and stores. Shown by appointment. W. F. Rothert, Elam & Funsten, 619 E. Main St., Richmond, Va., phone 644-9451. X

$400 CASH

Pay $80 monthly for this lovely 3 bedroom brick rancher; close to schools and shopping, extremely deep fenced lot. Ideal for children, plenty of storage space. Call and be first to see.
270-1976 JOHN YOUNG, 288-1909
E. C. VAUGHAN & CO., REALTORS 20

$700

is all the money required to buy this like-new brick rancher, situated in prestige location. 3 large bedrooms, 1½ baths, paneled family room with fireplace. Hot water heat. Family size eat-in kitchen with built-ins plus wall-to-wall carpet. (Less than 1 year old). This terrific buy is seated on an extremely large fenced lot. Move in now.
AT 8-5670; 288-1909
E. C. VAUGHAN & CO., REALTORS 20

Gracious Living!

1 mile from Oak Hill Club
2½ miles from James River
Golf Course, Country Club of Va.
Central air-conditioned Immaculate 5-year-old brick ranch. Large center entrance hall, living room, lovely paneled family room (each with fireplace), dining room, spacious eat-in kitchen with built-ins, 3 large bedrooms, 2 lovely baths, large screened porch, utility room, attic and workshop. Well landscaped and most attractive yard.

Owner Transferred
Mid-$30's

R. Garnett Hall (home EL 3-6053)
Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors
MI 4-2965
"ANOTHER VALUE OF"

H & B

20

Gracious Living!

1 Mile From Oak Hill Club
2½ Miles from James River
Golf Course, Country Club of Va.
Central air-conditioned Immaculate 5 year old brick ranch. Large center entrance hall, living room, lovely paneled family room (each with fireplace), dining room, spacious eat-in kitchen with built-ins, 3 large bedrooms, 2 lovely baths, large screened porch, utility room, attic and work shop. Well landscaped and most attractive yard.

Owner Transferred
Mid-$30's

James L. Wiley Jr. (Home 288-7639)
R. Garnett Hall (Home EL 3-6053)
Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors,
MI 4-2965
"ANOTHER VALUE OF"

H & B

X

(WEST) SOUTH OF RIVER RD.

Near C. C. Golf Course "Executive's Paradise"

ON BEAUTIFUL 1½-ACRE LOT
4 NICE BEDROOMS, 3½ BATHS
This lovely quality built 95 ft. brick ranch features a center hall, beautiful living room, formal dining room, excellent electric kitchen with breakfast area, paneled family room, plus large recreation room, delightful 20 ft. porch off kitchen, basement, huge attic and 2 car garage. Quick possession. Priced in 40s.

Lovely Colonial Ranch

"PRICED TO SELL QUICKLY"
FAR BELOW ASSESSED VALUE
Beautiful spacious rooms throughout with wide center hall, large living room, big dining room, delightful spacious fully equipped kitchen, huge paneled family room, 3 extra large bedrooms, 2 magnificent baths, tremendous expandable attic roughed in for 2 additional rooms. A real bargain: in very low 40s
P. H. PETERS, AT 8-1716
VAUGHAN & GREEN
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

bricks, 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, family room; wooded lot. $16,950. 232-3928. 21

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS — Best quality buy for brick ranch with full basement and garage in area, $23,500.
W. W. RENNIE, 353-7708
ALFRED J. DICKINSON, INC.
REALTOR, 288-2841 X

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS—(Proper $16,575. G.I., or FHA. Brick rancher, three bedrooms, one bath, raised fireplace in living room, separate dining room and utility room. See it now! Call Thomas Jefferson III with Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors, 11 W. Grace Street. MI 8-7216, home EL 3-4096.

P. H. I.

X

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS—(Proper) Excellent 3 bedroom, 2-story brick with slate roof, copper gutters, quality throughout. Modern kitchen, family room, screened porch, sun deck, basement with drive-in garage. Large treed lot. Only $27,950. Call Chester Evans with Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors. MI 8-7216, home CO 6-6594.

P. H. I.

X

Chamberlayne Farms—Tarkington

Father's Day Special

4 BEDROOMS—2½ BATHS
FAMILY ROOM
$24,950
Plenty for little in this lovely brick ranch with baseboard hot-water heat. Don't miss this value.
W. S. PROCTOR, JR.
EL 5-6547 or AT 2-8333
PROCTOR & CO., REALTORS, MLS 20

Chamberlayne Farms First Offering

Lovely brick ranch home, custom-built with many outstanding features. There is an entrance hall, large living room, dining room, beautiful cherry paneled family room with fireplace, modern eat-in kitchen with dishwasher and range, 3 bedrooms with cedar lined closets, 2½ baths, and mud room, plus utility room. Large screened back porch and huge double carport. Central air conditioning and excellent lot. Priced for quick sale at $31,500. Exclusive.
L. D. DELANO, EL 3-8565
VAUGHAN & GREEN,
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS AREA — 6-room masonry. 3 bedrooms, fireplace, family size kitchen, hot-water baseboard heat, carport, shaded lot. Call R. G. Hasty with Ellison P. Gaulding, Realtor, 648-8393; home, 746-3153. 21

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS AREA—Company transfer. Must move quickly. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, brick and frame rancher. Large wooded lot. Conventional loan 10% down, assume 20% down. $16,300. Make us an offer. By owner, 8203 Franconia Rd. 266-6866. 20

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS AREA
$17,950
First offering on this 3-bedroom, 2-bath brick rancher. Features Early American country style kitchen, family room, large wooded lot, close to shopping and transportation. Shown by appointment only. G. E. Jackson, EL 8-6719, CO 6-5134, home, G. Ray Edwards Co., MLS. 20

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS AREA—Just $4,500 down and assume 4½% loan on this fine brick ranch and have only $83 payments. 4 nice rooms; 3 bedrooms, GE built-ins in kitchen; oil hot-water heat; side screened porch, fenced rear yard. Also minimum down GI and FHA loans possible. $15,950. See this excellent property today. W. M. May, 266-3112, Vaughan & Green, Inc., Realtors, 644-4588. 20

CHAMBERLAYNE FARMS AREA

$22,500 Assume Loan

Charming 3-bedroom brick rancher with loads of living comfort and eye appeal. Features living room with fireplace, eat-in kitchen, 1½ baths, family room, screened porch, carport, beautiful wooded lot with fenced back yard. Shown by appointment only.
G. E. JACKSON
EL 8-6719 REALTOR CO 6-5134
G. RAY EDWARDS CO., MLS 20

CHAMBERLAYNE HEIGHTS
7 EISENHOWER DRIVE

$550 Down F.H.A. 0 Down G.I.

Excellent 3-bedroom brick rancher has nice sized living room, separate dining room, and attractive paneled kitchen with built-in range; bath, and screened porch. Ample closets. Oil hot-water heat. Lot 100x150. Early possession. Priced right at $15,950. Call to inspect.
L. D. DELANO, EL 3-8565
VAUGHAN & GREEN
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

Chippiegate (Off Wilkinson Rd.)
FIRST OFFERING, QUALITY PERSONIFIED, 8 LARGE ROOMS, 2½ BATHS, CARPORT, SITUATED ON LOVELY ELEVATED LOT. CHARM TO SPARE FOR $32,750.
AUBREY SLOUGH
288-2824 Realtors AT 2-0887
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

FOR PROFIT and pleasure, read the Want Ads daily.

condition. Large apple orchard, small home for rental income.

1¾ Acres

6-room rancher with ½ basement; range, refrigerator and air conditioner; oil hot-water heat. Only $11,950. Call 288-3185 or 643-4539. Bill Brown, Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

HANOVER COUNTY

YEAR-AROUND RETREAT

PRIVATELY LOCATED ON

BEAUTIFUL LAKE

Custom brick rambler of unique quality, artistically nestled on beautiful oak grove peninsula, just 17 minutes from downtown Richmond. Features include entrance foyer, 3 huge bedrooms, spacious private living room, formal dining room, huge porch, full basement with recreation room and extra fireplace, double car garage, workshop, 3 baths. Modern country size kitchen, super abundance closets, baseboard heat. Only $32,500. Call and be first to see. AT 2-5404, AT 2-6521.

arthur marshall
& Co., Realtors 20

HENRICO COUNTY — North. Near city. 2-bedroom bungalow. Perfect condition. Price $9,500. GI no down payment, FHA $350, no closing cost. W. L. Schultheis, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home, CO 6-2397. X

HENRICO HIGH AREA—New, 3-bedroom, 1½-bath, brick ranch featuring many extras. Custom-built for present owner who is selling due to transfer. Just $17,250. Call Ed Wood, CO 6-2878, MI 3-0201. Jones & Robins. X

HERMITAGE HIGH AREA
ACRE LOT
CUSTOM BUILT RANCHER
Owned by builder for his personal home and offered for sale due to owner moving out of town. Living room with attractive, modern fireplace, beautiful all electric kitchen, breakfast nook, formal dining room, 4 spacious bedrooms, 2½ baths, cypress paneled den, separate family room, garage and many extra features for the discriminating purchaser. Priced in the forties. To see, call Ray Shepherd, 358-6719 or EL 3-5332, G. Ray Edwards Co., Inc., Realtors, MLS. 20

HIGHLAND PARK—New brick, full basement. Agent, MI 3-3229. 20

HIGHLAND PARK—7 rooms and bath at 3003 Third Ave.; basement. $8,900. Assume loan. Chewning & Smith, Realtors, MLS, MI 3-5381. 21

HIGHLAND PARK—2001 Fourth Ave. Corner 2-story dwelling. 8 rooms, 1½ baths, basement; oil heat. Call E. M. Doggett with Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001; home, MI 8-8006. X

HIGHLAND PARK — 3408 Carolina Ave., 7 rooms and bath, can be used for 1 or 2 families. Excellent location. T. A. Wilkinson, Real Estate. MI 3-8980. 21

HIGHLAND PARK
$375 down FHA
Owner Pays Closing
Lovely 2-story home, slate roof, bedrooms. Call owner, MI 3-2358. 4

HIGHLAND PARK—4th Ave. Duplex. 4 rooms, each unit. Rent $120 month. Excellent condition. Reasonably priced. $8,000. Bell Realty Co. 282-8444. 23

HIGHLAND PARK
DELAWARE AVE.
Two-story brick, slate roof. Low loan assumption. Call "Mr. Augie" Lange, Jr., EL 5-4696 or Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. MLS Member. 20

HIGHLAND PARK—BEST AREA
505 PELHAM DRIVE—$8,950
By owner, pretty 5-room bungalow. $500, take over loan, $79.38 month, or $950, and $68.80 month. New roof, home in good condition. 20

HIGHLAND PARK — (North) attractive 2-bedroom bungalow, fireplace in living room, eat-in kitchen, pull-down stairs to attic, large nice yard. Mrs. Elliott, MI 8-6642 or MI 8-2000; Cooper Realy Corp., Realtors. 22

HIGHLAND PARK—2220 FIFTH AVE. Two-story, 8-room home. Good investment possibility. Only $6,950. Call "Mr. Augie" Lange, Jr., EL 5-4696 or Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. MLS Member. 20

HIGHLAND PARK — Beautiful older home, Corner lot, spacious rooms, plus 2 apts, with separate entrances, rented. Bill Edwards, John S. Edwards, Inc., 232-3642 or 648-2774. X

HIGHLAND PARK—DUPLEX
$1,000 CASH—$10,250
Rented at $127.50 per month. 2-story in good condition.
DICK THOMAS
232-7891 Realtors; Home, 288-2720
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 20

HIGHLAND PARK — Nice 2-story house in good condition. Extra lot. Arranged with small apartment on second floor. Live in and rent apartment. Another house arranged with 3 apartments. J. R. Thompson, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home, EL 3-4260. X

HIGHLAND PARK—3008 5th Ave. Like new, 3-bedroom rancher. Close to everything. Only $350 cash, $70 month.
Northside Ave. 8 rooms, 2 baths, basement. $350 down, $70 month. Both of these are exceptionally nice. R. S. Kerr, EL 9-3010, 288-7209.
JIM LOCKETT & ASSOCS. X

Nearly a quarter of a million readers get the classified columns.

fireplace, full dining room, eat-in kitchen, utility room, large porch, nice corner lot with trees. Call J. G. Pugh, 266-2924 or AT 2-6228. M. L. Hubbard & Son, Inc., Realtor. 21

Lakeside
ASSUME LOAN
Quick possession on this Cape Cod brick. Large living room, fireplace, 2 bedrooms, screened porch, full basement, hot-water heat. $1,600 cash, $98.56 per month. Nice shady lot near bus. H. E. White.
BLAKE & BANE
266-2143 REALTORS MLS 353-2727 21

Lakeside
YOU'LL GET YOUR MONEY'S WORTH
In this comfortable ranch featuring 3 bedrooms, living room, kitchen with range and refrigerator, full dining room and fenced yard. Only $11,975. $375 down FHA, nothing down V.A. Call Margaret Hoffmann.
BLAKE & BANE, INC.
353-2727 Realtors, MLS 266-1433 X

LAKESIDE
SEEING IS BELIEVING!
LET ME SHOW YOU THROUGH!
7108 Hermitage Road. An old family home, FHA appraised at $17,100.

3010 Pinehurst Road. Assume loan, only $87 per mo. 3 bedrooms, fireplace, carport, possession August 1st.
MRS. CURLEY—CO 6-0954
BLAKE & BANE INC.
EL 3-2727—REALTORS—MLS 20

LAKESIDE
A FAMILY HOME
7108 HERMITAGE ROAD
F.H.A. APPRAISED
Plenty of space for outdoor and indoor family fun.
On the bus line, close to shopping and schools.
With or without extra lot.
CALL MRS. CURLEY, CO 6-0954
BLAKE & BANE, INC.
REALTORS—M.L.S.—EL 3-2727 20

LAKESIDE—SEDGEFIELD MANOR
2406 Lourdes Road. Beautiful 3-year-old brick rancher in excellent condition. Modern built-in kitchen, formal dining room, 3 large bedrooms, 1½ baths, paneled den and large utility room with screened porch. All on a beautiful shaded lot in exclusive Sedgefield Manor. Excellent financing available. No closing cost at only $20,950.00.
JOE CRAIG
353-4471 Realtors; Home 232-2810
Lawrence Realty Corporation 20

LAKESIDE—FIRST OFFERING
$350, NO CLOSING

G.I. No Cash 3-Bedroom Rancher

BEAUTIFUL WOODED LOT
Large living room, full dining room, modern kitchen, new heating plant. Price only $11,950. For further information, call Ray Edwards, EL 8-6719; home, EL 9-3681. G. Ray Edwards Co., Inc., Realtor, MLS. 20

LAKESIDE

2108 Nelson St. Nice single-story bungalow with 6 large rooms, 2 baths, in large shrubbed yard. Handy to everything. Open 2-5 Sundays. Only $8,750. Dwight Day, EL 8-4112, with Neville C. Johnson & Assocs. EL 5-7981. MLS.

Lakeside Area
JUST LIKE OLD TIMES
A lot for your money. This home features entrance hall, living room with fireplace, dining room, modern kitchen, 3 bedrooms and bath up. $13,700. Call Margaret Hoffmann today.
BLAKE & BANE, INC.
353-2727 Realtors, MLS 266-1433 X

LAKESIDE AREA—WINDCLIFF
F.H.A., $350 DOWN
NO CLOSING COST
THREE-BEDROOM RANCHER
This lovely home is in excellent condition. Modern kitchen with built-in range and oven; big wooded lot. Priced at only $11,500. To see, call Ray Edwards, EL 8-6719; home, EL 9-3681. G Ray Edwards Co., Inc., Realtor MLS. 20

Lakeside Area
"TRI-LEVEL"
"SWIMMING POOL"
Entrance foyer, 3 bedrooms, family room, living room and kitchen with built-ins. Don't miss this. Only $15,950. Assume G.I. loan or new financing. F.H.A. $600 down, G.I. nothing down. Call Margaret Hoffmann today.
BLAKE & BANE, INC.
353-2727 Realtors, MLS 266-1433 20

LAUREL
(Off Staples Mill Road)
$300 DOWN F.H.A., $65 MONTHLY
Neat, clean 2-bedroom bungalow on wooded lot. Big, bright kitchen, screened side porch, near shopping. $9,200.
JOHN BAWSEL
355-2841 Realtors 266-8181
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
"Homes for Living" X

LAUREL AREA — Attractive 3-bedroom brick with carport. Low assumption, payments $80 a month. 270-4472, Maben Realty, 358-1717. 20

LAUREL PARK
3-BEDROOM BRICK RANCH
$450 TOTAL CASH—$87 MONTH
NO CLOSING COSTS
G. E. Jackson, EL 8-6719; CO 6-5134, home. G. Ray Edwards Co., MLS. 20

Only $11,500! Neatly shingled three-bedroom rancher with decorative shutters, oil heat, fenced yard, nice tool house and off street parking. Nice living room, dining area, bath, utility room, kitchen. Get out of the crowded sections, buy like rent.
W. S. HASTINGS
282-4677 MLS 282-9777
TOWN & COUNTRY REALTORS 20

Willow Lawn—1 Mile

DON'T BLAME ME

If you let someone else buy this handsome 2-story brick home in perfect condition! 3 big bedrooms, large paneled den, full attic, porch, garage workshop, extras. You'll agree it's well worth $22,500.
CALL NAT LANCASTER
MI 8-5881, Realtors—MLS, 282-2713
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC. X

WISTAR FARMS—Brick tri-level, 3 big bedrooms, 2 baths, rec. room, fireplace, dining room, built-ins. Price $19,500. Call W. W. Hampton, BE 2-6724; 275-0266, S. B. Franklin & Co., Broker. X

WISTAR FARMS—Family room and fireplace with this 3-bedroom brick rancher. Modern eat-in kitchen, separate workshop, large wooded lot. Call Harry Phillips, EL 9-3758. G. Ray Edwards, Inc., Realtors, 358-6719. 21

NEWLY decorated bungalow. $8,950. Will finance. Call Bob McMillan, 353-3905 or 288-7336. 30

$9,300 HIGHLAND PARK
Five-room bungalow, truly perfect condition. Estate settlement. F. G. Scruggs, MI 8-4741 or 353-0560. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors. MLS. X

BEAT THE HEAT
Central air condition in this 3-bedroom, brick rancher located in convenient area off Staples Mill Road. Public water, sewer and gas. Priced at only $14,500. Call B. J. Meredith, office, 233-9823 or home, 794-5176. W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors. X

WEST of Staples Mill, 3003 Dunwick Rd. New listing. Immaculate 3-bedroom brick rancher on large fenced lot with beautiful trees. ½ basement and attic. FHA requested. Under $15,000. Call Dwight Day, EL 8-4112 with Neville C. Johnson & Assocs., EL 5-7981. MLS. 20

3213 FENDALL AVE.

$400 Cash, No Closing
Four bedrooms, entrance hall, living room, dining room, kitchen, pantry, basement, oil hot-water heat, garage. Fenced-in back yard. House in excellent condition. To inspect call R. E. Raymond at MI 8-1631.

Rose & Lafoon
REALTORS. MLS X

HUFFS PUFFS

$1,500 BELOW APPRAISAL

CHARMING CUSTOM BUILT QUALITY HOME. 3 LARGE BEDROOMS, 2 BATHS, LIVING ROOM, DINING AREA FULL BASEMENT WITH REC. ROOM, DOUBLE GARAGE ON A HUGE WELL LANDSCAPED LOT IN VALENTINE HILLS.
J. W. HUFF
353-4471 Realtors Home 355-8849
LAWRENCE REALTY CORP.
M.L.S. 20

COLORED: New 2-story brick, 4005 Corbin St., 2 large bedrooms, electric heat, $350 cash, $60.33 month, plus taxes (less than rent). Poole & Co., MI 4-5870, evenings, MI 8-2271. 16

COLORED: North Side. Excellent condition with separate dining room, 3 large bedrooms with room for 4th. Only $400 down FHA. Call Ed Lindsey, 355-8659 or home MI 4-1494. Baird & Co., Inc., Realtors. 20

COLORED: Only $500 total cash on this exceptionally clean 4-bedroom, 2-story house. All large rooms. Call now. Flynn Blackburn, AT 2-7626 or AT 8-7325. Blackburn Realty Co., Realtors, MLS. 21

COLORED: Modern, like new, brick ranch type, 3-bedroom home. Good locations, near all schools, bus service at corner. Price reduced. Raymond E. Jacobs, EL 9-5324, Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor, AT 8-2871. 21

COLORED: North Side, 3417 Garland Avenue. Attractive 2-bedroom bungalow with oil hot-water heat. Utility room. Nice condition. See this today. FHA appraised less than $10,000. Call Robert Griggs, or Melvin Fulks, EL 5-1781, home AT 2-5968, Northside Realty Co., Realtors. 21

COLORED: 3600 block Edgewood Ave. 3 bedrooms, living room, bath, large eat-in kitchen, corner lot, garage. $400 cash and move in. This home in excellent condition. Call R. E. Raymond at MI 8-1631.
ROSE & LAFOON CO.
REALTORS—MLS X

COLORED. North Side. Choice location. Good block. 1 block from bus. 2-family home, 5 rooms and bath down, 4 rooms and bath up; oil radiator heat, new furnace. Excellent financing. Exclusive. Shown by appointment only. Call Henry West, MI 3-5888, Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor, AT 8-2871. 20

Colored—North Side
3021 MONTROSE AVE.
Two-story home with 4 bedrooms, living room, formal dining room, eat-in kitchen, also full basement. Priced at only $12,250.
288-6037 FRANK SUTTON 288-7694
CHARLES KNOTT, INC., REALTOR 21

CHARLES CLOUGH
288-2824 Realtors 288-2794
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

GLEN ECHO PARK
(Off Nine Mile Road)
507 Park Ave. Three-bedroom ranch, with built-ins, fenced yard, inside and outside utility rooms. Walk to elementary school.
CAPITAL INC., REAL ESTATE
MI 9-1663 RE 7-2091 21

HECHLER VILLAGE—$19,500
$1,000 TOTAL CASH, FHA
$126 PER MONTH
Four-bedroom brick rancher. 2 baths, kitchen, dining area, large living room with fireplace. Very good condition.
RAY BYRD
232-7891, Realtors 746-3938
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 21

HIGHLAND SPRINGS — We have homes of all sizes and prices to fit your need. Howard Layne, RE 7-0300, Jeffries & Sichol, RE 7-2801. 18

HIGHLAND SPRINGS
6-room rancher, nice lot. Perfect condition. $600 total cash. Call "Mr. Augie" Lange, Jr., EL 5-4696 or Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. MLS Member. 20

HIGHLAND SPRINGS—3 bedrooms, den, fireplace, eat-in kitchen. Only $14,950, $500 total cash.
737-6058 Jim Hamner 737-6058
LEE CONNER REALTY CORP. 20

HIGHLAND SPRINGS — 3-bedroom rancher with extra deep lot. $350 down FHA or $00 down GI, payments only $60 a month.
737-6058 John Hamner 288-6640
LEE CONNER REALTY CORP. 20

HIGHLAND SPRINGS — 3-bedroom home. Large rooms, baseboard heat. Immaculate. Corner lot. Within walking distance of schools, shopping, banks, churches, transportation. Mrs. Zodun, RE 7-4924; home, RE 7-2384. Matthews & Foltz, Brokers. 23

HIGHLAND SPRINGS—New ranch, living room, dining area, eat-in kitchen with built-ins. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, baseboard oil heat. J. R. Norvell, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home RE 7-2678. X

HIGHLAND SPRINGS (AREA)
Beautiful 5-room brick home in a wonderful community where the neighbors are right. Priced to sell fast. Call now!
A. L. CARROLL
288-2824 Realtors,—Home 737-6109
EARL NORTHERN & CO. 20

Highland Springs
SCOTTIE FARMS
$350 DOWN—$77 MONTH
Attractive 3-bedroom ranch. Large, eat-in kitchen. Also good loan assumption if you don't qualify.
TOM SIMMONS
288-2824 Realtors AT 8-5326
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

MANAKIN
KING WILLIAM COUNTY
1 acre land, nice 7-room home; living room; dining room; large kitchen, 3 bedrooms, large screened-in back porch; stairway to 2nd floor; space for 2 bedrooms, price $10,000; call Everett Timberlake, PI 6-5860, Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor, AT 8-2871. 21

MECHANICSVILLE—Charming brick rancher on large wooded lot, with fence. 3 bedrooms, bath, living room with fireplace, dining room, kitchen and utility. PI 6-5356. X

MECHANICSVILLE—HANOVER CO.
WINDY HILLS—2½ LOTS
Extra large brick ranch, only 3 years old. 2½ baths, family room, 3 bedrooms, large built-in kitchen, dining room. Oil hot-water heat. A real beauty of a buy.
CALL JOHN SUTTON
288-6788, Realtor—288-1286, Home
JOHN SUTTON & CO. 21

MECHANICSVILLE
$19,650

Old King Cole

Was a jolly old soul and who wouldn't be if they lived in this house. It's as roomy as a palace, 3 bedrooms, bath, exceptionally nice kitchen. Beautiful yard, large lot with many trees.

EXECUTIVE

REALTY, INC. BR 2-1463
CALL KARL BRUCKMAN, 272-5042 20

MECHANICSVILLE AREA—Beautiful large rooms, living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, 3 bedrooms, utility room; carport. Call Henry West, MI 3-5888, Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor, AT 8-2871. 21

MECHANICSVILLE AREA — Custom built 4-bedroom tri level, 2½ baths, 22 ft. eat-in kitchen, ideal for mother-in-law. Priced in mid 20s.
746-5281, Roy Rogers Jr., 746-8722
ROY ROGERS & CO., INC. 20

MECHANICSVILLE AREA — Brick rancher, 3 bedrooms, dining room, family room with fireplace, modern kitchen, with dining area, hot-water baseboard heat. Immediate possession. Call R. G. Hasty, with Ellison P. Gaulding, Realtor. 648-8393, home 746-3153. 21

MECHANICSVILLE AREA — Deluxe and spacious brick ranch. Living room, formal dining room, eat-in kitchen, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, family room, large screened porch. Radiator baseboard heat. Large lot. Exclusive. Shown by appointment only. Call Henry West, MI 3-5888, Ralph H. Dudley, Inc., Realtor, AT 8-2871. 20

ROOMS AND 2 BATHS, STEPS TO ATTIC, OIL DUCT HEAT, FENCED YARD.
C. P. HILLIARD
ROSE & LAFOON CO.
MI 8-1631 OR AT 8-0457
Member MLS X

MONTROSE HEIGHTS
1802 NEWMAN ROAD

$350 Down $80 Per Month

Bungalow of 5 rooms, bath, porch, garage, radiator heat, fireplace.
Leo O. Whitlow
649-1296 Realtor 648-0424
20

MONTROSE HEIGHTS AREA
NO CLOSING
New brick rancher. $450 total cash, $95 month. Living room, 3 bedrooms, ceramic tile bath, built-in kitchen, paneled dining-family room, 10x12 utility room. $13,950. Mrs. Hardy, 233-8585 or 272-1487. Jack L. Sims Realty. 20

NINE MILE ROAD—Stop 20½. Ranch, living room, eat-in kitchen, 3 bedrooms, bath. Large lot. J. R. Norvell, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home RE 7-2678. 20

SANBURNE PARK—4808 Gilmour Rd. 3-bedroom rancher, with eat-in kitchen, storm doors and windows, nice size lot. $13,000. By Owner, RE 7-4066. 20

Sanburne Park—$12,975
NOTHING DOWN GI
$84 MONTH
Immaculate 3-bedroom rancher. Large eat-in kitchen, utility room; hot-water baseboard heat; fenced back yard
WALTER FLIPPIN
353-1266, Realtors—Home, AT 2-3329
MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC. 20

SANDSTON—112 E. Gray. Modern 3 bedrooms. Assume 4½ per cent loan with as little as $1,000 cash, $90 month. Can trade. John S. Edwards, MI 8-2774. Owner, AT 8-0812. X

SANDSTON — Cozy 3-bedroom brick bungalow, garage. $13,500 FHA. Owner pays closing. Call Mrs. Perry, 353-1334. Paul Gordon Assoc., RE 7-4174. X

SANDSTON — Charming 3-bedroom rancher with dining room, $11,950, $450 total cash FHA, under $80 a month.
737-6058 Jim Hamner 737-6058
LEE CONNER REALTY CORP. 21

SANDSTON—11 Eastlake Drive. 3-bedroom brick, completely redecorated inside and out. New water heater, light fixture and kitchen tile. $13,500. E. W. Barnett, RE 7-1617 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI

Investment Property 130

WEST END — Two modern office buildings, located on West Broad Street. Parking, adjoining warehouse and office space. Opportunity for future growth. W. C. Hutchinson, Bailey & Childress, Inc., MI 4-3013. X

WEST END—West of Boulevard. This six-family apartment of five rooms and bath in each apartment. Gross Income, $4,900 and only asking $28,500. For full information, call Dick Jones, EL 5-2453 or MI 3-6766. Sawyer & Smith, Inc., Realtors. 20

WEST END—6 unit apt. building, $380 monthly income. All utilities paid by tenants, except water, ideally located in city. Can assume loan; priced to sell. Call today to see

LOU VORON

REALTY INC., 648-9288 20

WILLOW LAWN AREA — Excellent air conditioned, 1-story brick office building, 4 years old. Ample parking, 3,200 sq. ft. of rentable space. Building available September 1, and netting 10 per cent on present rent which is less than going rates in this area. Exclusive, A. J. Dickinson, AT 2-2111. Alfred J. Dickinson, Inc., Realtors, 288-2841. X

15 units, colored property. All rented, look over and make offer. 275-8088. Don Tabor, 258-3572. H. P. Miller Realty, Inc. 20

SEVERAL apartment units, Fan area, good return. Call for particulars, Mrs. Freelander, Town House Realty, EL 9-5965. 21

28TH ST., N.—1410, 12, 16. Priced to sell below assessment at $15,000. C. E. Jones, Jr., BE 3-5322. Bailey & Childress, Inc., 644-3013. 20

FIRST OFFERING

Fan area, triplex. New oil furnace. Redecorated. Bus. Shopping. $19,950. Agent, EL 9-0012 23M

905 W. Main, 5 apartments, $450 per month gross income. Easy terms. H. E. White.

BLAKE & BANE

266-2143 REALTORS, MLS 353-2727

20

PERFECT spot for another high-rise apartment building. Lot size is 80x250. Already zoned R-6. Address is 381 Chamberlayne Ave. If interested, call Ralph Truax, EL 8-4627 (home). Elam & Funsten, Realtors, Exclusive agents, MI 4-9451. XM

Colored: North Avenue

Income plus!

Four rooms and bath up and down. Apartments completely redecorated and floors sanded. Only $13,500, FHA. $450 down. Don't wait! Cal W. S. Zimmerman, Elam & Funsten, MI 4-9451 or AT 2-1745. 20

DUPLEX — Highland Park. 2-story stucco. Excellent condition, on 60' by 140' corner lot. Full basement, hot-water radiator heat, two furnaces, practically new, each oil fired, separate meters. Downstairs: Big, modern eat-in kitchen, large living room with fireplace, big master bedroom and full bath. Upstairs: eat-in kitchen, living room, 2 bedrooms and bath. Ideal for couple wishing to live in lower apartment and rent out the upper apartment. Shown by appointment. Call either H. E. Stillings, MI 9-1913 (home), or Ralph Truax, EL 8-4627 (home). Elam & Funsten, Exclusive Agents, MI 4-9451. XM

Industrial Property 130A

FOR SALE

NORTH off No. 1 and convenient to Rt. 64 and Rt. 95, 4 acres, zoned M-1. Ideal for truck terminal or manufacturing. 10 minutes from Richmond. J. F. Anthony, Broker, BR 2-4100. 21

CRACKAJACK Industrial location on Brook Road. Fairly close to proposed new post office building. 100x280. Irregular. Zone M-2 heavy industrial. Only $40,000. Call Ralph Truax, EL 8-4627 (home). Elam & Funsten, Realtors, MI 4-9451. XM

Business Properties 130B

FOR SALE—WANTED

BOULEVARD, N.

Ideal showroom and warehouse or garage, approximately 400 sq. ft. $37,500. Bo Willcox, EL 3-9136, Malon Rutty, Realtor, EL 5-7497. 20

HENRICO COUNTY—Lots in excellent business area, desirable for doctor's offices, law offices or very desirable for drug store. Badly needed in this area. 275-2731, agent. 21

McGUIRE AREA — 360 West. 5,000 warehouse; sewerage available or will rent. Owner. SY 4-3622. 22

Farms and Land 132

FOR SALE AND WANTED

15 ACRES—Country woods, branch, spring, $500 down, $50 monthly. C. W. Duncan, Broker, Louisa, Va., phone 230 weekdays, phone 145 Sundays. 20

45 ACRES—Reseeded woods. Stream. On hard road. $150 acre. $200 down; $40 monthly. Ph. Mr. Porter, 239 Louisa, Va. 1251 nights. Cooke Agency. X

1 ACRE—Neat 7-room country home, bath, garden space, $6,000. Terms $1,500 down, $65 monthly. C. W. Duncan, Broker, Louisa, Va. phone 230 weekdays, 145 Sundays. 20

25 ACRES—Country home, 1½ baths, basement, swimming pool, $14,400. Terms. C. W. Duncan, Broker, Louisa, Va. Phone 230 Weekdays, phone 145 Sundays. 20

5 ACRES — 5-room country home, bath, commuting distance of Richmond, $10,000. C. W. Duncan, Broker, Louisa, Va. Phone 230 weekdays; phone 145 Sundays. 20

100 ACRES—20 open, on country road, old house, good site for building new home, $10,000. Terms ¼ down, balance monthly. C. W. Duncan, Broker, Louisa, Va. Phone 230 Weekdays, phone 145 Sundays. 20

760 OPEN ACRES—Grain and cattle farm. Good home, plenty of outbuildings, water for stock, good fencing and rich land. Best of financing, low interest. For appointment to inspect, call P. Walter Parker, 643-9053; home, Old Church, PR 9-3221, with G. B. Lorraine, Broker, 728 E. Main St., Richmond. Farms and estates, seashore to mountains. 20

1,049-ACRE cattle and grain farm, priced low for quick sale at $135,000. 400 acres open land, fenced and cross-fenced, water in all pastures; 649 acres in valuable timber. Well-built manor house with lovely view, 2 tenant houses, complement outbuildings. May be financed. To inspect, call P. Walter Parker, 643-9053; home, Old Church, PR 9-3221, with G. B. Lorraine, Broker, 728 East Main St., Richmond, Va. Farms and estates. Seashore to mountains. X

850 ACRES—5 miles paved road frontage. Complete with 75 head of Black Angus cattle. 1965 crops consisting of 35 acres corn, 100 acres hay, 400 acres of pasture. All machinery including 4 tractors, Chev. truck, corn picker, forge harvester, combine, hay baler, wagons, plows, drills, cultipacker, hay conditioner, mowers and many more items. Large barn, bull barn, two lofting barns, six dwellings. On main U. S. highway, only one hour from principal city. Owner has other business interest. Price, $150,000. (Can assume loan of $55,000.) Call Hugh Bolton, Canning Land Company, Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia. Phone 847-4916. 22M

250 ACRES

CUMBERLAND COUNTY, 40 MILES FROM CITY. TWO-STORY HOUSE, 3 ROOMS AND BATH DOWN. 2 LARGE ROOMS UP. TENANT HOUSE, 90 ACRES OPEN, FENCED AND CROSS FENCED, PLENTY OF WATER.

C. P. HILLIARD, HOME AT 8-0457

Rose & Lafoon Co.

REALTORS

MI 8-1631

MEMBER MLS X

AMELIA COUNTY—312 acres on Appomattox River. Approved Grade A milking parlor on farm. Fenced and cross-fenced. This is an excellent value at $27,500. Call B. J. Meredith Jr., office 233-9823; home 794-5176. W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors. 22

CHESTERFIELD — 105 acres land, mostly open. Located near the new Swift Creek reservoir and on hard-surfaced road. Call B.J. Meredith Jr., 233-9823; home 794-5176. W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors. 22

GOOCHLAND — Completely modern 6-bedroom home with maid's quarters, surrounded by 200 picturesque acres. 20 minutes from city. J. T. Clanton, Jr., 358-6751, EL 9-0522, Coffey & Co., Realtors, "Ready to Serve." 21

GOOCHLAND COUNTY

Large Colonial 7 room and bath home, set in huge trees, good barns with 35 acres and stream on paved road. Only $16,500. Call Monday.

FRANCES TRUETT, BROKER

Goochland, Va. HU 6-2011 20

HANOVER—Rockville. 33 acres, 2-bedroom home. 3 large buildings. Ideal for chicken farm.

J. T. MILLS JR., INC., CO 6-2501

21M

HANOVER

20 acres, hard road frontage, stream, $6,500, ⅓ down.

31 acres, streams, 2-acre pond site. Good investment at $4,107.52. Terms.

Farms and Land 132

FOR SALE—WANTED

FARMS: Country homes, estates. Charles Blair Realtors, Ashland, Va. 21M

BRICK home and land just out of Richmond. Large shade trees, nice lawn, horse lot and stalls, airplane hangar and landing strip, other outbuildings. Possession July, 1965. A real opportunity. Shown by appointment only. Call P. Walter Parker, 643-9053; home, Old Church, PR 9-3221, with G. B. Lorraine, Real Estate Broker, 728 E. Main St., Richmond. Farms and estates seashore to mountains. X

LOCATED 12 miles from Richmond on the southern bank of the James River, this valuable 116-acre estate offers long road frontage and a wonderful 16-room Williamsburg style home. An investment that affords a fabulous place to live. A seldom-found combination, 6 bedrooms, indoor swimming pool, air conditioning, 5½ baths, stables are but a few of the features. Terms and trades arranged. Call George Coffey, 358-6751 or AT 8-4785, Coffey & Co., Realtors, "Ready to Serve." 20

BROOKSIDE, one of Culpeper's loveliest farm estates, 534 acres, bordered by creek, productive land, beautiful four bedroom, two and a half bath house, fireplaces, setting, view, charm, farm buildings, labor, 15 minutes to shopping, country club and hospital. $165,000. Write for brochure.

RIVER FARM, 209 A., GOOD LAND, SOLID OLD 4-BEDROOM HOUSE, $37,500.00.

BROWNING REAL ESTATE AGENCY

Realtors—Culpeper, Virginia

Phone: 825-0731, 825-8839

20M

FARMS AND ESTATES

1. 1,900 acres, old brick house, $250,000.
2. 892 acres, 400 open, river frontage, $137,000.
3. 840 acres, good home, $115,000.
4. 685 acres, everything excellent condition, $115,000.
5. 776 acres, river farm, stone house, $175,000.
6. 835 acres, 10 room nice home, $105,000.
7. 588 acres, good home, $95,00.

A. C. PINCHBECK & CO.

132 Turner Rd., Richmond, Va.

272-2210 20

FARMS

WATERFRONT

234 acres, 1 mile shoreline, $83,500.
142 acres, 3 miles shoreline, $66,600.
148 acres, 800 ft. on creek, $55,000.
148 acres, 1,000 ft. on creek, $50,000.

FARMS

97 acres, Colonial home, $40,000.
103 acres, Colonial home, $75,000.
420 acres, $166,500.
800 acres, Colonial home, $225,000.
111 acre timber farm, $13,875.
260 acre timber farm, $80 per acre.
360 acre timber farm, $120 per acre.

G. C. DAWSON, REALTOR

Kilmarnock, Va.

435-1266 435-1267 X

0 0

HORSES

West of Richmond and convenient to downtown. Excellent condition home and small acreage with good pasture. Priced right. Near Deep Run Hunt Club.

TERRIFIC HOME SITE

14 acres rolling and wooded on 711 in Powhatan County, convenient to river and excellent surroundings. Price, $7,000.

BUY OR SELL A FARM OR LAND

CALL

ALLEN H. GREEN REAL ESTATE

EL 5-0063 EL 8-2092

P. O. Box 9101, Richmond 27, Va. 20

Timber and Timber Lands 133

FOR SALE—WANTED

300 ACRES—Land and timber; $1,000 per acre; Mrs. Willis, Broker, 232-1002. 22

Powhatan

115 acres. Approximately 80 acres in pine and hardwood. Spring with pond site. Old house. R. E. Shannon, MI 4-9451. Elam & Funsten, Realtors. X

WANTED: Land with standing pine timber. Cash or terms. Give full details, to CO-887, care this paper. 20

ATTENTION: Wanted, standing pine pulpwood. Chesterfield and Powhatan County. Thinning a specialty. K. T.

Houses for Sale 134

COLORED: Central Gardens. Lovely ranch home, beautiful painted rooms. $3,000 and assume loan, and $500 down and owner will hold 2nd mortgage on $2,500. 233-1027. 14

COLORED: North Side. 3-yr. old quality duplex with 2 bedrooms, dining area, air conditioning. $1,500 cash. Call Bill Carle with Joseph A. Lange, Realtors, MI 3-2805 or EL 9-1813. MLS Member. X

COLORED: North Side, excellent buy. Corner lot. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, 0 down GI. Only $430 FHA. Less than $89 month. George Love, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801, home 270-2368. X

COLORED: Oak Grove, Fairfax St. 2-bedroom bungalow. Front porch, large rooms, extra lot. $300 cash, owner pays closing. Jerry Sauvain, BE 3-9823 or home, 232-7929. W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors 21

COLORED: $250 down, $60 per month, no closing costs. Eat-in kitchen, near city bus.

ASK FOR DAVE FAY

288-2824 Realtors AT 8-7401

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC.

20

COLORED: Ladies Mile Road. 6 rooms, bath. Basement. Hot-water heat. G.I. no down payment or closing cost. FHA $350 down including closing costs. Glenn P. Crone, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801. X

COLORED: South side. Two bedrooms, living room, eat-in kitchen, newly decorated. A real buy. $250 cash, $61 per month, including taxes and insurance. Gee Bros., Realtors, W. C. White, BE 2-2307; after 6, MI 4-6976. 21

COLORED

South Side, 5-room bungalow in excellent condition. Bus by door. Ride by 1720 Fairfax Ave. Call C. B. Farley to inspect. Only $300 down FHA. Oxford Realty Co., MI 3-1444. 20

Colored

HOME SITES

Ranchers—Tri-Levels

SEE MODEL HOMES

700 Hungary Rd. (St. Joseph Villa)

Call CO 6-0408 or EL 9-6872

LET'S BUILD 20

COLORED: North Side, 711 Cheatwood Avenue. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths. Immediate possession. No qualifying or credit problems. Just $500.00 cash and move in. $5,950 total price. Lawrence Realty Corp., 353-4471; Joe Craig, 232-2810. 21

COLORED: South Side. 2-bedroom home in immaculate condition. Storm windows and doors for low heat cost, plenty of storage area. Only $7,600. $250 down. Warren Chapman, 359-1371; home, 233-1503. J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., Realtors. Exclusive. 20

COLORED: Griffin Ave. 2-story stucco, 4 bedrooms, large kitchen, basement, range and automatic washer included. $425 cash down. Owner pays closing. Jerry Sauvain, BE 3-9823 or home, 232-7929. W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors. 21

COLORED: Central Gardens. 3-bedroom rancher, $11 800. Built-in oven and range, large eat-in kitchen, bath with tub and shower enclosure, double sink. FHA $350 down, no closing cost, GI $0 down, $0 closing cost. 649-3510, 643-7243, Lytle Realty 23

COLORED: North Side. 2-story stucco. 3 bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen, plus den, 1½ baths, basement, oil heat, plenty of storage area. A real buy. Only $11,500. Priced to sell. Call R. H. James, MI 4-5716; home, MI 9-3510. Lytle Realty Co. 23

COLORED: 3407 Fendall. Beautiful tri-level. Use as 4 bedrooms if needed. Beautiful fenced yard, garage, covered patio, new roof, storm windows and doors, recreation room, 1½ baths, another full bath roughed in. Call AT 8-4149—266-7559, MI 3-0201. Jones & Robins. X

COLORED: North Side. Beautiful corner location on Westcliffe Ave. Immaculate and waiting for the discriminating buyer who wants and can afford a nicer home. Well suited for retired couple. Warren Chapman, 359-1371; home, 233-1503. J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., Realtors. Exclusive. 20

COLORED: NORTH SIDE, $17,950

Three-year-old quality duplex with two bedrooms, ceramic bath, dining area, living room, kitchen, air conditioning. $1,500. Assume 1st and 2nd mortgage. Call Bill Carle, with Joseph A. Lange, Realtors, MI 3-2805 or EL 5-7669. 26

COLORED: $7,950

$250 Total Cash FHA—$55 Monthly

Owner Pays Closing Cost

Newly decorated 2-bedroom bungalow, immediate possession. Nice. Call

JOHN BAWSEL

355-2841 Realtors 266-8181

SPILMAN SHORT, INC.

"Homes for Living" X

Houses for Sale—Zone 1

FLOYD AVE.—8 rooms, $8,550. Two baths, painted. Hebring, MI 3-2655. 20

HANOVER AVE., 2412 — Brick, 8 rooms, 2 baths, basement. Can be used for one or 2 families. Chewning & Smith, Realtors, MLS, MI 3-5381. 21

SPOTTSWOOD RD.—Lovely two-story brick. 4 bedrooms, 1½ baths, living room, dining room and kitchen. Excellent condition. Priced to sell. Call Jerry Middleton, EL 9-3519. Mann Realty, Inc., 232-6746. 20

STUART AVENUE — Brick duplex townhouse. 5 rooms, bath each. Immediate possession one unit. Everything separate. New furnaces. Garland Waddell, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home, AT 2-6603. X

WEST END—Lovely brick home with slate roof and park-like surroundings. 4 bedrooms, 1½ baths, large screened porch. Lot 75'x100'. Mrs. Krost, AT 8-8130. Mann Realty, Inc., 232-6746. 21

WEST END—(S. Blvd.). Live down stairs and collect $300 monthly upstairs. 10 rooms, 2½ baths, full basement. Price $21,500. Call W. W. Hampton, BE 2-6724; 275-0266. S. B. Franklin & Co., Broker. X

WEST END—FAN AREA

Nine room brick home with two-car garage. This home affords many opportunities—may all be used for one large family, or the five rooms on 2nd floor may be rented for $50 per week!

CALL: A. L. CARROLL

288-2824 Realtors—Home 737-6109

EARL NORTHERN & CO. 20

West End

Fan District

First offering brick, completely restored, spacious double living room, large dining room and eat-in kitchen, 4 bedrooms, 1½ baths, attractive patio in backyard. See this unusual home today. Priced to sell. Mrs. Duling, home, 359-4685, 282-3146.

MUHLEMAN

& CO., INC., REALTORS, MLS.

20

FAN area: 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, basement with new oil heat, excellent condition. Immediate.

THROCKMORTON REALTY EL 8-6977

21

ARCHITECTS, professional men. Unique opportunity for office or shop plus residence in ante-bellum house. Downtown location in restored neighborhood. Call Crawley Joyner, III, AT 8-7080 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. 20

FIRST OFFERING

Attention large families: 4-bedroom, 2-bath, completely done over town house. Excellent buy at $15,950. Exclusive with P. B. Winfree III, 643-3406, or home, 358-2060. Chas. A. Rose Co., Inc., Realtors.

20

East of Boulevard

2200

Grove Ave.

Corner brick 9 rooms, 3 baths, basement, oil hot-water heat.

C. P. HILLIARD

ROSE & LAFOON CO.

MI 8-1631 OR AT 8-0457

M.L.S. MEMBER X

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

Boulevard West between Broad St. and James River. See map.

Academy Road Area

Tuckahoe—Freeman—St. Bridget's

FULL BASEMENT

Brick ranch! 3 twin-size bedrooms, 2½ baths, 25-foot paneled family room with glass-sliding doors opening to large patio and beautiful lot. Has 14' kitchen (built-ins) plus 13' dining room. Rent 'til loan OK'd!

4 BEDROOM RANCH

Only $25,250! Has 30' kitchen, family room (built-ins and fireplace), full dining room; hardtop driveway; large lot.

EARLY AMERICAN

Appealing old-brick 3-bedroom ranch on beautiful lot with macadam drive, covered patio and dead-end street. Has foyer, 2 baths, full dining room, kitchen, nook, beautifully paneled den plus workshop basement. $26,500!

CALL DICK RADFORD

ELLETT & CO.

AT 2-4245 Realtors AT 2-5635

20

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

FARMINGTON—Challenger. Available Sept. 1. GI loan assumption. AT 8-1414. 20

FARMINGTON

Four large bedrooms, 2 baths, family room, dining room, modern kitchen, large screened porch. Only $17,750 or $700 down, FHA. Exclusive A. J. Dickinson, AT 2-2111, Alfred J. Dickinson, Inc., Realtors, 288-2841. X

FARMINGTON — Ideal for children. Quiet dead-end street. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, air conditioned family room, Westinghouse kitchen with dishwasher, washer, dryer, refrigerator, oven and stove. On school and city bus route. One owner home. 1304 Condover Rd. $17,990. AT 8-7780. 21

FITZHUGH AVE.—Brick 3 bedrooms, den, large utility. Bus one block. Four blocks to T.J. Five blocks to Willow Lawn. To inspect, call W. M. Pace. Louis Kessler Realty, office BE 3-4409; home EL 3-0692. 20

FORT HILL—3-bedroom rancher. Walk to Village Shopping and bus. $350 down FHA. 0 down G.I. Monthly payments $75. Cheaper than rent. Garland Waddell, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home AT 2-6603. X

FREEMAN AREA

Owner in Texas

MUST SELL

4 bedrooms, 2 baths, screened porch. Under $21,500. Make offer.

W. W. Rennie, 353-7708

Alfred J. Dickinson, Inc., Realtor

288-2841

X

FREEMAN AREA

4 LARGE BEDROOMS

It is a pleasure to offer this excellent home featuring 4 excellent twin-size bedrooms (master bedroom 19 ft. by 15 ft.), 2½ baths, living room with fireplace, formal dining room, modern kitchen, 28-ft. recreation room and ample room for workshop. An unusually good buy in the mid-twenties. Exclusive A. J. Dickinson, AT 2-2111. Alfred J. Dickinson Inc., Realtor, 288-2841. 20

GARRETT STREET (3226)

Price $16,250 FHA, $650 down, $116 per month, 4 bedrooms, 2 full baths, formal dining room, 2 blocks to bus. No closing costs. Call

BR 2-4672 CARL CASH BR 2-1891

AMBASSADOR REALTY 20

Glenbrooke Hills

First offering of most attractive home on beautiful wooded lot of over an acre. The first floor has nice size entrance hall, living room, dining room, paneled den plus 2nd den or breakfast room, a maid's room and (2) ½ baths. The second floor has 3 twin size bedrooms and 2 baths, easily expandable. Exclusive, Wm. E. Woodroof, 288-7852. J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. EL 9-5761. 20

Goochland County

Located in Manakin Farms is this most attractive brick home with entrance hall, living room, dining room, family room, 3 excellent bedrooms—dressing room with master, 2 baths. Large acre plus lot with beautiful trees. Co-exclusive with Fred S. Campbell. 643-3406 home AT 8-9449 Chas. A. Rose, Co., Realtors. 20

GREENBRIAR HILLS

$16,050 FHA

$550 DOWN—NO CLOSING COSTS

3-bedroom, brick rancher on large corner lot. Living room, dining room, bright kitchen, screened side porch, carport. Nice. Call

JOHN BAWSEL

355-2841 Realtors 266-8181

SPILMAN SHORT, INC.

"HOMES FOR LIVING

20

HAMPTON GARDENS

FINE, 4-BEDROOM, CENTRALLY AIR CONDITIONED HOME, PRICED IN THE FIFTIES. PLEASE CALL OWNER, AT 8-3956. 21

JULIAN RD., 8600—4-bedroom brick on lovely lot. $17,750. Call owner, 282-9618. 20

KENSINGTON AVE., 3904 — Brick, slate roof, 6 rooms, 1½ baths. $16,500. Owner, EL 5-1377. 22

LEONARD PARKWAY, 4807

Low maintenance, top location. 3 bedrooms, enclosed porch and lovely yard. Extras included. Unusual buy.

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

ARKWOOD AVE., 2906—4-bedroom brick, 2-story. Hot-water heat. Excellent condition. $12,950. Bali-Martin Insurance Agency, Inc., 233-4333. 22

PINEDALE FARMS—9600 Ridgefield Rd. Immediate possession; 3-bedroom, 2½ bath tri-level; 12x24 paneled den, fireplace, entrance foyer, built-in range and dishwasher, prestige location. $24,800. Assume loan for $4,500; owner, AT 2-1539. 20

RIDGECREST

Very charming 6 room brick rancher with screened porch, fenced yard with many trees, this one will go fast. $16,950.

CHARLES CLOUGH

288-2824 Realtors 288-2794

EARL NORTHERN CO., INC. 21

RIDGEHAVEN (OFF 3 CHOPT)

Charming 3-bedroom brick rancher with dining and utility room. Storm windows, fireplace and fenced yard. FHA appraised price $15,025.

CHARLES CLOUGH

288-2824 Realtors 288-2794

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC.

20

RIVER ROAD—Two blocks off, four bedroom brick, 2½ baths, living room with fireplace, dining room, large paneled family room with fireplace, kitchen with built-ins. Attached garage. Open Sundays 3 to 5. Directions: Turn off River Road into Roslyn Hills Drive two blocks, then left on Ruggles Road. W. C. Crenshaw, Jr., Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801, home AT 2-6691. X

RIVER ROAD

Century old farm home within walking distance of Collegiate School. This home has been well cared for and owned by present family since 1905. There are 4 bedrooms 2 baths, ½ basement plus large center hall, living room, dining room and kitchen. Oil hot-water baseboard heat and full slate roof are but a few of its many assets. For appointment, please call Barbara Call (Exclusive), AT 8-1913, home AT 2-1309. J. B. Call & Co. X

RIVER ROAD

This contemporary design, 1-floor plan home is located in a most attractive woods setting. There are 3 large bedrooms, plus a slate-floored family room with exposed beams and raised hearth fireplace. There is also a sunken living room, modern kitchen, spacious porch and terrace. Exclusive, Wm. E. Woodroof, 288-7852, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors, EL 9-5761. 20

River Road Hills

Attractive brick rancher, 4 bedrooms, 3 baths, modern eat-in kitchen, full basement, parel recreation room, fireplace, bar, workshop, large screened porch, full attic. Price reasonable, early possession. Meb Davis, MI 8-1671 or AT 2-7027. Davenport Realty & Service Corp. X

ROSLYN HILLS

$20,900

4 BEDROOMS, 1½ BATHS, FAMILY ROOM, LARGE UTILITY ROOM, SCREEN PORCH, WALL-TO-WALL CARPET AND 4 AIR-CONDITIONING UNITS MAKE THIS AN ATTRACTIVE BRICK TRI-LEVEL. CALL W. P. HARPER, JR., AT 8-5619 OR MI 4-9451.

Elam & Funsten, Realtors

20

SANTA ROSA RD., 1315—Cape Cod, in West End. 3-bedroom brick. By owner. AT 2-3427 21E

SLEEPY HOLLOW — First offering! 4 bedrooms. Located in the heart of Sleepy Hollow on an unusually large and well landscaped lot is this excellent ranch featuring 4 unusually spacious bedrooms, 2½ baths, entrance hall, formal dining room, modern kitchen, charming family room and garage. Exclusive, A. J. Dickinson, AT 2-2111, Alfred J. Dickinson, Inc., 288-2841. 21

SLEEPY HOLLOW

15'x34' SWIMMING POOL

4 twin size bedrooms, 2½ baths, 14'x14' dining room, large living room with fireplace, large family room with fireplace. All electric eat-in kitchen with pantry, big screened porch plus big utility with ample closets and storage. All of this on corner lot with trees in the best neighborhood.

EXCLUSIVE MARY NEBLETT,

282-8222

NEVILLE C. JOHNSON & ASSOCS.

355-7981

20

SPOTTSWOOD ROAD—BYRD PARK

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

WEST END—Roxbury. 3 bedrooms, living room, dining room, family room, 2 baths, storage, below FHA appraisal. 270-2378 owner. 21

WEST END—3400 block, Full brick, all on one floor, 2 twin bedrooms, one of the prettiest flowered lots in the West End. Only $12,900. Easy financing. Bus line. W. B. Lumpkin, BR 2-1656. Gray Realty, MI 3-7421, MLS. 21

West End—Greenbriar Hills

BRICK RANCHER, FENCED YARD WITH TREES, 3 BEDROOMS, 1½ BATHS, FIREPLACE, DINING ROOM. ONLY $600 FHA.

BILL LYNE McCONNELL & CO.

233-9083 Realtors AT 2-5401 X

WEST END—$12,600

1412 Myrtlewood Drive, 3-bedroom Cape Cod. Formal dining room, screened porch, fenced yard, plus a new coat of paint, $400 down, FHA.

BR 2-4672 CARL CASH BR 2-1891

AMBASSADOR REALTY 19

West End—No Cash to Vets

Cute Ranch in County, $14,500

3 BEDROOMS, BIG FAMILY KITCHEN, PINE CABINETS, BIG YARD.

Woody Ford CO 6-1242 MLS

BLAKE & BANE, INC., 353-2727

20

WEST END—County, brick, 5 rooms and den with expandable attic. Just decorated. Wonderful starting home, $12,950, $450 cash, $86 a month.

DICK THOMAS

232-7891 Realtors Home 288-2720

JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 20

WEST END—COUNTY

GI NOTHING DOWN—$800 FHA

Brick ranch, 3 bedrooms, living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, paneled family room, chain link fence. Convenient to schools. Call owner, AT 8-8165. 20

West End—Ridgecrest

FIRST OFFERING—$15,750

Brick ranch, 3 bedrooms, large screened porch, beautiful yard with plenty shrubbery. Only $600 FHA.

BILL LYNE, McCONNELL & CO.

233-9083 Realtors AT 2-5401 X

WEST END—(Avalon Drive) Assume loan on this 3-bedroom brick ranch. Reasonable down payment, small monthly obligation. Exclusive, Bill Davis, BR 2-0286, BR 2-1875 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

WEST END—COUNTY

$450 down buys this 3-bedroom brick ranch situated on wooded, fenced corner lot. Large kitchen, side porch. Convenient location. $14,950.

AT 8-1906 Realtors EL 8-7952

WEINSTEIN & WEINSTEIN, INC.

20

West End

New rancher on large well treed lot. Only $21,500 with easy financing. To se this one today go out Parham Rd. to Lansdown Rd. to 2307 Adelphi Rd. MI 3-7421 CHARLES SMITH 288-5061

GRAY REALTY CORP., REALTORS

21

WEST END — Westbury. Beautiful neighborhood, convenient to schools and shopping. 3 bedroom rancher, with family room, fireplace, large eat-in kitchen, $900 down FHA.

R. E. GREENAWALT

288-8375 355-7451

CHASE INVESTMENT CORP. 20

West End—County—$15,000

ASSUME LOAN—$2,000

No Red Tape—Payments $95

6-ROOM BRICK RANCH

CALL AUBREY SLOUGH

288-2824 Realtors AT 2-0887

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC.

20

WEST END—County, but close in! $23,950. Brick ranch with full basement, garage, workshop, 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, 28' family room, porch and beautiful wooded lot 100x225. See today. R. T. Crawley, 288-3185; home, 272-4825. Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 21

WEST END—Near Mary Munford School. Brick ranch, two bedrooms, full bath, den on first floor, bedroom, full bath second floor, oil hot-water heat, lovely yard, immediate possession and to inspect, call Dick Jones, EL 5-2453 or MI 3-6766. Sawyer & Smith, Inc., Realtors. 20

WEST END—5900 BLOCK

$350 DOWN FHA—$76 MONTH

Large attractive lot with a 2-bedroom, small den, bungalow, walk to city bus and shopping. Only $11,250.

CHARLIE BLANKENSHIP

282-9777 Office MLS Home 282-4510

TOWN & COUNTRY REALTORS X

West End—Brandon

3 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS

Charming brick rancher, most attractive family room with fireplace, porch, lots of trees. Assume loan, $2,000. No qualifying!

BILL LYNE McCONNELL & CO.

233-9083 Realtors AT 2-5401 X

WEST END—COUNTY—$15,750

$550 DOWN, $108 MONTHLY

Three-bedroom brick, separate dining room, utility room, 1½ baths, fireplace, screened porch, fenced yard.

MARSHALL E. GRAVES

Houses for Sale—Zone 2

WEST END

Kensington Ave.; eight-room brick. Recently painted. Excellent home, sizable family or part rental.

S. B. Carter

643-6703—353-5481

Tyler & Bradley, Inc., Realtors

X

WEST END—COUNTY

ASSUME LOAN OR FINANCE

This is a brick ranch home with 3 bedrooms, ceramic tile bath, large utility room, eat-in kitchen, and many extras. I have it with, and without, the paneled den. For further information, call

W. S. HASTINGS

282-9777 Realtors 282-4677

TOWN & COUNTRY 20

West End—County

WINDSORDALE

$2,500 and Assume Loan

NO QUALIFYING—NO RED TAPE

3-Bedroom Brick Ranch

Full Dining Room—Built-in Kitchen

Family Room—2 Baths

TRADES CONSIDERED

TOM SIMMONS

288-2824 Realtors AT 8-5326

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

West End

RICHMOND'S

Most sought after location. Outstanding Colonial two-story on tall treed lot. 4 airy bedrooms (one on first), part basement, really a must for tradition living and convenience. Full brick and unbelievably priced at $24,500. Norman Birch, AT 8-6838; Gray Realty Corp., MI 3-7421, MLS.

20

WEST END—FREEMAN AREA

$475 CASH, $101 TOTAL MONTHLY

Immaculate 3-bedroom brick rancher, situated on lovely wooded lot, fenced. Living room, dining room, eat-in kitchen, large utility room. Close to shopping. This should sell fast. Priced $15,025.

CALL JIM PURCELL

288-2824 Realtors, AT 8-4668, Home

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

WEST END—MICHAELS ROAD

FIRST OFFERING

Extra large custom-built 3-bedroom rancher with separate dining room, family room with fireplace, located on ½-acre lot. Convenient to Ridge, Tuckahoe and Freeman Schools.

MORRIS GUNN

288-2824 Realtors 282-8220

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC.

X

WEST END—903 Pepper Ave., air conditioned 2-story brick, 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, entrance hall, large living room, formal dining room, eat-in kitchen, beautiful 15'x21' paneled den with fireplace, numerous closets, fenced yard, excellent location for new hospital and shopping centers. Patterson bus on corner, county taxes, appraised $19,500. will sell $18,000, direct from owner. Call AT 8-9590 to see. 20

West End—First Offering

4-BEDROOM TRI-LEVEL

Prettiest Lawn in Richmond

FORMAL DINING ROOM—DEN

Outstanding value in this newly decorated home. Much sought after Hill and Dale area. Only $1,100 down FHA. Appraised $20,400.

AUBREY SLOUGH

288-2824 Realtor AT 2-0887

EARL NORTHERN & CO.

X

West End—County

CONTEMPORARY RANCH

This lovely 3-bedroom ranch has many fine appointments including a large and very attractive family room, living room with exposed beams. Modern kitchen, 2½ baths, central air-conditioning. Only $25,950.

TOM SIMMONS

288-2824 Realtors AT 8-5326

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC.

X

WEST END—CITY

$350 CASH, $78 MONTHLY

NO CLOSING COSTS

Charming 2 story older home located off Patterson Ave. Near shopping and bus. Living room, dining, kitchen, utility room. 4 bedrooms, bath up. Fenced lot 119'x200', garage, storm windows. Oil hot-water heat. Priced only $10,500.

CALL JIM PURCELL

288-2824 Realtors, AT 8-4668, Home

EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

West End—Westwood

OPEN 1:00-6:00

5810 RICHMOND AVE.

$16,950. Owner pays closing costs. Spacious living room, large dining room, two bedrooms, den and garage. Well shrubbed lot. See today or call

CHRISTINE HILL

MI 8-5881 Realtors MLS 282-5979

MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC.

Directions: Right off 5800 block Monument on Bremo, north on Bremo to Richmond Ave. 20

WEST END—CITY

CHARMING DUPLEX

SPACIOUS, A RARE FIND

Two separate apartments, entrance hall, living room, dining room, 3 bedroom, 1 full and 2 one-half baths, modern kitchen and garage on first

FOR SALE—WANTED

BOULEVARD, N.
Ideal showroom and warehouse or garage, approximately 400 sq. ft. $37,500. Bo Willcox, EL 3-9136, Malon Realty, Realtor, EL 5-7497. 20

HENRICO COUNTY—Lots in excellent business area, desirable for doctor's offices, law offices or very desirable for drug store. Badly needed in this area. 275-2731, agent. 21

McGUIRE AREA — 360 West. 5,000 warehouse; sewerage available or will rent. Owner. SY 4-3622. 22

PETERSBURG PIKE

Bellwood and Reynolds Metals area. 300 feet frontage 380 feet depth. Over 10,000 population in the immediate area. Prime location for bank, supermarket, hardware store, etc. Exclusive with Bill Lona BE 2-6108; Bennie Thomas, BR 2-1238. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

SOUTH RICHMOND — Zone M-1, 30x110, all brick, side and rear parking lot, 60x170, exceptional buy, will sell or rent less than appraised value, call owner, BR 2-1004. 17

VARINA—Desirable corner business lots, suitable for service stations or store buildings. 275-2731, Agent. 21

WAREHOUSE—10,000 SQ. FT.
RICHMOND REALTY, EL 3-8309. 21

WEST END—LAND
City or county parcels and acreage for offices. Commercial or industrial. Call Charles Straus, MI 8-5881, Morton G. Thalhimer, Inc., Realtors. X

COMMERCIAL industrial property specialist. Travis Realty Co., Realtors, 232-7811 day; BR 2-2946 nights. 27

PRIME business location. Scott's Addition area, 9,500 sq. ft. warehouse and office with 14,000 sq. ft. of parking space, sale or lease.
HAZELWOOD & HORSON REALTY
AT 8-2222 X

A DOCTOR'S DELIGHT
Lovely owner-built home on Hermitage Road. In county. 2½ stories, brick, ample baths. 3.5 acres rolling land. With little expenditure this desirable property can be converted into your office, waiting room, laboratory, X-ray room, and private quarters. I believe you will be delighted. James G. Timberlake, Realtor, EL 5-8684. 20

JOHNSON'S
COUNTRY STORE
2 ACRE BASS POND
40 ACRES LAND

AUCTION

SAT. JUNE 26, 10:30

At Litwalton on highway 354 on Northern Neck between Warsaw and Kilmarnock.

Clean stock, modern fixtures, apartment, 4 rooms furniture. Stocked bass pond, 40 acres land, some timber. Easy terms. Call

G. C. DAWSON
WARSAW 435-1267 OR 1266

BLAND LAND CO.
Rt. 2, Roanoke
the auctioneers 20

BUY AT YOUR OWN PRICE!

Completely Modern
Brick Home

36'x66' Gulf
Station known as

BARNES SERVICE STATION
at
LITWALTON, VIRGINIA
(Northern Neck between
Warsaw and Kilmarnock)
AT

AUCTION

SAT., JUNE 26TH, 2 P. M

A real money maker as well as an ideal retirement set-up! Call Mr. Dawson . . . you'll be glad you did!

G. C. DAWSON
KILMARNOCK, VIRGINIA
435-1266

BLAND LAND CO.
ROANOKE, VA.
THE AUCTIONEERS

X

STRIKE IT RICH. Use Want Ads.

home, set in huge trees, good barns with 35 acres and stream on paved road. Only $16,500. Call Monday.
FRANCES TRUETT, BROKER
Goochland, Va. HU 6-2011 20

HANOVER—Rockville. 33 acres, 2-bedroom home. 3 large buildings. Ideal for chicken farm.
J. T. MILLS JR., INC., CO 6-2501
21M

HANOVER
20 acres, hard road frontage, stream, $6,500, ½ down.
31 acres, streams, 2-acre pond site. Good investment at $4,107.52. Terms. Early American 6-room home; 19 pretty acres of land, long road frontage, $12,950.

ALL OF THESE ARE GOOD BUYS
Call E. M. (Ned) King, EL 3-9116, CO 6-3124, Claude Realty Co.
THE BEST INVESTMENT
ON EARTH IS EARTH 20

JAMES RIVER FARMS

GOOCHLAND COUNTY
500 acres with good view and good improvements.
About 500 acres—long road and river frontage—quite accessible.
1200 acres of all one seeks in a river farm.

Don Faulkner
VIRGINIA LANDMARK
CORPORATION
FIRST & MERCHANTS
BANK BUILDING
RICHMOND 643-6741 VA. 20

LOUISA COUNTY—TO SETTLE ESTATE, 42½ ACRES, ½ OPEN, 8 ROOM FRAME HOUSE. MAKE OFFER! CALL MRS. HEMBY, 272-3217, ROBERT YOBS, REALTOR. 20

MIDDLESEX COUNTY—Hartfield, 51 acres, 1,600' on Rt. 33. 2-story, 6-room home; 3 bedrooms, bath, closets, modern kitchen, screened porches, oil baseboard heat, office, garage, shop. All splendid condition, shade, fruit. Stream and spring-fed 4-acre lake, $25,000. Sallie Tabb, Broker, Gloucester, OX 3-3755. 20

MONTPELIER AREA — Investment property, attention doctors. 6 rooms, 2 baths, modern kitchen, 123 acres, mostly open, fenced farm, equipment, stocked farm, spring, pond. Owner will finance for reliable party, commuting distance to Richmond. Priced to sell. Matthews & Foltz, broker, RE 7-1566; RE 7-4924. 23

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY—Nine acre estate with comfortable 2-story home overlooking the Coan River. More than 450 foot frontage on the river. Excellent deep water harbor, several extra building sites on water. Convenient to shopping, golf and country club. Priced at only $15,000. Owner moving. Also many other waterfront listings to choose from. JAMES W. LUTTRELL, REALTOR
KILMARNOCK, VA.
Phone Office, 435-1875;
Residence, 438-4161
21

NOTTOWAY COUNTY—400 acres, 300 open, 2 large ponds, 3,000 foot air strip, 9-room brick Colonial house, 6 bedrooms, 2½ baths. Several outbuildings. J. R. Norvell, Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801, home 7-2678. X

POWHATAN
Brick Colonial home restored. 9 rooms 70 acres (40 open). $44,000. 60 acres woodland. Pond site. $100 per care. 25 miles out. Terms.
Brick ranch, 3 bedrooms, basement, 18 acres. $25,000.
R. C. Yates, Agent, 1-LY 8-3008
R. M. Thompson, Broker, 794-5937
Office, 1-LY 8-3157 20

FREE catalog, 300 farms, businesses, low prices. Landon Atkins, Realtor, Farmville, Va. X

GOOD 4-room bungalow, water in kitchen. Acre lot on U. S. Rt. 250. $150 down; $40 monthly. $5,950. Ph. Mr. Porter, 239 Louisa, Va. 125J nights. Cooke Agency. X

3-BEDROOM bungalow, completely remodeled; double garage, barn, storage shed, 8¼ acres. Rt. 54 between 95 and 301. $14,000. Cic Colussy, Ashland. 20M

U. S. Rt. 60 (near), 18 miles west. 56 acres next to growing subdivision. $325 per acre. Rolling wooded land, stream. H. C. Mathews, 232-6755; home, 794-5182. Sowers Realty, Inc., Realtors. X

ON James River. 5 acres. Shade trees. You can drive to river's edge. Electricity, excellent fishing. $1,995, with $95 down, $40 month. L. G. Atkins, Realtor, Farmville, Va., 392-4695 or 392-4607. 21

GENTLEMAN FARMERS:
Seen this beautiful suburban retreat. 124 acres with spacious modern home in grove of trees. Close to Richmond. Fenced for horses. Springs and pond sites. $60,000. Mrs. Zodun, RE 7-4924; home, RE 7-2384. Mathews & Foltz, Broker. 23

SPACIOUS home with 5 acres of land in Saluda. County seat of Middlesex County, Va. Suitable for private home or combination home and office, antique shop or for development of a motel. Attractive price and terms. G. B. Lorraine, Broker, Richmond Federal Bldg., Richmond, Va. Heathsville office, HU 2-3455. Brokers' cooperation invited. 20

COLONIAL COUNTY ESTATE
800 ACRES
In beautiful central Virginia. 1 hour from Richmond. Profitable cattle operation. Colonial 10-room brick residence, tenant house, 3 feeder barns with silos. Many other storage buildings for feed and equipment. Very accessible.
WALTER FLIPPIN
353-1266. Realtors—Home, AT 2-3329
MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC.
21

Farms

115 acres. Approximately 80 acres in pine and hardwood. Spring with pond site. Old house. R. E. Shannon, MI 4-9451, Elam & Funsten, Realtors. X

WANTED: Land with standing pine timber. Cash or terms. Give full details, to CO-887, care this paper. 20

ATTENTION: Wanted, standing pine pulpwood. Chesterfield and Powhatan County. Thinning a specialty. K. T. Forsee, Moseley, Va., LY 8-5604. Br 2 2725 after 8 P. M. 30

Out-of-Town Property 133A

28,000 acre California ranch, $560,000. Water, fences, roads. Access good. 7,000 acres deeded, 21,000 Bureau Land Management. Cash sacrifice. P. O. Box 192, Oxnard, Calif. 20

Houses for Sale 134

CENTRAL GARDENS — 3-bedroom ranch, built-in kitchen, double garage, fenced yard. Excellent condition. Call Al Palmieri, BR 2-6613, Olympic Corp., 233-4361. 20

CENTRAL GARDENS
From $12,100 to $13,500
3-bedroom ranches. Eat-in kitchen, built-ins, walk to school, bus, etc. Low down payment, FHA, GI.
644-7831. Donald Thomson, 270-3009
JOHN L. HOLT, INC., REALTOR 20

CHAMBERLAYNE AVE., 3811—Lovely old home. Just right for a big family or could be converted into 3 or 4 apartments. Four big bedrooms, plus two small ones and two baths, all on second floor. Both a front porch and a side porch. Big entrance hall, beautiful stairs, large living room, a nice den, big dining room, butler's pantry and kitchen. Full basement, oil hot-water radiator heat. Double garage. Lot 80'x250'. Call
RALPH TRUAX, EL 8-4627 (HOME)

ELAM & FUNSTEN
Exclusive Agents, MI 4-9451 XM

GLEN ECHO PARK
(Off Nine Mile Road)
507 Park Ave. Three-bedroom ranch with built-ins, fenced yard, inside and outside utility rooms. Walk to elementary school.
CAPITAL, INC., REAL ESTATE
MI 9-1563 RE 7-2091 25

SECOND AVE. — Duplex. Easy terms. Town House Realty. EL 9-5965. Mrs. Freedlander. 21

HOMES wanted. Call Joe Gragnani, 353-3905. Seay, Funal & Harvey. 30

3 BEDROOMS, living room, kitchen, bath, utility room, city bus. $105.00 monthly. Lawrence Realty Corp. 353-4471. 21

3 bedrooms, dining room, living room, kitcheen, ceramic bath, large garage, with utility room, city bus, fenced lot, $125.00 monthly. Lawrence Realty Corp. 353-4471. 21

4 EAST 35TH
Attractive three-bedroom brick home with screened-in back porch, on beautiful lot, $13,000. Bob Bruce, 233-5083. Horner & Newell, Inc., Realtors, 233-7641. 20

COLORED: South Side. 5-room brick. Broker, BE 3-5100. A. L. Huband. 21

COLORED: Randolph St. 6 rooms, $5,000; rent $780; terms. MI 3-2655. 20

COLORED: North Side, nice modern brick bungalow, only $10,950. L. L. Wiley, Broker, 359-3451. 25M

COLORED: S. Randolph. Terms like rent. 6 rooms, $60 down, MI 3-2655. 21

COLORED: Easy terms on brick, 8 rooms and 1½ baths at 2719 E. Broad Street. Chewning & Smith, Realtors, MLS, MI 3-5381. 21

COLORED: North Side, duplex, 4 rooms, bath, each flat. Loan assumption. Second flat vacant. Connelly & Co., 644-1171 or 355-6501. 20

COLORED: South Side duplex. 1 apartment rented for $75 Mo., live in other apt. for very little. Price $11,950. Call 233-9083. X

COLORED—3-BEDROOM RANCH
OFF MECHANICSVILLE PIKE
$750 and Take Up $80 Payments
BY OWNER, 648-8616 X

COLORED: 1623 Oakwood Ave., corner, 8 rooms, 1½ baths; 2 kitchens; nice lot; storm windows and doors. Vacant; Melvin C. Gibson Real Estate, MI 3-3440. 28

COLORED: 1117 E. 15th St., modern 2-bedroom bungalow, Anchor fenced, $275 down plus closing, only $56 month total. MI 8-2851, AT 8-7546. 21M

COLORED: Church Hill, brick duplex, 10 rooms, 2 kitchens, 2 baths, $750 down. Easy monthly payments. Town House Realty, EL 9-5965, Mrs. Freedlander. 21

COLORED: 3105 IDLEWOOD AVE. 3-bedroom brick rancher. Eat-in kitchen; oil heat, side porch.
EL 9-3010 ED GOLD EL 3-6024
JIM LOCKETT & ASSOCIATES 20

COLORED: New home, 1107 N. 32nd St. 3 bedrooms, extra large kitchen with built-ins, lights in all closets and best of all the price is low. Call Ed Wood, CO 6-2878, MI 3-0201, Jones & Robins, Inc., Realtors. X

COLORED: East End, brick bungalow, 3 bedrooms, driveway, oak floors. $950 down, $77 per month. Call W. E. Robinson, 643-1809, EL 9-3615, W. E. Robinson Real Estate Co., 300 E. Clay. 20

Three-year-old quality duplex with two bedrooms, ceramic bath, dining area, living room, kitchen, air conditioning. $1,500. Assume 1st and 2nd mortgage. Call Bill Carle, with Joseph A. Lange, Realtors, MI 3-2805 or EL 5-7669. 26

COLORED: $7,950
$250 Total Cash FHA—$55 Monthly
Owner Pays Closing Cost
Newly decorated 2-bedroom bungalow, immediate possession. Nice. Call
JOHN BAWSEL
355-2841 Realtors 266-8181
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
"Homes for Living" X

Colored
NORTH SIDE AREA
3325 North Ave. 3 bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen and recreational room. Only $11,300.

114 Brenton Ave. 2-bedroom bungalow. Only $8,950. Call Wm. Graham, MI 8-4741, Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MLS. 20

Colored: North Side: Near Bus
NO. 1—$400 DOWN
4 BEDROOMS—BASEMENT
FENCED YARD—GARAGE
NO. 2—$350 DOWN
4 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS
BASEMENT—FENCED YARD
J. ROLAND FUSSELL
232-7891, Realtors Home, 282-8811
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. X

COLORED (1) 3107 Lamb Ave. Brick 4-bedroom, 2 full baths and 2 half baths, basement. Excellent condition. Just move in.
(2) 3114 Fendall Ave. FHA, $400 down, GI, 00 down. 4-bedroom and bath, basement, house in good condition. Roof and heating furnace recently replaced. Call Joe Gragnani, 358-3519 or Seay, Funal and Harvey, 353-3905. 20

COLORED—CENTRAL GARDENS
$500 Cash FHA, $91 Monthly
NO CLOSING COSTS
Lovely 3-bedroom brick rancher. Large living room, huge eat-in kitchen, utility room, fenced yard, garage, storm windows. No cash to veterans.
CALL JIM PURCELL
288-2824 Realtors, AT 8-4668 Home
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

COLORED: NORTH SIDE
$13,000 FHA
$400 TOTAL CASH
NO CLOSING COSTS
Immaculate 5-room brick ranch. Big bright kitchen, knotty pine cabinets. Really nice. Call
JOHN BAWSEL
355-2841 Realtors 266-8181
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
"HOMES FOR LIVING" 20

Colored—North Side—Near Bus
6 BEDROOMS—BASEMENT
$450 DOWN
2 story home in ideal area. Has living room, large dining room, spacious eat-in kitchen, and tile bath. Home is in good condition with fenced yard.
J. ROLAND FUSSELL
232-7891 Realtors Home, 282-8811
JOHNSON-THOMAS, INC. 20

Colored

3400 North Avenue. 4 bedrooms, corner lot.

3606 Pilots Lane. Brick, 2-bedroom bungalow. Good buy.

3116 Woodrow Avenue. 4 bedrooms stucco. Priced to sell.

3010 Woodrow Avenue. 4 bedrooms. Full basement.

1512 Oakwood Avenue. 3 bedrooms. Brick. $8,500.
EASY TERMS. CALL FOR AN APPOINTMENT TODAY.
Carlton L. Jackson
MI 9-1794
with
R. V. Dorsey, Inc.
MI 9-0707
21

CHOICE HOMES

Colored, Mountain Rd., area 3-bedroom bungalow, driveway and carport, attic, nice yard, storm doors and windows, (immediate possession). $500 down and assume loan, credit no problem.

East End, 4-bedroom bungalow, 1½ baths, patio, large corner lot, built-in range, eat-in kitchen, pantry, convenient to schools and transportation. (Immediate possession). FHA $400 down includes closing cost, $74 per month, GI $0 down, $0 closing cost, $71 per month.

North Side, Stratford Village, brick 2-bedroom bungalow, attic, heat, driveway, nice yard. (Immediate possession). GI $0 down $0 closing cost, $63 per month. ($500 down and assume loan, credit no problem.)

Uptown South Side, 3-bedroom bungalow, duct heat, pantry, attic storage area, fenced yard, screened porch. (Immediate possession). Convenient to schools and transportation. $500 down and assume loan, credit no problem. Call M. C. Hobbs, Agent, 643-1809, 353-9220, W. E. Robinson Real Estate Co., 300 E. Clay St. 20

Houses for Sale—Zone 1

Bounded by Turnpike, Boulevard and James River. See map.

FAN DISTRICT—Beautiful small town house with patio and yard. Oil heat. 353-3190. 23

Only $25,250! Has 30' kitchen, family room (built-ins and fireplace), full dining room; hardtop driveway; large lot.

EARLY AMERICAN

Appealing old-brick 3-bedroom ranch on beautiful lot with macadam drive, covered patio; and dead-end street. Has foyer, 2 baths, full dining room, kitchen, nook, beautifully paneled den plus workshop basement. $26,500!
CALL DICK RADFORD
ELLETT & CO.
AT 2-4245 Realtors AT 2-5635
20

Benedictine Area
$450 Down FHA
4 Bedrooms, Basement

Solid brick older home with fireplace, porches, entrance hall. A good buy at $14,000.
CALL WINIFRED JOHNSON
MI 8-5881, Realtors—MLS, 266-3677
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC. X

BEVERLY HILLS
8532 Spalding Drive, 3-bedroom brick ranch, 2 tiled baths, paneled den, dining room, play room, fenced lot, 80x160', school bus at door. Owner, 282-5990. No agents please. 10

Beverly Hills
NO
QUALIFICATION NECESSARY
$800 AND ASSUME FHA
3-bedroom brick ranch. Nice lot. Appraised $14,950. Owner pays closing. AT 2-6600. 20

BEVERLY HILLS
$14,100
$1,800 AND ASSUME
No Red Tape or Qualifying
Three-bedroom brick story and half. 4th bedroom is roughed in. Large well-kept lawn and screened side porch. A very good buy in a very good section.
JOHN BAWSEL
355-2841 Realtors 266-8181
SPILMAN SHORT, INC.
"HOMES FOR LIIVNG" 20

BRANDON—207 TAMARACK RD. Like New 3 Bedrooms, 2 Baths, Den. GI, FHA or Assume. Open 2:30-5:30 Robert Yobs Realtor—282-1973 6

CAMROSE RD., 9421 — Farmington. For sale by owner. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, den, equipped kitchen, wall to wall carpeting. Screened porch. Assume loan or finance. 282-5889. 20

CAMROSE RD., 9408—4 bedrooms, 2 tile baths, family room, kitchen equipped, $17,500. FHA, $600 cash. No closing costs, $119 month. John S. Edwards, Inc., Broker, MI 8-2774; home AT 8-0812. X

CANTERBURY
3 Bedrooms—2 Baths
40' Family—Kitchen
(FIREPLACE—BUILT-INS)
Carport—Rear Porch

TUCKAHOE-FREEMAN SCHOOLS
Situated on 157x180 beautiful lot! Brick foyer, full dining room, large, pretty living room (fireplace), spacious closets, carpeting, louvered fan. Call Dick Radford, Ellett & Co., Realtors, home, AT 2-5635 or AT 2-4245. 20

CANTERBURY
First Offering
Nearing Completion

Lovely 90' plus brick rancher features entrance hall nice sized living room, family sized dining room, paneled family room opening to large screened back porch. Beautiful modern kitchen with dishwasher, disposal, built-in range and nice breakfast area; 3 large bedrooms, 2 baths and huge attached garage. Central air conditioning. Quality construction. Large lot. Priced for quick sale at $35,500.
L. D. DELANO, EL 4-8565
VAUGHAN & GREEN
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 20

CAPEHART RD., 2303—Immediate possession. 6-room brick ranch. Utility room, 1½ baths, screened porch, outside storage, treed lot, quiet, dead-end street, many extras. $17,075. FHA, $675 down; GI, $00 down, owner pays closing. 288-0400 for appointment to see. 20

CARY ST. ROAD

Lovely brick home. Reception hall, living room with fireplace, dining room, modern kitchen, recreation room, ½ bath, screened porch, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, attic, utility room, radiant heat. Beautiful trees and shrubs. Priced under $40,000. Call George Jefferson, MI 4-9451 or EL 3-2888.

ELAM & FUNSTEN
Realtors 20

CRENSHAW—(12 N.) 2-story, semi-attached, beautiful interior.
746-5281 Roy Rogers Jr. 746-8722
ROY ROGERS & CO., INC. 20

DENA DRIVE, 8801—Tuckahoe-Freeman, 3-bedroom brick ranch, fireplace, eat-in kitchen, dining, large fenced yard, patio, fireplace. Open for inspection. $15,950. AT 8-0674. 22

FARMINGTON — Cleanest house in town, 1309 Camrose. $17,000, no closing, FHA or GI. Owner, 282-9322 or 353-9674. 20

VACANCIES cost you money! Dial MI 4-1851 today and place a quick-action For Rent ad to reach your active prospects.

HAMPTON GARDENS
FINE, 4-BEDROOM, CENTRALLY AIR CONDITIONED HOME. PRICED IN THE FIFTIES. PLEASE CALL OWNER, AT 8-3956. 21

JULIAN RD., 8600—4-bedroom brick on lovely lot. $17,750. Call owner, 282-9618. 20

KENSINGTON AVE., 3904 — Brick, slate roof, 6 rooms, 1½ baths. $16,500. Owner, EL 5-1377. 22

LEONARD PARKWAY, 4807
Low maintenance, top location. 3 bedrooms, enclosed porch and lovely yard. Extras included. Unusual buy. Only $14,500.
AT 2-4729 Mrs. Dedrick AT 8-6001
ROBERT O. YOBS, REALTORS 20

MAPLEWOOD AVE., 3314—Brick, 5 rooms, nice. Only $13,750. Bender Realty, 353-7861, 353-6050. 20

MARY MUNFORD—TJ AREA
4-bedroom brick, on corner lot. Eat-in kitchen; oil heat, basement.
EL 9-3010 ED GOLD EL 3-6024
JIM LOCKETT & ASSOCIATES 20

MARY MUNFORD—CITY
BRICK—FULL BASEMENT
Large living room. Formal dining, nice kitchen, 3 bedrooms, 1 full bath, 2 half baths. Mrs. Phipps, 270-3310 or EL 5-6547.
PROCTOR & CO., REALTORS, MLS 20

Mary Munford Area

Brick with 24' living room, dining room, kitchen, 2 bedrooms and bath down. Upstairs: large bedroom or recreation room (space for bath) and storage area. Nice fenced rear yard, lot 60'x135'. R. Garnett Hall (home EL 3-6053), Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965.
"ANOTHER VALUE OF"

H & B

20

Monument Ave

4-bedroom brick, 2½ baths, balconied living room, eat-in kitchen, screened porch. Well shrubbed lawn. Private fenced back yard with raised brick patio, just out of spacious lower-level rec room. $29,500.
KELLEY REALTY, EL 8-8585.
XM

Monument Avenue
($22,950)

IMMACULATE, CENTRALLY AIR CONDITIONED TWO-BEDROOM RANCH. BEAUTIFULLY LANDSCAPED CORNER LOT. EXCLUSIVE, MRS. WOOD, AT 8-3956, MI 3-9111. H. T. RICHESON & CO., REALTORS. MLS.
20

Monument Ave.

$27,500.00—NOTHING DOWN GI
Beautiful three-bedroom brick, 1½ baths, living room with fireplace, formal dining room, eat-in kitchen, screened porch, located two or three blocks from Thomas Jefferson High School at 4001 Monument Ave. Drive by and call me.
Bill Ward
Executive
BR 2-1463—REALTY—BR 2-1357
20

MOORELAND FARMS

COMMUNITY SWIMMING POOL
Lovely 2-story Colonial with wide entrance hall, large living room, spacious dining room, beautiful paneled family room, completely modern eat-in kitchen, 4 bedrooms or 3 bedrooms and office, 4 full baths, screened porch, 2-car carport, well landscaped.
A. J. DICKINSON, AT 2-2111
ALFRED J. DICKINSON, INC.,
REALTOR, 288-2841
ALSO
Excellent 5-bedroom Colonial featuring entrance hall, large living room, king size dining room excellent paneled library with fireplace, 3½ baths, recreation room with fireplace, huge screened porch, basement, two-car garage.
A. J. DICKINSON, AT 2-2111
ALFRED J. DICKINSON, INC.,
REALTOR, 288-2841 20

Park Ave., 5018

3 bedrooms, living room, dining room, kitchen, full attic; non-thru street. Near buses, Willow Lawn. Large fenced-in tree shaded yard. Assume GI loan. Phone owner. 288-3395. No agents please. 20M

PARK AVE.
4200 BLOCK

Immaculate and charming 2-story Colonial brick. Beautifully landscaped: 80x120 ft. lot; featuring 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, full basement and an abundance of attic storage. You must see this home to appreciate the quality and beauty within and without. Priced in the mid twenties. Exclusive, please call—
VERNA GOWDEY, 355-1389
VAUGHAN & GREEN
INC., REALTORS, MI 4-4588 X

SLEEPY HOLLOW
15'x34' SWIMMING POOL
4 twin size bedrooms, 2½ baths, 14'x14' dining room, large living room with fireplace, large family room with fireplace. All electric eat-in kitchen with pantry, big screened porch plus big utility with ample closets and storage. All of this on corner lot with trees in the best neighborhood.
EXCLUSIVE MARY NEBLETT,
282-8222
NEVILLE C. JOHNSON & ASSOCS.
355-7981
20

SPOTTSWOOD ROAD—BYRD PARK
Custom built 3-bedroom brick ranch with full basement, lovely fenced yard, roomy screened rear porch. Only $21,950. Call Joseph A. Lange, Jr., EL 3-4818 or Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805, MLS Member. 20

UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
TWO-STORY WITH BASEMENT
A BEAUTY—AND A REAL DEAL
Situated on lovely wooded lot in an outstanding area; and priced at $19,250. Redecorated inside and out. Living room (fireplace) dining room, kitchen, paneled den and bedroom with ½ bath on first floor. Upstairs has 2 large bedrooms and bath. $950 down and payments of about $127 month, including taxes and insurance.
NAPIER & SAVAGE, REALTORS
272-1415
Larry Leitwein, 272-5871
Oscar Nooler, 272-3894 21

WEDGEWOOD PARK—2003 Murdoch Rd. By owner. Air conditioned tri-level, 3 bedrooms, plus unfinished 4th, 2½ baths, electric kitchen, entrance hall, fireplace, large den, utility room, tool house. Nicely landscaped. $24,250. 270-3462. 20

WESTBOURNE—4 bedrooms, 2 baths, attached garage. $450 down, FHA, $97 month. Completely redecorated. AT 2-2631. No agents. 26

WESTBRIAR—$18,875, F.H.A.
Owner to pay cosing costs
7-ROOM BRICK RANCHER
1½ BATHS
FORMAL DINING ROOM
FAMILY ROOM—FIREPLACE
DOUBLE DRIVE
JACKSON-DAVIS,
TUCKER SCHOOLS
Quick Possession!
Winfree Lee (After 5 P. M., 282-4721
ROYAL REALTY, 355-8255 21

WEST END—Call 288-2222. Hazlewood & Hobson Realty. 18M

WEST END—Schools and bus close. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, 5907 Kensington. $14,750. AT 2-2984. 23

WEST END—3-bedroom brick rancher, den, assume $115 monthly payments. 644-4377, 282-7446. 21

WEST END — NEAR CARILLON. $15,750. 4 BEDROOM, 1½ BATH BRICK. CALL BOB HOGAN, 359-2778. PLOTKIN REALTY. 20

WEST END — Huntington. 3-bedroom brick ranch, 18 ft. paneled kitchen-family room combination, built-in range. Assume GI loan or refinance. Call 270-4788. 20

WEST END—$52.50
One efficiency, good location, heat, water, range, refrigerator, ladies only. Aug. 1. W. D. Nelson & Co., Realtors, MI 8-5878. 20

WEST END—County, Fort Hill, 7212 Brigham Rd. Immaculate house with screened porch, close to bus. $375 down FHA, owner pays closing. 282-9197 or 288-7110. 20

WEST END—City. Lovely brick tri-level, 3 bedrooms, excellent condition. Shown by appointment. Exclusive. M. E. Caldwell, AT 8-3604, Olympic Corp., 233-4361. 20

WEST END—COUNTY
Brick tri-level. Entry, 4 bedrooms, 2½ baths, carpet, equipped kitchen; nice ½-acre lot. Priced in low 20s. Call Owner-Agent, 282-2029. 20

WEST END—COUNTY
Three-bedroom rancher, clean as a pin, only $350 cash payment, $71.00. Call Spencer Hazelwood today.
HAZELWOOD & HOBSON REALTY
X

WEST END
3- and 4-bedroom brick ranchers and tri-levels.
BARRY BUSH, 270-2981
282-4885 PARR REALTY 282-6648
X

WEST END—County. Brick ranch. 3 bedrooms, separate dining room, eat-in kitchen, utility room, screened porch; chain link fence, separate tool and play house, attic, storage. Call Owner, AT 2-5360. 18

WEST END—3400 block Floyd. Brick, semi-attached, 6-room, 3 bedrooms, sleeping porch, 1¼ baths, basement, oil hot-water heat, garage, added features. Al Morris, BE 3-3272, Kahl Realty, Inc., 232-8991. X

WEST END—ROXBURY
BELOW FHA APPRAISAL
$600 DOWN PAYMENT
By owner. 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, patio. Open for inspection, 2217 Cool Brook Dr. 270-2371. $16,100. 20

WEST END—3 bedrooms. No down payment or closing cost. $80 per month total payment. W. C. Crenshaw, Jr., Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801; home, AT 2-6691. X

WEST END—COUNTY
Brick, 3 bedrooms, dining room, eat-in kitchen, utility room, huge screened porch. $500 cash FHA, $15,300. Mrs. Cash, 270-3788 or 358-6751, Coffey & Co., Realtors. X

WEST END—$12,600
1412 Myradare Drive, 3-bedroom Cape Cod. Formal dining room, screened porch, fenced yard, plus a new coat of paint, $400 down FHA.
BR 2-4672 RALPH COPELAND 266-6850
AMBASSADOR REALTY 20

CHARLES BUCKNER
282-9777 Office MLS Home 282-4510
TOWN & COUNTRY REALTORS X

West End—Brandon
3 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS
Charming brick rancher, most attractive family room with fireplace, porch, lots of trees. Assume loan, $2,000. No qualifying!
BILL LYNE McCONNELL & CO.
233-9083 Realtors AT 2-5401 X

WEST END—COUNTY—$15,750
$550 DOWN, $108 MONTHLY
Three-bedroom brick, separate dining room, utility room, 1½ baths, fireplace, screened porch, fenced yard.
MARSHALL E. GRAVES
EL 3-1266, Realtors—Home, BR 2-4242
MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC. 21

WEST END—FIRST OFFERING
$700, FHA—$00, GI—$112 MO.
4 BEDROOMS, 2 BATHS, FAMILY ROOM, MODERN KITCHEN. WALL-TO-WALL CARPETING AND IN EXCELLENT CONDITION.
GEORGE ELLINGTON
EXECUTIVE REALTY, 272-1463 21

West End—Forest Ridge, Owner
$950 TOTAL CASH
WILL CONSIDER TRADE
FAMILY ROOM, 2 BATHS
Absolutely immaculate 3-bedroom brick ranch. Unfinished basement, storage area. Immediate possession. St. Bridget's-Freeman area, $19,250. AT 2-0887 or AT 8-2824. X

West End—Tuckahoe Village
Very attractive tri-level, large family room with fireplace, patio, fenced yard, 3 bedrooms (possible 4th upstairs), 2½ baths. Extras make this home better than new. Assume loan or any financing.
BILL LYNE McCONNELL & CO.
233-9083 Realtors AT 2-5401 X

West End—County
$2,100 AND ASSUME LOAN
Very attractive 3-bedroom brick ranch located on large corner. Anchor fence lot. Less cash down if desired. Price only $13,950.
TOM SIMMONS
288-2824 Realtors AT 8-5326
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

WEST END—(Forest Ave. area.) See this 3-bedroom, separate dining room, brick home today. Screened porch, fenced yard, excellent storage. Real convenient neighborhood. $13,950 with $450 down FHA or $0 down GI. Call 288-3185 or 270-3640. Carl Sayers, Ray T. Crawley Co., Realtors. 20

West End—City
Convenient location offering 4 bedrooms, 1½ baths, ½ basement, oil hot-water heat. See today.
IRVING SCHEER, 270-3721
CHRISTINE HILL, 282-5979
MI 8-5881 Realtors MLS
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC. 21

West End—County
4 BEDROOMS, 2 BATHS
Brick ranch on large wooded lot, entrance hall, fireplace in living room, dining room and eat-in kitchen. Immediate possession if needed. Only $21,950. Call Chi Mills, Ellett & Co., Realtors, AT 2-4245. or SU 4-5114. 20

WEST END COUNTY—Never before have we shown this much house for so little money. 3 bedrooms, large family room with fireplace, fenced yard, ideal location, $450 down and only $89 monthly FHA.
R. E. GREENAWALT
288-8375 355-7451
CHASE INVESTMENT CORP. 20

West End—County
$350 DOWN—NO CLOSING COSTS
Newly decorated 5-room bungalow with permanent stairs to large floored attic for 2 future rooms. Convenient to shopping and bus. Only $10,950.
TOM SIMMONS
288-2824 Realtors AT 8-5326
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. 20

WEST END
827 ORCHARD RD.
FIRST TIME OFFERED
Attractive 3-bedroom brick rancher with utility room, tool house, and air conditioner. City bus and convenient to 3 shopping centers. $14,500 Exclusive with Margaret L. Smith, State Wide Realty Co., EL 8-8441, EL 9-0936. 20

WEST END—South of Patterson. (Just out of city.) Lovely two-story, three-bedroom, two and one-half-bath home. Living room, full dining room, modern kitchen, beautiful paneled den, Florida room and basement. For full particulars and appointment, call J. A. Levering, EL 3-4123 or R. C. Wight, EL 8-5264. H. T. Richeson & Co., Realtors, MI 3-9111. X

West End—County
$450 DOWN—PRICE, $14,950
SELLER WILL PAY CLOSING COSTS
4 Bedrooms—2 Baths
ATTACHED GARAGE
Many other extras including range, refrigerator, air conditioner, etc.
TOM SIMMONS
288-2824 Realtors AT 8-5326
EARL NORTHERN & CO., INC. X

WEST END—CITY
4400 BLOCK
NEW 2-STORY HOME
Choice location. Featuring 3 bedroom foyer, eat-in kitchen, dining room, family room, 2½ baths, and basboard heat. Priced at $27,950 with 10% down, will trade. M. L. Appelrouth & Co., Realtors, EL 5-2836 or AT 2-6905. 20M

WEST END—COUNTY
4 BEDROOMS—2 BATHS
FAMILY ROOM—FIREPLACE
Fully Air Conditioned
$20,500
Let us show you this beautiful 2-story brick only 2 years old. Call EL 5-6547 or 282-8333. Bill Proctor or Joe Holleman.
PROCTOR & CO., REALTORS MLS 20

Spacious living room, large dining room, two bedrooms, den and garage. Well shrubbed lot. See today or call
CHRISTINE HILL
MI 8-5881 Realtors MLS 282-5979
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC.
Directions: Right off 5800 block Monument on Bremo, north on Bremo to Richmond Ave. 20

WEST END—CITY
CHARMING DUPLEX
SPACIOUS, A RARE FIND
Two separate apartments, entrance hall, living room, dining room, 3 bedroom, 1 full and 2 one-half baths, modern kitchen and garage on first floor. Also wall-to-wall carpeting, drapes, air conditioners and other extras. Second floor has 7 rooms and 1½ baths; and has rented to same client for 12 years. A real good buy.
CALL ANN ALEXANDER
MI 8-5881 Realtors MLS AT 2-6338
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC.
X

West End—No Qualifying
$800 AND ASSUME
$104 MONTHLY
5 bedrooms, city, detached 2-story brick, $12,950. Call Ed Lindsey, MI 4-1494.

$1,500 AND ASSUME
$101 MONTHLY
3-bedroom brick ranch, den with fireplace. $16,200. Call Brown Oliver, 282-9104.

$2,100 AND ASSUME
$110 MONTHLY
3-bedroom brick ranch, lots of shrubs and trees, rear screened porch and patio. Call Edgar Baird, 288-5096

Apartments Unfurnished 115

MULBERRY, N., 509—Four rooms and bath, stove and refrigerator, second floor. August 1st possession, $75. Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001. X

N. ADDISON ST., 9—3 rooms, bath, immediate. $50.00. MI 3-2805. Joseph A. Lane, Realtor. 20

NORTH SIDE—2-bedroom duplex. $75 month. EL 9-2740. 14

PARK AVE., 3137—4 rooms, bath, upper duplex. EL 5-0665. 18

PARK AVE., 911—Large living room, bedroom, kitchen and bath. Immediate possession, $75 per month. Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965. 22

PARK AVE., 2101—Apt. 3. 5 rooms and bath. Includes heat, hot and cold water, stove and refrigerator. $75 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

PARK LEE

NEW SECTION OPENING

IMMEDIATE OCCUPANCY

2 Bedrooms

LIVING ROOM
FULLY EQUIPPED KITCHEN
GARBAGE DISPOSAL

$77.50

PER MONTH
PLUS UTILITIES

YOUR INSPECTION INVITED
FURNISHED MODEL
DU PONT AND BELLWOOD AREA

Open
9 to 7
DAILY

SUNDAYS
1 to 6
OR BY APPOINTMENT
275-9255

Directions:
SOUTH
ON PETERSBURG PIKE TO
COUNTY ROAD
BY BELLWOOD DEPOT

30

PATTERSON AVE., 3020—3 rooms, bath; heat, water, stove, refrigerator, $65. Upper. MI 8-2851, EL 3-9181. 21

PATTERSON AVE., 3106—First floor, exceptional 5 rooms, modern bath (modern kitchen), air conditioner, off-street parking. MI 8-5881, Morton G. Thalhimer, Inc., Realtors. X

REMUDA

ADJACENT
DU PONT-BELLWOOD-REYNOLDS

SWIM FREE!

NEWLY FURNISHED

2 Bedrooms
ALL UTILITIES
FURNISHED
275-8773

Apartments Unfurnished 115

THE BELMONT

Boulevard, N., 110. Exceptionally nice 5 rooms and bath. Heat, water, stove and refrigerator furnished. Only $95 monthly. Also 4 rooms and bath, only $85 monthly. Available July 1. Only adults with reliable references considered. For appointment, call EL 9-5761, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. 26

THE GRAMON — 320 W. Grace St. 2-bedroom apt. stove, refrigerator, heat and water furnished. 644-4356. 27M

The
BERKSHIRE

WE ARE PROUD OF THIS MAGNIFICENT BUILDING FROM THE BEAUTIFUL BERKSHIRE HOUSE RESTAURANT TO THE LOVELY PENTHOUSES AND TERRACES.

OUR SWIFT SILENT ELEVATORS CARRY YOU FROM THE UNDERGROUND PARKING GARAGES TO FOURTEEN FLOOR ABOVE THE CITY. THE VIEW IS TERRIFIC!

THE ADDRESS CAN MEAN SOMETHING TO YOU TOO.

300 W. FRANKLIN
STREET

DELIGHTFULLY AIR CONDITIONED ONE, TWO AND CUSTOM THREE-BEDROOM APARTMENTS — ARE WE REASONABLE? WE THINK SO —THE RENTAL STARTS AT $165.00 WHICH INCLUDES EVERYTHING—EVEN THE LATEST SECRETARIAL SWITCHBOARD SERVICE.

ANOTHER FIRST — WE LET YOU SELECT YOUR DECORATIONS.

Call 644-7861

Apartments Shown
From 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.

Charles A. Rose
CO., INC.
Realtors 28

The Riverside

2112 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
Four Minutes to Downtown
Just Across Lee Bridge
AIR CONDITIONING
And all extra services. Very large 1- and 2-bedroom from $110. Free laundry, storage and parking.
OPEN EVENINGS AND WEEK ENDS
Resident Manager, 232-2118
Chas. A. Rose Co., Inc., 643-3406 X

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WEST

Richmond's Finest

Pool and Air Conditioning
All Utilities Included

De Luxe One Bedrooms
COMPACT & EFFICIENCIES
1 BEDROOM AND DEN
2 BEDROOM WITH BALCONY

Open 1 to 5

Three Chopt and Ridge
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC.
REALTORS MI 8-5881 25

WAYNE AVE., 908—First floor, bedroom, living room, large eat-in kitchen, small room or large closet. Immediate possession, $70 per month. Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965. 30

Apartments Unfurnished 115

WEST END—Must see to appreciate. $68.50. Call 353-0822. 21

WEST END
Somerset, 3528 Grove Ave.

Two bedrooms, living room, dining area, kitchen, bath. Includes heat, hot and cold water, air conditioning. Laundry facilities. Located on city bus line. Move in now. $130.

W. D. NELSON & CO., INC.
REALTORS
MI 8-5873 X

West End
OPEN TODAY

3228 STUART AVE., APT. 6. Two bedrooms, living room, breakfast room, equipped kitchen. Just redecorated. Nice quiet building. Immediate. $85.00.

215 S. BOULEVARD, APT. 4. First floor partment with three nice rooms and bath. Good location near Byrd Park. $65.00. Immediate.

402 S. SHEPPARD ST., APT. 6. West of Byrd Park. Six large rooms, and bath in a quiet six family building. $82.50. Immediate.

2042 W. GRACE ST., APT. 6. Two bedrooms, living room, eat-in-kitchen, and bath. Heat, water, range and refrigerator. Just redecorated Immediate. $62.50.

For further information call our Rental Department.

H. T. RICHESON & CO.,
REALTORS MI 3-9111 20

WEST END
ONLY ONE
OF ITS KIND!

Gayton
Manor

9012 PATTERSON AVE.
PRESTIGE LIVING
AT A MODEST
RENTAL
$99.50

SWIMMING POOL

No real estate commission. Rent direct from builder. Save on utility payments.

7 Other Locations

Excellent neighborhoods. More space for less rent than any apt. in Richmond. Two- and three-bedroom apts. House and duplex rentals. Air conditioning optional

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E. CARLTON WILTON INC.
AT 8-2865, AT 2-0756 WEEKDAYS
AT 8-2323, AT 8-1233 WEEKDAYS
AND WEEK ENDS
288-0912 NIGHTS AND WEEK ENDS 12

WEST END

Richmond's Most
Desirable Location
RESIDENTIAL
CHARACTER
QUIET DIGNIFIED
APARTMENTS

Beautiful, modern, air-conditioned, 5-room apartment. Heat, hot water, range, refrigerator, hardwood floors, Venetian blinds, two entrances, front and rear, abundant closets, daily janitorial service every day in the year. Our own laundry facilities furnished plus full ceramic tile bath, bathtub and shower. Tenant's service office and maintenance crew on the premises. Spacious landscaped grounds, with beautiful kell-kept lawns and trees, and plenty of off-street parking. Convenient to all schools, churches, shopping, medical centers and city bus

Apartments Unfurnished 115

YORK COURT APTS.—Very desirable West End location. Convenient to bus transportation and shopping area. 1 bedroom. $87.50. Occupancy July 1st. Virginia Landmark Corporation, 643-6741. 20

AIR conditioned, West End. $77.50. Efficiency, stove, ref., heat & water. W. D. NELSON & CO., REALTORS MI 8-5873 X

TOWN HOUSE apartment. Upper. Heat and water furnished, 5 rooms and bath. Newly decorated. Immediate possession. Call Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-7216. 21

AIR CONDITIONED
$80.00

3 rooms, tile bath, range, refrigerator, heat and water. Will redecorate. Move in now.
W. D. Nelson & Co., Realtors,
MI 8-5873 X

SUBURBAN
YORKSHIRE
HAMPSTEAD
CRESTWOOD

2 bedrooms, living room, eat-in kitchen and bath. Convenient location. Reasonable rentals. Office, 4901 Suburban Ave. Phone 359-5249. 5

STUART Avenue, 3412, 2nd floor, 5 rooms and bath Sept. 1st.
Park Avenue, 2405, 2nd floor, 5 rooms and bath, Sept. 1st.
Park Avenue, 1000 A. (Basement) 5 rooms and bath at once.
TYLER & BRADLEY, INC.
REALTORS Milton 3-6703 X

2905 Floyd, 4½ rooms and bath upstairs. Completely furnished including heat $85 mo.
2921 Floyd, 4½ rooms and bath, upstairs. Heat furnished $80 mo.
2202 Park, 5 rooms and bath upstairs. Cold water furnished. $77.50 mo.

Charles L. Knott, Inc.
AT 8-6037 AT 8-6038 20

BELMONT Ave., 518, North, No. 6, 3 rooms, bath, at once. $60.
Boulevard, 23 South, No. 12, 3 rooms, bath, completely redecorated. At once, $67.50.
Boulevard, 411, North, No. 3, 3 rooms, bath, completely redecorates. At once, $62.50.
Monument Ave., 2602-C, third floor, 3 bedrooms, 3 baths, $135.

SCHMIDT & WILSON, INC.
REALTORS MI 8-5801 X

FRANKLIN St., W., 1106. 4 rooms, bath, $77.50.

Grace St., W., 2518. 4 rooms, bath, $70.

Grace St., W., 3333. 5 rooms, bath, $85.

Grove Ave., 1411. 3 rooms, bath, $70; 5 rooms, bath, $87.50.

Henry St., N., 15. 3 rooms, bath.

Stuart Ave., 3116. 3 rooms, bath, $60.

Morton G. Thalhimer, Inc., Realtors,
MI 8-5881. X

Ideal Apartments

We have available 3 wonderful locations in convenient apartments. Air-conditioning, heat, water and appliances furnished.
3528 Grove, 2 and 3 bedrooms. $130-$145.
3514 Park, 2 bedrooms, 2 baths. $140.
3618 Chamberlayne, 1 bedroom. All utilities furnished. $115 and $120.
W. D. NELSON & CO., REALTORS
MI 8-5873 X

Air-Conditioned

$97.50

3 rooms, tile bath. All furniture, heat and water.

W. D. Nelson, Realtors
MI 8-5873 X

OPEN FOR
ADMIRATION!

The
Fabulous
FRANKLIN

Apartments Unfurnished 115

COLORED, East End, 513 N. 26th St., 1st floor, 3 rooms and bath, $45 monthly. Immediate possession. W. E. Robinson Real Estate Co., 648-1809, 300 E. Clay St. 20

COLORED
GLENWOOD APARTMENTS
Located 2600 Block Cool Lane

4 large rooms and bath; stove and refrigerator. Reasonably priced. Good location. Immediate occupancy. Model Apt. open 1:30 to 5:30 P. M.
ROBINSON-HARRIS & CO., INC.
623 N. 3rd St. 649-0308 11

COLORED
CHIMBORAZO VILLAGE
35TH AND MARSHALL

Only a few 1 and 2-bedroom apts. left. Immediate occupancy. $57.50 up. Apply now, furnished model open 1 to 5:30 P. M.
ROBINSON-HARRIS & CO., INC.
623 N. 3rd Phone 649-0308 11

Flats for Rent 116

ADDISON, 2 N.—Lower, 3 rooms, bath. $35. Bailey & Childress, Inc., 644-3013. 21

BRAMPTON WAY, 2715—Modern, 4 rooms and bath apartment. Large, attractive yard, convenient to DuPont, Bellwood, buses and shopping. $72.50 per month. Owner. EL 5-0562. 20

CAROLINA AVE.—5 rooms. Adults. September 1. 644-5711, after 6 P. M. 11

CHAMBERLAYNE AVE., 4915—Apt. 4. Living room, dinette, 2 bedrooms, kitchen and bath. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

COLONIAL AVE., S., 118—Upper 5 rooms, bath; appliances, oil heat; porch. $65. EL 8-0817, 288-6164. 22

COLONIAL AVE., S. S.—Second floor. 3 rooms, bath. Nice condition. Adults. All utilities furnished except phone, $75. MI 8-1556. 21

DOOLEY AVENUE, N. 8—Upper, four rooms and bath, August 1st possession, $45. Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001. X

ELLWOOD AVE. — Five rooms, $35. Modern, painted. Hebring, MI 3-2655. 20

ELLWOOD AVENUE, 3147 — Five rooms and bath, Arcola, upper. $45. Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001. X

ELLWOOD AVENUE, 2811—Upper, five rooms and bath; stove, oil heat. July 1st. $50. Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001. X

ENSLOW AVE., 3209—Four rooms, bath, lower. MI 8-1335. 21

FIRST AVE.—3403. Upper. 4 rooms and bath. Arcola heat. 2 bedrooms. $60 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

FLOYD AVE., (2625)—Five rooms, bath, $65 per month. Elam & Funsten, Realtors, MI 4-9451. X

FLOYD AVE., 1531—Second floor, 5 rooms, very nice condition. $49.50. MI 8-1556, agent. 21

FLOYD AVE. — Five rooms, $45.50. Modern, paint. Hebring, MI 3-2655. 20

GROVE AVE. — Central. Lower, 6 rooms and bath. Can be used for 2 or 3 bedrooms, newly decorated. New gas range. Available July 1, 1565. $85 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

HANOVER AVE., 3212—First floor west, 4 rooms, gas heat, $52.50. MI 8-1556, agent. 21

HIGHLAND PARK—4 rooms, upper flat. Business couple. MI 3-2027. 23

HIGHLAND PARK — 3414 Carolina Ave. Upper 4 rooms, bath, sleeping porch, heat and water furnished. $70. EL 8-0111. 23

Highland Park

3323 First Ave., upper, 5 rooms and bath. Immediate.
2203 Third Ave., upper, 5 rooms and bath, $55.

WEST END

3308 Ellwood Ave., 4 rooms and bath, $37.50. Immediate.
1640 W. Grace St., upper, 7 rooms and bath, $75.
2515 W. Main St., upper, 3 rooms and bath, $45.
3110 Hanover Ave., #C, 4 rooms and bath. $55. Spotless.

ROSE & LAFOON CO.
Realtors
109 N. 8th St. MI 8-1631 X

HULL ST., 2862—$50 6 rooms. Paint, will paper. John Hebring, MI 3-2655. 20

LAUREL ST., S., 407—Four rooms, bath, stove and refrigerator, $45. Sims & Levin, Realtors, MI 3-6779. 21

LAUREL, S., 423—1st and 2nd floors. Nice flat of 4 rooms, bath, stove and refrigerator. $37.50 per mo. Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. 20

MAIN ST., W., 2123—4-room lower

Houses Unfurn. to Rent 117

CARY ST., W., 2606—6 rooms, bath, $40. MI 8-1556, Agent. 21

CENTRAL GARDENS AREA—3 bedrooms. $85 month. 649-1941. 21

CHAMBERLAYNE HEIGHTS— 3 bedrooms, living room, kitchen, carport, fenced lot overlooking lake. $125 month. Call 359-5018, Banner Realty. 21

CHESTERFIELD — 2-bedroom house for rent, $60. 232-3364. 20E

CHESTERFIELD—(Near Courthouse) 2 bedrooms, eat-in kitchen, range and refrigerator; 1-acre lot. $75. Spilman Short, Inc., Realtors, EL 5-2841. 23

CONFEDERATE TERRACE — Highland Springs, 5-room duplex. Call MI 9-1039. 22

CRESTVIEW
IN THE WEST END

Modern 5-room-and-bath homes. Hardwood floors, full tile baths, tub with snower, automatic heat and hot water; stove furnished. Plenty of closet and storage space, including attic. Convenient to all types of churches. Walking distance to very fine shopping center and school. Spacious playgrounds for children and adults. Street lights, public bus service, $79.50 per month. Call AT 2-0810. Office, 6708 Dartmouth Ave. 27

DUPONT AREA—4717 Castlewood Rd. 5-room ranch. Will sell like rent. You paint it for down payment, $82 month. EL 8-9715. 20

EAST END—Modern 2-bedroom bungalow, automatic heat and hot water, hardwood floors, screens, full tile bath with shower. $63 per month. Apply 2414 Allence Blvd., MI 4-6292. 28

FAN DISTRICT — Lombardy St. A very nice 9-room, 2-bath house. Available immediately. Only $125 a month. J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors, EL 9-5761. X

FLOYD AVE., 1818—8 rooms, 2 baths, 2 family. $75. John Hebring, MI 3-2655. 20

HENRICO COUNTY—Brick bungalow. 2 bedrooms, 2 baths, living room, dining room, den, kitchen. $115. MI 8-5566. 24

HIGHLAND SPRINGS—3 rooms and bath. Phone 233-5904. 23

HIGHLAND SPRINGS—3 bedrooms, living room and kitchen. 737-4665. 21

HIGHLAND SPRINGS — 3-bedroom bungalow, $80. Convenient. RE 7-4275. 21

KENSINGTON AVE.—4 bedrooms, 1½ baths, utility room; stove and refrigerator. 353-7978, after 6 P. M. 22

LABURNUM AVENUE, 1917—5 rooms bath; oil heat. July 1st. MI 8-5801. Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors. X

LAKESIDE—3-bedroom ranch, large eat-in kitchen, built-in range, fenced yard; excellent condition, July 1, $110. 272-5019. 20

LAKESIDE—Brick rancher, 3 bedrooms, 1½ baths, living room, dining room with sliding glass doors to patio, kitchen. On bus line, $125 month. Call 359-5018, Banner Realty. 21

LAKESIDE—2104 Hilliard Road. Two-story, five rooms and bath. Oil hot-water. Screened side porch. Large lot, fenced in rear. Electric range, no refrigerator. Possession Sept. 1. $100. MI 4-9451, Elam & Funsten, Realtors. 20

LEXINGTON RD.—Near Patterson, 6 rooms, 1 floor, basement, attic, automatic oil heat, AT 2-2428. 20

MECHANICSVILLE—North of Hanover Wayside Park, turn left on 654, second house left. 2-bedroom duplex. Call PI 6-1223. 20

NORTH SIDE—Westwood Ave., 1720, 6 rooms, bath, garage, oil heat. $125. July 1st. Elam & Funsten, Realtors, MI 4-9451. X

OAK GROVE—Available June 21. 7 rooms, 1½ baths, close to store, bus stop and school. Fenced yard. Will rent to reliable people. Reasonable. Call 233-7734 after 6:30 P. M. 20

PATTERSON AVE., 6209—6 rooms, gas heat. August 1. $85. MI 8-1556, Agent. 21

PEPPER AVE., 907—6 rooms, 1½ baths. July 1st possession. $125 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

SANDSTON—112 E. Gray, 3 bedrooms, bath, redecorated, $95. Bill Edwards, with John S. Edwards, Inc., MI 8-2774, 232-3642. X

SHEPPARD ST., N. 16—Six rooms and bath, immediate, $85. Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001. X

SLEEPY HOLLOW RD., 800—Newly decorated. 6 rooms, 2 baths; stove, refrigerator, air conditioned. $127.50

Business Places for Rent 120

BELT BLVD., E.—Business properties for rent. Ideal location. 2,000-5,000 sq. ft. Interior completed to suit tenant. W. S. Carnes, Inc., Agent, 233-8383. 7

BROAD STREET—Store. Centrally located on south side of the street. Owner will remodel to suit tenant. Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors, 1009 E. Main St., MI 3-9011. 22

BROOKLAND PARK BOULEVARD, W., 310—Auto repair shop, $175 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

HULL ST., 1815—Near corner of the new widened Cowardin and Hull streets. May be used as car dealership, auto parts, accessories. Off street parking space available. 11,000 sq. feet, consisting of showroom 60x34, storage room 40x21, shop 130x60, office 21x15. 3 overhead doors to the shop, 2 of which are electrically operated. 6 toilets, 2 for mechanics, one with shower. 5 lifts and a front alignment pit. 15 ft. ceilings. Only $600 per mo. For information and particulars call A. D. Rucker Jr. or W. E. Estes, Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

PETERSBURG PIKE, 713—Excellent corner location for drive-in restaurant, used car lot or small office. Will consider selling. Immediate possession. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

ROBINSON ST., N., 117—Approximately 1,200 sq. ft. $100 per mo. Has cold storage box. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

SCOTTS ADDITION—Office for rent. Everything furnished. W. C. Hutchinson Jr., Bailey & Childress, Inc. X

STAPLES MILL ROAD, 7611—(Rear). Dry storage. 2 large buildings, 1 acre ground. Zoned B-2, $80 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

STORES—Good location, $70 month up. Agent, MI 3-8996. 22

WEST END—New, 1,300 sq. ft. office space or retail. Located in shopping center. Parking. W. C. Hutchinson, Jr., Bailey & Childress, Inc. X

WEST END—Store. Very well located to high population area. Good off street parking. May be used as grocery. Has 1,200 sq. ft. Owner, 355-5546. X

Industrial Property 121
FOR RENT

PRIME location in West End, 10,000 sq. ft. with rail and good loading. 60c per sq. ft. Immediate possession. Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965. 22

44,000 SQ. FT.
One-floor truck-height covered loading, rail siding, 4,000 sq. ft., air conditioned, heated offices. Available September, 50 cents sq. ft. per year. Call Charles Straus, MI 8-5881, Morton G. Thalhimer, Inc., Realtors. X

Office or Desk Space 122
FOR RENT

BROAD ST., W., 1900—Nice offices. Cheap. EL 9-5786, or your agent. 3

BROAD ST., W., 4203—Executive office, furnished or unfurnished. 353-6679. 20

CARY STREET, WEST—Modern air conditioned. 1,700 sq. ft. (will divide) all services including parking. Herman F. Blake, EL 5-8675. 21

FRANKLIN ST., W., 211—Air conditioned, 1,000 sq. ft. Three offices; reception hall, 2 baths, storage, off-street parking. Ready July 1. Call owner, MI 8-4477. 12

JEFFERSON HOTEL — Excellent office. Apply manager's office, 9 to 5. 29

LAKESIDE AVE.—6001, near 95 and 64 interchange, modern offices, two rooms from $60 month. At once, 266-7661. Hoffmann & Goff, Realtors. 24

MAIN ST., W., 2403—Ground and 2nd floors, remodeled, air conditioned. See or call 359-5039. X

SOUTH—New modern, all services. W. S. Pinchbeck, Inc., Realtors, BE 3-9823. 30

Southern States
Building

7TH AND MAIN STS.

We have space available in this, one of Richmond's finest buildings. This space newly reconditioned to make it ultra-modern. Very convenient to parking garage

Pollard & Bagby, Inc.
REALTORS
1009 E. Main St.
MI 3-9011 22

STRATFORD HILLS SHOPPING CEN

Business Opportunities 126

HARDWARE STORE — Going East End business. A real bargain, little cash needed.
DAVID WEINSTEIN, MI 9-2703 X

MOTELS — Howard Blake Co., Realtors, AT 2-4273 or 266-8419.

RESTAURANT—Sale or rent, reasonable. 355-9897. 6-8 P. M. 20

RESTAURANT — West End. Good neighborhood, seats 24. $6,000. Bender Realty, 353-7861, 353-6050. 20

RESTAURANT — 1 block from RPI's dormitory. Gross $1,100 weekly, ABC on and off, $13,400. Ted Baldacci, AT 2-5134, Childress & Pinchbeck, 643-5017. 20

RESTAURANT—Hull St., exclusive, thriving, 6-day business in factory area. Owner retiring.
"I'm ready anytime to assist you."
D. B. SOULIOS OLYMPIC CORP.
233-4361 Real Estate 358-1474 20

RESTAURANT—South Side location. Ideal for couple. Same owner for 8 years. Selling due to health. Can be financed to responsible party, with small down payment. Bud Walden, AT 8-6037 or 233-8087. Charles Knott, Inc., Realtors. 20

RESTAURANT
MAN AND WIFE TEAM
West End location on Main highway, close in, all stock and equipment. Priced to sell. Terms. Call J. G. Pugh, 266-2924 or AT 2-6228. M. L. Hubbard & Son, Inc. Realtor 20

ROOMING HOUSE—1609 W. Grace St. Completely redecorated and furnished. Large 3-story home. Only $165 mo. Perry & Co., Inc., 648-4757. 21

SERVICE STATION—For sale. Essex County. Good location. 2 large bays, stock and equipment. Can finance like rent. W. M. Moore, Broker, 3210 Griffin Ave., Richmond, Va. Phone MI 4-3900. 20

SUPPER CLUB RESTAURANT—350 capacity. Recently remodeled. Ideal location. Sacrifice, quick sale. Selling due to other interest. Owner, EL 3-4816. 22

SWIMMING
LAKE

DANCE HALL
PICNIC PAVILION
SAND BEACHES—PARKING AREA
READY TO OPEN
CONCESSION EQUIPMENT
IDEAL FOR PRIVATE CLUB
PRICED TO SELL QUICK

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VAUGHAN
Inc.
REALTORS

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STUART BARDEN OR MILES KING
233-8635 MI 9-0764—BE 2-2406 X

TRAILER COURT—8 acres, 54 trailer spots, fully rented over $1,600 monthly, price $119,500. Call W. W. Hampton, BE 2-6724, 275-0266. S. B. Franklin, Broker. X

TRAILER COURT—3 acres, 16 trailer spots, masonary restaurant, good income, price $27,500. Call W. W. Hampton, BE 2-6724, 275-0266. S. B. Franklin, Broker. X

TRAILER-RESTAURANT — For sale. Price, $5,000. All new equipment. CO 6-6664. 23

CASH for your income property. Childress & Pinchbeck, 643-5017. 18

EXCELLENT Church Hill location for coin laundry. Plumbing, electric work free. MI 8-9838, EL 3-1178. 26

DRY cleaning plant manager. High salary with incentive, call BR 2-1004. 17

LEWIS Road (Byrd Airport area). Will build. Doctor or dentist, grocery store, delicatessen. Near 500-unit apartment project. 737-6080.

CORPORATE VENTURE FUNDS
Federally Licensed SBIC
First Fidelity Capital Ltd., MI 8-8871 17

FOR lease: 6-room house. Large basement, bath and half, plus shower and lavatory. Four tourist units, 11 trailer spaces and shop or store space. 5 acres. Write L-156, care this paper. 20

50-unit motel and restaurant on interstate highway, central Texas. $10,000 down with trade. Peterson, phone 417-881-6976, 1904 E. Sunshine

Business Opportunities 126

BUSINESS opportunity available. A $500 investment on your part and we will place you in a new service station, with a guaranteed income. 270-3274. 25

SHELL DEALER
NEEDED

Shell Oil Company needs an outstanding man to run a thriving Shell station. Station is a going concern and this is your chance to become your own boss, but you must believe that good customer service is the key to success. You should also be a good business man and a good boss. If you think you have these qualifications, call days EL 8-2328, or nights and week ends, 270-1640. 27

Your Own
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In Successful
National Chain

Our branches are averaging $5,000 profit a month in simple retail business operated according to proven procedures. Company completes whole package and turns the key over to you. Suitable for active or absentee management. $15,000 cash required with financing available.

Call or write, Mel Fineman, National Marketing Director, Suite 609 Kenann Building, Fort Lauderdale, Florida (305) 565-5696.

20

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PART TIME
TOY ROUTE
VERY SMALL STARTING CAPITAL
GOOD INCOME
OPERATE FROM HOME
SEVERAL CHOICE TERRITORIES
Available Soon

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REQUIRES ONLY FEW
HOURS EACH WEEK

This is not a job but a chance to get into something you may have always wanted—a business of your own. One that can be handed in spare time and still leave room for full time expansion.

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TOY MERCHANDISING CORP.
34-10 58th Street
Woodside, New York 11377

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Real Estate 128
MORTGAGE LOANS

MILLION DOLLARS—To lend to improved city property. Schmidt & Wilson, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5801.

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NEWLY FURNISHED

2 Bedrooms
ALL UTILITIES
FURNISHED
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River Towers

Exciting new Richmond landmark high above historic James River.
2000 RIVERSIDE DRIVE

MAGNIFICENT APARTMENTS
FABULOUS VIEWS
Opening Soon
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC.
REALTORS MI 8-5881 X

ROSENEATH ROAD, 617—Apartment 19, third floor, five rooms and bath. Porch. Immediate possession. 613 Roseneath Road. Apartment 1, first floor, five rooms and bath. Possession August 1. $82.50. MI 4-9451, Elam & Funsten, Realtors. X

SEMMES AVE.—Private. Tile bath; stove, refrigerator, hot water. Couple; heat. BE 2-6677, 272-4924. 22

SOUTH SIDE—4 rooms, $92.50, stove, refrigerator, water. 233-7217. 20

SOUTH SIDE—4 rooms, bath, all newly painted. BE 2-8120. 20

SOUTH SIDE—1-bedroom efficiency apt. Stove, refrigerator and water. 233-7754. 20

SOUTH SIDE—1225 Blakemore Rd. Modern, air-conditioned apts. Living room, dinette. 1 bedroom, kitchen and bath, $87.50. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

South Side
RIO "10"

20 New Units Ready
July 1st
New Model, Open Daily
Two Bedrooms
All Electric
ONLY $92.50
BROAD ROCK RD. AT
Branches
Shopping Center

POLLARD & BAGBY, INC.
Realtors MI 3-9011
X

STUART AVE., 2425—4 rooms, heat, water, refrigerator, stove furnished. EL 5-6373 after 4, July 15. 16

THE BERKSHIRE

For town living at its best—The Berkshire. For superb dining and room service—The Berkshire

See our spacious one, two and three bedroom apartments. Rental from $165 per month.

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Charles A. Rose Co., Inc.
RENTAL AGENTS 29

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Hamlet

Townhouse Apartments
In the Fashionable
RICHMOND WEST END
1, 2 and 3 Bedroom
5600 Staples Mill Rd.
Phone 266-4688
X

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COMPACT EFFICIENCIES
1 BEDROOM AND DEN
2 BEDROOM WITH BALCONY

Open 1 to 5

Three Chopt and Ridge
MORTON G. THALHIMER, INC.
REALTORS MI 8-5881
25

WAYNE AVE., 908—First floor, bedroom, living room, large eat-in kitchen, small room or large closet. Immediate possession, $70 per month. Harrison & Bates, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-2965. 22

WEST AVENUE—Very nice 3 rooms and bath. Available Sept. 1. Heat, water, stove, refrigerator furnished. Only $55 monthly. J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors, EL 9-5761. X

WEST END—3 bedrooms; $100, utilities included. Call 282-6321. 20

WEST END—11 N. Linden St., two rooms and bath, $40. Three rooms and bath, $50. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

WEST END—2818 W. Grace St., Apt. 5. Living room, dining room, 2 bedrooms, kitchen and bath, $75. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

WEST END—3328 Cutshaw. Two bedrooms upstairs, living room, dinette, kitchen downstairs. Immediate possession, $88.50 monthly. AT 8-6277. 20

WEST END—Sublease for 6 months. Water included. 4 rooms and bath, large closets. $70.50 month. Call 353-0822. 21

WEST END—501-15 N. Blvd. Tuscan Villa. 4 rooms and bath, porch. Immediate possession. $85 per month. Call MI 3-9011, Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors. X

WEST END—CLEVELAND St., nice 3 rooms and bath; heat, water, stove and refrigerator furnished, only $62.50 EL 9-5761, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. X

WEST END—West of Blvd., various locations, 1, 2, 3-bedroom modern apts.
353-7891, Royal Realty, 643-0621
24

WEST END—1721 Grove Ave. 6 rooms and bath. First floor. Heat and hot water furnished. $110 per month. Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors, MI 3-9011. X

WEST END—3129 W. Franklin. Completely modern 1-bedroom apt. with porch, refrigerator, stove, heat, water furnished, $75. You must see this one. CO 6-4853. 20

WEST END—3000 block Monument Ave. Nice 4 rooms and bath. Heat, water, stove, refrigerator furnished. Only $77.50. EL 9-5761, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. X

WEST END—3204 West Franklin St. Apt. 11. Living room, bedroom, kitchen and bath. Immediate possession, $70. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

WEST END—501 N. Allison Street. Living room, dining room, bedroom, bath, kitchen. $70 per month, immediate possession. Elam & Funsten, Realtors, MI 4-9451. X

WEST END—Efficiency. Ladies only. 1206 W. Franklin St. Range and refrigerator, heat, hot and cold water. Move in now. $52.50.
W. D. NELSON & CO., REALTORS
MI 8-5873 X

WEST END—Very nice 5 rooms and bath. Recently redecorated throughout. Heat, water, stove and refrigerator included. Only $85 monthly. EL 9-5761, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. X

WEST END — 306 N. Mulberry St., 1st floor, 4 nice rooms and bath. Newly decorated. Only $70 month. Also 4 rooms and bath, (basement apt.) only $48.50. EL 9-5761, J. D. Carneal & Sons, Inc., Realtors. 20

WEST END—2024 W. Grace Street. Four rooms and bath, completely redecorated. Stove, refrigerator, heat and water furnished. $70.00 per month. Call MI 3-9011, Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors. X

WEST END—3400 block duplex, first floor, 5 large, modern rooms and bath; stove and refrigerator, screened-in back porch, nice yard, walking distance of shopping center, private parking on lot. Available immediately. $95. EL 8-5233. 21

WEST END—Efficiency with eat-in kitchen, tile bath, heat and water. $65.00.
Also three rooms, tile bath, eat-in kitchen, heat and water, $69.50. Air conditioning, $10 per month.
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WEST END—2-bedroom apt. Ample closet space, automatic heat, hot water, hull tile bath, Venetian blinds, screens, hardware floors, stove and refrigerator furnished; spacious lawns and excellent playground for children. Extra fine and modern shopping center, including street lights. 1 block away from new, modern elementary school, convenient to all types schools and churches. $68.50 per month. Call at any hour. 353-0822. 21

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9200 BLOCK OF THREE CHOPT RD.
Air Conditioned
2 BEDROOMS, $106.50; 3 BEDROOMS, $127. MODEL APTS. OPEN 9 TO 9. E. CARLTON WILTON, INC., AT 2-0756, AT 8-1233, OR AT 8-2323, NIGHTS. 288-0912. 13

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SEE AND COMPARE AND YOU'LL SEE THE VALUE IN LOVELY, MODERN APARTMENTS.
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Summer is here for us

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Come out to see us—see the charm of our terraced apartments.

Our attractive two-bedroom, 1½-bath units give you the spaciousness you need and desire!

All utilities furnished with the exception of phone. Beautiful eat-in sized kitchen contains disposal, washer, dryer, and dishwasher.

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WESTGATE APTS.—3415 Grove Ave., new 1-bedroom, air conditioned. Convenient to transportation and shopping center. July 1st occupancy. Virginia Landmark Corporation, 643-6741. 20

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WESTOVER HILLS AREA—2-bedroom ranch duplex. 6 blocks from city. Spick and span. Economical heat. Large utility room, nice shady lawn. $80. 233-3514. 20

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1211 Graryland, Brick, hardwood floors, air conditioned, tile bath. Immediate. Tepper Bros., Agent, MI 3-6666. 21

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2 bedrooms and eat-in kitchen. Spacious closets.
35th and Glenwood, $75.
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3710 Hanover Ave., 4 C, 4 rooms and bath, $55. Spotless.
ROSE & LAFOON CO.
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LAUREL, S., 423—1st and 2nd floors. Nice flat of 4 rooms, bath, stove and refrigerator. $37.50 per mo. Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805. 20

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MULBERRY ST., N.—5 rooms, $45.50. Modern. Paint. Hebring, MI 3-2655. 20

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SEMMES AVE.—Nice 4-room flat. On bus. Reasonable. Good. BE 3-9715. 20

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SOUTH SIDE—2712 Semmes Ave. 5 rooms, bath, $72.50.
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Lower 4 rooms, bath. Will decorate. Immediate. $50. MI 3-2805, Joseph A. Lange, Realtor. 20

SOUTH SIDE—905 Porter. 4 rooms, bath, $52.50. Completely redecorated. Move in now.
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WEST END—N. Robinson St. (112). 4 rooms and bath, $40 per month. Immediate possession. Elam & Funsten, Realtor, MI 4-9451. X

WEST END, STUART AVE.—(2507) Five rooms, bath, 2nd floor. Immediate. $65 per month. Elam & Funsten, Realtor, MI 4-9451. X

WEST END—3324 W. Grace St., 2nd floor. Living room, dining room, 2 bedrooms, kitchen and bath. Immediate possession. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

WESTWOOD — Lovely 3 rooms and bath in excellent condition. Will rent furnished or unfurnished. Immediate. Vaughan & Green, Inc., Realtors, MI 4-4588. 20

GRACE Street, 2918, West. No. 3. 4 rooms, bath. Aug. 1st. $50.
Marshall St., 3022, West, 1st floor. 4 rooms, bath. At once. $40.
SCHMIDT & WILSON
INCORPORATED—MI 8-5801 X

ELLWOOD Ave., 3012-D. Three rooms and bath. Immediate. $37.50.

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Floyd Ave., 2211. Five rooms and bath, hot-water heat. July 1 possession, $55.

Floyd Ave., 2110. Four rooms and bath. July 1. $65.

Floyd Ave., 2807. Five rooms and bath. At once, $65.
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REALTORS—MI 3-9111 20

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COLORED: 4510 34½ St., Fulton. 3 rooms, bath, water, $29.50. Bender Realty, 353-8861, 353-6050. 20

COLORED—32 S. Davis, 2nd floor. $50, immediate possession. W. R. L. Smith & Bro., Inc. Realtors, MI 9-1261. 21

COLORED: 1614 and 1612 Lakeview Averue; first floors, 4 rooms, bath, gas heat, Venetian blinds, $55. Morton G. Thalhimer, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-5881. X

COLORED: W. Cary St., 1239. Upper 4 rooms, bath, $35.
First St., 1115 N. Upper 3 rooms, $25.
N. 22nd, 604. Upper 3 rooms, bath, $35.

Sawyer & Smith, Inc., Agents, MI 3-6766. 21

Houses Unfurn. to Rent 117

BELMONT AVE., S., 112—6 rooms. Call 359-3415. 22

BELMONT RD.—(Off) 6 rooms, bath. Large lot. $65. 233-2364. 23

BILTMORE—5 rooms and bath, $85. CO 6-6572 after 5 P. M. 14

BON AIR—8541 Rockway. 2-bedroom duplex, $97.50. BR 2-0431, BR 2-2833. 15

BON AIR AREA—In Hobby Hills. Large 3-bedroom ranch house with 2 baths. Available Immediately. Only $175. Call Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-7216. 21

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PATTERSON AVE., 6209—6 rooms, gas heat. August 1. $85. MI 8-1556, Agent. 21

PEPPER AVE., 907—6 rooms, 1½ baths, July 1st possession. $125 per mo. Rucker & Richardson, Realtors, MI 8-4741. X

SANDSTON—112 E. Gray, 3 bedrooms, bath, redecorated, $95. Bill Edwards, with John S. Edwards, Inc., MI 8-2774, 232-3642. X

SHEPPARD ST., N. 16—Six rooms and bath, immediate, $85. Sutton & Co., Inc., MI 3-9001. X

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SOUTH SIDE—4-bedroom house, basement, nice yard, good location. July 1st. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

SOUTH SIDE—(Near DuPont), 2716 Brampton Way. Living room, 2 bedrooms, kitchen and bath. $87.50. Immediate. Rose & Lafoon Co., Realtors, MI 8-1631. X

WEST END — 3-bedroom, separate dining room. 282-4885, 282-6648. 27

WEST END—2-bedroom. Corner lot. July 1. 6901 Vanderbilt Ave. X

WEST END—Westhampton area, five rooms and bath, $75. EL 3-8761. 21

WEST END — 1208 Foxcroft Rd. 5 rooms, bath. $100. 288-6088.
DOMOR CORP., REALTORS

WEST END—2513 Tarry Lane; 3 bedrooms; $110. Call J. F. Batte & Sons, Inc., 359-1371. 21

WEST END—1303 Mormac. 4 bedrooms, 2 baths, family room, $145. Bill Edwards with John E. Edwards, Inc. MI 8-2774, 232-3642. X

WEST END—Two bedroom brick ranch, floored attic, nice yard. Immediately. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors. MI 9-0764. X

WEST END—2 bedrooms, July 15th, $100; 3 bedrooms, July 1st. $100; 3 bedrooms. Aug. 1st. $125. Malan Rutty, Realtor, 355-7497. 20

WEST END—2309 Leah Rd., brick ranch, 3 bedroom with range. Near shopping, bus, school, $100 month. AT 8-9531, MI 4-4735. 22

WEST END—(1522 Glenside Drive). Living room, 2 bedrooms, den, kitchen and bath; fenced back yard. Elam & Funsten, Realtors, MI 4-9451 or AT 2-1745. X

WEST END—7355 Townes Rd. 4-bedroom, story and half; range and refrigerator. $115. At once. Blackburn Realty Co., AT 2-7626 or AT 8-7325. 20

WEST END — Colonial Ave., (212 South). Living room, dining room, modern kitchen, breakfast room, 3 bedrooms, sleeping porch, full basement; oil heat. July 1st, $115. MI 4-9451. Elam & Funsten, Realtors. X

WEST END—Westbourne area. 2-story house with 4-bedrooms and 2 baths, garage, range, refrigerator and automatic washer. Immediate possession. Only $125. Call Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-7216. 21

WEST END—County, 8106 Ridge Rd. $115 per month for this newly decorated 3-bedroom home. Prime school location. Also shopping and county bus very convenient. To see this and other homes, please call John Cowan, Jones & Robins, Inc., MI 3-0701. 24

WESTOVER HILLS AREA—2-bedroom duplex, 6 blocks from city. Spick and span. Economical heat, large utility room, nice shady lawn. $80. 233-3514. 20

WEST, 2417 W. Main. 6 rooms and bath; oil heat. Immediate possession. Call MI 3-9011, Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors. X

CENTRAL: 2018 W. Grace. 8 rooms and bath; oil heat. Quick possession. $100 per month. Call MI 3-9011, Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors. X

CENTRAL West End near Seaboard Bldg. 3-bedroom brick, corner lot, reasonable, immediate. Call Jack Webb.
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MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC. 20

COLORED: Antique 3 story brick, $10 a week. 105 Ash St. 4 P. M. 20

COLORED: West End, 200 S. Harrison St., 5 rooms and bath, completely renovated. Immediate possession. W. E. Robinson Real Estate Co., 643-1809, 300 E. Clay St. 20

Houses Furn. to Rent 118

CENTRAL GARDENS AREA—3 bedrooms, tiled bath; nicely furnished. $100 month. 649-1941. 21

CHICKAHOMINY LAKE—Front, new modern. Adults, $20 week. EL 9-6491. 16

PARK AVENUE, 5104—July 1 to Sept. 1; three bedrooms. 282-6491 or MI 4-9451. X

WEST END—(Near Carillon.) A nice clean 2-bedroom home, completely furnished. Ideal location. Move in and live comfortably. Immediate. Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

WOODLAND HEIGHTS — 5 rooms, near bus. Call BE 3-9993. 22

Share Homes 118A
APTS., FLATS

BON AIR AREA — Bachelor seeks responsible young man to share home. 232-9509 evenings. 20

CRESTVIEW—Will share my apt. with business girl. AT 8-6745. 20

FRANKLIN ST., W.—1-2 Nurses, or business girls. Apt EL 8-6282. 20

SOUTH SIDE—Elderly retired lady to share furnished apt. with same, 233-6691. 21

WEST END—Young businessman. Call after 5:30 P. M., 288-5789. 20

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We have space available in this, one of Richmond's finest buildings. This space newly reconditioned to make it ultra-modern. Very convenient to parking garage

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WEST END —Quality office space available in several well located buildings. Space from 200 to 9,600 square feet. Available now to September 1, 1965. Call for further information and appointment to inspect.
AL JUSTICE
MI 4-2965 Realtors AT 2-1681
HARRISON & BATES, INC.

WILLOW LAWN AREA—690 sq. ft. July 1st or before. Partition to suit. Virginia Landmark Corporation, 643-6741. 25

SUITE of 4 air conditioned offices. 865 sq. ft Opposite Main P. O. Phone 644-2722. 10

WANT an office building for your firm with all services provided at the lowest West End rate? And 14 parking spaces too. Call J. Doherty, Elam & Funsten, MI 4-9451. X

PROFESSIONAL people, lawyers, accountants, insurance agents. If you are looking for offices in the downtown area, give us a call. We have an intriguing proposition for you. Elam & Funsten, MI 4-9451. 20

Suburban Country 123
FOR RENT — WANTED TO RENT

ELLERSON—1-bedroom house, $60 month. PI 6-5881. 20

ELMONT—3 rooms and bath apt., completely furnished, newly decorated. Private entrance. 798-6810. 20

Wanted to Rent 125
HOUSES, APARTMENTS, FLATS, ETC.

APARTMENT—Furnished or house in East End. MI 3-8513. 23

APARTMENTS—Homes, flats, businesses wanted to rent. We have daily calls for rental property. Call Jack Webb, rental manager, day or night.
EL 3-1266, Realtors; Home, AT 2-0014
MARSHALL E. GRAVES, INC. 30

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE!
BUSINESS
OPPORTUNITIES
126 TO 140

Business Opportunities 126

BAKERY—And delicatessen to open in West End soon. Seeking partner and experienced manager. Must have administrative ability and willing to invest. Write G-852, care this paper. 25

BARBER SHOP—For lease or sale, 2006 W. Main St., MI 4-3625. 21M

BARBER SHOP—Choice downtown location. 4 chairs. Terms. 643-5222. 18

BEAUTY SALON—Shopping center. Write CJ-889, care this paper. 14

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GROCERY—Business, West End, good location. For information, call Charles Colyer Real Estate, AT 8-0826. 22

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HUNGARY ROAD

FULLY EQUIPPED, DOING GOOD BUSINESS. PLEASE CALL C. P. HILLIARD, ROSE & LAFOON CO., REALTORS, MI 8-1631 OR AT 8-0457. X

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HARDWARE STORE — Established, growing, terrific potential. Sacrifice for quick sale, other interests. Write CJ-891, care this paper. 22

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Will build. Doctor or dentist, grocery store, delicatessen. Near 500-unit apartment project. 737-6080.

CORPORATE VENTURE FUNDS
Federally Licensed SBIC
First Fidelity Capital Ltd., MI 8-8871 17

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50-unit motel and restaurant on Interstate highway, central Texas. $10,000 down with trade. Peterson, phone 417-881-4597, 1936 E. Sunshine, Springfield, Mo. 20

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COCOA BEACH, Florida. Western Auto, located heart Cape Kennedy missile area. Excellent sales, profit. $45,000 handles. Owner retiring. D. Ponder, 73 N. Orlando, Cocoa Beach, Fla. 20

MAJOR Oil company and leading tire company have a franchise available for an aggressive individual or company to distribute complete line of tires, batteries, and car and home merchandise. Financial assistance available. For further information write CO 864, care this paper. 20

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To run a business of your own? Send $1.00 for a kit of 5 selected franchising articles, including a 24-page brochure "You Can Design Your Own Future Success!" p.s. Profile, Dept. E, 112 S. Mall, Willow Lawn, Richmond, 288-3118. 20

SILENT—Partner wanted, to back aggressive young man in proven profitable business. No competition in vicinity. Not a get rich quick scheme, but a business that takes time and work which I will supply. Have already begun business on a small basis. $15,000 cash investment for half interest. Write Box L-148, care this paper for interview and details. 26

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that generates 300 watts of 60 cycle, 110 V AC, electricity from a 12-V car, boat, truck battery, operate tools; light a campsite, with remote control! Costs you from $59. Wire, write for plan that includeds samples plus paid ads. Instructo Sports, 9885 Santa Monica Blvd., Beverly Hills, Calif. X

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WASHINGTON Highway No. 1. 700x 1,400, 21 acres.

Also, 17 acres at Keeton Road and highway, good business frontage.

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B. O. Taurman, MI 3-9011, Pollard & Bagby, Inc., Realtors. 20

7 OUT OF 10

If you are one of 7 out of 10 individuals who hopes someday to be in business for himself, call Partake, 288-3118 and make a reservation for the "Own your own business" success seminar, which includes a 25 minute sound color film, "Formula for Success." Admission is free. 20

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Woodside, New York 11377
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Real Estate 128
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PLENTY of first mortgage money to lend. Chapin & Clark, 5 N. Sixth.

MORTGAGE BANKERS RELATORS
Old Dominion Mtg. Corp., 644-2313. 18

"2ND MORTGAGE LOANS"
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APARTMENTS—Neat 12, also 6 units. Excellent investment, 3301 Grove Ave., Apt. 6. 21

Boulevard
Excellent location. 4 apartments, 1 office and garage. $35,000. Louise B. Little, AT 8-5878, MI 8-5873. W. D. Nelson & Co., Realtors. X

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CHAMBERLAYNE — Apartments: 6 units, brick, 2 years old. Call E. H. Marsteller, with Phillips-Hall, Inc., Realtors, MI 8-7216; home, AT 2-6783. X

DUPLEX—4th Ave. 4 rooms, each unit. Rent $120 month. Excellent condition. Reasonably priced. $8,000. Bell Realty Co., 282-8444. 23

DUPLEX—3 rooms up, 3 rooms down. $500 and assume. $7,500.
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358-3572 353-0104
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HANOVER COUNTY—Nearly 5 acres lying on east side of U. S. Highway No. 1. 339' frontage 1½ miles north of Henrico County line. All open land. Properties both to the north and to the south of it presently zoned B-1, for limited business. Call Ralph Truax, EL 8-4627 (home), Elam & Funsten, Realtors, Exclusive Agents, MI 4-9451. XM

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HIGHLAND PARK — 2-family, first floor rented $90.00 per month. Owner lives on 2d floor. MI 8-7322. Lillie Gills, Northside Realty Co. X

MARSHALL ST., E., 2310, 2312, 2316 —Priced to sell below assessment at $15,000. C. E. Jones, Jr., BE 3-5322. Bailey & Childress, Inc., 644-3010. 20

MONTPELIER AREA — Investment property, attention doctors, 6 rooms, 2 baths, modern kitchen, 123 acres, mostly open, fenced farm, equipment, stocked farm, spring pond. Owner will finance for reliable party. Commuting distance to Richmond. Priced to sell. Matthews & Foltz, Brokers, RE 7-1566, RE 7-5924. 23

PINE ST.—$5,000. Brick. Floyd, $7,500. Brick, Libble, $7,900. Rented. Call Bill Carle with Joseph A. Lange, Realtor, MI 3-2805 or EL 9-1813. MLS Member. X

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SOUTH RICHMOND—Industrial sites near Lee Bridge. All utilities. Crawley Joyner, III. AT 8-7080 or Slater & Vaughan, Inc., Realtors, MI 9-0764. X

WEST END—OFFICE BLDG. SITES. SEVERAL NEAR WILLOW LAWN. $16,500 UP. CALL JIM BRIDGMAN, EL 8-7854. BROKERS LTD. 20

WEST END—5.7 ACRES ON INTERSTATE 64 INTERCHANGE. WATER AND SEWER. GOOD INVESTMENT. CALL JIM BRIDGMAN, EL 5-7854. BROKERS LTD. 20

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Southside County Cuts School Aid

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

FARMVILLE, June 30—In a special meeting lasting until almost midnight Tuesday, the Prince Edward county supervisors, accustomed to living amidst controversy, took at least three stands likely to continue the tradition. The board:

(1) Sliced $80,000 from the requested local expenditures for the public school system, which is attended mainly by Negro children. The school board had requested $380,000 in local money; it will get $300,000.

(2) Refused to appropriate any local funds for the joint local-state-federal public welfare program in the fiscal year which begins Thursday. However, in another special meeting Wednesday afternoon, the board rescinded that move and substituted another, cutting the total welfare budget from $138,030 to $95,000. Local participation would be continued, but it was unclear exactly how much local money would be involved and whether the county could legally cut federal and state welfare appropriations.

Tuesday's action would have meant a welfare budget of $110,802—but from federal and state sources only. The final action taken Wednesday is for a budget of $95,000—from local, state and federal sources.

(3) Authorized the county school board to procure sufficient mobile classrooms to accommodate enrollment needs this fall and, at the same time, urged the school board to "take such steps as may be necessary" to explore the possible sale of public school buildings not in use. This was viewed as a request that the school board seek to find out what school property Federal District Judge Oren R. Lewis will permit to be sold. Proceeds from any sale should go toward school building programs, the supervisors suggested.

After considering lowering the tax rate because of cuts made in welfare and public school budgets, the supervisors decided to stick with the present rate of $2.50 per $100 assessed valuation on real estate and tangible personal property

AP Wirephoto

Ship to Shore

Tom Rose of Virginia Beach, a VPI biology student, pays a visit to the newest seal at the Norfolk Zoo, to which the United States Marines delivered it only yesterday. Rose felt a proprietary interest in the seal. It was first spotted Monday when it jumped into his boat. He wasn't in the boat and the seal got away then. The marines spied it in the Atlantic near the impact area for Dam Neck rifle range yesterday, ceased fire, and three of them herded it ashore. They named it Surfy and, on orders, delivered it to the zoo.

Pupil Plan Backed In Charlottesville

By James Green
Times-Dispatch News Bureau

CHARLOTTESVILLE, June 30—The city school board that the map outlining the districts was proposed with the understanding that minor revisions may be necessary when

King Rally May Draw 10,000

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

PETERSBURG, June 30 — The president of the Virginia unit of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Atlantic Fleet Forces

TwoChangesMade In Top Commands

NORFOLK, June 30—(AP)—The Atlantic Fleet's 40,000-man marine force, first to be committed as shock troops or policemen in any Western hemisphere crisis, got a new commander Wednesday.

So did the 20,000 men and 94 ships of the service force, which keeps the Atlantic Fleet supplied at sea.

The two changes of command were top events in a day of military activity that also included a visit by Vice President Humphrey.

Humphrey came to Norfolk for a routine briefing on the workings of the four-service Atlantic command, headed by Adm. Thomas H. Moorer.

The new fleet marine force commander is Lt. Gen Alpha L. Bowser. He relieved Lt. Gen. J. P. Berkeley, who retired after 38 years' service.

Admiral Ailes Retires

Rear Adm. Henry A. Renken relieved Rear Adm. John W. Ailes III as service force commander. Ailes retired after 40 years' service.

Berkeley and Ailes were decorated; Berkeley with the Distinguished Service Medal, Ailes with the Legion of Merit.

Berkeley was cited for "his extraordinary grasp of the principles of war and his ability to apply them with maximum effect."

"His untiring efforts in obtaining approval for and his brilliant command of the landing force in Exercise Steel Pike I established him in the forefront of modern military commanders."

Lynchburg College To Expand

LYNCHBURG, June 30—Lynchburg College announced a 10-year, 10.6-million-dollar development program Wednesday which includes the construction of 10 new buildings.

Dr. Carey Brewer, president of the college, said the plan earmarks $2,355,000 for student scholarships, and faculty improvements and benefits, $2,400,000 for academic program support and library acquisitions and $5,832,000 for construction of new buildings.

Construction of three of the buildings had been announced previously and work is scheduled to begin on them in the near future. Those buildings are a chapel and music building, a men's dormitory and a student union building. Contracts have not been let on any of the buildings yet.

The list of construction projects also includes the remodeling of a dormitory into an administrative building and the addition of an annex to Knight Memorial Library.

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suggested.

After considering lowering the tax rate because of cuts made in welfare and public school budgets, the supervisors decided to stick with the present rate of $2.50 per $100 assessed valuation on real estate and tangible personal property and 60 cents on merchants capital.

Special Category

School and welfare appropriations were each placed in a special appropriation category at the suggestion of Commonwealth's Attorney William F. Watkins Jr., who said that in the event that the supervisors' actions were challenged, the operation of other county agencies would thus be unimpaired. The other agencies' sums remained in the general county budget.

The motion to cut local money for schools by $80,000 was made by Charles B. Pickett, seconded by John C. Steck and carried unanimously, although supervisor Hugh M. Jenkins said he favored trimming it by $20,000 more and insisting that the state split public school costs with Prince Edward on a 50-50 basis.

Pickett said Prince Edward appropriates "more per pupil than any other county adjoining us." Jenkins said by his calculations public schools here are costing $376 per child, while the private Prince Edward School Foundation for white children runs on $309 per pupil.

"If one organization can operate on it, I don't see why the other can't." Jenkins said.

Virginians Reminded Of Bell Ringing

Governor Harrison yesterday called to the attention of Virginia residents an act of Congress authorizing the ringing of bells throughout the nation at 2 p.m. on the Fourth of July.

The observance is in remembrance of the tolling of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia at that hour on July 4, 1776. This proclaimed the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the birth of America as a free and independent nation.

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In Charlottesville

By James Green
Times-Dispatch News Bureau

CHARLOTTESVILLE, June 30—The city school board adopted a pupil assignment plan for elementary pupils Wednesday night, based on the neighborhood attendance concept, during a special meeting attended by about 200 persons.

A few city residents spoke out at the special meeting, but the board encountered no organized opposition.

The assignment plan, the second pupil placement program offered by the board in compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, divides the city into six elementary school districts.

One effect of the new policy will be to end the operation of a city elementary school, Jefferson, as an all-Negro facility. It will house the junior high grades — seventh, eighth and ninth—until completion of two junior high schools now under construction.

In addition, Negro teachers who formerly taught at Jefferson will be reassigned to all the other elementary schools. This includes Greenbrier on the northern edge of town.

Each elementary area, including Greenbrier, Venable, Johnson, Clark, Burnley-Moran and McGuffey school districts, has been determined by the capacity of the schools, according to school officials.

George C. Tramontin, school superintendent, explained that the districts are enclosed by streets rather than natural boundaries.

He said the program was set up in "complete disregard to race, creed or national origin."

Tramontin further explained that the map outlining the districts was proposed with the understanding that minor revisions may be necessary when school begins this fall.

"The school board feels that this plan presents the soundest educational plan possible under the existing circumstances by maintaining as nearly as possible the concept of the neighborhood school and by imposing a minimum amount of reassignment of students," the superintendent said.

"There are no easy and perfect solutions to this problem," Tramontin continued, "but it's a program we can live with for at least the next five years without reassignments and disrupting school enrollments."

He added that the board drew up the placement plan after several months of study and consultation with city council and officials of the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

"The school board is not a completely free agency to do what it thinks is best," Tramontin continued, "but we took many plans into consideration."

Tramontin added that school officials also considered "assigning a pupil to a school as close as possible to his home because of safety factors in walking and being transported, and providing a plan which will be long-range and not require drastic revision every few years.

"All schools, will be filled very near to capacity" when the new program goes into effect this fall, he commented. "We are already constituted with too many downtown schools" and are in need of school in the out-lying areas."

10,000

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

PETERSBURG, June 30—The president of the Virginia unit of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) said Wednesday he expects "at least 10,000 persons" to attend a rally Friday night at which Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. will speak.

Dr. King, who is president of the SCLC, will be the principal speaker during the Virginia unit's two-day convention to be held at First Baptist Church on Harrison st. here.

The Rev. Curtis W. Harris of Hopewell, president of the Virginia SCLC unit, said between 250 and 300 delegates are expected for the convention, which begins at 9 a.m. Friday and concludes Saturday afternoon.

Dr. King will speak at the mass rally scheduled for Rogers Stadium on the campus of nearby Virginia State College.

The convention theme is "Exercising the New Freedom." There will be workshops all day Friday built around the voting rights bill, the Economic Opportunity Act, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and SCOPE, the SCLC summer voter registration project.

In addition to Dr. King's appearance the convention will hear from the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, a former pastor of a Petersburg church, top lieutenant to Dr. King and vice president of the Heritage Library Foundation of New York; Hosea Williams, director of SCOPE on a national scale; the Rev. C. T. Vivian, director of affiliates for SCLC, the Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of SCLC and representatives from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

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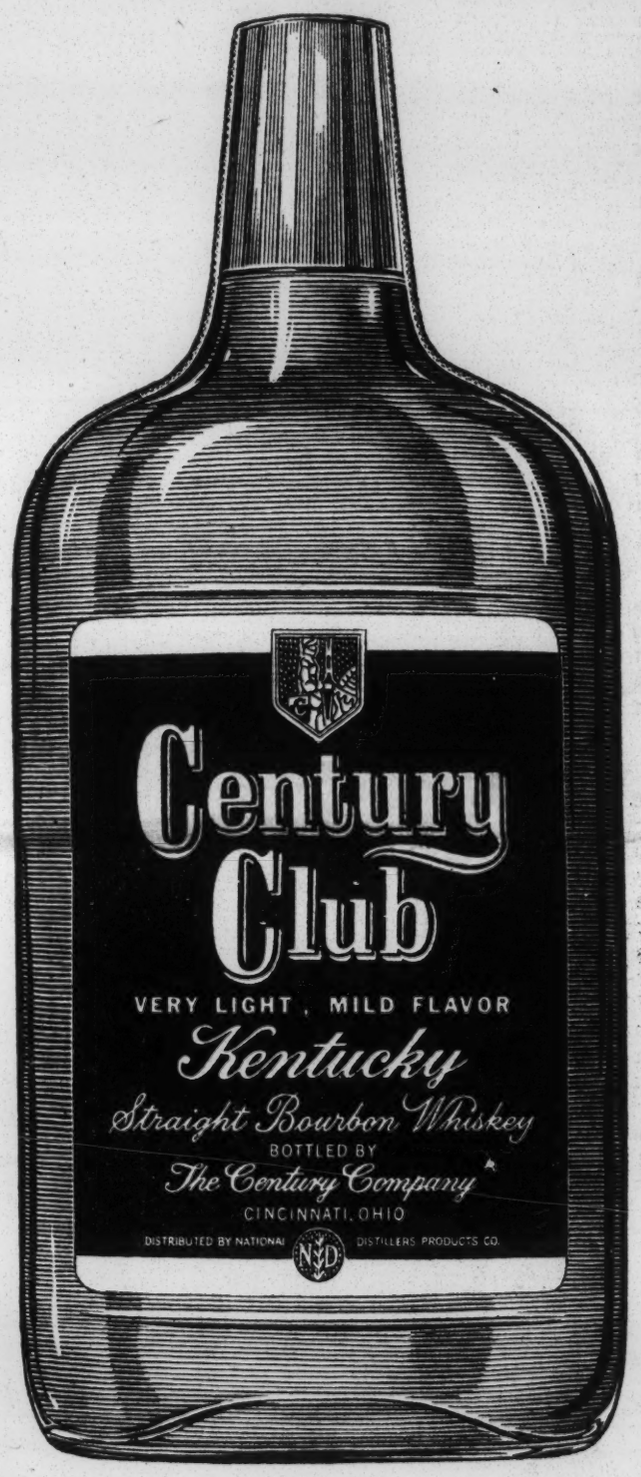

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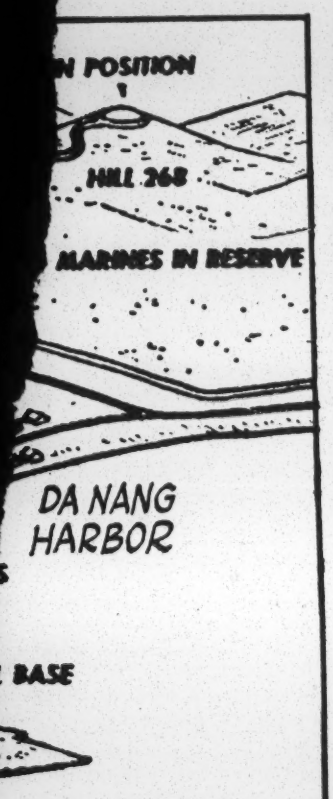
Dry Mama

SVILLE, June 30— s. Dave Holston re- found a new use for thes dryer. A mother lked out on five eggs nest, so Mrs. Holston them in the dryer. ed by the pilot light, gs soon changed into aby chicks.



AP Wirephoto

g Hit With Mortars

Council Group Backs City Toll Expressways

Judgeship Bill Passed By Senate

Four Posts Are Approved

By Times-Dispatch Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 30 — The Senate approved by voice vote Wednesday a bill which would provide two additional judgeships on the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals and two district judges for Eastern Virginia.

Only one additional judgeship on the appellate tribunal had been anticipated, but the Senate added a second by approving a floor amendment offered by Sen. Tydings (D-Md).

Conservative Democrats from states comprising the circuit advanced the name of Governor Harrison of Virginia for the judgeship provided in the earlier version of the bill.

A news article earlier this month suggested that North and South Carolina Democrats might quietly unite behind Harrison in order to forestall the appointment of a Maryland liberal to the bench.

The news article said Sen. Ervin (D-NC), a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "is reported to be interested in this approach."

It also was understood at that time that Ervin had expressed hope that Virginia Senators Byrd and Robertson would propose Harrison for the appointment, which would be made by President Johnson subject to Senate confirmation.

It was considered significant therefore, that Ervin joined

Continued on Page 7, Col. 1

Bobby Baker
Another 'Final' Report

Report Says Baker Exploited Position

From Wire Dispatches

WASHINGTON, June 30 — Bobby Baker was accused Wednesday by the Senate Rules Committee of abuse of his high patronage post to promote his own ends.

The committee suggested consideration be given to indictment of Baker for violation of conflict of interest statutes.

But the report of the committee's Democratic majority rejected as a figment of the imagination a tale of an alleged political payoff on the District of Columbia Stadium project by Matthew McCloskey, a former ambassador and Democratic party fund raiser, which, allegedly, found its way into the 1960 Kennedy-Johnson campaign fund.

The Rules Committee chairman, Senator Jordan (D-NC), filed the committee's report on the Baker case with the Senate Wednesday. It contained sharper language in its indictment of Baker's behavior, and urged stronger remedial action by the Senate, than the previous "final" report, which was filed just short of a year ago.

Recommendations made in the report included adoption of a rule requiring senators, and Senate employes earning more than $10,000 annually, to make periodic reports of outside income.

It also proposed to restrict outside employment of Senate employes to activities not interfering with regular duties.

The investigation began in October, 1963, when Baker resigned his $19,600-a-year job as secretary to the Senate's Democratic majority after disclosures that he had been running a multi-million-dollar private business enterprise in his spare time. Last July 8 the committee reported it found Baker guilty of "many gross improprieties," and closed the books on the affair over the protest of Republican members of the Senate. The case became a

System Held Impractical To Build as Free Facility

By Ed Grimsley

City Council tacitly authorized its trafficways committee yesterday to proceed with plans for the creation of an independent authority to construct a proposed 80-million-dollar expressway system for Richmond as a toll facility.

The committee recommended this approach in a report to Council at a special informal meeting. It said an exhaustive study of financing possibilities has convinced it that "it is not practical or feasible to finance the project as a free facility . . ."

It advised Council that the committee's lawyers are preparing proposed legislation by which the General Assembly could create an authority that would select precise routes for the expressways, issue bonds to finance them and supervise their construction.

The committee also has instructed its consultants to proceed with studies that will enable them to recommend detailed routes, to obtain more precise cost estimates and to determine traffic volumes and revenue potential.

Editorial Comment on Page 18.

Council was not asked to act on the committee's recommendation, and it didn't. But it could have stopped the committee had it wanted to do so.

On the contrary, Mayor Crowe said Council "received the report on the whole very favorably."

It was understood that the committee would proceed with the next phase of its study, Crowe said.

Crowe said Council would await further reports from the committee before committing itself to the proposed financing plan.

Irvin G. Horner, chairman of the Chesterfield county board of supervisors, said the board has been apprised of the progress of the trafficways committee's discussions on several occasions, the latest on yesterday.

"I think the committee has been studying it for some time and has given it a lot of thought. I think the people of

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AP Wirephoto

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Continued on Page 7, Col. 1

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Last October the case was reopened on the basis of charges that Baker had been involved in the alleged payoff on D. C. Stadium.

The issuance of Wednesday's report, which in effect wraps up both phases of the investigation, served again to emphasize the wide and acrimonious difference in viewpoint between the six-man Democratic majority on the committee and the three-man Republican minority.

In referring to possible indictment of Baker, whose activities are under investigation by a federal grand jury here, the Rules Committee cited a $5,000

Continued on Page 15, Col. 4

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Continued on Page 2, Col. 1

Excitement Stirred By Pursuit of Peahen

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chase and the peahen took to the rooftops.

The boys created such a clamor that the bird, apparently frightened, began flying from roof to roof, fleeing to the north of the park. It led the chase over to Main st., gathering a larger and larger crowd of pursuers in its wake.

It winged from house to house along Main, traffic stopping as the crowd swelled off the sidewalks. The bird perched from place to place, peeped over the edge of houses, then flew on, turned at Robin-

Continued on Page 2, Col. 6

Robert Ruark Dies in London

LONDON, July 1 (Thursday) —(AP)—Robert Ruark, 49, American writer, died early Thursday in London's Middlesex Hospital, a hospital spokesman reported.

No details of the cause of death or duration of illness were given.

Ruark, a native of Wilmington, N. C., was a syndicated columnist for years and had become an author of best-selling books and a magazine contributor. He wrote extensively about Africa.

Council Opposes City Hall

Staff Photo

EXPRESSWAYS EXPRESSIONS—Richmond's trafficways committee met with City Council yesterday to recommend construction of a toll expressway system for the city. Shown here before the meeting are A. J. Brent, chairman; Alan S. Donnahoe, Councilman James C. Wheat Jr. Frank G. Louthan Jr., Aylett W. Goode Jr., Mayor Crowe and J. Harvie Wilkinson Jr. All except Crowe are members of the committee. Councilman Phil J. Bagley Jr., also a committee member, was not present when the picture was taken.

Council Unit Backs Toll Expressways

Continued From First Page

Richmond and Henrico and Chesterfield should give them their co-operation in breaking up the traffic logjam that this proposal would help break up."

S. A. Burnette, chairman of the Henrico county board of supervisors, could not be reached for comment.

Although the committee itself endorsed no specific routes, it said continuing studies have confirmed its previously expressed opinion that the expressway system should consist of the following:

(1) A north-south expressway running from the intersection of Interstate Rt. 64 (now under construction) and Interstate Rt. 95 (the Richmond - Petersburg Turnpike) near Bryan Park to a connection with Chippenham Parkway south of the James river in Chesterfield county.

(2) An east-west road running from the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike in downtown Richmond to Huguenot bridge in the far West End, "following insofar as possible

in progress for the past seven months confirmed this need and the desirability of toll financing, the committee said.

Construction of the system as a free facility would have a major impact on the city's bonded indebtedness, the committee said. Although Richmond could legally borrow the additional money needed for the system without exceeding its debt limit, the committee said, "the issuance of bonds in that amount would increase the annual debt service payments out of proportion to the city's total operating expenses and might well have an adverse affect on the city's credit."

Other Needs Will Arise

Further, "the issuance of the required amount of bonds would also leave very little room for meeting other capital improvement needs which will doubtless arise from time to time," the committee continued.

Under the proposed method of financing, it would be necessary for the city to guarantee the payment of up to 20 million dollars on the principal and interest of the money borrowed for the project. But engineers'

of a suit either during or after the sale of the bonds."

When its legal advisers complete the proposed legislation for an expressway authority, the committee will seek the approval of Council and the supervisors and ask area legislators to sponsor the measure.

Although the expressways would be almost wholly within the city, they would serve thousands of Henrico and Chexterfield residents, Hence, the committee has worked closely with county officials. And it has consulted representatives of the State Highway Department and area legislators.

"The co-operation of all who have been consulted continued to be of great assistance," the committee said.

Earlier yesterday, the committee met with the Henrico and Chesterfield boards of supervisors to advise them of its recommendations. It didn't seek their approval.

Crowe expressed belief that a metropolitan expressway system such as is here conceived by this trafficways committee, which includes members from Henrico and Chesterfield, offers the finest opportunity for metropolitan co-operation toward the common good yet offered."

For engineering advice, the committee has relied on the firm of Wilbur Smith and Associates and the firm of Howard, Needles, Tammen and Bergendoff.

The investment banking firm of White-Weld and Company and bond attorneys firm of Wood, King, Dawson and Logan have acted as financial and legal advisers.

Brent estimated it would take engineers about six months to complete detailed route, cost, traffic and revenue studies. This would coincide with the opening of the next session of the Generl Assembly in January.

Free Admission to End At Valentine Museum

Han
U.S.

By Andrew

Times-Dispatch St

HANOVER, June
Hanover county boa
visors tabled a requ
day to rezone a site
miles south of Ashla
Rt. 1 for use as a tr

Bill Eddleton, a co
nessman, presented t
to the board. The tra
which would be on the
side of the highway,
able to accommodate
mobile homes, Eddle

The county planning
sion earlier had reco
that the request be de
several residents of
surrounding the propos
tended the meeting W
to protest.

But Eddleton was ar
a petition, which, he
been signed by about 1
who live nearby and w
the project.

A trailer park is
across the road from
posed tract.

Other Business

In other action, the
visors, during their l
morning and afternoon se

(1) Set July 28 as the
for a public hearing on a
quest by Producers Co-ope
tive, which is seeking to ha
rezoned the land on which
constructed a $22,000 war
house last year.

(2) Appropriated an add
tional $3,673 to the Hanove
Welfare Board. This consis
of $1,300 in salary increase
and $2,373 in public assistance
categories.

(3) Approved an ordinanc
that would permit the count
to prevent electricity fron
being installed in a home o
other building whose owne
has failed to notify the build
ing inspector of its completion.

(4) Approved the preparation of ordinances that would require separate permits for plumbing, electrical and building work. Currently, only one permit is required to cover the whole cost of the construction.

(5) Approved additional expenditures of the Hanover School Board.

(6) Appointed its first full time fire chief and its fir full-time county forest ward

(7) Approved the app ment of Ray Harlow of land to the planning co sion.

Producers Notifie

Producers Co-operati notified in April that seek rezoning for lan its wareh The

(1) A north-south expressway running from the intersection of Interstate Rt. 64 (now under construction) and Interstate Rt. 95 (the Richmond - Petersburg Turnpike) near Bryan Park to a connection with Chippenham Parkway south of the James river in Chesterfield county.

(2) An east-west road running from the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike in downtown Richmond to Huguenot bridge in the far West End, "following insofar as possible the river corridor."

Technically, the east - west road would be called a parkway from Huguenot bridge to its intersection with the proposed north-south expressway.

The committee noted that "regardless of the precise route to be followed, problems of relocation will necessarily arise and should be carefully considered well in advance. Therefore, it would appear highly desirable, and the committee recommends, that Council appoint, as early as may be practicable, a committee on housing to deal with this problem."

Crowe said Council will appoint such a committee.

The committee expressed its views in a report released by Chairman A. J. Brent. Other members of the committee are Alan S. Donnahoe, Frank G. Louthan Jr., Aylett W. Goode Jr., [illegible] Wilkinson Jr., [illegible] Wheat

credit."

Other Needs Will Arise

Further, "the issuance of the required amount of bonds would also leave very little room for meeting other capital improvement needs which will doubtless arise from time to time," the committee continued.

Under the proposed method of financing, it would be necessary for the city to guarantee the payment of up to 20 million dollars on the principal and interest of the money borrowed for the project. But engineers' estimates indicate that it won't be necessary for the city actually to "pay out such funds," the committee said.

It explained that although toll revenue "would be sufficient to meet annual interest and principal payments, the coverage is not sufficient to give the desirable degree of marketability to the bonds at an attractive rate of interest."

The committee said it had considered other methods by which the city could aid the project, such as by the donation of the right of way or by the assumption of annual operating and maintenance costs. "but at present (the committee) considers the guarantee to be the most acceptable and cheapest method of accomplishing the desired purpose."

One legal hurdle might have to be surmounted before the city could proceed with the proposed expressway project, the committee said. Legislation auth[illegible]izing construction of the [illegible]-Petersburg Tu[illegible]

"The co-operation of all who have been consulted continued to be of great assistance," the committee said.

Earlier yesterday, the committee met with the Henrico and Chesterfield boards of supervisors to advise them of its recommendations. It didn't seek their approval.

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Brent estimated it would take engineers about six months to complete detailed route, cost, traffic and revenue studies. This would coincide with the opening of the next session of the General Assembly in January.

Free Admission to End At Valentine Museum

The Valentine Museum will begin charging admission fees today for the first time in 68 years.

Gen. L. D. Carter, acting director, said that admiss[illegible] rates would be charged to all non-members with tw[illegible] ceptions: accompanied groups of school children a[illegible] dren under 12 years of age accompanied by [illegible] members or paying guests.

Admission for adults and non-members will [illegible] and for students and unaccompanied child[illegible] years old, 25 cents.

HOURS FOR TOURING the muse[illegible] cerned with the life and history of [illegible] changed. It will remain from 10 a.m. [illegible] and from 2:30 to 5 p.m. Sundays. Th[illegible] sion charge to anyone on Sunday aft[illegible]

The museum will also put ano[illegible] effect today.

All visitors to the museum will [illegible] door. The Wickham-Valentine H[illegible] opened only on special occasions [illegible] arranged in that house, or for Ga[illegible]

School Board.

(6) Appointed its first full time fire chief and its fir[illegible] full-time county forest ward[illegible]

(7) Approved the app[illegible] ment of Ray Harlow of [illegible] land to the planning com[illegible] sion.

Producers Notified

Producers Co-operati[illegible] notified in April that [illegible] seek rezoning for lan[illegible] its wareh[illegible] The [illegible]

NEWS LEADER

ures Tomorrow, High in the Lower 80's. (Other Data on Page 11).

DAY, JULY 1, 1965 FIVE CENTS

Blue Streak
128,673
Largest Evening Circulation in Virginia

A NANG AIR BASE
d Are Damaged

2d Toll Road Step Planned

News Bulletins

WASHINGTON, July 1—(AP)—President Johnson gave definite orders today for development of a supersonic transport plane. He said at the swearing-in of the new administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, Gen. William McKee, that the administrator will have charge of the program.

* * * * *

NEW YORK, July 1—(AP)—Three gunmen held up a Madison ave. jewelry store today and escaped with between $250,000 and $300,000 in gems after cowing the firm's partners and two customers. The bandits manacled Abe Kobrin and his brother-in-law, Sam Bush, partners in Kobrin Brothers.

* * * * *

WASHINGTON, July 1—(AP)—The nation's unemployment rate edged upward slightly in June to 4.7 per cent, the Labor Department reported today. A Labor Department official said the slight increase in June did not indicate a change in the downward trend which has prevailed for about 18 months.

Powell Likely U.S. Appointee

By CARL SHIRES

A prominent Richmond lawyer apparently is in line for appointment by President Johnson to a presidential commission dealing with crime.

Inquiries from the White House to the offices of Virginia's U. S. Senators have been made concerning Lewis F. Powell Jr. of Richmond. Powell is president of the American Bar Association.

The inquiries concern his possible appointment to the President's commission on law enforcement and the administration of justice.

President Johnson, in a March

Assembly Approval Is a Goal

By CHARLES HOUSTON

City Council's trafficways committee today prepared to continue with the second phase of the development of an expressway system to cost "in the general magnitude of 80 million dollars."

The second phase includes:

- Drafting legislation that would create an independent authority to construct the road.
- Continuing studies looking toward establishment of definite locations and detailed costs.
- Appointment (by Council) of a committee to study problems of relocation of persons who will be displaced regardless of the precise route that may be chosen.

Editorial comment, Page 10.

In its report to City Council the committee said it proposes to proceed immediately to obtain the detailed location-cost and traffic revenue data required for revenue bond financing "in order to eliminate any delay in completion of the proj-

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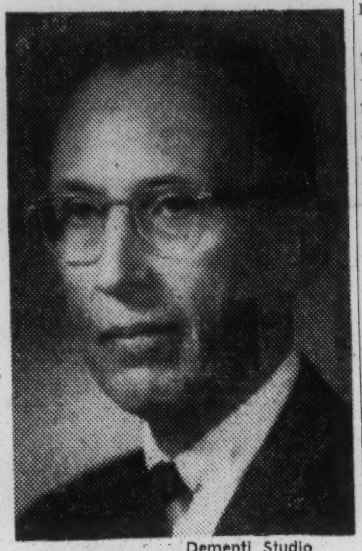
The inquiries concern his possible appointment to the President's commission on law enforcement and the administration of justice.

President Johnson, in a March message to Congress, suggested the formation of such a commission.

At the time, the President ...d six problems which the



Dementi Studio

LEWIS F. POWELL JR.

...rican Bar Association ... Lewis F. Powell Jr. ...nd tells State Bar ...day that history ... the "disruptive ...of small law- ...ory on Page

...der be- ...ecom- ... of

City Hall's 'New Face' ...s Emerging

...Council has begun fac- ... efforts to redesign

...cil members want ...ventional building, ...liminate the pro- ... is the Council ...want it to look ... crate," some ...o many win-

...tions for a ...y Hall as ...d Justice, ...esterday ...t down ...g-de- ...er ...s,

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- Continuing studies looking toward establishment of definite locations and detailed costs.
- Appointment (by Council) of a committee to study problems of relocation of persons who will be displaced regardless of the precise route that may be chosen.

Editorial comment, Page 10.

In its report to City Council the committee said it proposes to proceed immediately to obtain the detailed location-cost and traffic revenue data required for revenue bond financing "in order to eliminate any delay in completion of the project as a whole."

UP TO ASSEMBLY

It is estimated that this work can be completed in time for the General Assembly, which meets in January, to establish the recommended special authority.

The committee said that engineering and traffic data thus far indicate that the project is feasible.

While tolls would appear to be sufficient to amortize the cost, the committee recommended that the city give a limited guarantee for the payment of funds to take care of any deficits that might be experienced in paying principal and interest. A total amount of 20 million dollars was suggested for this guarantee.

"While the engineers' estimates do not indicate that it will actually be necessary to actually pay out such funds," the report said, "the guarantee will be necessary to obtain marketability on attractive terms regardless of who undertakes the project if it is to be financed by tolls."

SUGGESTED ROUTE

The general route suggested would be one along the Belt Line, connecting with Int. Rts. 64 and 95 (the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike) in the vicinity of Bryan Park and with Chippenham Parkway south of the James. An east-west connector would run between this north-south road and Int. Rt. 95 to

See SECOND, Page 5

...ther

Second Toll Road Step Is Planned

Continued from First Page

the east by way of downtown Richmond.

The committee said that it was within the city's bonding power to finance the road, but that this would increase the annual debt service payments out of proportion to the city's total operating costs, and might have an adverse effect on the city's credit.

When the proposed legislation for creating the authority is completed, the committee, with the advice and consent of the members of Council and the supervisors of Henrico and Chesterfield, will ask representatives of the metropolitan area to seek its adoption by the General Assembly at the earliest possible time.

Another important factor will be the determination through the judgment of independent engineers and possibly by a court test of whether such a road would result in substantial reduction in volume of traffic on the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike.

This necessity arises from a clause in the turnpike act that provides the commonwealth may not consent to the construction of a limited access expressway within 25 miles of such road unless it is determined that the construction would not result in a substantial reduction in the turnpike traffic.

The proposed new authority would involve Chesterfield and Henrico counties and Richmond. Although probably no part of it would be constructed in Henrico, citizens of Henrico would be served by it.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The committee includes A. J. Brent, chairman; Alan S. Donnahoe, Aylett W. Goode Jr., Frank G. Louthan Jr., J. Harvie Wilkinson Jr., and Councilmen James C. Wheat Jr. and Phil J. Bagley Jr.

The committee thus far has spent about $52,000 for engineering and financial work and advice.

Henrico and Chesterfield officials and all others interested in the project have been kept in touch with progress. Brent said co-operation has been full and appreciated.

Mayor Crowe said after yesterday's closed session that Council received the report "on the whole very favorably."

Sta

ANDREW J. BRENT WITH MAYOR CROWE

Lawyer Is Chairman of Trafficways Committee

Yankee

Continued from First Page

I didn't have much time to think up preconceived notions about Virginia. However, I had visualized Richmond as a city full of stately old homes leading to a Southern version of Fifth ave. The stately old homes are there. But downtown is a different and disappointing story.

Virginians are polite and friendly, probably by nature. In New England we tend to stand back and watch for 10 to 15 years before we get acquainted with newcomers. Parts of Virginia may be like that, but I haven't seen it.

One of the things I find most amazing about Virginia is its liquor laws. I thought New England's Sunday blue laws were bad, but the restaurants here don't permit a cocktail with dinner. Maybe that's why downtown Richmond is deserted by six in the evening—and it is.

One evening I walked around, just looking, and there was literally no one else on the street. I felt like an interloper.

Richmond is an apartment hunter's dream. I didn't know what I'd find here, but one thing I didn't expect was a fireplace. I found one, along with two huge closets in one of those stately old houses that have been converted into apartments.

Virginia has also turned out to be a surprise politically. Why, there's actually a Republican candidate for Governor! I was even more surprised—and pleased—not to find myself engaged in endless arguments about integration. People here seem so much more reasonable than I had expected.

For a Yankee whose knowledge of the South started with "Gone With the Wind" and ended with William Faulkner—with very little in-between—Virginia has been a revelation.

Deductions Curtailed

LONDON — Businessmen in England can no longer deduct business lunches, dinners and other entertainment, taxing authorities have ruled. But reasonable expenses incurred in entertaining overseas buyers are still deductible.

ON INSURED SAVINGS

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FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN INSURANCE CORPORATION
SAFETY OF YOUR SAVINGS
INSURED
UP TO $10,000

*ANTICIPATED RATE PF

irst Time in Richmond

E YOURSE

HOME BUYERS GUIDE

RICHMOND'S
Top Home Buys

35c
JULY

Special Feature:

HOW MUCH HOME CAN YOU AFFORD?

Survey Shows Increase in Housing Segregation

BY JIM HYATT
Chronicle Reporters

Racial discrimination in housing throughout the South slowly increased from 1940 to 1960, a University of Wisconsin sociologist has concluded.

"Many Southern cities are approaching the upper limit of complete segregation," says Dr. Karl E. Taeuber, associate professor of sociology, writing in the August issue of Scientific American magazine.

And, he adds it will "be many decades before residential segregation of whites from Negroes" reaches low levels anywhere in the nation.

He bases his conclusions on a statistical "segregation index" calculated for 207 American cities. An index of 100 indicates complete segregation in housing; an index of 80, that "80 percent of the Negroes would have to be redistributed to predominantly or exclusively white blocks if the city were to achieve an unsegregated pattern of residence."

Using that measure, and housing statistics, he told The Chronicle that in 1940 Houston's "segregation index" was 84.5; in 1950, 91.5; and in 1960, 93.7.

Dallas Index

The Dallas index also rose during those years, from 80.2 in 1940 to 88.4 in 1950 and 94.6 in 1960.

His figures throughout the country ranged from 60.4 in San Jose, Cal., to 98.1 in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., in 1960. Half of the cities in the study have segregation indexes above 87.8; half below.

Housing segregation dropped in the West, Northeast and North Central states between 1950 and 1960, he said, while it increased in Southern cities. Segregation rose in all areas from 1940 to 1950.

"The modest declines during the 1950's in three regions do not conceal the fact that throughout the nation residential segregation continues to be a serious social problem."

Dismissed Poverty

Dr. Taeuber dismissed poverty as a cause of housing segregation, although opponents of fair-housing legislation often argue that economic gains for Negroes will correct residential discrimination.

"The crucial assumption that white and Negro families at the same income level are not residentially segregated is patently false.

"In no city do high-income Negroes live randomly scattered in the same neighborhoods as high-income whites. . . .

"Regardless of income, most Negroes live in Negro neighborhoods and most whites live in white neighborhoods."

In the magazine article, he concludes "neither free choice nor poverty is a sufficient explanation for the universally high degree of segregation in American cities.

Principal Cause

"Discrimination is the principal cause of Negro residential segregation, and there is no basis for anticipating major changes in the segregated character of American cities until patterns of housing discrimination can be altered."

In a telephone interview, he told The Chronicle that some observers have been startled by his pessimistic views that housing changes will be slow.

"Apparently people have the notion that by passing a few bills you can effect a radical change in the social structure."

Dr. Taeuber and his wife will publish his findings this month in a 300-page book titled "Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change," from Aldine Publishing Co.

He said that although society changes slowly "I don't think that anybody controls it or plans it. Changes do occur, but not always at the rate desired by different groups."

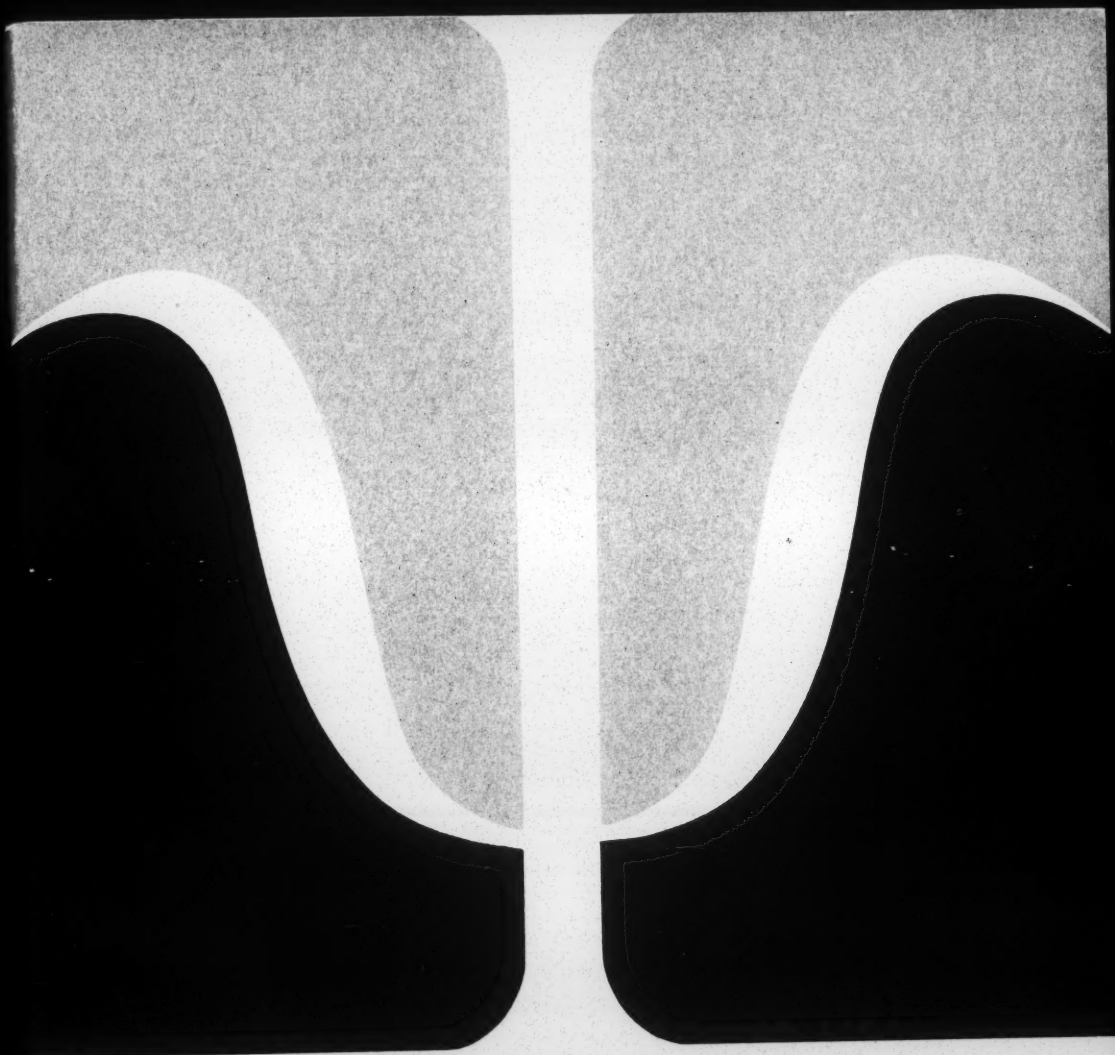
Housing Segregation

Housing segregation, he added, often is determined by bankers, real estate agents and loan officers "independent of the attitudes of the seller involved. There is a lot of informal control over who goes in what neighborhood.

"It is clear even in New York City, where there are open occupancy laws, it is extremely difficult to devise laws which cannot be circumvented."

Homeowners who claim that housing patterns are "a normal process in the free enterprise market" are actually "producing results by their own behavior," he said.

Housing discrimination is "a type of prejudice that can be approved because it is put in economic terms."



A CAREER IN psychology

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

RICHMOND, DEMOGRAPHICALLY BY RACE
1900 – 1965

RICHMOND CITY:

Year	Total Population	Whites: Number	Whites: Pct.	Whites: Change	Whites: Percent Change	Nonwhites: Number	Nonwhites: Pct.	Nonwhites: Change	Nonwhites: Percent Change
1965 est.	223,000	122,600	55.0	-5,000	n.c.	100,400	45.0	+8,000	n.c.
1960	220,000	127,600	58.0	-29,600	-18.8	92,400	42.0	+19,300	+26.3
1950	230,300	157,200	68.3	+25,500	+19.4	73,100	31.7	+11,800	+19.2
1940	220,000	131,700	68.2	+1,800	+1.4	61,300	31.8	+8,300	+15.6
1930	193,000	129,900	71.0	+12,300	+10.5	53,000	29.0	-1,100	-1.9
1920	171,700	117,600	68.5	+36,700	+45.4	54,100	31.5	+7,300	+15.6
1910	127,600	80,900	63.4	+28,100	+53.1	46,800	36.6	+14,500	+45.0
1900	85,100	52,800	62.1	-----	-----	32,300	37.9	-----	-----

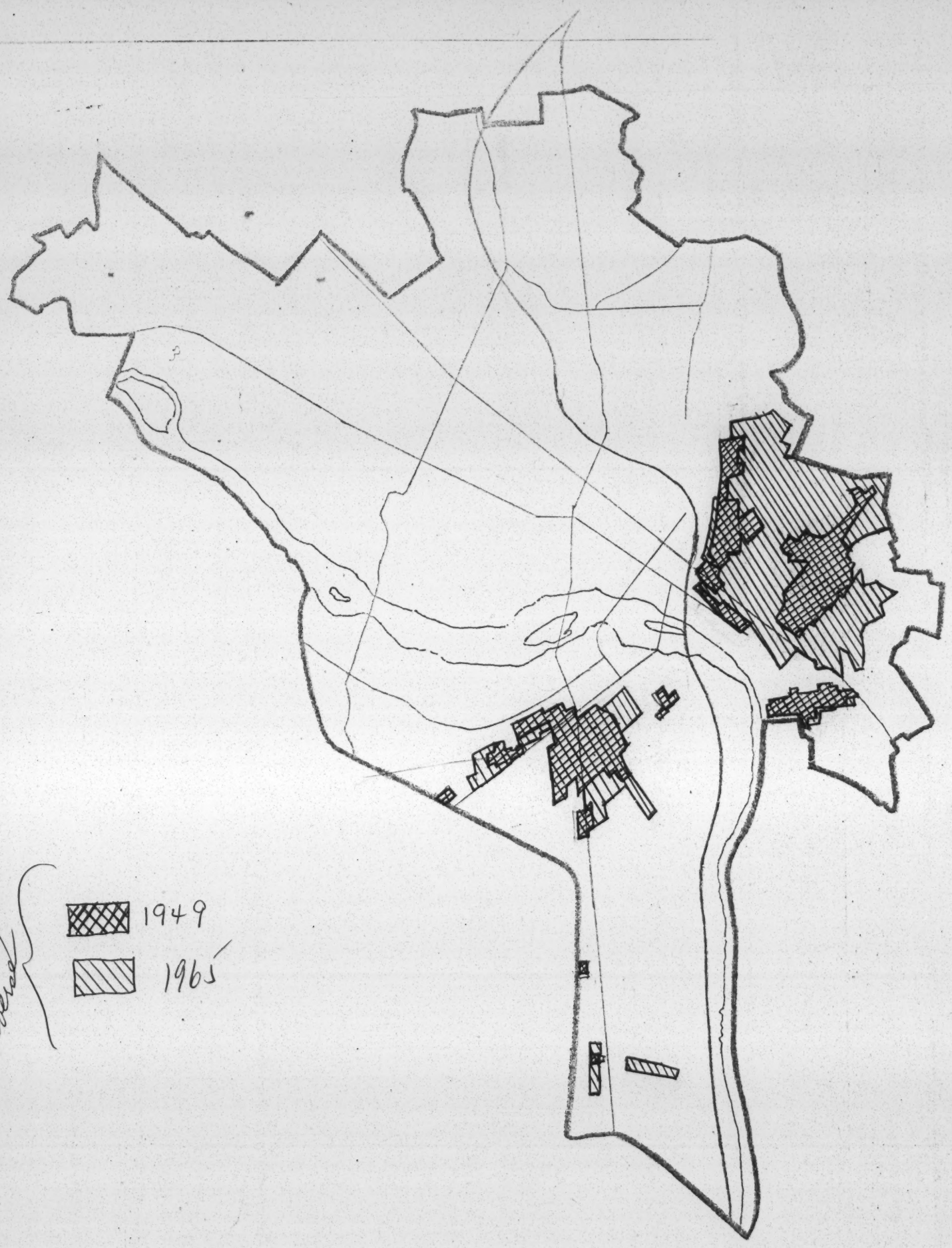
n.c. = Not Comparable -- 5-year period.

METROPOLITAN RICHMOND (RICHMOND-CHESTERFIELD-HENRICO):

Year	Population Total	Whites: Number	Whites: Pct	Whites: Change	Whites: Percent Change	Non-White: Number	Non-White: Pct	Non-White: Change	Non-White: Percent Change
1965 est.	453,000	337,000	74.4	+36,300	n.c.	116,000	25.6	+8,200	n.c.
1960	408,500	300,700	73.6	+59,800	+24.8	107,800	26.4	+20,600	+23.7
1950	378,100	240,800	73.4	+49,200	+25.7	87,200	26.6	+12,600	+16.9
1940	266,200	191,600	72.0	+19,000	+11.0	74,600	28.0	+7,900	+11.8
1930	239,300	172,600	72.1	+28,600	+19.9	66,700	27.9	- 300	-0.5
1920	211,000	144,000	68.2	+32,700	+29.4	67,000	31.8	+5,900	+9.7
1910	172,400	111,300	64.6	+30,100	+37.0	61,100	35.4	+8,400	+15.9
1900	133,900	81,200	60.6	----	----	52,700	39.4	----	----

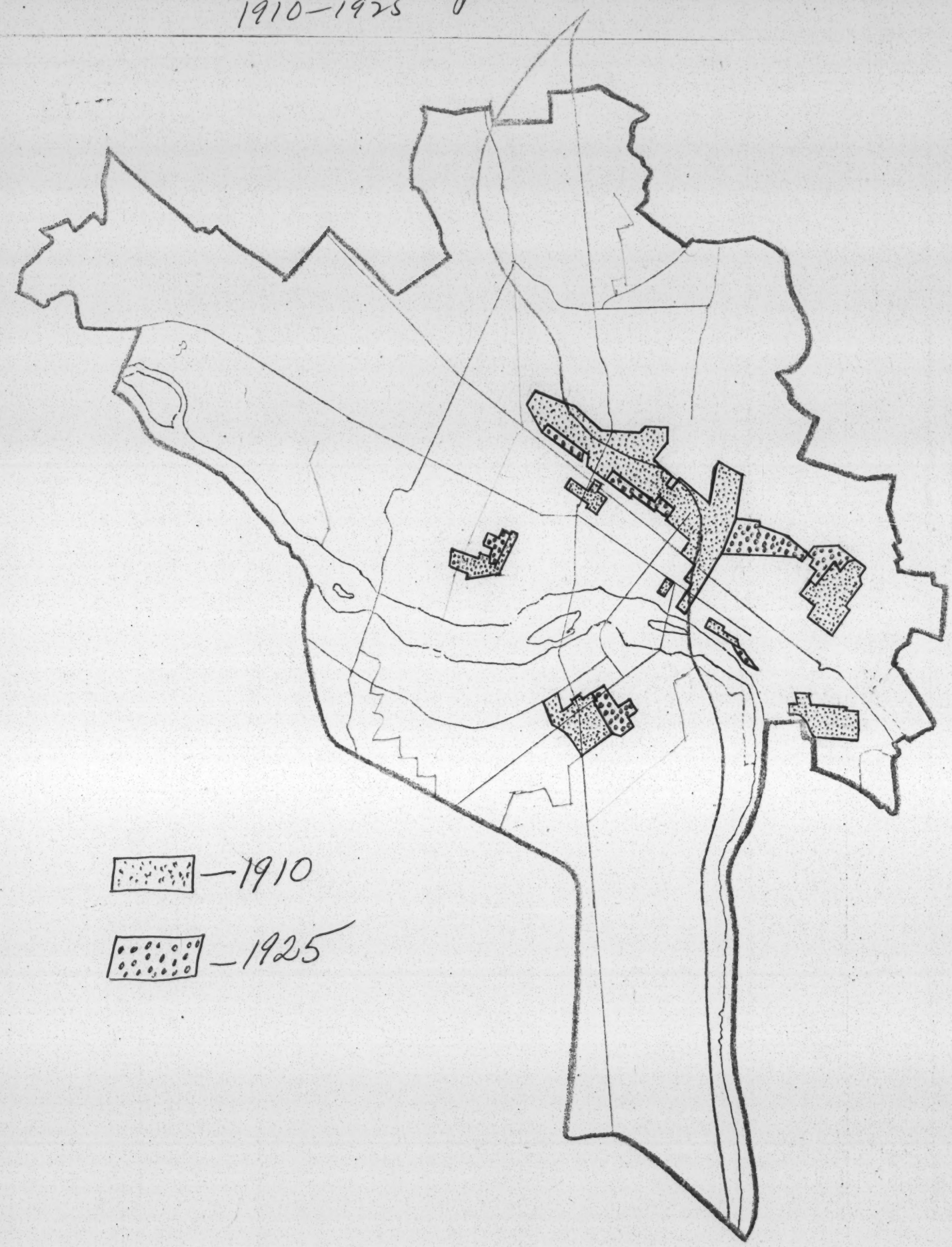
n.c. = Not comparable -- 5-year period.

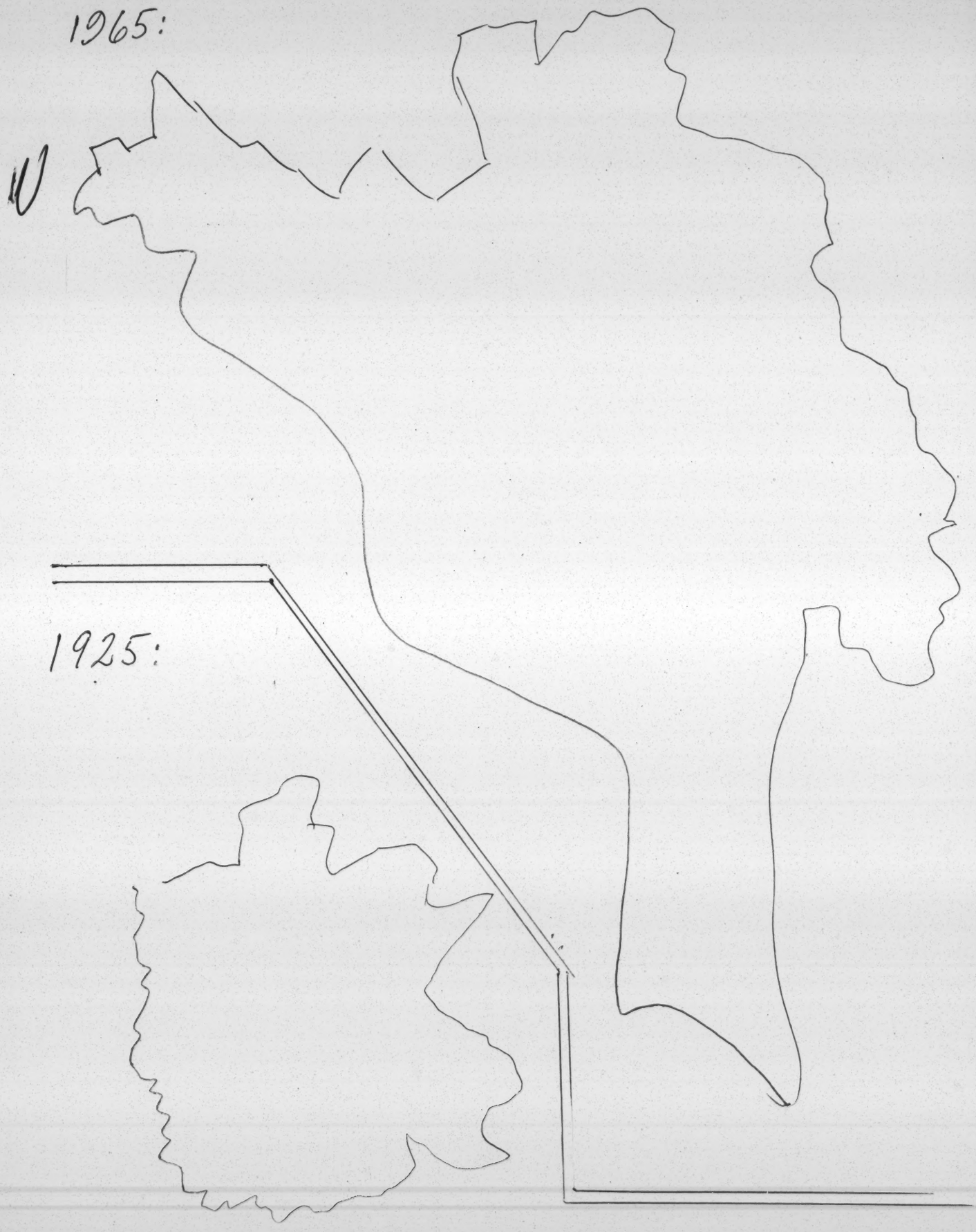
Richmond – Negro Residential Areas
1949–1965

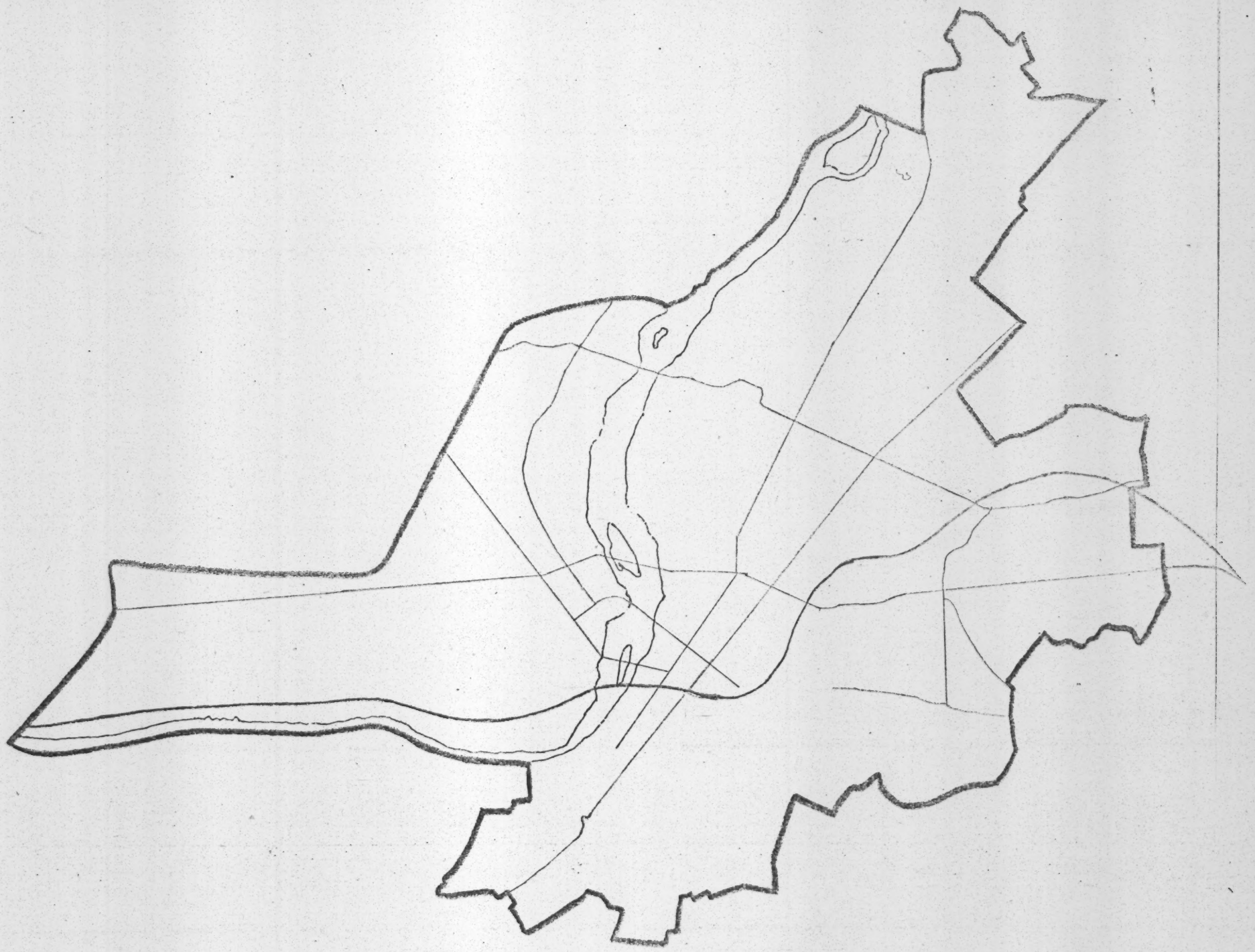


Shovel Revised

Richmond — Negro Residential Areas
1910–1925




1965:
1925:



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Walk with Combs through his neighborhood in transition shows that a great number of different real estate agencies are handling the "for sale" houses.

[1] Fendall 3300 Block – 2 houses
Rucker + Richardson
Walter H. Loving

[2] Fendall 3400 Block – 4 houses
Ellett
Rucker + Richardson
Jones + Robins
Northside Realty

[3] Fendall – 3500 Block – 2 houses
Walter Loving
Johnson + Thomas

[4] Garland – 3700 block – 4 houses
J. H. Longe
Muhelman
Ralph Dudley
Owner (for sale by)

[5] ~~3500~~ Griffin – 3500 block – 2 houses
Coffee
Philips-Hall

Total – 5 blocks, 14 houses for sale
11 different real estate agents, 1 owner
only two more than once, and then
each twice. One is biggest white
firm in city (R+R), Loving (W)
probably largest N. in area.

Interview with Rev + Mrs. James Carpenter —
white minister of almost all-Negro congregation 3319 Hanes
All Souls Presbyterian church.

Quoting Graham of Ruckert + Richardson —
We don't break the block. But after it's broken, we handle Negro customers.
Carpenter — your "principles" don't extend very far.

While b-B tactics are going on, all communications between the races cease.

Black + white r.e. men seem to be working together.
White r.e. men canvass the n'hood, create the rumor.
Negro r.e. men move in — offer to handle your house if you're interested in selling.
Result — whites get the idea that block is "going". They panic. Block goes.
ACTUALLY — no r.e. man need ever have said that N's are moving in. NEVER AT ALL!
Only inquiry is if house is for sale, if we can handle it, etc., and the like.

This MULTIPLE LISTING BUSINESS —
Mr + Mrs C. — How come when multiple listings come into a neighborhood, then all hell breaks loose?

Another tactic to induce panic in a fringe area — advertise a house as colored. Then — whamo, over la rumor mill.

The Carpenter's elderly neighbor – Julia Banks
Pressured, pressured, pressured into selling.
Scared of losing value on house, which
prob. represents most of her wealth.
Scared to live in n'hood where N's are.

Other neighbor – the paranoid neighbor
who clicks guns all night long, shoots
at "ground hogs," "possum", etc., which
may be imaginary. Rabid segregationist.
But is selling to N's, though he hates
them. Can't be in his house while they
are looking at it.

Interview with Dr. and Mrs. ~~Strickland~~ 3507 Montrose
[Presby minister, church park lot, after Bible school].

Owner of house in their n'hood desp. anxious to sell. R.E. agent would not show to N's. Owner showed to N. Told neighbors he would not sell if neighbors would raise $500. Would keep house on mkt until maybe white buyer could be found. Neighbors at first made obvious effort to raise, but didn't raise, the bribe. [a new form of blackmail] House was sold to negroes.

The "panic -"

Neighbors are upset if Negroes walk through drive through, an area which is in transition.

The pressures -

(1) Neighbors claim prop. values will be lowered, if N's move in.

(2) Neighbors tell minister's family his daughter will marry N, if they entertain N's in home.

(3) Real estate agents call often - esp. at night - 8:30 to 11 p.m.

(4) White agent called - "do you plan to sell"?

The tactics -

(1) "Fee-splitting" business with white and negro agent cooperating. [CHECK OUT]!

Some events -

(1) white woman takes a $5000 loss on her house rather than sell to Negroes. House sold to whites, who are trying to back out. Law suit now on. House may go to N's Ahm R.E. agent anyway. Why did woman want to sell - "had to sell, because cheap niggers are ~~moving~~ going to move in."

(2) Another woman in same block was moving away, couldn't care less to whom she sold, sold to Negroes.

From Combs – add to panic tactic – The house in his n'hood which was supposedly sold to Negroes for months before they moved in ⊛ The point rumor spread that people were N's (people who bought) for long time before this was definitely established. The result: rumor feeds panic better than does fact. ⊛ Probably house was not sold before short time before new N owners actually moved in.

Also from Combs – Combs family is being used as a scapegoat for why N'hood is going N.

Interview with Mrs. Peggy Solon, wife of minister (he was in Michigan) - 3310 Fendall

No question that neighborhood is being "pressurized". Three ways - polite, but definite.

(1) Mailings - including complimentary note pad advertising a particular RE company.
(2) Phone calls
(3) Door-to-door [cards left in door, too]

Within last couple of weeks n'hood had become more calm. One house is supposed to have been sold to a Negro. [Maybe the B-B has been accomplished.]

Rumor mill - "buzz groups" - Real estate agent helping to create panic & playing upon it.

* The "panic" is often manifested by social pressure - people afraid of what their friends will think of them if they live next to colored. Degrading in the eyes of their friends.

Operation of panic -
The people are watching & waiting.
[I.E. It's literal QUIET DESPERATION]

But - real estate agents -
(1) Some are blunt in playing "sell or lose property values"
(2) others are more clever than overt -
(a) They are "careful" about where the show houses to negroes, "unless they decide to turn a block" (quote is Mrs. Solon's).

2 cont'd

(b) Real estate agents decide where & to whom they will show the house.

[L.E. — R.E. determine when a block is "turned"?]

(c) Some r.e. agents won't be the ones to "turn a block", but them — after the first house goes — wham!

(d) Rucker Jr. — trying to move families in — white — to stabilize a n'hood.

LE:

In summary [suggested only per Combs] panic seems to have a cycle — storm (1), lull (2), storm (3), lull (4).

(1) R.E. agents appear, suggest, n'hood disrupted.

(2) Lull — quiet desparation

(3) Negro family move in. Storm. N'hood excited

(4) Lull — resignation. white families move out, Negro families move in.

Housing File - Library - newspaper
File has fewer and few articles in recent years.

1-18-56 Reduced Land Plan Sought in Council - "Gilpin Court"

6-3-56 Funds approved for low rent housing here

Two Projects - 447 East End -- Whitcomb and Fairfield Cts.

1-20-56 Housing Plan on North Side - $5,000,000.

Chamberlayne Heights and Farm

1-3-56 * Neighborhood Pride Needed to Arrest Deterioration.

THIRD ARTICLE

* Lack of City Employees to enforce Bureau of Sanitation Ruling Code -- Carver - Churchill.

1-1-56 Rotting core of Richmond much more than finances.

FIRST ARTICLE

* Creighton Court and Gilpin Court
Carver
City Health Authority

1-2-56 * West End (Ave) - One Richmond Area Practicing Conservation

SECOND ARTICLE

1-4-56 * Money, or lack of it, Hamstrings Improvement of Deteriorated Homes.

Housing Act of 1954 - Housing Act of 1949.

"Was limited to clearance of slums."

FOURTH ARTICLE

4-16-56 Houses to be Demolished here create growing fire problem

North of Leigh St. 1,000 houses - Carver, Gilpin Ct., Baker and Duval.

12-30-60 Action to Buy Land Started in East End.

450 Unit Mosby Court low rent housing development.

Richmond Redevelopment Housing Authority.

1-9-56 Bryan Asks Emergency Housing-Turnpike Caused Crisis Revealed.

H..V. Holt, Pres. of Home Builders.
Ass. of Richmond opposed.

1-10-56 Low rent housing plan - $9,000.000 approved, designed to provide new home for displaced families by Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike.

Garber said - Toll Road would create a new housing problem.

6-5-56 City Asks Housing Plan Study

6-5-56 Row Housing Building Asked

8-19-56 Cited Here - Road Project Force Moves

Private Builders fail to construct low cost homes for displaced families by the toll road and other public projects.

6-2-56 Low Rent Homes Project here wins Washington approval.

Whitcomb and Fairfield Courts - East End.

Housing appraisors appointed - Options sought on 2 sites.

1-26-56 $1,250,000 More Needed to aid "DP". Housing Project, Schools and roads

As a result of the Toll Road and its dislocation of Negro families.

Moved Negroes fromBaker -- Duval -- Belvidere Streets.

1-11-56 Two Housing Projects here sees results of Council Plea.

Baker St. - Duval St.

1700 families to be ousted by zone action.

2-7-56 Two East End Sites Chosen for Housing of Pike Families.

Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike - North of Whitcomb Street between Sussex. Fairfield, 21st St. and 22nd St.

2-6-56 Planners Get RRHA Proposals -- 30 acre areas - sparsely settled.

1-24-57 Housing Unit Plans ready for Council.

1. Whitcomb Ct. 2. Fairfield Ct.

4-25-57 $4,598,800 Housing Bid Given - 447 Unit Whitcomb Court.

1-30-57 Shortage, New Road are Linked.

*** "U. S. Senate Subcommittee study released in Washington today describes Housing for Lower Income Families in Richmond as a pressing need."

2-5-57 Row Housing Turned Down by Planners.

2-6-57 Richmond Housing Bonds are Purchased.

1-15-58 Housing Studied for Amelia St. (Rd.) Boy's Home Site.

4-18-58 Low Rental Housing in Richmond Called.

4-17-59 Heberle (R.J.) criticizes Scattered Housing.
Fairness and justice an all time low - S. Richmond.

<u>Discrimination</u>.

4-15-59 Protest List on Housing Circulated. Oppose low income housing. South Richmond.

3-27-59 City Tenants Records on Projects Studied.

3-27-59 Housing Assignment Questioned.

5-23-59 City Unable to Find Site for Project.

6-26-59 Slum Plan Progress Is Series Topic.

1950 Richmond Sanitation Ordinance - variation ordinance
Baltimore Plan.

4-17-59 Heberle Asks Where Ousted Families Go.

4-23-59 City Housing Site Split Considered.

4-20-60 * Many Houses Here Held Substandard - VCHR - Bruce Randolph.

4-30-60 Editorial
* One-third of Richmond families live in Substandard Housing.

Criticized.

11-15-60 Federal Action Urged - Rudd Cites Interest in Slum Job Housing.

3-29-60 Location for two new low rent housing projjects approved for East End.

****** "We are utter fools to go ahead," Heberle, "to allow these projects to draw Negroes here from everywhere. People who are fearful of the Negro vote are just piling up 2,000 more votes here."

8-17-60 Housing Gains 5% in Decade.

3-29-60 Housing Boundaries Approved by Council - Two low rent housing projects in East End.

******* Heberle - "Fools are bringing them in and stacking them up. Fools go ahead and do this."

10-6-61 One - 7 Units
******* Report included a block by block analysis of Richmond

2-23-61 U. S. Assures Mayor of Housing Project Aid.

5-4-61 Georgia Firm is low bidder on Housing - Mosby Court--$4,670,000

10-6-61 ** 11,826 Homes Are Classed Substandard - Census Bureau 1960.

10-2-61 ** Redevelopment Project - Housing Census Task Begun by 5 men here.

4-25-61 ** Richmond Housing is Debated - 4% are below the economic level of rehabitation. Per Chronicle Jay said 1870.

4-9-61 Substandard Dwellings Here Reported Fewer.

8-19-62 Heberle Asks City Report on Housing

**** "How 100 of minimum housing violators could exist under very nose of City Hall.

3-28-62 14% of Housing in City Area Termed Bad. Most located within
**** Limits of Richmond. Metropolitan Area 123,758 units and Richmond had 56% of this.

9-5-62 7,968 Dwelling Units Held Rehabilitated.

***** Enforcement of the City's Minimum Housing Standard

1-18-63 Symposium Discusses Housing Pattern Here - NAACP

2-20-63 City Renewal Program Sent to Housing Agency.

9-26-63 ** Fate of Old Houses Subject of Dispute.

***** Critic of Richmond Sanitation Program - W. C. Chewning.

9-27-63 Local Realtor Proposes to Eliminate "Twilight"

***** W. C. Chewning - Chewning & Smith Realtors.

12-6-63 Unusual Residential Development Opens.

4-2-64 Four Proposals REceived for 17th St. Housing Redevelopment Project.

9-28-64 Dedication of Housing Project Site - Mosby Court.

8-7-64 Discrimination _____ in _____ St. Public Housing.

8-8-64 Johnson Yet To See Paper on Housing.

8-12-644 City Home Building Reviving.

2-17-65 Better ~~XXXXXX~~ Central Richmond Housing to be Sought.

Ed. Hyde (Pres. Miller & Rhoads) Heads Housing Study Unit.

Rev. James Ealey - Hugh Rudd - 35 Member Committee to be named.

CODE OF ETHICS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BOARDS

Preamble

UNDER all is the land. Upon its wise utilization and widely allocated ownership depend the survival and growth of free institutions and of our civilization. The Realtor is the instrumentality through which the land resource of the nation reaches its highest use and through which land ownership attains its widest distribution. He is a creator of homes, a builder of cities, a developer of industries and productive farms.

Such functions impose obligations beyond those of ordinary commerce. They impose grave social responsibility and a patriotic duty to which the Realtor should dedicate himself, and for which he should be diligent in preparing himself. The Realtor, therefore, is zealous to maintain and improve the standards of his calling and shares with his fellow-Realtors a common responsibility for its integrity and honor.

In the interpretation of his obligations, he can take no safer guide than that which has been handed down through twenty centuries, embodied in the Golden Rule:

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Accepting this standard as his own, every Realtor pledges himself to observe its spirit in all his activities and to conduct his business in accordance with the following Code of Ethics:

Part I
Relations to the Public

ARTICLE 1.

The Realtor should keep himself informed as to movements affecting real estate in his community, state, and the nation, so that he may be able to contribute to public thinking on matters of taxation, legislation, land use, city planning, and other questions affecting property interests.

ARTICLE 2.

It is the duty of the Realtor to be well informed on current market conditions in order to be in a position to advise his clients as to the fair market price.

ARTICLE 3.

It is the duty of the Realtor to protect the public against fraud, misrepresentation or unethical practices in the real estate field.

He should endeavor to eliminate in his community any practices which could be damaging to the public or to the dignity and integrity of the real estate profession. The Realtor should assist the board or commission charged with regulating the practices of brokers and salesmen in his state.

ARTICLE 4.

The Realtor should ascertain all pertinent facts concerning every property for which he accepts the agency, so that he may fulfill his obligation to avoid error, exaggeration, misrepresentation, or concealment of pertinent facts.

ARTICLE 5.

The Realtor should not be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or use which will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.

ARTICLE 6.

The Realtor should not be a party to the naming of a false consideration in any document, unless it be the naming of an obviously nominal consideration.

ARTICLE 7.

The Realtor should not engage in activities that constitute the practice of law and should recommend that title be examined and legal counsel be obtained when the interest of either party requires it.

ARTICLE 8.

The Realtor should keep in a special bank account, separated from his own funds, monies coming into his possession in trust for other persons, such as escrows, trust funds, client's monies and other like items.

ARTICLE 9.

The Realtor in his advertising should be especially careful to present a true picture and should neither advertise without disclosing his name, nor permit his salesmen to use individual names or telephone numbers, unless the salesman's connection with the Realtor is obvious in the advertisement.

ARTICLE 10.

The Realtor, for the protection of all parties with whom he deals, should see that financial obligations and commitments regarding real estate transactions are in writing, expressing the exact agreement of the parties; and that copies of such agreements, at the time they are executed, are placed in the hands of all parties involved.

Part II
Relations to the Client

ARTICLE 11.

In accepting employment as an agent, the Realtor pledges himself to protect and promote the interests of the client. This obligation of absolute fidelity to the client's interest is primary, but it does not relieve the Realtor from the obligation of dealing fairly with all parties to the transaction.

ARTICLE 12.

In justice to those who place their interests in his care, the Realtor should endeavor always to be in-

formed regarding laws, proposed legislation, governmental orders, and other essential information and public policies which affect those interests.

ARTICLE 13.

Since the Realtor is representing one or another party to a transaction, he should not accept compensation from more than one party without the full knowledge of all parties to the transaction.

ARTICLE 14.

The Realtor should not acquire an interest in or buy for himself, any member of his immediate family, his firm or any member thereof, or any entity in which he has a substantial ownership interest, property listed with him, or his firm, without making the true position known to the listing owner, and in selling property owned by him, or in which he has such interest, the facts should be revealed to the purchaser.

ARTICLE 15.

The exclusive listing of property should be urged and practiced by the Realtor as a means of preventing dissension and misunderstanding and of assuring better service to the owner.

ARTICLE 16.

When acting as agent in the management of property, the Realtor should not accept any commission, rebate or profit on expenditures made for an owner, without the owner's knowledge and consent.

ARTICLE 17.

The Realtor should not undertake to make an appraisal that is outside the field of his experience unless he obtains the assistance of an authority on such types of property, or unless the facts are fully disclosed to the client. In such circumstances the authority so engaged should be so identified and his contribution to the assignment should be clearly set forth.

ARTICLE 18.

When asked to make a formal appraisal of real property, the Realtor should not render an opinion without careful and thorough analysis and interpretation of all factors affecting the value of the property. His counsel constitutes a professional service.

The Realtor should not undertake to make an appraisal or render an opinion of value on any property where he has a present or contemplated interest unless such interest is specifically disclosed in the appraisal report. Under no circumstances should he undertake to make a formal appraisal when his employment or fee is contingent upon the amount of his appraisal.

ARTICLE 19.

The Realtor should not submit or advertise property without authority and in any offering, the price quoted should not be other than that agreed upon with the owners as the offering price.

ARTICLE 20.

In the event that more than one formal written offer on a specific property is made before the owner has accepted an offer, any other formal written offer presented to the Realtor, whether by a prospective purchaser or another broker, should be transmitted to the owner for his decision.

Part III

Relations to His Fellow-Realtor

ARTICLE 21.

The Realtor should seek no unfair advantage over his fellow-Realtors and should willingly share with them the lessons of his experience and study.

ARTICLE 22.

The Realtor should so conduct his business as to avoid controversies with his fellow-Realtors. In the event of a controversy between Realtors who are members of the same local board, such controversy should be arbitrated in accordance with regulations of their board rather than litigated.

ARTICLE 23.

Controversies between Realtors who are not members of the same local board should be submitted to an arbitration board consisting of one arbitrator chosen by each Realtor from the real estate board to which he belongs or chosen in accordance with the regulations of the respective boards. One other member, or a sufficient number of members to make an odd number, should be selected by the arbitrators thus chosen.

ARTICLE 24.

When the Realtor is charged with unethical practice, he should place all pertinent facts before the proper tribunal of the member board of which he is a member, for investigation and judgment.

ARTICLE 25.

The Realtor should not voluntarily disparage the business practice of a competitor, nor volunteer an opinion of a competitor's transaction. If his opinion is sought it should be rendered with strict professional integrity and courtesy.

ARTICLE 26.

The agency of a Realtor who holds an exclusive listing should be respected. A Realtor cooperating with a listing broker should not invite the cooperation of a third broker without the consent of the listing broker.

ARTICLE 27.

The Realtor should cooperate with other brokers on property listed by him exclusively whenever it is in the interest of the client, sharing commissions on a previously agreed basis. Negotiations concerning property listed exclusively with one broker should be carried on with the listing broker, not with the owner, except with the consent of the listing broker.

ARTICLE 28.

The Realtor should not solicit the services of an employee or salesman in the organization of a fellow-Realtor without the knowledge of the employer.

ARTICLE 29.

Signs giving notice of property for sale, rent, lease or exchange should not be placed on any property by more than one Realtor, and then only if authorized by the owner, except as the property is listed with and authorization given to more than one Realtor.

ARTICLE 30.

In the best interest of society, of his associates and of his own business, the Realtor should be loyal to the real estate board of his community and active in its work.

CONCLUSION

The term *Realtor* has come to connote competence, fair dealing and high integrity resulting from adherence to a lofty ideal of moral conduct in business relations. No inducement of profit and no instructions from clients ever can justify departure from this ideal, or from the injunctions of this Code.

The Code of Ethics was adopted in 1913. Amended at the Annual Convention in 1924, 1928, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1955, 1956, 1961, and 1962.

RICHMOND

STREET AND VICINITY MAPS

Marked

TEXACO ®

YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD TEXACO DEALER

TO SEE LIST

See - ASAP:

(1) Janet Ballard - Urban League — 112 E. Clay 643-7343
9:30 Thurs morning — Refs. Rev. Jim Carpenter, Bob Thompson
PASTOR, ALL SOULS PRESBY.

(2) Reuben Clay - FHA — 649-3611 ext 2718
CALL EARLY WEDS FOR APPT — 8th floor — Refs. Carpenter, Combs, Thompson, McMahon

(3) Lester Banks - NAACP — Tentatively: Wednesday 2:30-3:30 p.m.
Refs. — Doctor

10AM Sat. 10W. Leigh St. Mundle is on Planning Comm.

(4) Winfred Mundle — overall picture of what goes on in Rich.
Home - MI 4-6721 — He's on board of Jim Carpenter's church
Office - MI 3-3374
~~Refs~~: Carpenter
will be in ~~West~~ morning (call again after clay)

COVER)

(5) Mrs. C. B. Gilpin (Jean) — Info on housing - looking for housing.
Treasurer of Richmond Council
Ref - Carpenter
Office - MI 8-9542

(6) Dr. Wm. Ferguson Reid - 112 E. Clay 643-1604
Negro surgeon running for political office.
Ref: Carpenter — See also - Abner Lee
on Mayor's Bi-Rac Comm — made "good" comments at Housing meeting June 9.

(7) The Renders - Ruth & Frank W.
call home shortly after 5 — Frank Render - Exec. Sec. of ~~Leigh St~~ Y (colored)
Call early next week — Home: ~~MI~~ 35 5-1115 — Office MI 9-0545
Ref: Carpenter

(8) L. D. Smith - Bus. mgr for Va. Union
Home - MI 8-8946 — Bus. EL 5-2882
Ref: Carpenter

(9) Rev. Irvin Ellegen (N) — Ref: Carpenter & Combs
2910 Seminary Ave. — Presby. minister

(4a)

Over J. Rupert Picott — Ex. Sec. Va. Teachers Asso.

800 Edgehill Rd. | Milton 3-1954 | call thurs. a.m. for appt. Will be ~~both times, prob.~~ about 11

EL 8-1853

See

? Bill Snoddy with Phillips & Hall
11 W. Grace St.

F. Mr. Carter C.P.A. for realators

F. contact Mr. Arthur Rucker Jr. of
Rucker & Richardson

F? Mr. Bruce Randolph - City Health Dept.
"Chief of sanitation" - - Housing Codes.

F Mr. Harris of Robinson & Harris (N) & Co.
623 N. 3rd St.

F Mr. Herbert Ross D.P.W. (City)

F? Mr. Fred (FREDERIC C.) Fay of Urban Renewal Fed.
anti-slum program

F Mr. Ruben Clay. - FHA - any 221(d)(3)?
[low + moderate ✓]

F Mr. Loving - Walter H. - REman (N)
(San & too hopeful - Robin)

F? Mr. Jack Bates - Real. Est. Board.
of Harrison & Bates - 644-2965

Janet Ballard - Urban League - Bob Thompson

Richmond Forward?

Public Housing Authority? — ~~HUD RHA~~ RHHA

Rental Housing? — Housing bureau?
(housing service bureau?)

Metro or City Planning Commission — ? Mundle

Status of schools, hospitals, parks,
rec programs, pools — Planning + Rec Reports

Negro participation in politics, elective office, muni employment —

Chamber of Commerce — 616 E. Franklin
Got econ info — See Industrial Development men(?) (Be glad to talk with you, she said) — on race, race climate, housing.

TO BE SEEN LATER – Late this, early next:

① Jesse E. Fleming
3221 Woodrow Ave.
h: MI 4-7598
off: MI 3-9187

moved into all-white neighborhood.
Works in bank.
Knowledge of funds?

② Walter Loving – (N) RE man
Home – Elgin 3-1827 284-2126 – 3-9005
Office – 918 N. First – 648 ~~6033~~

9 O'clock look Friday

③ J. Reynold Harris (N) RE man
of Robinson & Harris Co. 623 N. Third
623 N. 3rd St. 649-0308
Ref: McMahon (F)
Roberta (F)

Call Friday after 9:30

④ William Kendall – (N) RE agent
Ref: Carpenter –
[Get # from JC]

⑤ M. A. Mottley – (N) Plumbing contractor
office: 2404 North Ave. home 2501 Northumberland Ave.
MI 4-2217 353-0373
9 AM SATURDAY at shop.
Member of Rev. Hare's Church
Made comment on descrim. in bldg. codes
Refs: Hare, Carpenter

⑥ Mrs. Maude Roberson (N)
has dabbled in R.E. Home: MI 4-0266
Will be candid about r.e. practices
Refs: Carpenter

623 N. third
Works for Harris

See also –

(1) Mr. Frederic C. Fay – MI 3-3551 || 10:30 a.m. Monday
Exec. Dir. of Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority. Anti-slum program July report
— Sawyer, Fay's man of Pub. Housing

(2) Arthur Rucker, Jr. } Rucker and
Carter (CPA) } Richardson

(3) Mr. Herbert Ross, D.P.W. (city)
Ref: McMahon (Fav.)

(4) Mr. Jack Bates – past pres. Real Est. Board
Ref: McMahon (Fav.?)

(5) Mr. Bruce Randolph – City Health Dept.
Ref: McMahon (Fav?)

(6) Bill Snoddy of Phillips Hall
— Graham of Rucker & Richardson
Cora Lee Young of Robert O. Gabbs

(7) Herbert Southall (N) – Southern Aid Life, President
Co-chmn. of Richmond Comm. on Community Relations. (Mayor's Comm. – may talk, may not.)

(8) The Carpenter's neighbor, Mrs. Julia Banks

(9) Multiple Listing – (Thompson, Carpenter)
(10) Lawyers Title Insurance Corp – (Thompson)

Interpp leg - DJ.

Equal Opportunity Commission

News Letter

VOL. 1 NO. 1 1962

3(?)

POLICY MAKERS who determine how provisions of equal opportunity laws shall be administered are members of EOC commission, shown above. Seated, l-r: Mrs. Emma Michael, Dr. Raymond V. Rangle, chairman; Mrs. Emil H. Henning, Jr. Standing, l-r: James J. McDonnell, Judge Robert B. Watts, John P. Hauswald, William Tutton, Jr. and Manuel E. Lefko. Not shown is Dr. Leon Sachs.

MAYOR MAKES NEW APPOINTMENTS

2 New Commissioners Named to EOC; Vacancy Exists on 10-Member Body.

Mrs. Emma Michael and William Tutton, Jr. are the two new members of the Equal Opportunity Commission who were recently appointed to the policy making body by Mayor J. Harold Grady.

Mrs. Michael, a housewife and civic worker, fills the vacancy created by the resignation of Dr. G. James Fleming, head of Morgan State College's Political Science Department. Mr. Tutton, representative of the Maryland Restaurant Association, is the new member provided for in a recent ordinance which designated that an additional commissioner be an active member of the restaurant association.

At present, another vacancy exists on the 10-member Commission with the recent resignation of Mr. Francis S. Filbey, union official. It is expected that Mayor Goodman will appoint a replacement to serve the remainder of Mr. Filbey's term which runs until October 1963.

In addition to filling this vacancy, the mayor will also be concerned with the appointments of three commissioners whose terms expired in October. They are: Dr. Raymond V. Rangle, chairman; John P. Hauswald and Judge Robert B. Watts.

All members of the commission, with the exception of Dr. Leon Sachs, are appointees of Mayor Grady. Dr. Sachs has been a member since the EOC was created in 1956, and was originally appointed by the former Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro. He was reappointed in 1961 by Mayor Grady for a three-year term which expires in October 1964.

Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission

NEWSLETTER

published periodically

COMMISSIONERS

Dr. Raymond V. Rangle, chairman

John P. Hauswald — Mrs. Emma Michael

Mrs. Emil Henning — Leon Sachs

Manuel E. Lefko — William Tutton, Jr.

James J. McDonnell — Judge Robert B. Watts

David L. Glenn. . . . . Executive Secretary

Shirley M. Kyle. . . . . Division Chief Community Education

Daniel Haldeman . . . . . Acting Division Chief Investigations

Peoples Court Building

Fayette & Gay Streets

Phone: PL 2-2000; ext. 2107

Editor . . . . . Shirley M. Kyle

IN OTHER PLACES

Houston, Tex. – Job offers for Negro college graduates are outpacing the available applicants, according to Dr. S. M. Nabrit, president of Texas Southern University. Industries are in dire need of mathematicians, secretaries, accounting personnel and draftsmen. Employers have also opened their foremen training programs to Negroes.

Richmond, Va. – The Virginia Council on Human Relations is about to embark upon an experimental project in Equal Opportunity Consulting and Recruiting Service which will be available to employers in and out of the state who want to open new establishments in Virginia and wish aid in initiating equal employment operations. The program will be geared to interviewing, testing, referring and recruiting Negro and other minority group personnel.

St. Louis, Mo. – The Council on Human Relations recently won a court case concerning the constitutionality of its public accomodations law when the circuit judge dismissed a suit filed by six tavern and restaurant owners.

Washington, D. C. – Robert L. Wearring, president of the Building Laborers Local 764, is the first Negro to be appointed to serve on the District Apprenticeship Council. The Council, which promotes and supervises apprenticeship training programs in the trades, has three members from labor and three from management.

AD-VENTURES

Attention all high school and college students!

If you are classified as the veritable "bookworm" and you don't mind working in a position where you meet people all day and stay on your feet 40 hours a week, then you should consider the wide-open field of Library Science.

Believe it or not, this is the area where few are called but many could be chosen if they qualify for the job. As an example, Dr. Virginia Jones, dean of the graduate school of Atlanta University, reported recently that she has 800 requests for qualified librarians and only 25 full-time candidates for master's degrees available to fill them.

On the Baltimore scene, Edwin Castagna, director of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, announced that there is a continual need for professional librarians, particularly in the young children's area. In order to attract more potential applicants to the field, he said that the library has established a one to two-year preprofessional trainee program, for persons with AB degrees, where it is possible for them to engage in library work with pay prior to enrolling in a graduate library school to obtain their master's degree.

The opportunities are vast in this field.

Children's Librarians are responsible for book selection and reading guidance of the individual child, visits to schools and work with parents and community groups. Young Adult Librarians are responsible for book selection and reading guidance of the individual young adult, visits to schools, film programs for young adults and work with parents and community groups.

Adult Assistants work in the area of reference and reader advisement, in addition to making contacts and cooperating with community groups to stimulate the use of the Library. Catalog Librarians attend to the classification and cataloging of library materials in assigned subject fields.

The guidance counsellor at your school has all the information on how to go about preparing yourself to become a professional librarian. Check with him, for who knows, this may be the AD-VENTURE for you.

Professional Librarian, A Rewarding Career

72 FILE JOB COMPLIANTS WITH EOC

Since the first of the year, 72 persons have brought complaints of discriminatory employment practices to the EOC office. During 1961, a total of 83 complaints were filed with the Commission.

Experience has shown that it takes from two to three months to process a complaint. This is due to the fact that generally, during the initial investigation, certain conditions arise which require additional extensive probing. Furthermore, there is only one investigator employed on the EOC staff in addition to the executive secretary to process these cases.

In recent weeks, two cases have been closed with the employers signing agreements that they will maintain an employment policy of non-discrimination on the basis of race, religion, national origin or ancestry, and will fully comply with the provisions of the equal employment law, Ordinance No. 379, as amended.

In one case, the complainant responded to a newspaper ad and was denied an application by the company on the grounds that a sufficient number of persons had been employed for the job.

Several visits by the EOC staff revealed, however, that the company was still in need of help and continued to employ additional personnel.

Inasmuch as the company failed to offer the complainant an application, or to suggest that he return in case of future job openings, the EOC representatives felt there was reasonable cause to believe that unfair employment practices were being engaged in by the company. Subsequently, a negotiation session was held with company management and an agreement signed. The key point in this agreement was that the complainant would be notified of, and allowed to compete for, the next job opening with the company. Also, the firm agreed to advise the Commission of its job openings for the next six months.

In the other case, the complainant, responding to a newspaper ad for factory worker, was permitted to fill out an application with the company. Two weeks later, she noted the ad reappearing in the paper and returned to the company to request employment, whereupon she was informed that experienced help was needed, although this qualification was not cited in the advertisement.

Investigation revealed that while the company did follow a merit employment policy in most of its departments, there were indications that Negroes were not being employed in the field of employment covered by the advertisement.

During the initial interview, the management, upon suggestion of the EOC staff, agreed to interview the complainant, but subsequently refused her employment because she failed to produce references demanded of all applicants.

Nevertheless, the company entered into negotiations with the EOC staff and signed an agreement after hiring three Negro applicants.

EMPLOYMENT LAW
What the Law Says About Equal Employment Opportunity

Ordinance No. 379, as amended, applies whenever any employer with 15 or more employees, employment agency or labor organization acts in a discriminatory manner towards any individual because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in connection with the following:

- Hiring and firing
- Upgrading or promotion
- Training and apprenticeship programs
- Referral practices of employment agencies
- Membership in labor unions
- Employment application forms or interviews
- Any other terms or conditions of employment

Violators of this law are subject to investigation by the Commission and possible legal action.

RESTAURANT OWNERS AGREE TO OPEN DOOR POLICY WHEN FACED WITH COMPLAINT

"OK, what do you want me to do?"

This has been the general reaction of restaurant owners when confronted with the fact that Ordinance No. 1249, the public accommodations law, has been in effect since its approval by the Mayor and City Council last June.

During the period the law has been in existance, there have been 19 complaints filed against 17 eating establishments in the city, many of which are small concerns located in the downtown area, particularly in sections where local private and public offices are integrated.

With the exception of eight cases which are under investigation, 11 have been resolved through negotiations between the restaurant owners and EOC staff members. In each of the closed cases, the owner has signed an agreement indicating his willingness to abide by the law, to advise his employees of the law and to direct them to comply with the provisions of the law.

ACCOMMODATION LAW
Law on Public Accommodation

Ordinance No. 1249 applies whenever an owner, operator or agent of any hotel, motel, inn or restaurant (where the average daily food sales exceed the average daily alcoholic beverage sales) discriminates against any individual because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in connection with the following.

- Refusing, withholding from, or denying any of the accomodations, advantages, facilities and privileges to any person.
- Circulating or displaying any notice or advertisement stating or implying that such privileges or accommodations are being denied or withheld.

Violators of this law are subject to investigation by the Commission and possible legal action.

In one case, the owner, upon being faced with a charge of discrimination for refusing to serve a Negro patron, fired the waitress involved because her refusal to serve the complainant did not conform to the new "open door" policy of the restaurant.

In another situation where a Negro patron was denied service, the owner explained there had been a misunderstanding between his employee and the complainant, and thereupon invited the person to return to his establishment and dine with him.

When initially faced with the charge of discrimination, many of the owners express the fear that they may lose the bulk of their white trade during the transitional period of serving customers of all races, colors and creeds. However, when advised by EOC that the law does not state that service must be given to those customers who are rude, unkempt or disorderly, the owners tend to change their line of thinking during the negotiation session, and subsequently agree to abide by the law.

According to the EOC records, there have been at least three or more complaints of denial of service in restaurants each month since the passage of the law in June. Within three weeks after the law was in force, four persons filed complaints against three restaurants. In July, three complaints were filed; in August, there were again four complaints filed against three restaurants; in September there were three complaints and in October there were five.

Experience to date has shown that it takes about two weeks to process a complaint after it has been certified by the EOC Commission. However, there have been instances where longer periods have been necessary due to technical problems involved.

BALTIMORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
PEOPLES COURT BUILDING
FAYETTE AND GAY STREETS
BALTIMORE 2, MARYLAND

SUPPORT
YOUR CITY
PAY YOUR TAXES
PROMPTLY

Southern Regional Council
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

EYES – WISE

LITERATURE – The Commission has ample copies of three pamphlets available for distribution. One, "Equal Employment Opportunity in Baltimore", describes the principal features of the local law. The second, "Equal Job Opportunity for All", tells the how, when and where of filing a complaint. The third, "The Doors Are Opening", seeks to encourage minority group youth to acquire the training and skill necessary to compete successfully in gaining employment in Baltimore. These pamphlets may be obtained at the office of the commission upon request.

TELEVISION – Now being shown on all three television channels is a one-minute spot featuring key Colt football players John Unitas, Lenny Moore, Raymond Berry, Jim Parker and Gino Marchetti. The purpose of this spot is to show that the efficient teamwork of the Colts is based mainly on the ability and qualifications of each player regardless of his race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. Just as teamwork is the key to success with the Colts, so teamwork is the key to success in any business where individuals should be employed on the basis of ability and qualifications.

The Commission is currently preparing new animated cartoon spots on merit employment which are scheduled to be televised on all three channels beginning the first of the year. They will replace the three which are now being shown, one of which was awarded top prize in the one-minute category by the Baltimore Art Directors Club.

REPRINTS – The Commission has on hand for distribution a limited supply of Burt Schorr's article on job recruiting on Negro College campuses which appeared on the front page of the WALL STREET JOURNAL on August 6, 1962. The article points up the fact that with the continued expansion of equal employment opportunities to Negroes, industry and government recruiters are directing their attention more and more to the Negro Colleges.

THE FORTNIGHTER, a special publication issued by the Associated Builders and Contractors, Inc. for its membership, recently devoted its edition to a thorough explanation of the equal employment law in Baltimore and the functions of the Commission.

RESEARCH STUDY TO GIVE EOC 'EQUAL EMPLOYMENT BAROMETER'

An "Equal Employment Barometer" will soon be at the disposal of the Equal Opportunity Commission allowing it to determine the local employment progress of Negro and white persons educated in Baltimore City.

This "Barometer" will be available upon completion of a research study which is now being conducted under the direction of Dr. Bernard Levenson of the Department of Social Relations of Johns Hopkins University.

The purpose of the study is to determine if Negroes and whites with comparable education receive comparable jobs; if, when Negroes do have comparable jobs to whites, they receive comparable earnings. The study will also show whether or not Negroes experience a difference in their initial earnings, and if so, whether or not this gap tends to narrow with more training and experience on the job.

Furthermore, the study will indicate the changes in earnings and rates of employment in recent years, specifying the trades where such changes have increased, remained the same, or decreased.

In amassing the data and information for the study, it was necessary for the researchers to secure the graduation records, since June 1956, of Carver Vocational-Technical High School and Merganthaler Vocational-Technical High School. These records were then submitted to the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance who cooperated in providing the employment and earnings records, even though no identification of any individual was possible since BOASI is forbidden by Congress from disclosing such information without the consent of the individuals involved.

The two schools were chosen because, while the graduates of one are virtually all Negro and the other virtually all white, both have comparable facilities and plants, offer a similar curriculum and are staffed by instructors conforming to the same requirements with similar reputations for the quality of their instruction. In addition, both schools are essentially terminal educational institutions.

It is anticipated that sometime in the future a follow-up will be done in order to determine the employment progress of those in the present study as well as incorporating data of subsequent graduating classes. Through the regular updating of the study, the EOC will be able to maintain a "highly reliable Equal Employment Barometer", according to Dr. Levenson.

Intergov Research
Off. Com.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

RALEIGH

TERRY SANFORD
GOVERNOR

FOR RELEASE: At 1:00 p.m., Friday, January 18, 1963

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR PROGRAM

In North Carolina we will attempt to provide leadership for the kind of understanding America needs today.

To carry out these hopes we will do five things right now:

1. We have established the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

It will consist of 24 outstanding citizens of the State. David S. Coltrane will be chairman; Dean James T. Taylor will be vice chairman. Coltrane is former Director of Administration and presently Special Consultant to the Governor. Taylor is former Dean of Men at North Carolina College.

We will also name an additional advisory committee to reach more sections of the economy and the State.

The Council will have a two-fold mission (1) to encourage employment of qualified people without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment.

2. We are asking all Mayors and Chairmen of County Commissioners to establish local Good Neighbor Councils.

3. We have issued a memorandum to heads of State agencies, departments, and institutions, asking them, if they have not already done so, to examine and formulate policies which do not exclude from employment qualified people because of race.

4. Being aware that complete success cannot be achieved without wise and vigorous leadership from private business and industry, we will conduct a conference this spring, inviting leading industrialists and businessmen to participate.

5. We call on church leaders, pastors, civic organizations, to support the objectives of the Good Neighbor Councils in their own effective ways.

In addition to Coltrane and Taylor, the members of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council are: Marse J. Grant of Raleigh, editor of the Biblical Recorder, official publication of the North Carolina Baptist Convention; John H. Wheeler, president of Farmers and Mechanics Bank at Durham; J. P. Strother, managing editor of the Kinston Daily Free Press; John W. Winters, Raleigh realtor and member of the Raleigh City Council; Roy D. McLaurin, Laurinburg businessman; Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, Charlotte dentist; Bruce F. Jones, Edenton automobile dealer; Clark S. Brown, Winston-Salem funeral director; J. S. Stewart, president of Mutual Savings and Loan Association and member of the Durham City Council; Edward Loewenstein, Greensboro architect; and Dr. John R. Larkins, State Department of Public Welfare.

Other members of the Council will be announced later.

Economic Pressures - Mat.

LWDv
PAVSBv

Research

NEWS FROM:
Negro Ministers of Atlanta
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
524-3151

January 23, 1963
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SELECTIVE BUYING CAMPAIGN ENTERS SECOND PHASE

Atlanta, Ga. -- Atlanta's "Operation Breadbasket's" selective buying campaign against Highland Bakeries has entered its second phase. Ministers in the Atlanta area announced that this decision was made after repeated requests for upgrading Negroes were refused. A spokesman said "Operation Breadbasket" was told that further requests for improved job opportunities would be met with "fewer jobs for Negroes."

Entering into its second week, "Operation Breadbasket" will now involve the active support of over 500 social and civic clubs in addition to the more than 400 Negro ministers who first called the campaign.

Highland Bakeries was selected as a target, according to a member of the negotiating committee, after negotiations for advancing present Negro employees and hiring more Negroes in skilled capacities failed.

"Operation Breadbasket" is modeled after the highly successful selective patronage campaign carried on in Philadelphia over the last 2 years. The ministers in that city have approached 19 industries and have created more than 1,000 new white-collar jobs for Negroes in these businesses.

MORE

The structure of "Operation Breadbasket", like that of the Philadelphia campaign, is completely informal. The selection of industries and companies within industries and how and when they should be approached is done by a priorities committee. The priorities committee has no chairman, and the membership constantly shifts.

In recent weeks Negro clergymen throughout the country have begun similar selective buying programs. In addition to Atlanta and Philadelphia, selective buying campaigns have been reported in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Wilmington, Del.. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has indicated the possibilities of a nation-wide conference of Negro religious leaders to discuss the prospects of coordinating all future selective patronage campaigns.

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WB - see 4 ✓
PA ✓
SB ✓

Interpp - H R Commission

NUMBER 45 JANUARY, 1963

HUMAN RELATIONS BULLETIN

ISSUED BY THE

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 East Third Street — Charlotte, North Carolina

T. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS, M. D.
Chairman

HARRY S. JONES
Executive Secretary

This bulletin is issued periodically for the purpose of disseminating information on problems, programs and progress in the field of human relations. Readers are encouraged to send items suitable for inclusion in this bulletin.

SIGNIFICANT COURT RULINGS:

1). Federal Judge Edwin M. Stanley told Caswell County school officials on December 21 that unless an acceptable plan for desegregation was prepared by January 2, Negro children would be free to choose any school in the county they wished to attend beginning the second semester, Negro attorneys were instructed to notify Negro students of this freedom of choice ten days before the semester begins.

2). At the same time, Judge Stanley ruled that some 200 Negro students involved in desegregation suits in Durham must be admitted to the "white" schools of their choice by the second semester of the current school year. Further school desegregation in Durham was delayed when school officials announced that a study committee had been appointed to submit a plan of desegregation. This plan must be presented by May 1, and approved by July 1. Otherwise, a complete freedom-of-choice plan will go into effect at the opening of schools next September.

3). The U. S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on December 7 that a suit asking the desegregation of Clarendon County, S. C., schools would be tried as a class action. Judge C. C. Wyche of the Eastern South Carolina Federal District Court had ruled that it was not a class action and had dismissed all but one of 40 plaintiffs. Said the Appeals Court: "A common set of facts pertain to all the plaintiffs in their effort to secure admission to previously all-white Clarendon schools." The case could be an historic one. If decided in favor of the plaintiffs the ruling would apply to all others similarly situated, making unnecessary a multitude of court cases for individual pupils.

4). The South Carolina Supreme Court early in December reversed lower court convictions of Negro youths involved in lunch counter demonstrations in Sumter in 1960. The youths were arrested on breach-of-peace charges, some when they attempted to get service at a "white" lunch counter, and some when they picketed outside the store. The Supreme Court ruled that the facts of these cases did not support the charges. In effect, they said that non-violent protest of segregation does not constitute a breach of the peace.

ITEMS FROM AROUND THE STATE:

RALEIGH: Mayor William G. Enloe has named an interracial committee of three Negroes and four white persons to coordinate efforts to satisfy the desegregation demands of Negroes and improve race relations.

KINSTON: The Kinston Ministerial Association (white) and the Ministerial Alliance (Negro) have merged their organizations into a single unit. It will be known as the Lenoir County Ministerial Fellowship.

GREENSBORO: The Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital has invited Greensboro Negro doctors and dentists to apply for staff privileges. The hospital is a defendant in an integration suit challenging for the first time the "separate-but-equal" clause of the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act.

REIDSVILLE: A group of Negro parents has brought suit asking that all public schools in the city be desegregated. The suit alleges that the Reidsville Board of Education has used provisions of the pupil enrollment act to maintain segregation in violation of the U. S. and State constitutions.

MONROE: Mayor Fred Wilson has appointed a "Better Citizenship Committee" of four Negroes and four white people to advise the City Council and develop plans for eliminating discrimination and segregation in the city.

RALEIGH: A resolution from the Raleigh Ministerial Association to the Mayor and the City Council calls for the integration of all public recreational facilities, and urges the Mayor to use his influence to persuade restaurant owners to serve all customers, irrespective of race.

CHARLOTTE: Memorial Hospital has admitted a Negro doctor to its private medical staff for the first time. As associate on the medical staff, Dr. C. Warren Williams has been granted full surgical privileges.

HOWARD JOHNSON CHAIN AGAINST SEGREGATION

The Howard Johnson Company has put itself on record against racial segregation in its far-flung chain of restaurants. Declaring that its national policy is to provide "service without discrimination," the company claimed "marked accomplishment" in putting this policy into practice in the South.

A management letter in December to supervisory personnel said that of 297 company-operated restaurants, in only 18 does "community action still impose restrictions upon who may enter and be served."

Of 279 restaurants serving all travelers regardless of race, the letter said, nearly 100 of them are in the deep South.

The letter pointed out that in addition to 297 company-operated restaurants there are 339 other Howard Johnson's restaurants run by local proprietors under license agreements.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF WHAT SEGREGATION MEANS

Few of the graduates of Negro colleges in North Carolina find jobs in private industry. "None of the nation's industrial or sales firms comes here for employes," said William P. Malone, job placement director at North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham. "Federal Government and teaching recruiters come on the campus, but that is about it."

The placement problems of the South's white colleges are minor by comparison. At the overwhelmingly white University of North Carolina, recruiters for business and industry swarmed on the campus last spring. The university placement service reported 395 companies "from throughout the nation" conducted 2,803 campus interviews in the four months preceding the end of the school year. In addition, 367 job openings were listed by letter with the placement office.

--Gene Roberts, Jr., reporter for the News and Observer, Raleigh

CHRISTIANITY SHOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE

"We boast of our Christian society, and, if this is true, we need have no fears in granting equal privileges to all our citizens. It is logical to conclude that agencies operated by governments and all business licensed by government should offer equal employment and services to all citizens.

This is not only legally right, it is morally right, and this should be the strongest force in a Christian community such as ours."

--A. E. Spears, Vice-President, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Charlotte

REMEMBER SIX YEARS AGO?

What has happened to the first contingent of Negro students who, six years ago, braved howling mobs to enter previously all-white schools? . . . These boys and girls are among our heroes. . .

Like the first wave of U. S. soldiers to hit the beaches of Normandy in World War II, the mission of these students was to establish a beachhead. They might now take comfort in announcing "mission accomplished." . . .

These young pioneers had only one defense and that was their sheer ability to absorb punishment, and to take insults without retaliation. These Negro boys and girls must have graduated with the Heavenly Father's "Cum Laude" citation. . .

Negro students were not having their first taste of bitterness when they faced the unfriendly faces. They had been introduced to suffering long before in numerous and subtle ways. And so they did not have to be drafted for the conflict.

Out of a sense of mission and Provident election, the Negro students accepted their roles as witnesses to the cause of freedom, through suffering. History elected them. God strengthened them. We shall remember them, with thanks.

--Richard B. Martin, in the Norfolk Journal and Guide

KENTUCKY GOVERNOR ASKS EQUAL SERVICE FOR ALL

Governor Bert T. Comps of Kentucky has asked managers of 7,000 restaurants, theatres, hotels, motels and other places of accommodation to serve all persons and to display a special emblem indicating that they provide equal service to all.

In a letter to the managers the Governor said: "I hope you will join other Kentucky business men who are participating in our program of Equal Service for All in places of public accommodation, in commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. We know that many restaurants, theatres, hotels, motels and other similar places are serving without discrimination based on race, creed or color and that it has not hurt their business. We ask you to join them through this voluntary program.

"We hope you will be able to display the emblem which shows that you provide equal service to all. We are trying to attract people to come to Kentucky to spend their tourist dollars. It is my hope that visitors as well as our own people will come to know this as a sign of Kentucky hospitality in the very best tradition and that people will not be embarrassed because of their race, creed, or color when they seek service in restaurants, movies and other accommodations in Kentucky."

HOORAY FOR THE SOUTH!

This year the annual Shrine Bowl North-South game, played at Miami, Florida, was different. For the first time in its seventeen year history there were Negro players on the team representing the South. One was a mercury-fast halfback from this year's national championship small college team, the Florida A. and M. University Rattlers. The other was a shifty and brilliant ball carrier from Mississippi's Jackson State College. . .

The game was a thriller . . .

With the South trailing by a 7-to-12 score and only 37 seconds remaining in the game, the Dixie quarterback faded back and rifled a pass to his Negro teammate from Jackson State College. The fleet halfback eluded North tacklers and raced into the end zone for a touchdown. . . A neatly executed forward pass (on the play after touchdown) put the South ahead 15-to-14. A few seconds later the game ended.

We felt real proud of the South, not because it had won, but because in this game its representatives had broken with the dead past and utilized the talents of a couple of Negro players on its all-star team.

--from an editorial in the Norfolk Journal and Guide

LITTLE REBELS

When a white Charleston, S. C., family moved North, reports the city's News and Courier, the mother was concerned about how her children, accustomed to segregated schools, would adjust to Negro children in their classes. After the first day at the new school, the youngsters reported that they had eaten lunch with Negro children. Surprised, the mother asked why.

"Well," they protested, "you didn't think we'd eat with those Yankees."

AN OUTSTANDING ARTICLE

"A Letter From A Region In My Mind" was the title of James Baldwin's article in the Nov. 17, 1962, issue of the New Yorker Magazine. Baldwin's letter, as noted by commentator Edward P. Morgan, may mark the nearest anyone has ever come to leading a white man intellectually into the furnace of torment that has been, and still is, a black man's fate.

Another commentator, Harry Fleischman, says: "Baldwin makes frighteningly clear the deadly purposefulness of Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam movement, which has attracted thousands of followers on a doctrine of black supremacy, venomously preaching that all white people are devils, about to be brought down. The letter may first shock and enrage even the most thoughtful minds, who then, however, are likely to wilt in shame and humility before the major truths that Baldwin insists on assembling. The largest truth of all is that time is running out for the opportunity for amicable acceptance of the Negro as a full-fledged member of the human race."

A FELLOW HUMAN BEING: HARVEY GANTT (Negro)

We are fond of boasting to Yankees that we Southerners really like and understand the Negro on an individual basis better than they. The Clemson College students, given the opportunity, should now prove it. They should extend the hand of friendship to Harvey Gantt and accept him in a spirit of Christian charity.

As proud South Carolinians, as concerned Americans, and as citizens of the world community, they can do no less. One wonders how a man of college age today can possibly think he is preparing himself to live in a state whose population is 40 percent colored, or in a world whose non-white population outnumbers the white two-to-one, if he is unable to live harmoniously on campus with a citizen of a different race. Harvey Gantt should be neither favored or penalized but simply treated as a fellow human being. Jesus left us a reliable guideline to follow in such situations when he handed down the Golden Rule.

--from the Cheraw, S. C., Chronicle (11-29-62)

Intergr 70

MFRC

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee

105 City Hall, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Phone 421-5700, Line 238

* The Executive Director's *
* *
* REPORT for JANUARY 1963 *

MFRC GETS NEW CHAIRMAN & NINE NEW TRUSTEES Joseph L. Leinwohl, assistant vice-president of the First National Bank, was made chairman of MFRC on January 15, in the 1963 appointments by Mayor Walton Bachrach. Added to the Board were nine newcomers: Mrs. Alfred Berger, a leader in Catholic women's groups; Thomas J. Bruggeman, teacher, representing Xavier University; James R. Clark, Jr., former county commissioner; Rev. Richard Isler, executive of the Council of Churches; William Kircher, AFL-CIO sub-regional director; Mrs. George Moyer, executive of the Hamilton County Good Government League; Attorney S. Arthur Spiegel; Joseph Turner, former executive of the Convention Bureau; Ralph Zeigler, realty broker and past president of the Avondale Community Council.

Re-appointed to the Board were : Bishop Roger W. Blanchard, Wm. H. Bocklage, Robert D. Bollard, Dr. Edmund C. Casey, Robert J. Coates, Dean Campbell Crockett, Mrs. Robert S. Dorsey, Mrs. Richard A. Forberg, Mrs. Jerry Griffith, Mrs. Ralph V. Haile, Jr., Joseph A. Hall, Lawrence C. Hawkins, Mrs. Joseph D. Heiman, Henry W. Hobson, Jr., Arthur F. Hull, Jr., Reuven J. Katz, Joseph L. Leinwohl, Dr. John A. MacLeod, Arnold Morelli, Rev. Wm. D. Mosley, Jr., Mrs. Ann Kroger Polasky, Charles Posner, George B. Redfern, John L. Strubbe, M. L. Walton, DDS, and Msgr. Lawrence Walter. Four retiring trustees--Rabbi Murray Blackman, Albert E. Heekin, Jr., Aldon A. McLeod and Robert I. Westheimer--are expected to be appointed by the Mayor, soon, to MFRC's General Committee.

The new Board on the 23d elected four officers to serve with Mr. Leinwohl: 1st and 2d vice-chairmen, Dr. Casey and Mr. Morelli; treasurer, Mr. Bollard; secretary, Mrs. Berger. Mr. Leinwohl, praising his predecessor's leadership in 1961-'62, said he counted on Arthur Hull's continued counsel and energy. Thus began MFRC's 20th year, briskly led by its 11th chairman (who was amazed that his appointment evoked good wishes from so many citizens all over town).

COUNSEL TO SCHOOL COUNSELORS From Columbus in January, to all counselors in in Ohio schools, went a manual whose title identifies an important part of their job. "Counseling Minority Group Youth." Its aim is to help them develop youngsters able to claim equal job opportunities. It is issued at a time when openings for Negroes in skilled and professional fields often outnumber qualified applicants, The manual can help educators to break the traditional "vicious circle--of limited job opportunities, lack of incentive, inadequate training, limited job opportunities." It has been compiled by the Ohio Civil Rights Commission and Department of Education.

"Without an understanding of FEP laws and changing patterns in employment, the educator and counselor operate with an inadequate picture of the extent to which equal job opportunities are a growing reality in Ohio and in the nation," say the authors, William A. Briggs of OCRC and D. L. Hummel of Ohio University. They urge counselors to know employment patterns of Negroes and other minorities in all occupations; to emphasize accomplishments of minority persons; and to know what deprivations in a child's life block his growth, and how past

discriminations sap his self-confidence.

"Counseling Minority Group Youth" costs just 50 cents and is available at the Civil Rights Commission's local office in the Schmidt Building (phone, 241-6605). We urge "unofficial counsellors"--the host of adults in reach of youth who need facts to encourage them to aspire--to get this 155-page manual. It is meaty and interesting. And it suggests efforts we can all support.

FACING THE 'SPECULATORS' PROBLEM Urban Development's officials brought to MFRC a serious problem that threatens the Avondale-Corryville conservation project. Briefly, it's the excessive profits made by some "speculators" in buying from departing whites and selling to in-coming nonwhites. Adding $2000 to $4000 to the price he paid, such an operator will dispose of it by land contract to a family lacking a down payment. Carrying this inflated price tag, and relatively heavy monthly payments, the family is often unable to get any additional financing for improvements suggested by UD's rehabilitation specialist. The conservation plan's success depends upon voluntary upgrading by owners; if a number are already trapped financially, it's a dilemma.

MFRC is helping to warn the home-seeker to avoid exploitation, to seek facts and advice from official or private sources. We huddled with UD staff and other intergroup agencies to get the picture. Then Mr. Wesley spent more time with the staff, getting a grasp and arranging for a continued flow of information. He wrote a first article to run in MFRC's column in two Negro papers; asked their editors to consult us on other treatments in their columns; saw a radio manager about similar aircasts; and tried to assist a 'feed' of facts to mass media direct from UD staff. The effort is just starting... A sample, this, of MFRC's stated responsibility to offer advice and aid to any city official or operation "hindered or complicated by intergroup problems."

APPEALING TO THE CONSCIENCE OF AMERICANS Seven Cincinnatians returned from the National Conference on Religion and Race (held January 14-17 in Chicago), bearing a challenge to all Jews and Christians to erase the "insult to God" of racial discrimination and segregation. At the historic interfaith meeting were: Rabbi Murray Blackman and C. E. Israel; Rev. Jovian Weigel, Daniel Kane and Thomas Luken; Rev. L. V. Booth and Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Jr. Home again, together they will enlist church and temple members to work prayerfully for the specific, difficult objectives stated in the Conference appeal:-

"SEEK a reign of Justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.

"SEEK a reign of love in which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones; racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed; any man will be received as brother -- his rights, your rights; his pain, your pain; his prison, your prison.

"SEEK a reign of courage in which the people of God will make their faith their binding commitment; in which men willingly suffer for justice and love; in which churches and synagogues lead, not follow.

"SEEK a reign of prayer in which God is praised and worshiped as the Lord of the universe, before Whom all racial idols fall, Who makes us one family and to Whom we are all responsible.

"In making this appeal we affirm our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God. We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life.

"We call upon all the American people to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God."

A GROWING-UP DAY When City Manager Harrell went to William McClain's office to tell him, "You're the new City Solicitor," it was more than the promotion of an able lawyer. It marked, in a degree, the maturing of a city. The radio, TV, press stories, editorials and interviews reflected a climate change since 1946, when Mr. McClain's color was a fearful "problem" to a minority who kept him out of the Bar Association. (Not including Paul W. Steer, Albert Cash, George Fee and others, who went to work and presently pried open the door.) Since then, more doors have opened hereabouts; not as many as we'd like, but a growing number. Usually it happened because a man like Mr. Harrell sized up a man like Mr. McClain, and then did the commonsense but untraditional thing. Orchids to them both; and a salute to the thousands of folks whose own growth has encouraged more decision-makers to go forward in fairness. Yes, January 25 was a growing-up-a-bit day in our city. Many happy returns...

HILLS-TO-CITY SYMPOSIUM NEARS At February's end, announcements were going out inviting a vast variety of organizations to An Institute on Appalachian Migrants, to be held March 5-6 (Tuesday from 4 to 9 P.M. at Heinold Junior High; Wednesday from 9 to 3 at Jewish Community Center). Aids to adjustment of the newcomers will be emphasized. The swapped experiences of participants will be as valuable as what they hear from speakers. To the many uninvited persons who may be interested: "You're invited." For more details, call City Hall (421-5700) and ask for MFRC, which is assisting the Berea workshop alumni and the Council of the Southern Mountains in this interesting project.

FACING A JUVENILE PROBLEM The nuisance of children's pilfering and rowdyism in a Basin supermarket came to us. Past the initial issue of an employee who faced an assualt charge (later dismissed) for slapping a youthful pest, we looked for basic causes, and remedies. We talked to two school principals, who had long tried to curb such behavior; to managers of public and private housing projects nearby; to other merchants; to a variety of youth agencies in the area; and to police and correctional workers. Mr. Sparrow probed into the fact that open displays--candy bars, toys, etc., within easy reach--were relatively new in the area, and tempting. He prepared the persons contacted to meet in February and together analyze all elements of the condition, then see what a joint effort could do to curb if not eradicate the problem.

AT THE PUBLIC LIBRARY The Catholic journal Social Order has collaborated with the Anti-Defamation League to make its February issue a discussion of "How to Achieve Interfaith Understanding in an Age of Crisis."..."Fight for Freedom, the Story of the NAACP" by Langston Hughes is a well-written history of 50 years' uphill struggle..."The Long Shadow of Little Rock" offers Daisy Bates' inside view of that school desegregation battle...Haynes Johnson's "Dusk at the Mountain" is a Washington journalist's look at problems

in the capital--education, employment, housing, crime--provocatively written.

SPEAKING DATES: Catholic Interracial Council (ES & AW 1/7)
Masonic Club (MB 1/11); Peaslee PTA (MB 1/16)
Woman's City Club (ES & AW 1/18); Madeira Discussion Group (MB 1/25)

ALSO THIS & THAT (1) WCKY's editorial on Jan. 30 was an unsolicited tribute to MFRC's 'positive work' toward solving intergroup problems. On Jan. 31, WZIP's "Viewpoint" presented our director and our ex-Chairman, Arthur Hull, in a one-hour interview that brought us many comments. (2) The Cincinnati Herald began using our weekly column, already appearing in the Call & Post. (3) We supplied housing information to a Councilman, for his speech to a Catholic intercollegiate conference. (4) Learning that the Council of Churches' course on integration of churches was not exactly overcrowded, we suggested to two radio stations that they consider doing programs on it. (5) We oriented the new psychiatric resident at the Court Clinic, Dr. Henry Hicks. (6) The Walnut Hills Community Council had an excellent session with Police Capt. Elmer Reis of District 7, with our staff sitting in.

* *

MFRC Chairman, Joseph Leinwohl; Vice-Chairmen, Dr. E. C. Casey, Arnold Morelli;
Treasurer, Robert Bollard; Secretary, Mrs. Alfred Berger.
Staff: Marshall Bragdon, Eugene Sparrow, Alvin Wesley, Mrs. Amrizene Harris.

* *

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NEWSLETTER

PUBLISHED BY: GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OFFICE: 5 FORSYTH ST. N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
NEW TELEPHONE NO. 523-1581 & 82

CHAIRMAN: MRS. CLIFTON HOFFMAN EDITOR: MRS. NAN PENDERGRAST

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ANTI-DISCRIMINATION STICKERS AVAILABLE

MAKE YOUR CHECKS DO MORE THAN PAY BILLS BY AFFIXING STICKERS READING "AS YOUR CUSTOMER, I SUPPORT EQUAL EMPLOYMENT AND SERVICE FOR ALL, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, OR COLOR". STICKERS ARE AVAILABLE FREE FOR COUNCIL MEMBERS. JUST CALL THE OFFICE - NEW PHONE NUMBER - 523-1581, FOR YOUR SUPPLY.

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NOV. 27 WORKSHOP AND ANNUAL MEETING A SUCCESS

THESE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS WERE ELECTED: 1ST VICE-CHM: MR. Q. V. WILLIAMSON; 2ND VICE-CHM: RABBI JACOB ROTHSCHILD. DIRECTORS: DR. TILMAN COTHRAN, MRS. DEJONGH FRANKLIN, MR. DONALD HOLLOWELL, MR. CARL HOLMAN, MR. SINCLAIR JACOBS, MR. CHARLES MATHIAS, MRS. JOHN STANLEY, DR. MARGARET ROWLEY, DR. CLINTON WARNER, DR. JOHN TUMBLIN. NOMINATING COMMITTEE: MRS. ED ALBRIGHT AND MR. ROBERT THOMPSON.

WITH ANOTHER YEAR TO SERVE: CHAIRMAN; MRS. CLIFTON HOFFMAN; SECRETARY: MRS. CHARLES PERKINS; TREASURER: HUBERT JACKSON; DIRECTORS: MRS. EMORY DANIEL; MRS. SUJETTE CRANK; MARTIN HANDRICK; JESSE HILL; MRS. J. B. PENDERGRAST; MRS. W. H. TURNER; REV. SAM WILLIAMS; MRS. P. Q. YANCEY; AND REV. JOHN YUNGBLUT.

MEMBERSHIP GOAL OF 1000 (2 X PRESENT) ADOPTED, PLUS FINANCIAL GOAL OF $3500 OVER AND ABOVE DUES INCOME. (PLEASE NOTE: YOU RECEIVE NOTICES WHEN DUES ARE DUE: OF $5.00, $3.00 GOES TO GEORGIA COUNCIL; OF $9.00, $5.00 GOES TO GEORGIA COUNCIL. CONTRIBUTIONS ABOVE DUES MADE TO GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL STAY WITH ATLANTA, CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO GEORGIA COUNCIL STAY WITH GEORGIA.

THANKS TO ALL WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE WORKSHOP, PARTICULARLY TO THE SPEAKER, MR. ANDREW HATCHER, ASSOCIATE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY, WHO ARRIVED AT 7:30 P.M., SPOKE AT 8, LEFT FOR D. C. AT 2 A.M. TO CATCH A 6 A.M. PLANE FOR CALIFORNIA.

THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, ON DEC. 13, MADE A STATEMENT BEFORE THE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE OF THE CITY ALDERMANIC BOARD PROTESTING THE INFAMOUS BARRIERS AT PEYTON ROAD.

PHERN STANLEY, CHAIRMAN, GACHR HOUSING COMMITTEE, SUBMITTED THE FOLLOWING REPORT:

"WHETHER THE PHYSICAL BARRIER IS UP OR DOWN, THE SITUATION WHICH IT SYMBOLIZES IS ONE WITH WHICH ALL CITIZENS OF GREATER ATLANTA MUST DEAL. THERE IS TALK OF "OPENING UP" CERTAIN AREAS FOR NEGRO RESIDENTIAL USE. THERE IS TALK OF "AGREEMENTS"-PAST AND FUTURE- TO DIVIDE UP THE REAL ESTATE MARKET BETWEEN WHITES AND NEGROES. IN 1918 THE GEORGIA SUPREME COURT HELD SUCH AGREEMENTS INVALID AND IN 1948 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT SO RULED.

WHILE PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ORDER ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING DOES NOT APPLY TO PRIVATE HOUSING, WE AGREE WITH HIS STATEMENT THAT 'DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES AND PRACTICES (BASED UPON RACE, COLOR, OR CREED OR NATIONAL ORIGIN) RESULT IN SEGREGATED PATTERNS OF HOUSING AND NECESSARILY PRODUCE OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION WHICH DEPRIVE MANY AMERICANS OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.'

FACTS ABOUT THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA COMPILED FROM THE 1960 U. S. CENSUS BEAR OUT THIS STATEMENT: AMONG THE WHITES, 66% OWN THE HOUSES WHICH THEY OCCUPY, WHILE AMONG THE NON-WHITES ONLY 31% OWN THE HOUSES THEY OCCUPY. THE MEDIAN VALUE OF THE OWNER-OCCUPIED UNITS OF THE WHITES IS $13,100: $8,500 IS THE MEDIAN FOR NON-WHITES. OF THE UNITS OCCUPIED BY WHITES, 89% ARE OF "SOUND CONDITION", WHILE ONLY 55% OCCUPIED BY NON-WHITES ARE OF "SOUND CONDITION". ONLY 3% OF THOSE OCCUPIED BY WHITES ARE "DILAPIDATED", 20% OF THOSE OCCUPIED BY NON-WHITES.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC HEALTH AND POLITICAL CONTROL OF ATLANTA ARE IMPORTANT TO THE ENTIRE METROPOLITAN AREA. TO HAVE A HEALTHY COMMUNITY, EACH CITIZEN MUST HAVE AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE WHERE HE WILL LIVE WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL MARKET RESTRICTIONS.

REMOVAL OF THE BARRIERS AT PEYTON AND HARLAN ROADS COULD BE A STEP TOWARDS SUCH A GUARANTEE IF ENOUGH OF US WISH IT TO BE.

THE COUNCIL IS WORKING WITH THE ALL CITIZENS COMMITTEE ROR BETTER CITY PLANNING, AND IS PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR WHITES AND NEGROES TO DISCUSS MUTUAL HOUSING PROBLEMS INFORMALLY AND UNOFFICIALLY. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED, CONTACT THE COUNCIL OFFICE".

OTHER COMMITTEE MEMBERS ARE DR. JOHN TUMBLIN AND DR. EDWARD WEAVER.

1/23/63

AT THE END OF THE FIRST MARKING PERIOD, THE GRADES OF THE NEGRO TRANSFER STUDENTS IN ATLANTA DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS WERE FOUND TO BE LOWER THAN THEIR LAST YEARS GRADES IN NEGRO SCHOOLS. TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS, SOME COUNCIL MEMBERS MET WITH A GROUP OF NEGRO AND WHITE EDUCATORS. THEIR CONCLUSION WAS THAT NO DEFINITE ANSWER COULD BE GIVEN FOR THE DECLINE IN GRADES WITHOUT DETAILED RESEARCH, BUT POSSIBLE REASONS INCLUDED: (1) INFERIOR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF NEGRO STUDENTS, COMBINED PERHAPS WITH DIFFERENT GRADING STANDARDS IN NEGRO AND WHITE SCHOOLS; (2) EMOTIONAL TENSION OF NEGROES IN THE DESEGREGATED SITUATION.

IT WAS AGREED THAT THE BEST SOLUTION TO BOTH THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE ACHIEVED BY ESTABLISHING A COMPLETELY DESEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEM. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THE FOLLOWING LINES OF ACTIVITY MIGHT BE FOLLOWED: (1) RESEARCH COMPARING NEGRO AND WHITE EDUCATION IN ATLANTA, WITH THE AIM OF IMPROVING ANY INFERIOR METHODS OR PRACTICES THAT MIGHT EXIST, IN TEACHING, HIRING, OR TEACHER EDUCATION; (2) THE ATLANTA SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION INFORMED OF THE COUNCIL'S OBSERVATIONS AND CONCERN, IN THE HOPE THAT RESEARCH COULD BE INITIATED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BY SCHOOL OFFICIALS; (3) INDIVIDUAL NEGRO TRANSFER STUDENTS HELPED BY TUTORING.

THE COUNCIL HAS FOUND TUTORS (ALL COLLEGE PROFESSORS) FOR 28 OF THE STUDENTS WHO NEEDED THEM.

IN REGARD TO EMOTIONAL TENSION, THE DESEGREGATED SITUATION SEEMS TO BE EASIER THAN LAST YEAR. THIS MAY BE PARTLY DUE TO THE FACT THAT MORE NEGRO STUDENTS ARE IN EACH SCHOOL THIS YEAR, AND THEY HAVE EACH OTHER AS FRIENDS. SOME NEGRO STUDENTS ARE PLAYING ON BASKETBALL TEAMS AND SOME ARE PARTICIPATING IN GLEE CLUBS, DRAMATIC CLUBS, ETC.., AND VERY FEW COMPLAINTS ABOUT CONFLICTS WITH WHITE STUDENTS HAVE COME TO THE COUNCIL'S ATTENTION.

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THE COUNCIL HAS HAD NO FURTHER COMMUNICATION FROM THE DEKALB BOARD OF EDUCATION REGARDING REQUEST FOR VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION OF DEKALB SCHOOLS.

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AS A RESULT OF SEVERAL CONFERENCES WITH OFFICIALS OF THE ATLANTA, FULTON AND GEORGIA DEPTS. OF EDUCATION, SMITH-HUGHES VOCATIONAL SCHOOL WAS DESEGREGATED ON JANUARY 28. SMITH-HUGHES, WHICH IS ADMINISTERED BY THE ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION, IS FINANCED LARGELY BY STATE AND FEDERAL FUNDS AND ALSO SERVES AS THE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL FOR THE FULTON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION.

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EMORY UNIVERSITY HAS TWO NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOL OF NURSING AND HAS ANNOUNCED ADMISSION OF A NEGRO STUDENT TO THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE FOR 1963-64.

1/23?63

TWELVE HOSPITALS LOCATED IN FULTON AND DEKALB COUNTIES, INCLUDING ONE OPERATED BY THE STATE OF GEORGIA, DO NOT ADMIT NEGROES AS BED-PATIENTS, AND AN ADDITIONAL THREE (NOT INCLUDING GRADY HOSPITAL) HAVE SEGREGATED WARDS FOR NEGROES AND WHITE PATIENTS. OF THE TWELVE WHO DO NOT ADMIT NEGROES AS BED-PATIENTS, THREE ADMIT NEGROES TO OUT-PATIENT CLINICS ONLY. ONE OF THESE IS THE GEORGIAN CLINIC, OPERATED BY THE STATE OF GEORGIA, AND ONE IS ST. JOSEPH'S INFIRMARY, WHICH STATED THAT NEGROES ARE ADMITTED AS OUT-PATIENTS "IN SOME CASES". THE OTHER IS THE PEACHTREE HOSPITAL. THESE AND OTHER FACTS ABOUT THE OPERATION OF HOSPITALS IN THE GREATER ATLANTA AREA WERE REVEALED IN A SURVEY CONDUCTED BY THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

THE ADMISSIONS OFFICE AT GEORGIA BAPTIST HOSPITAL STATED THAT THE HOSPITAL WOULD ACCEPT A NEGRO PATIENT IF REQUESTED TO DO SO BY THE ATTENDING PHYSICIAN, BUT THE SPOKESMAN DID NOT KNOW OF ANY SUCH REQUEST. UNOFFICIAL SOURCES STATE THAT ONE NEGRO WAS ADMITTED TO GEORGIA BAPTIST THROUGH THE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION DEPARTMENT VIA THE VETERANS HOSPITAL. (THIS IS A CHANGE FROM THE POLICY OF 1961, OF NO ADMITTANCE OF NEGROES).

THOSE WHICH DO NOT ADMIT NEGROES ON ANY BASIS ARE CRAWFORD LONG, EMORY UNIVERSITY, HENRIETTA EGLESTON FOR CHILDREN, JESSE PARKER WILLIAMS, SCOTTISH RITE FOR CHILDREN, PIEDMONT, DOCTOR'S HOSPITAL, FULTON HOSPITAL AND PONCE DE LEON INFIRMARY. (DOCTORS ON PONCE DE LEON STAFF SEE NEGRO PATIENTS IN THEIR OFFICES LOCATED IN THE INFIRMARY BUILDING).

DEKALB GENERAL, AIDMORE FOR CHILDREN AND FREE CANCER HOME, MAINTAIN SEGREGATED WARDS. A SPOKESMAN FOR THE NEW HOLY FAMILY HOSPITAL, SCHEDULED TO OPEN IN 1964, STATED THAT 14% OF THE 128 BEDS WILL BE SET ASIDE FOR NEGROES, AND THAT NEGRO AND WHITE PATIENTS WILL BE SEGREGATED. SOUTH FULTON COUNTY HOSPITAL WILL BE OPEN IN MAY, 1963, WITH A TOTAL OF 150 BEDS AND WILL ADMIT BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE PATIENTS ON A NON-SEGREGATED BASIS. A SPOKESMAN STATED THAT THEY EXPECT TO HAVE "LOTS OF NEGRO DOCTORS AND NURSES ON THEIR STAFF".

ONLY THE U. S. VETERANS HOSPITAL HAS INTEGRATED FACILITIES AND BEDS. THE VA HOSPITAL ALSO HAS NEGRO NURSES, BUT NO NEGRO DOCTORS ON ITS STAFF. ST. JOSEPH'S REPORTS NEGRO NURSES AIDES ONLY, AND DEKALB GENERAL REPORTS ONE NEGRO PHYSICIAN AND A FEW NEGRO NURSES. NONE OF THE OTHERS HAS ANY NEGRO STAFF MEMBERS.

OF THE 2424 HOSPITAL BEDS NOW AVAILABLE FOR PAYING PATIENTS IN THE AREA, 817 (THIS DOES NOT INCLUDE GRADY AND VA, BUT DOES INCLUDE 457 BEDS AT GEORGIA BAPTIST) ARE AVAILABLE TO NEGROES. THESE INCLUDE 135 BEDS AT HARRIS AND MCLENDON HOSPITALS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY "NEGRO HOSPITALS". (MCLENDON HOSPITAL STATES THAT THEY WILL ACCEPT WHITE PATIENTS, WHEN REFERRED BY A PHYSICIAN AND HARRIS WILL ACCEPT WHITE PATIENTS ON AN EMERGENCY BASIS). NEGROES COMPRISE 22.8% OF THE POPULATION OF THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA AREA; 39.9% OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA.

1/23/63

CHURCH NEWS

CONGRATULATIONS TO GACHR MEMBER, DR. BENJAMIN MAYS, WHO SERVED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RACE AND RELIGION, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE, AND THE SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA. THE CONFERENCE ISSUED A STRONG STATEMENT ASKING THAT ALL CHURCHES ACT PROMPTLY TO OBLITERATE DISCRIMINATION.

HERE IN ATLANTA, AN INTERRACIAL GROUP OF METHODIST MINISTERS WAS FORMED, AND THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ATLANTA PASSED A RESOLUTION DEPLORING RACIAL BARRICADES. AT THE SAME MEETING, BISHOP CLAIBORNE, ADDRESSING 65 CLERGYMEN AND 240 LAY DELEGATES, STATED THAT, "IN THE DIOCESE OF ATLANTA, THERE ARE NO INSTITUTIONS THAT I KNOW OF WHICH ARE SEGREGATED", AND WENT ON TO STATE "I AM AGAINST SEGREGATION, AND EVERY EPISCOPAL MINISTER THAT I KNOW IN THIS DIOCESE IS AGAINST IT".

ARCHBISHOP HALLINAN OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF SAVANNAH-ATLANTA CALLED UPON ALL MEMBERS OF EACH PARISH TO BE ACTIVE IN ENDING PREJUDICE WHEREVER IT IS FOUND.

ATLANTA SPEAKERS AT THE MEETING OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN, HELD IN NASHVILLE, INCLUDED GACHR MEMBER AND FORMER CHAIRMAN: REV. SAMUEL WILLIAMS AND GACHR MEMBERS: DR. MARTIN L. KING, JR. AND DR. LESLIE DUNBAR.

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FOREIGN VISITORS

THE COUNCIL HAS PLAYED HOST TO 63 FOREIGN VISITORS IN RECENT MONTHS. THEY HAVE COME FROM ALL OVER THE GLOBE - RECENT CALLERS INCLUDE INTERESTING FOLKS FROM SOUTH AFRICA, COLUMBIA, JAPAN, INDIA, ENGLAND (INCLUDING 4 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT), NYASALAND, NORWAY AND MEXICO. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN ENTERTAINING VISITORS, WHETHER FOR OVERNIGHT, DINNER, OR CHAUFFEURING, PLEASE TELL THE COUNCIL OFFICE. YOU CAN HELP AND ENJOY YOURSELF GREATLY AT THE SAME TIME. TRY IT!

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NEEDED

THE OFFICE IS IN URGENT NEED OF A TYPEWRITER, A WORK TABLE AND A CLOCK. IF YOU HAVE EITHER OF THE ITEMS TO DONATE OR TO SELL AT A NOMINAL PRICE, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

****

IN THE WORKS

THE COUNCIL IS COOPERATING WITH THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, THE URBAN LEAGUE AND ACCA IN PREPARING A DIRECTORY OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYERS.

1/23/63

NEW MOVE FOR MONTEZ

LONG TIME GACHR BOARD MEMBER, MONTEZ ALBRIGHT IS NOW ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT FOR THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. SHE REPLACES PAUL ANTHONY, WHO REPLACED PAUL RILLING.

****

FOR THE CHILDREN

A STORY HOUR IS HELD EACH FRIDAY AFTERNOON FROM FOUR UNTIL FIVE AT THE QUAKER HOUSE, 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N. E. TALES WILL APPEAL TO CHILDREN UNDER NINE YEARS OF AGE.

****

CONGRATULATIONS

TO LEROY JOHNSON, GACHR MEMBER, AND NEWLY ELECTED MEMBER OF THE STATE SENATE, GO OUR CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS ELECTION AND OUR PRIDE IN A JOB IMPRESSIVELY BEGUN!

****

OUR BEST WISHES TO

MRS. GUEST, OFFICE SECRETARY, WHO LEFT US IN DECEMBER TO WORK FOR THE U.S. INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE. WE ARE LUCKY TO HAVE MRS. SMITH TO REPLACE HER.

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RESTAURANTS AND HOTELS

NO PROGRESS TO REPORT - SORRY.

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YOU WILL HEAR ABOUT PLANS FOR MONTHLY LUNCHEONS AND PUBLIC MEETINGS SOON.

REMEMBER TO CALL THE OFFICE IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN FOREIGN VISITORS AND/OR HOUSING.

HOUSING NOTE: COURT PRESENTATIONS POINT OUT THAT THE MAYOR HAS THE AUTHORITY TO REMOVE THE BARRIERS ON PEYTON AND HARLAN ROAD.

CHICAGO COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE NEWSLETTER

JANUARY, 1963

Richard J. Daley, Mayor

KIDS CHRISTMAS

The "Spirit of Christmas" had a special meaning for thousands of Chicagoans this year as they opened their hearts to let needy youngsters know that someone cares.

With thousands of toys, games, and boxes of candy stacked in the lobby, the building housing the Commission on Youth Welfare resembled Santa's warehouse. Donated by the United States Marine Corps Reserve, the Chicago Tribune Good Fellows and the Curtiss Candy Company, the gifts were furnished for distribution by the Commission to underprivileged kids.

The Near North area saw more than 2,000 parochial and public school youngsters receive gifts of games and toys from laymen of the Christian Family Movement of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, and from private citizens who heeded radio and TV appeals for gifts.

Three hundred needy youngsters from all over the city had a great time as the Chicago Junior Association of Commerce and Industry took them on a Christmas shopping tour. The 6 and 7-year olds were each given $5, and each was accompanied by a Jaycee couple. The six major loop department stores had the kids as their guests for breakfast, and provided a gift for each child. Various youth-serving agencies and the Commission on Youth Welfare cooperated with the Jaycees in the venture.

In the Uptown area, the Comets 4H Club gave several cartons of toys to the Youth Welfare Commission for distribution to some of the less fortunate among the community's American Indian children.

That many families still are in great need was typified by a south-side mother and 8 children who faced a bleak Christmas indeed. Without food or fuel, the family was helped by donations of food, fuel, money and toys given by the Salvation Army, a local minister and members of the Youth Welfare Commission.

All over the city, the spirit of Christmas was exemplified by similar acts of giving as youth-serving agencies, religious institutions, business organizations and individual men and women of good will made a special effort to see that every known needy youngster was remembered.

REPORTING CYW ACTIVITIES to Mayor Daley, City Department Heads and members of city's commissions, Chairman Patrick H. Hoy lauded the increasing cooperative efforts between public and private agencies serving youth.

YOUTH OFFICERS MEET

The entire youth officer force of Police Area 4, more than 40 strong, joined Dr. Dietrich Reitzes, Deputy Director of the Commission on Youth Welfare and key staff members at the Police Training Academy recently. Together they discussed joint efforts for youth with special emphasis on services of the area's Cooperating Services Center.

Criteria for referral of youth to the center by the youth officer, an outline for the social study of individual youth problems, and an explanation of processing of referrals from the youth officer were reviewed.

Coordinated action such as this is increasing steadily among the various agencies, public and private, which are working in areas where youth needs are most pressing.

HOPES FOR YOUTH GOOD IN 1963

Chicago's progress in urban renewal has earned international recognition, deservedly. Striking modern buildings, residential and commercial, excellent roads and parks, police, fire and street lighting systems name but a few advances evident in all parts of the city.

But Chicago is great for more than bricks or mortar, steel and glass. Chicago is the home of more than a million children. Their world is the world of the neighborhood. The important thing in their lives is not the gleaming city adults see, but the city we don't see—one of love, of people who care about them — of parents, of teachers, of neighbors, of persons who help them form clubs and go to camp, and make a ball team. This is the city that teaches children the values, the skills, the attitudes and the faith on which a free society lives.

The pertinent point is that this living city doesn't persist as long as do the bricks and glass unless it is renewed and revitalized, not every generation but every day—day after day—by people who will make the sacrifice in time and patience and money to begin, and to complete, the tasks that make a neighborhood live. Through the schools, the parks, health and recreation agencies, public and private, the basic facilities and programs for youth are provided. But this costly outlay of personnel and build-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

CHICAGO HOST TO PUBLIC YOUTH AGENCIES

For the first time Chicago will welcome the Midwest Region Meeting of the Conference of Public Youth Agencies. The Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare and the Illinois Youth Commission are jointly serving as local hosts.

A special luncheon, Thursday, January 17, open to all key leaders in youth work, will inaugurate the 2-day session at the LaSalle Hotel. CYW Chairman Patrick H. Hoy will chair this opening luncheon which features Shelton Granger, Children's Bureau Director of Youth Development of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Subsequent sessions will focus first on the importance of sharing youth program research and evaluation to avoid duplication of efforts. Stress also will be on coordinated efforts. IYC Chairman John A. Troike's talk on "The Total Community in Youth Welfare and Delinquency Prevention," will key a panel discussion on the role of both public agencies, local, state and federal, and private resources, volunteers, groups, or organizations. Participants will include experts such as William Bruchner of Chicago Commons and Henry McKay of the Institute for Juvenile Research.

Program Chairman for this Midwest Regional Meeting is Erwin France, Community Organization Director of the Youth Welfare Commission.

YOUTH HOPES GOOD

(continued from page 1)

ings can function only when local citizens and parents work together, bringing integrity and unity and order to the world of the child, and making each neighborhood an expression of concern for every child's individuality.

The Commission on Youth Welfare was established not to replace parents and local citizens in this responsibility, but to make the city a partner to efforts of people in their own community to renew and strengthen this invisible yet vital world of children.

Despite the complexity of this less tangible renewal effort, Chicago is making remarkable progress. All around the city there is substantial evidence of increasing cooperation between the many forces working for more actively organized community effort. Both public agencies and private organizations and institutions should be proud of the added awareness of youth needs, acceptance of responsibility, and the willingness to join forces to get the job done.

That is why the Commission on Youth Welfare and its community organization work is so satisfying. In every part of the city, but especially in the areas where the need of strengthening is greatest, such aid is paying off.

By its very nature, community organization work has to cover a wide variety of efforts. Each has a particular effect on people and on institutions important to children. More important, like a mosaic, each of these varied community organization efforts is a cumulative part of a comprehensive whole. Together the stronger institution, plus the newly concerned citizen, plus the more able parent, plus other rich resources available in the city, are able to function more effectively. Together they can accept and successfully carry out the responsibilities which create good neighborhoods in which to raise children.

Although youth needs differ to some extent, the examples described here are purposely varied to demonstrate the range that CYW efforts cover. Behind each example, however, is the same consistent and basic long-range community organization plan to accelerate the local community's ability to assume responsibility and to help key institutions function more effectively on behalf of youth.

ARMED FORCES APPLICANTS

Concerned with the high number of North Lawndale young men frustrated by failure to pass Armed Forces tests, CYW staff sought the interest of the Army, Board of Education, and the Cook County Department of Public Aid. Together they organized a special course to prepare boys to pass Armed Forces and civil service tests.

Held twice weekly at Manley Evening School, the course accepts boys from 17 to 21 years of age. So helpful that the original 34 students has swelled to 44, the practical training is now set up to receive new course members every week.

CLERGY IN ACTION

The Lawndale Clergy for Community Action must be given a large measure of credit for 1962's marked improvement in youth relations in Lawndale.

Initiated and assisted by Youth Welfare Commission staff, this interracial and interreligious organization of clergymen was formed to help break down the barriers to interracial communication in the community through friendly contacts. Sports for local youth was one activity.

Eight church-sponsored softball teams culminated their season with an awards banquet in late fall, and the LCCA Athletic League's 1962-63 basketball season was tipped off December 17 by teams representing 12 churches.

Acting to help the churches carry out this joint youth activity more effectively, the CYW drafted the league constitution, arranged for the use of parks, and helped recruit churches, players and adult volunteers for the program.

A further benefit occurred when all clergymen took part in a concerted neighborhood Brotherhood campaign. On the same Sunday recently, each pastor issued a letter signed by all stressing community cooperation and based his sermon on it.

NBC RADIO SERIES, produced by CYW this fall, stressed Education, Jobs, and Dropouts. Sixteen experts from organizations such as Board of Education, Chicago Youth Development Project, and Carson Pirie's "Double E" program joined discussion with neighborhood youths and moderator Harry Volkman.

CONTINUE SCHOOLING

Offering another service to Woodlawn residents, the Board of Education recently set up a new program offering non-credit evening classes in parent-child training, money management, sewing, arithmetic, shorthand and typing at Hyde Park High School. The classes, formed to help residents better understand their children and become more self-reliant citizens, were planned for those adults who are least easy to reach.

At the request of school officials, the Commission on Youth Welfare assisted promotion by working with the Associated Clubs of Woodlawn to organize ways to make the program known to local residents. Commission staff also explained benefits of the program to other local organizations such as church congregations, tenant councils and block groups.

TAYLOR HOMES SUCCESS

An imaginative approach to the problem of helping the 28,000 new residents of Robert R. Taylor Homes prepare to take an active role in community affairs resulted in the establishment of a citizens' committee to welcome the new tenants. It explains resident responsibilities, acquaints new families with available resources, and urges participation in local programs of health, welfare, recreation, as well as informal educational activities.

The committee, organized through efforts of the Chicago Housing Authority and the Commission on Youth Welfare, is composed of local civic, religious, business, and political leaders. This reflects the belief of many experienced community workers, including the Youth Welfare Commission, that youngsters are helped most when the community, institutions and the family assume a full share of responsibility, and its success is now being duplicated in other similar situations.

HULL HOUSE STARTS IN UPTOWN

Hull House and the Commission on Youth Welfare have been working together as the renowned settlement house prepares to open a new center in Uptown. Robert Mulligan, who will be Director of the Uptown Center, has made the Uptown office of the Commission his headquarters until the new center is opened.

According to Mr. Mulligan, the time needed to establish the center has been cut in half by the cooperation of youth-serving organizations and local civic, religious, school and business leaders.

GOOD NEIGHBOR COMMITTEE

When problems began to develop between young Negro and Puerto Rican neighbors, adults of one Woodlawn neighborhood formed a "Good Neighbor Committee" with the help of St. Cyril's Catholic Church and the Commission on Youth Welfare.

Now basketball and social functions are fusing the youngsters' congenial relations far more effectively than previous unplanned efforts, and the adults, by working more closely together, are developing more understanding also.

City of Chicago Richard J. Daley, Mayor

COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE

185 N. Wabash — Chicago 1
FInancial 6-8450

Chairman.....Patrick H. Hoy
Vice-Chairman.....Clifford J. Campbell
Exec. Director.....Charles P. Livermore

COMMUNITY OFFICES

Grand Boulevard-Oakland, 591 E. 37th, BO 8-6800
North Lawndale, 1306 S. Pulaski Rd., LA 2-7336
Englewood, 733 W. 64th, ST 3-8507
Uptown, 4555 N. Broadway, LO 1-0191
Near North, 1344 N. Sedgwick, MI 2-7954
Midwest, 2400 W. Madison, CH 3-3165
Woodlawn, 1230 E. 63rd, 324-2575
Near West Central, 1308 W. Roosevelt Rd., 243-5958

MIDWEST PARENT EDUCATION

A decrease in gang activity and a strengthening of community life has been noted in the Rockwell Homes area since the Commission on Youth Welfare's Midwest Unit, in conjunction with the Rockwell Area Advisory Council, organized a project in early 1962 aimed at building closer relationships between parents and community agencies.

Sixty-six parents and 62 youngsters participated in a series of 6 workshops which featured expert advisors and special films. They dealt with such subjects as community responsibility, sex education in the home, resources for families in trouble, and recreational facilities.

A decrease in the number of local youth incidents involving boys whose parents participated indicates a strengthening of parental responsibility. Also, the Commission has been pleased to see indications of increasing cooperation between the area's youth-serving agencies and communications between parents and the agencies.

The Rockwell Advisory Council consists of representatives of the Chicago Board of Health, Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago Park District, Grant School, Jackson Boulevard Christian Church, Rendu House, Saint Malachy's Roman Catholic Church, Salvation Army, Senior Citizens, Social Security Administration, Tuberculosis Institute of Chicago and Cook County and the Commission on Youth Welfare.

ENGLEWOOD YOUTH CONFERENCE

For the first time 19 youth-serving agencies joined forces to set up exhibits, explain their program, and to invite Englewood parents to encourage their children to participate.

The Englewood Youth Services Conference, held at the Low School, was sponsored by the Commission on Youth Welfare. It acquainted more than 150 responsible adult residents and community leaders with the wealth of activities now available to Englewood young people.

Commission staff worked with local leaders to organize the conference, plan and promote the program, recruit participants, and provide for the school and the luncheon.

PATRICK H. HOY, Chairman of the Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare, congratulates Seymour Schnitzer, 18, new International President of the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization as Phil Gershman, 18, President of B'nai B'rith's Chicago region looks on.

MUSIC FOUNDATION

The Chicago Community Music Foundation's musical opportunities program provides lessons and loans instruments to local kids from 8 to 18 for a nominal fee and furnishes free neighborhood concerts of serious music.

Students from 3 parochial and 3 public schools in Uptown are receiving lessons on clarinet, trumpet, and flute in a series of 32 classes while graduates of earlier classes play in school bands and orchestras.

The success of the Uptown program reflects combined efforts and funds of community residents, schools, churches, youth-serving agencies and civic-minded organizations.

At the request of the Foundation and local organizations the Commission on Youth Welfare led organization work to promote and publicize the program, set up classes, and register students.

COMMISSIONER KAHLER WAS HONORED recently by Public Relations Society of America. Here its president, Warren Thompson, presents his long record of civic services.

As Mr. William V. Kahler, retiring Illinois Bell Telephone Board Chairman, leaves city, Mayor Daley and this Commission regretfully accepted his resignation and expressed city's deep appreciation for devoted service.

YOUTH AID EFFORTS TO COMBAT VD

For the first time, active participation by 50 young people marked the Annual VD Conference held here in November. To combat the rising incidence of the problem among the nation's youth, student editors from Chicago area high schools and colleges, class leaders, and members of youth-serving agencies met with some 1,000 adult representatives of community, industry, labor and school groups.

The Commission on Youth Welfare working with the Board of Health helped in planning the Conference, recruited young participants and recruited community people to serve as hostess assistants to the Conference Program Committee. S. Dolores Branche, Commission staff member, was a discussion leader.

All interested in youth can receive this Newsletter. Please send your name and address to Commission on Youth Welfare, 185 N. Wabash, Chicago 1, Ill. If your address changes, please inform us as soon as possible.

COOPERATING SERVICES

The Commission on Youth Welfare's Adjustment Services Division is directed toward the delinquent, dependent, or neglected child. The Division is concerned with providing for early detection of children presenting symptoms of social maladjustment, and with mobilizing community forces, organizations and agencies to provide private services for these children and their families. The Division is also concerned with the inability of some families to use existing resources. Focussing on these three problem areas, a community-centered program has been designed to provide maximum help for the youth in trouble at the time it is most needed.

Functioning primarily through its Cooperating Services Center at 1306 South Pulaski Road in Lawndale, the Division works with existing youth-serving agencies and institutions, with parents, and with responsible individuals to develop community resources to help and support the individual youth in trouble. In addition, the Cooperating Services Center attempts to reduce duplication of services, provide continuity, and expand the use of existing community and neighborhood resources.

The Center receives referrals directly from the Youth Division of the Police Department, the schools, community agencies, parents, individuals, and Neighborhood Workers of the Youth Welfare Commission's Division of Community Organization. Referral might be for a variety of reasons relating to delinquency, dependency or neglect. In no way will the Cooperating Services Center intrude upon or accept the responsibility of the referring agency or other community organizations.

The Center consists of a Director and a professionally trained casework staff which studies each family referral for social and psychological factors to provide service at a neighborhood level. This is consistent with the Commission's belief that the major responsibility for the child rests with parents and the community.

ADJUSTMENT SERVICES STAFF meets regularly. Here the Director of Cooperating Services Center, John Sanchez, Division Director Betty Begg, and Neighborhood Worker James Ries check progress reports. Their combined professional experience totals approximately 25 years. Both Miss Begg and Mr. Sanchez hold Master's degrees in Social Work.

COVERAGE OF SOUTHERN AREA is task of Southern Area Service Staff. Here Neighborhood Workers John LaMotte and Vernon McNeal stand by with Unit Director Charles LaPaglia (seated).

AREA SERVICES

Two CYW Area Services Units now cover two-thirds of the city. They offer a non-intensive program of community organization for relatively stable and socially organized areas which require less concentrated effort than those with new populations, weak community organization, or delinquency.

These Area Services provide community organization aids, such as aiding schools and police find community resources to help individual youngsters, aiding youth-serving institutions, agencies and communities to function more effectively, and working on the problem of law and order among youth.

The Area Service Units are currently active in the south and southwest sections of the city.

AGAIN AVAILABLE

For example, in the Southwest Area, a pastor requested help in reopening the church's community youth center which previously had closed due to lack of adult volunteers to run the program.

Extensive work by CYW in helping the church find, recruit, enthuse, and train members of 2 community groups now has resulted in an extensive program again available for all youngsters at Immaculate Heart of Mary Roman Catholic Church.

SPECIAL SERVICES

A comprehensive program to further respect for law and order is being developed by the Commission on Youth Welfare's newly-organized Special Services Unit. The Unit, which evolved from the Emergency Services Unit, is organizing an internal system to assist in the prevention of gang conflicts and strife. It will develop workshops for Commission staff, mass education programs dealing with control of juvenile delinquency, and will work with outside agencies on a city-wide level to support law and order.

SELF HELP URGED

Three hundred Chicago Housing Authority tenant leaders, attending the Authority's Fall Leadership Training Program in November, heard Charles P. Livermore, Executive Director of the Commission on Youth Welfare present a challenge to the community leaders assembled at Robert Taylor Park.

Stating that "there are more jobs for qualified people today than there are people to accept them," Mr. Livermore urged that every resident make sure "that their children are ready when opportunity arises," and that "their kids feel that school is important, that a good job is an honorable achievement, that the dignity of working hard for a family is one of life's pleasures."

Speaking especially to the many young people who attended, he urged them to try to influence other young people to stay in school and to build respect for parents.

Indicating that while literally hundreds of services, public and private agencies, the schools, religious groups and individual citizens are ready and anxious to help prepare youngsters for the opportunities of today, Mr. Livermore stressed that the initiative must come from individuals in the local community.

He pledged the assistance of the Youth Welfare Commission to "every community interested in rolling up its sleeves and organizing to accept and carry out its responsibilities."

STAFF TRAINING

The entire CYW professional staff, Supervisory and Field, is now completing the first 3-month phase of a 3-hour weekly training program. Designed to develop clarity and consensus about the objectives of the Commission on Youth Welfare, the training also helps staff members to increase their understanding about operational procedures of the 5 divisions of Commission program and to share and exchange experience gained in the total operation of the agency.

A committee, composed of the Executive Staff and representatives of each Division insured flexibility and determined that the program content covered essential points.

Five discussion groups, each a cross section of Division Heads, Unit Directors, and Neighborhood Workers, meet weekly. Each session features a scheduled subject presentation or discussion guide, plus a subsequent questionnaire for each participant. Results and unresolved issues at each gathering were studied by the Training Committee to help in programing subsequent sessions.

Climaxing this first training phase will be an all-day, full-staff meeting. Here each group will present a practical one-hour program about one specific community organization which plays a basic part in the lives of Chicago's children.

Future training phases will emphasize similar practical application of the basic principles developed and explained in this initial phase.

EXECUTIVE TRAINING

Amplifying general staff training, the Commission's Executive staff has started to meet with other experts on community organization and related fields. This interchange of ideas is aiding the Commission to provide services which aid local institutions to function most effectively. Further, it enables CYW staff to share their field experience with interested experts in the field.

Initial guest in this program was Thomas D. Sherrad, Assistant Professor in the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration.

Published Periodically By

City of Chicago — **COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE** — Richard J. Daley, Mayor

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program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

THE MACON STORY

JANUARY, 1963

Interpo HR Com.

On Sunday, March 25, 1961, the Atlanta papers asked, "Will Macon be the next Georgia city to experience tension and racial conflict?" January, 1963 - the answer is, "No, Macon will move with reason and foresight toward equality and justice for all."

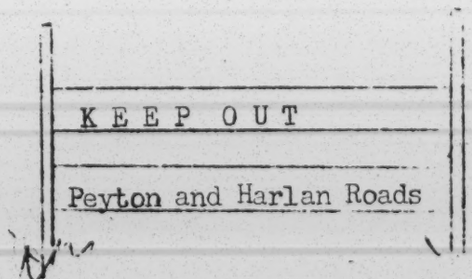
> And I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year:
>
> "Give me a light that I may tread safely into the unknown!"
>
> And he replied: "Go out into the darkness and put thine hand into the hand of God."
>
> That shall be to thee better than light and safer than a known way.
>
> M. L. Haskins

The Negro community with a few white friends has worked for the last 18 months toward opening employment in the retail stores. Today about 100 Negroes are employed in new jobs. How was this accomplished?

1. Conferences with individual merchants showing concern for their problems.
2. Negotiating step by step - for 18 months.
3. Refresher Courses for 150 Negroes to enable them to fill the new positions with excellence.
4. 125 well trained pickets used for 2½ days as a last resort.
5. Extensive buying where merchants had cooperated.

Many people are responsible for this. There is a climate that allows at least 40% of the white people to show that they are sympathetic. There is unity in the Negro community - the NAACP, the Negro ministers, the social clubs, professional people all working with a single thought - to get the job done. In February 1961 the Macon Council on Human Relations issued a daring statement for that day - calling upon city and county officials to join immediately in planning to meet the new era with sense and realism on the local scene. Since then, things have been slowly but surely moving. In June 1961 the golf courses were opened. In October 1961 the lunch counters were opened. March 1962 the buses were desegregated. March 1962 the polling places were desegregated. Now the last weeks of 1962 show a wonderful beginning to a carefully planned and well executed employment program.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR and CONGRATULATIONS to MACON, Georgia!



Negotiations concerning the removal of this barricade that symbolizes deteriorating race relations in Atlanta are in progress.

MISSISSIPPI:

Used to be hard to spell, now it's HARD TO BELIEVE!

The Mayor of Jackson declared last Monday, January 14, 1963 as "WILLIE RICHARDSON DAY," with all fanfare - parades, etc.

WHO IS WILLIE?

Willie was the first Negro to play in an annual game where Southern players compete against Northern.

Willie made TWO TOUCHDOWNS...

THE SOUTH WON!

UNILATERAL ACTION

ACTION

Georgia's 26th largest county recently let the contract for the renovation of its COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

A concern about superfluous facilities designated by race prompted a local Negro citizen to request a study of the plans.

As expected, the drawings included the controversial Negro accomodations - (balcony, toilets, water). STRATEGY!!!

He contacted a Commissioner of long acquaintance and said, "You white folks will never learn. In past years Negroes have dropped peanuts, ashes, paper, etc. on your heads from the balcony, but now the objects might get heavier! "

"About the extra toilets, etc, you people are the only regular users of the Court House, so why waste money putting up extras?"

RESULT

A REVISION OF THE DRAWINGS EXCLUDING BALCONY AND SIGNS DENOTING RACE.

Brunswick, Georgia - the 100th Anniversary of the Emanicipation Proclamation had a meaningful celebration in Brunswick, Georgia. On January 2, 1963 all lunch counters opened with no troublesome incidents. White and Negroes were served at the same counters. Congratulations to the City Officials, the merchants, the Reverend Julius Caesar Hope, the local NAACP Chairman, and the Brunswick Council on Human Relations and the many other citizens who have cooperated.

From the EMANCIPATION DAY ADDRESS
given by Attorney D. L. Hollowell,
noted Civil Rights Leader in Atlanta,
Georgia on January 1, 1963.

Drs. John W. Davis and Harry W. Robinson made the following recommendations for freedom of Negroes in the 2d Century after the Emancipation.

1. Develop and find the secure unintimated, cooperative attorneys to defend non-white and white defendants in civil rights suits.

2. Challenge and fight all oppression, especially in the schools, eating places, churches and other places of public accomodation, and wherever it is found.

3. Eliminate bias and racial restrictions in public and private housing.

4. Use education as an instrumentality to fix definitely and logically, self-respect for others, economic and social acceptability, responsible citizenship and cultural and religious balance for purposeful living.

5. Develop social and economic power which guarantee to the Negro and others a full measure of unabridged citizenship and freedom. This includes the use of economic strength and power inherent in the increasing purchasing power of the Negro.

6. Use high quality writing and scholarly research to reveal the truth about the past and present of the Negro and also make contributions in other fields for the intellectual and scientific interests of people.

7. Crusade to make Negroes, as well as other citizens, a voting people so as to develop within them a political conscientiousness for use in their own self-interest and also in clearing the blurred image of American Democracy in the minds of the peoples of the world.

8. Broaden the scope and power of an inspired, thoughtful and trustworthy leadership among Negroes specifically, but maintaining a concern for all leaders - realizing that we have a responsibility <u>to and for</u> all of them.

9. Cultivate, improve, revitalize and integrate the church and all education as keys to the moral, spiritual and intellectual progress of Negroes and other Americans.

10. Open to Negroes all employment opportunities and aids to employment which are now open or will be open to other Americans.

11. We must continue to fight for citizenship rights for the well being of ourselves and the total community, and for the preservation of governmental idealogy of America. Increasingly, we must become world and internationally-minded. Destiny has decreed that no man or nation shall go "his way"

Interpp Org - H R Crusade

VOL. 9; NO. I JANUARY, 1963

ALABAMA COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

ISSUED BY THE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1224 City Federal Building Birmingham 3, Alabama

"AN INDEPENDENT, NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION SEEKING TO IMPROVE SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ALABAMA THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION"

MR. PERCY WILLIAMS, ASST. DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY, WILL BE FEATURED SPEAKER AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, SATURDAY, FEB. 2nd, 1963.

Mr. Williams will speak at 11:00 a.m. at Logan Hall, Tuskegee Institute, Saturday February 2nd, 1963.

Registration will be at 10:00 a.m. at the entrance of Logan Hall. At the morning session which is opened to all members and friends of the Council the President of the Alabama Council and the Executive Director will give brief reports.

SPECIAL - Dr. Ralph Bunche regretfully announces that he will be unable to speak at the Annual Meeting due to the situation in the Congo.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

NOTICE TO ALL MEMBERS - "The Board of Directors voted that all memberships would begin the first of February of each year. This policy will be put into effect immediately. This will simplify the work of each local group and the State Office. Each member will find it easier to keep in mind the date memberships are due."

Mr. Nat Welch

EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM - The Council has started a new project designed to expand its educational program Already the Council is gathering samples of materials put out by various agencies and groups. In the next few weeks the Council will be in a better position to respond to requests for information regarding various phases of the changing social climate. For example, it is anticipated that individuals desiring information about the efforts of other communities to preserve public education will be available. This project will make possible an improved newsletter with a wider circulation. You are invited to participate in this project by sending to the State Office, Room 1224, City Federal Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama, selected articles, newspaper editorials, booklets, sermons which you feel worthy of a wider audience.

WORKSHOP ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY TO BE HELD IN BIRMINGHAM ON MARCH 8th & 9th - Plans are being completed for the Workshop on Employment which will beheld on Friday evening, March 8th and Saturday, March 9th, in Birmingham. Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University will be the Director of the Workshop so aspects of several factors affecting employment opportunities will be discussed including review of curriculum in high schools to better prepare young people for new skills demanded by industry, opportunities provided by companies for on the job training, possibilities of evening school training for workers to prepare themselves for more technical higher skilled jobs, increasing opportunities for better jobs for all people in the state which not only prepares people to increase their economic standards but also is a factor in encouraging industry to move into the state. The availability of skilled and semi-skilled work-

ers is an inducement for company to locate in a community. The workshop will also include a discussion of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, federal agencies and companies with federal contracts. Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson is chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, is Vice-Chairman.

a. Workshop on Equal Employment Opportunity was held in Huntsville on January 18th and 19th. Dr. Vivian Henderson, Professor of Economics at Fisk University, was the Director of the Workshop.

RELIGION AND RACE - Religious leaders of three major faiths in America met in Chicago on January 14th for a four day conference to discuss the moral and spiritual aspects of race relations.

"Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decisions" compiled by the Birmingham Council on Human Relations in July of 1957 is still relevant in 1963 in Alabama. This supply of this document has been exhausted but could be mimeographed again if there are requests for it. Over 45 denominational statements are reprinted commending their members who accept the Supr me Court Decision.Southern Baptist Convention in session in St. Louis, Missouri, on June, 1954, states in part "in the light of the recent decision handed down by the Supreme Court of our nation declaring segregation of the races to be unconstitutional and in view of the position of this convention and adhering to the basic moral principles of our religion as they apply in race relations, we recommend: 1. That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men." Other religious bodies affirming their belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and urging their members to remove all discrimination from local practice include, Presbyterian Church U. S., Presbyterian Church U. S. A., Methodist Church, Episcopal Church, Churches of Christ, Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod and other Lutheran denomination.

Your local religious leader will be able to show you or obtain for you statements of your church group dealing with the religious and spiritual aspects of race relations.

"Alabama Religious Leaders Stand Against Court Defiance.

Eleven top Alabama religious leaders, representing Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, yesterday issued a statement that "defiance is neither the right answer nor the solution" to Alabama's desegregation problems.

"In these times of tremendous tensions, and change in cherished patterns of life in our beloved Southland, it is essential that men who occupy places of responsibility and leadership shall speak concerning their honest convictions.

We the undersigned clergymen have been chosen to carry heavy responsibility in our religious group. We speak in a spirit of humility, and we do not pretend to know all the answers, for the issues are not simple. Nevertheless, we believe our people expect and deserve leadership from us, and we speak with firm conviction for we do know the ultimate spirit in which all problems of human relations must be solved.

It is clear that a series of court decisions may soon bring about the desegregation of certain schools and colleges in Alabama. Many sincere people oppose this change and are deeply troubled by it. As southerners, we understand this. We nevertheless feel that defiance is neither the right answer nor the solution. And we feel that inflammatory and rebellious statements can lead only to violence, discord, confusion and disgrace for our beloved state.

We therefore affirm, and commend to our people:

1. That hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political tradition.

2. That there may be disagreement concerning laws and social change without advocating defiance, anarchy and subver-

Your local religious leader will be able

sion.

3. That laws may be tested in courts or changed by legislatures, but not ignored by whims of individuals.

4. That constitutions may be amended or judges impeached by proper action, but our American way of life depends upon obedience to the decisions of courts of competent jurisdiction in the meantime.

5. That no person's freedom is safe unless every person's freedom is equally protected.

6. That freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved and exercised, without fear of recrimination or harassment.

7. That every human being is created in the image of God and is entitled to respect as a fellow human being with all basic rights, privileges, and responsibilities which belong to humanity.

It is understood that those who strongly oppose desegregation may frankly and fairly pursue their convictions in the courts, and in the meantime should peacefully abide by the decisions of those same courts.

We recognize that our problems cannot be solved in our own strength nor on the basis of human wisdom alone. The situation which confronts us calls for earnest prayer, for clear thought, for understanding love, and for courageous action. Thus we call on all people of goodwill to join us in seeking divine guidance as we make our appeal for law and order and common sense.

The above is a reprint from the BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD, JANUARY 17, 1963.

Please place the following people on your mailing list.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

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NAME _____

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NAME _____

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NAME _____

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A T.V. newsman of Montgomery was quoted Monday, January 14th, on a national news cast as saying, "The issue was clearly before us." He had reference to two speeches made earlier that day. Governor George Wallace in his inaugural speech said, "I throw the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny" and "I draw the line in the dust and say segregation today, segregation tomorrow and segregation for ever. State Attorney General Richmond Flowers earlier that day made the statement that Alabamians should distinguish between "a fighting chance and a chance to fight."

On Sunday, January 20th, a minister in Birmingham said, "Last Monday we heard our governor say segregation today, segregation tomorrow and segregation forever Why are the Christians not saying loudly Jesus Christ TODAY, Jesus Christ TOMORROW and Jesus Christ FOREVER!!"

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP. The Alabama Council on Human Relations will be glad to co-operate with individuals in other communities who are interested in setting up workshops to dis-

cuss "expanding employment opportunities.

The following groups of individuals have a real stake in the employment patterns in their community and in our state:

Merchants
Bankers
Industrial recruitment
Laborers
  Tradesmen
  Carpenters
  Bricklayers
  Electricians
  Mechanics, etc.
Union Leaders
Industrial Management
Federal Employees
Federal Employers
Persons responsible for implementing Presidential Order 10925
Employees and Owners of all companies having federal contracts.
Professional people who depend upon full employment for their clients to be able to afford their services.
City Officials
State Officials
Representatives
All men employed in various federal agencies in Alabama.
Military personnel
Employed persons qualified for better jobs.
Unemployed

This may seem to indicate that in our opinion every wage earner and potential wage earner in Alabama has an ECONOMIC, SELF INTEREST CONCERN with the education and training of workers and the employment practices in our communities in Alabama. It is to be noted that Governor Terry Stanford of North Carolina has presented an image to the nation of a state that is interested in an approach of massive intelligence instead of massive resistance and has stressed that all people in the State of North Carolina must be trained, must be given all the training that they can absorb for industry that he expects to be moving into North Carolina. He further states that persons must be employed according to their abilities to produce rather than according to the color of their skin or their religious creed if North Carolina is to prosper.

Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute has been widely quoted by segregationists because of his statements that the races must remain separate, taught that no individual can hold another man down without holding himself down.

The story is told of a labor leader from one of the midwestern states visiting a local labor union in the Deep South. He stated that the people in his local were making 40¢ an hour more than they were. In a discussion with the Local the workers maintained that they were just as efficient, industrious, well trained and had just as good equipment as the union farther north. The visiting union leader daid, "There is only one difference that I can detect between this Local and mine and that is the way you are seated in the hall. It is perfectly alright for you to continue to remain seated with whites on one side of the aisle and Negroes on the other as long as it is worth 40¢ an hour for you to remain a segregated union,

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY.
The Executive Director is John G. Feild. Mr. Percy Williams who will speak at the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council is one of two Division Chiefs. John Hope is Chief of the Division of Government Employers. Public Members include the very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Washington, D.C.; Rabbi Jacob Joseph Weinstein of Chicago; the Very Rev. Monsignor George O. Higgins, Washington, D. C.; Geroge Meany, Washington, D.C.; Walter Reuther, Detroit, Michigan. Government representatives in addition to the Vice-President of the U.S. include Secretary of Defense Air Force, Army, Navy, Commerce and others.

ECONOMIC EXPANSION is of direct personal concern to every person living in Alabama. The availability of grocery money is directly related to the manner in which Alabama makes use of the productivity of each person in the state. Across our state employment policies will directly affect the economy. Community leaders will be able to benefit by hearing Mr. Percy Williams speak on employment.

Research Newsletter 7-P4

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, FEBRUARY 27, 1963

Intergroup Org. Pg. Comm.

Among those present: Vincent Bowditch and Lillian Cohen, National Conference of Christians and Jews; Ivis Calvet, Catholic Interracial Council; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee; Edith Macy, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Henry Schwartzchild, Anti-Defamation League; Joel O'Brien, Joel O'Brien Productions; Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

1. Instead of having regular meetings of the Mass Media Committee, in the future we will hold meetings only when some emergency situation requires one. Should any member of the Committee feel that a meeting is needed, he is asked to call me at PL 1-4000. All members are urged to send me copies of any new literature or mass media plans of their organizations in the field of desegregation.

2. A report was made on the Mass Media Committee's effort to stimulate educators to take up the question of the effect of harassment and intimidation on learning at the University of Mississippi. The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a committee of the American Psychological Association, has asked one of its members to prepare an article on the subject for a scholarly journal, which organizations might quote in future educational work. The preparation of this article, reports Dr. French, chairman of the Society, will take several months. Even though James Meredith has returned to the University of Mississippi, the article may have far-reaching significance in the effort to inform the public why desegregation must be accomplished in other schools without the kind of harassment that confronted Meredith.

3. The Association of University Professors does not initiate an inquiry unless there is a specific request from an aggrieved party, and also deals only with denials of academic freedom in a particular one. Attempts will be made to bring the facts about harassment and intimidation on the University of Mississippi campus to the attention of several college presidents who might stimulate their fellow educators through their professional associations to make representations to the Southern Accrediting Association. A summary was prepared of the press clippings and is now being reviewed by Professor Robert Bierstedt, chairman of the Department of Sociology of New York University, to make sure that the content and tone comports with academic standards. Professor Bierstedt also suggests that we may wish to broaden the point of our statement to say that not only learning but teaching is affected by an atmosphere of intimidation and harassment. He may have some other suggestions for the use of this summary statement.

4. The Committee helped Charles Butts, editor of the Mississippi Free Press, contact various people who could aid the paper's expansion program. Butts said our contacts were rewarding not only for money but for giving his newspaper additional credentials. Nine thousand dollars has already been pledged by various unions, foundations and individuals toward the twenty thousand dollars needed.

5. Clyde Kennard, sentenced to seven years in prison in Mississippi for "stealing" five bags of chicken feed, has been released from prison. Governor Ross Barnett ordered Kennard, who is suffering from cancer, transferred to the University of Mississippi Hospital and later suspended his sentence and set him free. The Governor explained, however, that the suspension would be revoked if Kennard was not good. If Kennard still wants to go to a white university, Governor Barnett may decide that it is "bad" conduct.

-more -

After his release, Kennard underwent an eight-hour operation in Chicago for the removal of a section of cancerous intestine, and is now convalescing.

6. William Higgs, a Mississippi lawyer who is leading the legal and political fight against civil rights violations in Mississippi, was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a minor and sentenced to six months in jail and a $500 fine. Hinds County Judge Russell Moore passed sentence after an all white male jury deliberated 35 minutes to find the Jackson attorney guilty. It was reported that the Hinds County Bar Association will probably move to disbar Higgs.

He was convicted on the testimony of William McKinley Daywalt III, 16, of Collegeville, Pennsylvania, who said that Higgs had committed unnatural sex acts with him, even after Higgs' housekeeper, chief defense witness, testified that the boy told her that the story was not true. Daywalt was picked up after he hit an automobile with Higgs' car. He gave police the phony name he had been using in Jackson -- Tom Bono.

Higgs, who flatly denied the charge, said that under present conditions in Mississippi he would have no real chance to prove his innocence in the Mississippi courts and that his conviction would be automatic by a white Mississippi jury presided over by a Judge who is on the Board of the Citizens Council. Added Higgs:

"In effect I have been forced to leave my home state because I believe that the Constitution of the United States means that Negro citizens deserve the same rights as white citizens, and I have tried to implement my belief. The charge against me, which is completely false, has in my opinion been manufactured to stain my reputation because I am so involved in the civil rights movement. I would not hesitate for one minute to have this charge heard by a jury any place in the United States where its members would not face economic reprisal, social ostracism and possible physical harm by returning a verdict of not guilty.

"I speak not as a martyr, but on the basis of my arrest last summer in Clarksdale for traveling in an integrated group where I was threatened with death by local police for my civil rights activities. I believe that if I returned to Mississippi the simple misdemeanor charge would be changed to one or more felony charges that would result in a very long prison sentence. The record shows that civil rights proponents in Mississippi who have served prison terms have been the victims of physical abuse and cruel treatment."

Higgs related the following facts about the charge brought against him on February 1.

"On February 1, 1963, I was arrested in Jackson on the charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. The 16-year-old boy who made this charge is a native of Pennsylvania who had been given emergency temporary lodging by me. I have had many people stay over at my house in the last few years who have been in Mississippi to assist me in my civil rights work.

"This youth on several occasions asked me if he could borrow my car but I refused. Finally on January 29 the boy took my car without my permission and wrecked it in an accident. After his arrest and lengthy questioning by police, he made his accusation against me. He is still in jail in Jackson.

"I was arrested on Friday, February 1, and released on $500 bail. Trial has been set on the charge which, under Mississippi law, is punishable by a fine of

up to $500 and imprisonment for not more than 6 months, for February 14, 1963."

Higgs based his statement that the charge against him was reprisal for his civil rights activity on these facts:

1) He was one of the attorneys for James Meredith in the successful suit for Meredith's entrance into the University of Mississippi.

2) He is the attorney for Dewey Greene, the second Negro student seeking admission to the University. He had filed the Greene case only 3½ hours prior to his arrest.

3) He is representing a Negro, William Smith, before the United States Supreme Court on a rape conviction where the confession was coerced through brutal beatings.

4) He was legal advisor to the Reverends Merrill Lindsay and R.L.T. Smith, in their 1962 congressional campaigns, the first two Negroes to run for Congress since the Civil War.

5) He has filed suit in Washington, D. C., along with seven Mississippi Negroes, seeking to compel the Department of Justice to provide federal marshals to protect Negro citizens and to require the government to prosecute Mississippi officials who have denied Negroes their civil rights.

6) He was counsel for many Freedom Riders in 1961.

7) He is counsel for four Episcopal ministers presently suing three Jackson policemen and the city judge for $44,000 damages under the federal civil rights acts.

Higgs emphasized that he hoped some day to return to his native state and resume the practice of law in an atmosphere of freedom. "I was born in Mississippi and planned to live my life there. But under the present conditions, I am convinced that my life is not safe in Mississippi."

Higgs, whose parents still live in Mississippi, was graduated at the age of 19 from the University of Mississippi as the top man in his class. After his graduation from the Harvard Law School, he returned to practice law in Jackson. He was voted by Life magazine a few months ago as one of the 100 most outstanding young men in the nation. Higgs was a recipient of a Lasker Civil Liberties Fellowship at Brandeis University and was honored with the annual Florina Lasker award of the New York Civil Liberties Union, and a similar award from the Civil Liberties Educational Foundation of Los Angeles.

7. Politics Is Our Business, a new 26-minute educational film, sponsored by the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, was shown to the members of the Committee. Its purpose is to fill some gaps not filled by existing political films. For instance, the film gives a rather full description of the operation of a voting machine, on the premise that "most people are afraid of a voting machine and do not trust them." It also pays more attention than usual to the subject, "How to Organize and Work a Precinct." The film also portrays politics as an activity for all citizens, regardless of race or color. It reflects present-day urban America and includes more Negroes registering and voting than are found in other existing political films. The film was produced by Samuel L. Schulman, Inc., 23 Livingston Street, Trenton, New Jersey

for the Institute for Political Education at Morgan State College. Dr. G. James Fleming, professor of political science at Morgan State College, is writer of the script and director of the film. It may be rented from any agency or library which usually rents films. Politics Is Our Business is one of several projects in a citizenship education program assisted by a grant from the Ford Foundation to Morgan State College.

8. The ethical intent and the true meaning of such present-day behavior as prayer vigils and freedom rides were considered on a television program, "The Ethics of Integration," which was presented on Directions '63 on Sunday, March 3rd on the ABC-TV Network. Participants in the program were noted author Lillian Smith; Rabbi Everett E. Gendler, spiritual leader of Princeton Jewish Center, who participated in a 1962 prayer vigil in Albany, Georgia; and Father Robert L. Pierson, Vice-Chairman of Christ the King Foundation, Assistant Priest of Grace Church, White Plains, New York, who traveled South with other clergymen from the North to discuss the religious aspects of integration with their Southern colleagues. (Father Pierson is the son-in-law of Governor Nelson Rockefeller).

9. FREEDOM TO THE FREE: CENTURY OF EMANCIPATION, 1863-1963. A report to the President by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Copies are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at $1.00 per copy.

10. BOOKS FOR FRIENDSHIP, a list of books recommended for children. This is an annotated listing of current and classical children's books which are outstanding for their intergroup content and treatment of human relations subjects. Copies are available from the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania and the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York at 50¢ per copy.

11. RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH - 1962; A Tuskegee Institute Report. Forty-ninth annual report to the American people on developments in race relations. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

12. DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. A list of formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia known to be desegregated. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

13. THE OXFORD DISASTER - PRICE OF DEFIANCE, by Karl Wiesenburg, representative of Jackson County, Mississippi. The articles were first printed in the Pascagoula Chronicle as "a reasoned viewpoint around which may rally all Mississippians who are appalled at what is happening in their state. It can be the foundation of their credo." Rep. Wiesenburg is a well-known legal scholar and has fought courageously for labor and welfare in the Mississippi House of Representatives. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained by writing to The Chronicle, Pascagoula, Mississippi.

14. THE GREAT QUESTION, an action guidebook by 34 groups marking the 15th anniversary of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The 48-page manual spells out specific programs to wipe out discrimination in jobs, education, housing and public accommodations. Available at 50¢ per copy from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

Intergrp Off Com

FEBRUARY 1963

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

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Realtors Open Fair Housing Discussion

Two significant developments indicate that the real estate industry in Chicago is concerned with opportunities—or the lack of them—available to Negro families in the purchase of homes.

One was the recent admittance of four Negro real estate brokers to membership in the Chicago Real Estate Board. The second is wider discussion among realtors about fair housing practices.

The four Negro brokers named to the Chicago Real Estate Board were the first since the Board's founding in 1883. They are: George A. Anderson, assistant vice president of Draper and Kramer, Inc.; Ripley B. Mead Jr., who has operated his own firm for 16 years; Benjamin H. White, secretary and sales manager of Julian A. Black, Inc.; and William Y. Browne, president of Riley and Browne, Inc., who has been in the real estate business for 35 years.

Recent articles in three Chicago realty weeklies—*Real Estate News, Realty and Building* and *Real Estate Advertiser*—openly discussed the issue of housing for minorities with a view to finding a possible solution.

Advance Mortgage Corporation, with offices in Chicago and 11 other cities across the nation, issued in December a special report on "Midwestern Minority Housing Markets." In it, Earl B. Schwulst, chairman of Bowery Savings Bank, recommended that the housing industry adopt five steps to eliminate the dual housing market and to create a single housing market in which homes and apartments would be available without racial or religious discrimination:

1. Builders, mortgage lenders and real estate brokers conform to the principle of a free housing market and study the experience of financially successful interracial housing for guidance.

2. Builders in a market area act in concert to open all housing to qualified buyers or tenants, thus eliminating any disadvantage to an individual builder.

3. Mortgage lenders not limit loans to non-white borrowers in certain residential districts. Mortgage credit should be extended to non-whites in any location on the same terms as to other borrowers.

4. Local boards of the National Association of Real Estate Boards declare that realtors should offer listed residential properties to any qualified purchaser or renter without regard to race.

5. Trade associations of the housing industry, including real estate boards, drop color bars to membership and admit any qualified businessman.

Arthur F. Mohl, former president of the Chicago Real Estate Board, offered one solution to the problem in a speech before the Presbytery of Chicago: "I propose that in some suburban community we find one, two, or three church congregations whose leadership would invite an enlightened realtor to conduct a selling campaign which would result in an affirmative invitation being extended by the community to a Negro family to buy a home, move into the community, and become a part of the community in most of its activities or, preferably, to invite three such families."

In the January 28 *Real Estate News*, columnist Fred A. Joyce, Jr., stated that pressure is being exerted from

(Continued on Page 2)

Mayor Names John Johnson To Serve on Commission

John H. Johnson, president of Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., has been nominated by Mayor Daley as a commissioner of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. Johnson is publisher and editor of *Ebony, Tan, Jet* and *Negro Digest* magazines.

Johnson

In 1951 Johnson was selected by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the ten outstanding young men of the year. He was the first Negro businessman selected for this honor.

He is a director of the Magazine Publishers Association, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Chicago Branch American Red Cross and a member of the Chicago Press Club. He is a trustee of Tuskegee Institute and Fisk University; vice president of the National Urban League; national vice-chairman of the United Negro College Fund, and vice-chairman of the board of Supreme Life Insurance Company of America.

Real Estate Discussion

(Continued from Page 1)

three directions on the savings and loan industry here to break its general policy of not financing Negro purchases of homes in all white blocks:

- Policies of the federal government.
- The generally soft home sales picture and corresponding slack mortgage market which makes the increasing Negro potential look better to conventional lenders every day.
- Charges by Negro mortgage customers and potential customers of discrimination in the mortgage money market.

Wrote Joyce, "The long standing unwritten policy of mortgage men, not to finance the Negro unless his is the fifth house to go black in a white block, is currently being adjusted to the third or even the second house. Realtors can no longer fall back on the excuse of lack of mortgage finance funds for Negro buyers in order to get themselves out of the middle of a black and white transaction."

In its 1963 annual forecast and review edition, *Real Estate News* stated that providing decent housing for all families—regardless of race, religion, or national origin — is one of the major problems facing the real estate profession in Chicago. The *News* commented, "There is no one who would challenge the desirability of decent housing—the challenge comes when method is to be considered. . . . The most effective block to 'forced housing' legislation would be proof that it is not necessary. In this case the burden of proof is on the ability of realtors to prove that the job can be done without a legislative club."

A statement of Walter R. Kuehnle, president of the Chicago Real Estate Board, appeared in *Real Estate News, Realty and Building* and *Real Estate Advertiser*. In it, Kuehnle praised those realtors and other brokers in Chicago who are quietly assisting in the stable integration of racially changing neighborhoods.

He said, "They are acting as agents for sellers who prefer dealing on an equitable basis with responsible brokers rather than leaving their properties and those of their neighbors to the tender mercies of unethical speculators and panic peddlers. If all realtors and other reputable brokers in areas of racial change are to maintain the future stability of their marketing areas, they would do best to pre-empt the speculator and panic peddlers by imitating the prudent leadership exercised by some of their colleagues in certain local communities.

"Community organizations in Marynook, South Avalon and Hyde Park-Kenwood have enlisted realtor cooperation not only in preventing panic but also in making the communities desirable enough so that white families will continue to move in."

Incidental Intelligence: A recent request for the Commission's study of unscrupulous real estate operators, "Selling and Buying Real Estate in a Racially Changing Neighborhood," is postmarked "New Delhi, India."

Rev. Leo T. Mahon, left, former executive director of the Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish-speaking was honored at a recent dinner before leaving for Panama where he will establish an Archdiocesan-sponsored parish. Also cited at the dinner was Gov. Luis Munoz Marin, second from left, who received the Knights of St. John "Man of the Year" award form Cesar Rivera, Knights' president. The Rev. Gilbert Carroll, chairman of the Committee, and the Rev. Donald J. Headley, at right, who succeeded Father Mahon on the Cardinal's Committee, look on.

New World Photo

Seminar on Human Relations Planned for Senior Execs

A high-level seminar on human relations problems of the Chicago area will be held exclusively for senior executives of major business and industry.

It will be at the Downtown Center of The University of Chicago, 64 E. Lake Street, from 4 to 6 p.m. weekly beginning Wednesday, March 27. The seminar is entitled "Industry and the Human Relations Problems of Metropolitan Chicago: A Seminar for Senior Executives."

Co-sponsors are the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Anti-Defamation League and The University of Chicago.

Mayer N. Zald, assistant professor, department of sociology of the university, is coordinator.

The seminar program is as follows:

March 27, *"Overview—the Chicago Metropolitan Area,"* Scott Greer, professor of sociology and director, Transportation Center, Northwestern University

April 3, *"Politics and the City,"* James Q. Wilson, lecturer, department of government, Harvard University

April 10, *"Crime and Law Enforcement,"* Joseph Lohman, dean, school of criminology, University of California

April 17, *"Industry and the Problems of Public Aid,"* Arnold H. Maremont, chairman, Illinois Public Aid Commission; president, Maremont Corporation

April 24, *"Problems of the School Plant and the School Population,"* Patricia Cayo Sexton, assistant professor, school of education, New York University

May 1, *"Employment Practices and Changing Industrial Needs,"* Eli Ginzberg, director, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University

May 8, *"Housing Problems—Their Implications for Industry,"* James C. Downs, Jr., chairman of the board, Real Estate Research Corporation

May 15, *"The Costs and Benefits of Action,"* Lemuel B. Hunter, vice-president—administration, Inland Steel Company

May 22, *"Housing Solutions,"* William E. Hill, intergroup relations officer, Public Housing Administration; Harry Gottlieb, vice-president, Draper and Kramer, Inc.

May 28, Tuesday, *"The Role of Industry in the Solution of Chicago's Problems,"*—Panel—James C. Worthy, partner, Cresap, McCormick & Paget; Morris Janowitz, professor of sociology, The University of Chicago; Edward Marciniak, executive director, Chicago Commission on Human Relations

Milestones of Negro Progress in Illinois

Dating forward from January 1, 1863, when the Emancipation Proclamation became effective, are the following milestones reflecting the strides which Negroes and other citizens of Illinois have made for their mutual benefit, their city, their state, and their country:

—In 1865, Illinois became the first state to ratify the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited slavery.

—Passage of the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885.

—In 1893, Dr. Daniel H. Williams, a Negro, performed the first successful operation on the human heart at Provident Hospital in Chicago.

—In 1905, Robert S. Abbott founded the *Chicago Defender*, giving the Negro community its most effective and enduring voice.

—In 1908 Jesse Binga became Chicago's first Negro banker.

—The Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1913.

—The Chicago Urban League was founded in 1916.

—In 1917, the Julius Rosenwald Fund was established in Chicago, directing its efforts toward the improvement of education, the development of greater opportunity for Negroes, and the betterment of race relations.

—In 1927, Mrs. Maudelle B. Bousfield was the first Negro appointed school principal in Chicago, at Keith Elementary School. Mrs. Bousfield became principal of Wendell Phillips High School in 1939.

—In 1929, Oscar DePriest became the first Negro Congressman from the North.

—In 1933, the Negro Chamber of Commerce, predecessor of the Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce, was founded.

—In 1943, Mayor Edward Kelly established the Chicago Committee on Race Relations, the first of its kind in the country and forerunner of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

—Chicago poet Gwendolyn Brooks won the Pulitzer Prize in 1950.

Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, a Chicago attorney, became the first Negro member of the American delegation to the United Nations when President Truman named her an alternate delegate in 1950. Mrs. Sampson is now a Municipal Judge in Chicago.

—The 1960 U. S. Census reported remarkable growth of a Negro middle class in Chicago, with more than one-third earning $6,000 or more annually, more than 15,000 having completed four or more years of college, some 37,000 home-owners (median value of homes: $16,700), and more than 81,000 holding "middle-class" occupational status.

—In 1961, Illinois passed a Fair Employment Practices Law.

—In 1961, Judge James Parsons of Chicago was appointed the first Negro U. S. District Judge both with life tenure and in the continental United States.

Pilot Cities to Fight Bias

Pilot cities for interreligious campaigns against racial discrimination, these 10 cities have been earmarked for drives by Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish agencies in the country's first interreligious program designed to combat racism. Announcement of the work was made following endorsement of a "Declaration of Conscience" by some 670 delegates at the first National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago. Sponsors of the conference were the National Council of Churches' Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, the National Catholic Welfare Conference's Social Action Department, and the Synagogue Council of America's Social Action Commission. These ten cities were chosen because each has local leadership willing to work on the problem.

Religious News Service Photo

Community Leader Institute Begins in Lawndale

An Institute for Community Leaders, sponsored by Citizen Information Service and the Chicago Board of Education, moved into Lawndale community in March.

First meeting was at 7 p.m. March 5 in the Manley School, 2935 West Polk Street. Eleven weekly sessions will be held Tuesday evenings. Dr. George Ricks, assistant director of the Board of Education human relations bureau, is in charge of the program.

Cooperating are the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission, Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare, Chicago City Missionary Society, Chicago Youth Centers and the Mayor's Committee on New Residents.

The course is designed to develop understanding and skills of community leaders within their own groups and in their relations with public officials.

Copies of Housing Order Available

"Equal Opportunity in Housing," the President's Executive Order 11063, signed November 20, 1962, which bars discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in the sale, occupancy, or disposition of federal or federally-assisted housing, is now available in printed form at 10c per copy from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

List CCHR Publications Available to Public

The following is a list of Chicago Commission on Human Relations publications for 1962 which are available to the public upon request.

General

Your Civil Rights
Annual Report, *Highlights of 1961*
Human Relations News

Housing

Selling and Buying Real Estate in a Racially Changing Neighborhood, (a survey)
Look Before You Leave
Summary of a Public Hearing On Real Estate Practices in Racially Changing Neighborhoods, Sponsored by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, August 9, 1962, in the City Council Chambers
Legal Remedies for Panic Peddling, an information memorandum to community leaders
Summary of Programs of Foreclosure Listings of the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration
Buying Real Estate on Contract, advice to installment buyers on changes in Illinois law
Current Negro Membership on Local Boards of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, a survey

Employment

City Contractor Employment Practices Compliance Report, a form

New Residents

You and Chicago, English and Spanish editions
Resources for Help in Consumer Problems, English and Spanish
Agencies and Organizations that Can Provide Speakers in the Field of Credit and Consumer Buying, English and Spanish
List of Useful Material in the Field of Credit, English and Spanish
Report to the Mayor's Committee on New Residents, Wednesday, April 4, 1962, on Effect of Illinois Credit Reform Legislation
The Mayor's Committee on New Residents, a flyer outlining goals for 1963

Research

The Growing Negro Middle Class in Chicago, a study
Selected Characteristics, Avalon Park, 1950 and 1960
Selected Characteristics, Lincoln Park, 1950-1960
Selected Characteristics, North Lawndale, 1950-1960
Selected Characteristics of the Area Served by Onward Neighborhood House, 1950-1960
Report on Census Tracts with More Than 39.9 Per Cent Non-Whites Having a Median Family Income of More Than $6,000 Per Year
Residential Patterns of Chicago's Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Orientals and Southern Whites, a study with map.

Contractors Accused of Bias Agree to 4-Point Program

Six city contractors accused of filing discriminatory job orders with employment agencies have agreed to follow a four-point merit employment program laid down by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

The six were named along with other firms in a recent study conducted by the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems. The Bureau examined 2,289 job orders received by two private commercial employment agencies and reviewed application blanks used by a sample of 13 private employment agencies.

Each of the six denied submitting discriminatory job requests and felt that the notation under fire probably was made by an employee of the employment agency. They have, however, agreed to do the following:

1. Write a letter to all of the company's recruitment sources informing them the company will accept people without regard to race, color or creed.
2. Notify all persons in the company who hire that their policy is one of non-discrimination.
3. Recruit new employees from sources able to send qualified minority group people.
4. Tell the Commission about any positions filled and the racial identity of the new employee.

Each of the city contractors now employs members of minority groups against whom discrimination was alleged.

Human Relations Conference

A Conference on Human Relations will be sponsored by the B'nai B'rith Women's Council of Greater Chicago from 9:15 a.m. to 3 p.m. Monday, April 1, in the Morrison Hotel. Twenty-eight religious, civic and human relations organizations are cooperating. Theme will be "Advancement-Dignity-Liberty." John Johnson, president of Johnson Publishing Company, will be keynote speaker.

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS
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The Executive Director's

REPORT FOR FEBRUARY 1963

MFRC TRUSTEES MOVE TO SUPPORT RELIGION AND RACE MOVEMENT HERE Seven delegates to the National Conference on Religion and Race were invited to our Board meeting on the 27th. Four were unable to come: Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Rev. L. V. Booth, Rabbi Murray Blackman, Thomas Luken. But the other three moved our Trustees by their accounts of the historic Chicago gathering of Americans of all faiths, seeking unprecedented unity, as well as divine guidance, to end the sin of racism in America. C. E. Israel said he went with some skepticism, "..but I stayed to pray," convinced that it produced a living document for action by the 70 millions who profess a religious faith.

Daniel Kane said it was a real triumph that the assembly was held at all; moreover, that the participants met and mastered many serious differences; what began in argument ended in a powerful spirit of love and faith. He added that his eyes were opened to the reality and role of the Negro church, which he now feels has an on-going contribution to make to American life and values. Fr. Jovian Weigel, agreeing with the others, said the racial problem is at a critical stage: our future depends upon what is planned and started now.

Immediate reaction of the Trustees was to be part of any local follow-up effort. They were told that 'little Chicago' pilot conferences in 10 cities were part of the follow-up plan; that Cincinnati was the only other city that had already talked of making a like effort. A motion was made by Mrs. Joseph Heiman, seconded by Ralph Zeigler, that "MFRC express an interest and desire to cooperate in a local conference on religion and race; this expression to be sent to religious leaders in Cincinnati and on a national level." Passed. In discussion it was noted that since 1944 MFRC has brought together leaders and members of all faiths in teamwork on civic problems; that such contacts could contribute much to a new, larger effort 'in the spirt of Chicago'.

Make a date... April 18...With MFRC & a lot of folks.

MFRC's ANNUAL DINNER MEETING will be held Thursday, April 18 at 6 P.M., at Central High School

MFRC's Board and staff are inviting city officials, community leaders and people from every walk of life.

At your service, we also need your counsel. MFRC in January began its 20th year. Much has happened in intergroup relations, and in Cincinnati, since 1944... Let's eye the advances on which we can build further-- but especially the "unfinished business." Come, listen, talk; help our city to meet its problems creatively.

More program details later. But mark April 18.

OTHER YEASTING IN CHURCHES, TEMPLES (1) Women leaders from most Methodist churches of the metropolitan area attended a Seminar on Race on Feb. 8 to hear Rev. David Sageser state the religious imperative, then get information from Prof. Arthur Hinman of UC, Edward McCroom, Charles Judd and Rev. Bennie Whiten, on sociological trends, housing, employment and problems of youth. The following discussions suggested that most of the women would take back to their groups a challenging report. (2) On the 28th, the Basin Strategy Committee spent three hours of intense interchange with Prof. Gibson Winter, University of Chicago sociologist, author of "The Suburban Captivity of the Churches."

(3) Episcopal clergy and laymen heard reports from three outside conferences mainly concerned with urban challenges to the church, at a 3-hour meeting on the 13th. (4) The United Churches of Christ's regional youth rally, held here Feb. 10, found 170 adults and youths listening intently to Alvin Wesley's talk on "Population Movements--Whither and Why?" Many said his facts opened a new world to them. (5) Lay leaders and clergy of one church spent a weekend 90 miles from town discussing and planning what it should be and do in its problem-filled parish during the next 5 and 10 years. Their proposals will be taken to the whole congregation. One recommendation: That a Negro clergyman be found to help carry on its growing ministry to all races in its area.

(6) MFRC's director and Msgr. Lawrence Walter of the Board had a conference with the Dean of the Cathedral Deanery, Msgr. Cletus A. Miller, to cooperate with and serve more fully the Deanery's 33 parishes, in the city's central area. (7) The Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship of the Northern Hills area called on MFRC's staff for consultations as well as a speaker, in a conscious effort to equip and move its members to aid intergroup progress. (8) The Board of the Jewish Community Relations Committee on the 28th heard Mr. Wesley talk on changing intergroup relationships, and the meaning of the Muslim movement. (9) Certain Protestant leaders were planning an experimental workshop, to be interfaith and interracial, modeled upon one tried near New York in 1962. (10) The "Church Integration" course sponsored in January-February by the Council of Churches did not attract a big enrolment, but it is likely that a radio program will share its "good news" with many listeners, soon.

HOUSING & RENEWAL (1) With others, we were drawn into discussion of occupancy patterns in new public housing on Liberty Street. Nearby Park Town Homes residents properly felt that their hard-won colorblind community was not helped if Stanley Rowe Towers on the north and Richmond Village (private housing) on the south were to be segregated racially. A what-to-do conference was set in March by the Better Housing League. (2) Another meeting brought together Park Town leaders with intergroup agencies to ask what more the latter could do to help Park Town's success. Four MFRC Trustees and staff participated in this session.

(3) With one community we had three contacts: a talk with a veteran clergyman on housing and racial trends; a visit by three women who wanted guidance in "contaging calmness"; a call by another resident, keeping in touch on trends.

(4) Urban Development leaders invited our staff to a stimulating bull session on the blight-fight, with visiting federal officials putting in their ideas.

IT'S CONFUSING On February 13 a brief news item come over the press wires and into a local daily paper, telling readers that the Chicago Real Estate Board had admitted four Negro brokers....Five days before, the nine directors of the Cincinnati Real Estate Board had voted into membership Mrs. Allene Reed, Negro, a saleswoman employed by a CREB member. Their action was far from routine; the facts of the matter were not boring or unprintable; problems and progress of

interest to all citizens--of varied views--were involved. But the only people informed of that local event were those who saw the Negro weeklies. A majority faced discrimination; they missed news they needed, to be informed citizens.

TRAGEDY, RUMORS, EMOTION--& FACT-FINDING Death of a well-known Negro editor, several hours after his auto crashed, came as a shock to thousands. Hundreds soon began to hear questions and rumors about the circumstances of treatment at a hospital, and his transfer to another where he died. A Negro member of MFRC alerted us. We quickly called an MFRC Trustee having an institutional relationship to the hospitals, and other means of pressing an investigation. He went to work, getting records, checking with staff and doctors, working toward a fact-finding conference. After two days he reported to our Board meeting what he had so far learned, promising a full report later. He also consulted frequently with our initial informant, as a liaison later to be used to help convey to concerned and upset people an accurate accounting.

Three different rights are visible in this situation. There is the right of bereaved family and friends to know the facts, to end uncertainty: was death unavoidable? The hospital, beside the responsibility of full inquiry, has the right--if all or part of the rumors are found in error--to have that finding somehow circulated where the rumors have run. Not least is the right, and need, of people generally to escape cartoon views of other persons, groups, institutions and conditions in the community. False stereotypes cripple our mental health and our relationships...Not yet knowing the truth of the above situation, MFRC when the facts are in will work to clarify this tangled case.

COUNSELLING AGAIN For Potluck meeting speaker we enlisted William A. Briggs, educator director of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, co-author of its manual, "Counselling Minority Group Youth." Tapping his field observations in Ohio, he stressed that schools must re-evaluate curriculum, teacher training and counselling, in relation to minority, low-income and culturally deprived youth; also that school administrators need all the help and understanding that other agencies and leaders can give them. The large crowd kept Mr. Briggs talking... Incidentally, OCRC has recently published, beside "Counselling", three other items of interest: its Third Annual Report; its Report on Discrimination in Housing in Ohio; and a study on "De Facto Segregation" affecting the schools. Phone OCRC's office here (CH 1-6605) if you wish to get copies.

AT THE PUBLIC LIBRARY James Baldwin's much-discussed article of last November in the New Yorker is now in a book, "The Fire Next Time." Not unsympathetic to the Black Muslims, he rejects the 'remedy' of racial separation: "We, the black and white, deeply need each other if we are really to become a nation." "My Negro Problem--and Ours" in Commentary (Jan. '63) is a candid, self-searching response by its editor, Norman Podhoretz. Recalling his childhood prejudices and fights in a Jewish-Negro part of Brooklyn, he examines honestly the conflicts and felt differences which must be resolved enroute to integration.

SPEECHES: No. Hills Fellowship (MB 2/3); First Unitarian Church (AW 2/3)
Gen. Hosp. Residents', Interns' Wives (AW 2/7); Methodist Women's Conf (MB 2/8)
Intercollegiate Conference, Our Lady of Cincinnati College (ES & AW 2/9)
UCC Regional Youth Rally (AW 2/10); First Unitarian Church (ES 2/10)
Walnut Hills Y campaign workers (AW 2/12); Walnut Hills Baptist Guild (AW 2/13)
Westwood Methodist Church (ES & AW 2/17); Alpha Phi Alpha frat. (ES 2/25)
UC Sociology Club (AW 2/28); Jewish Community Relations Committee (AW 2/28)

ATTENTION TO TENSIONS (1) Mr. Sparrow continued work on the situation of juvenile rowdyism and pilfering in and near a Basin supermarket. Interviews with businessmen in the area took many hours, but drew them into a collective hunt for remedies. Several managers met with ES on the 27th, some remedial ideas were aired and set for a trial. Meanwhile it was agreed that schools and social agencies would be called together, on area needs, by Mrs. Coffey of Seven Hills Neighborhood House, on March 13. The teamwork started well.

(2) An envoy from a "protest" group told us that parents in a low-income area had complained that school busses were cancelled to "punish" their children. With the envoy listening in, we phoned the manager of the housing project nearby, and learned much more about the situation, and previous efforts to check bad behavior on the busses. We also called a social agency setting up a much-needed program in that area. We saw the bus incident as part of a complex of problems, which are receiving additional, competent attention.

MISCELLANEOUS: (1) 'Over-worked' by the Junior League, Mrs. Ralph Haile, Jr., regretfully left our Board; was transferred to the General Committee; hopes to be more active later. (2) In However (its subtitle: "Cincinnati's Journal of Unpopular Topics and Discordant Opinion") we stubbed our nerve ends on this sentence: "If we do not quickly send the hillbillies back where they came from, we are all of us in serious trouble." The Institute on Appalachian Migrants, however, had already been scheduled, based on the opposite view of hill folk.

(3) From the UC YWCA came thanks for financing*, last July, workshop training for Miss Pat Zeigel, fitting her to set up a UC Human Relations Committee which has developed meetings and programs on campus (*from a special fund, not tax-$$). (4) Two UC Preventive Medicine students came to examine social aspects of local health problems which their class was investigating. We sent them to a pastor, policeman, etc., in one area. (5) A Councilman asked, could he keep for future use the housing material borrowed for a speech? Yes, sir.

* * * *

PITTSBURGH
HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW

Commission on
Human Relations
518 CITY COUNTY BLDG

RECEIVED
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VOLUME 6, NUMBER 1 FEBRUARY, 1963

—Photo by Harris,
Courtesy of Pittsburgh Courier

Housing Consultants met February 1 at the Shiloh Baptist Church, to formulate plans for a Housing Clinic to be held in a series of sessions during March. From left are: Mrs. Louise Sumter; Mrs. Ella Mosley; the Rev. John Little; Miss Bernice Baynes, chairman; Donald P. Kazmaier, of Commission on Human Relations; Miss Florence Williams; Mr. William Harris; and Mrs. Mamie Goss.

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES PLAN CLINICS

During the month of March the Human Relations Committees of the 24 churches in the Hill District and surrounding areas will be sponsoring a series of clinics in housing, employment and law enforcement. The clinics are designed to help members of the various congregations who are interested in preparing to take advantage of their equal rights in these major areas of concern.

The clinics will be planned by committees from the various churches. Miss Bernice Baynes and Vann Johnson are the co-chairmen for the committee planning the housing clinics. Chairman of the committee to plan the law enforcement clinic is Alton Harris, while Mrs. Gladys McNairy is chairman of the planning committee for the employment clinics. Staff members of the Commission on Human Relations and the Urban League will assist the planning committees.

The employment clinic will assist individuals interested in entering the job market. Job-seeking methods and techniques, and suggestions helpful in adjusting to new employment opportunities, will be covered in these clinics.

The law enforcement clinic will acquaint all participants of the provisions and enforcement procedures of the various civil rights legislation. This clinic will also relate information that will assist the participant in securing equality of opportunity when confronting discrimination.

The Housing Consultants began laying plans for the future Housing Clinic at two meetings held in January. To obtain some indication of need for and interest in such a project, as a first step they formulated and distributed a questionnaire among the various church congregations.

Beginning in March, the Housing Clinic will be made up of four sessions over a four-week period, with an evening a week devoted to each session. The overall program theme will be how to go about buying or renting a house or apartment in attempting to obtain better housing.

General areas to be covered in the program are: where the Negro stands in housing today, where a person should look for housing in light of urban renewal, what aspects to consider in buying or renting a house or apartment, financing aspects and resources of buying a house, and what to do if racial discrimination is encountered when renting or buying.

(*Continued on Page* 4)

RECREATION STAFF TRAINING PROGRAM

The City of Pittsburgh's Bureau of Recreation, in cooperation with the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, plans an In-Service Training program for Recreation personnel on March 20 and 27. Involved will be individuals who supervise and administer the City's widespread recreation program, which includes parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, recreation centers, and tennis and basketball courts. Highly qualified professionals from agencies and universities have been selected to participate in the program.

CHR Rules in Housing Case

The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations announced on February 6 that the Stanton Land Company and Francis X. Totten, respondents in a fair housing case, have been ordered to sell a residential lot in the Stanton Heights Manor Plan to Dr. Oswald Nickens, an East End Negro obstetrician and gynecologist, on or before February 18, 1963. This order was issued pursuant to a public hearing held December 14, 1962, before the Commission, on a complaint filed September 11, 1962, by Dr. Nickens, in which he alleged that the Stanton Land Company, through its president, realtor Francis X. Totten, refused to sell him a residential lot in Stanton Heights for reason of race.

Acting solely upon the record produced at the hearing, the Commission based its opinion upon findings of fact and conclusions of law, to the effect that the Stanton Land Company, and Francis X. Totten, individually, violated Sections 6 (a) and (b) of the City of Pittsburgh's Fair Housing Ordinance Number 523 of 1958, by refusing to sell a housing accommodation as defined in Section 3 (c) of the law. Francis X. Totten was also found to have violated Section 6 (i).

Witnesses who presented testimony on behalf of the City were Louis Mason, Jr., executive director of CHR, and Leonard Karter, CHR staff investigator, both of whom presented the results of the Commission's investigation. Other witnesses were the complainant, Dr. Nickens, attorney Byrd Brown, Jr., Fred Kunkle, and Robert L. Hamm. Both Mr. Kunkle and Mr. Hamm are associated with Ryan Home Sales, Inc.

Presenting testimony on behalf of the respondents, Stanton Land Company and its president, Francis X. Totten, who was not present at the hearing, were real estate salesman Floyd A. May, who is associated with Huss Brothers Real Estate Company, and Mr. Kunkle of Ryan Homes.

Counsel representing the case for the City of Pittsburgh were City Solicitor David W. Craig and Assistant City Solicitor Marion E. Finkelhor. Counsel representing respondents was attorney Robert J. Dodds, Jr.

In interpreting the Commission's role, with respect to the Fair Housing Ordinance of the City of Pittsburgh, the Commission stressed the fact that the primary goal of the law is not punishment for discrimination based on race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin, but rather, the achievement, through calm and conciliatory methods, of a fair and open housing market to enable all citizens of this community to

(*Continued on Page* 3)

SPOTLIGHT ON AJCommittee

A massacre of Jews in Kishinev, Russia, in 1906, brought into existence the American Jewish Committee. Since its formation, AJCommittee has grown into a national agency with fifteen regional offices in the United States, and offices in Europe, Israel, and South America. The Pennsylvania Regional Office in Philadelphia, of which the Pittsburgh Chapter is a part, serves as the secretariat of the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Council (PERC), which stimulated the successful drive to obtain passage of fair housing and fair educational laws.

On the community level, the AJCommittee's eighty-two chapters and units cooperate with scores of national and local organizations, Christian, Jewish and non-sectarian, civic and church groups, schools, universities, government agencies, mass media, industry, labor, and especially with commissions on human relations and Jewish community councils.

The Pittsburgh Chapter, with unit memberships of over 900, was founded in 1944 to give grass roots validity to AJ Committee's programming. Attorney Allen H. Berkman is the Chairman of the Pittsburgh Chapter, which is currently focussing on discrimination in executive employment in major industry.

Findings based on special research studies on "executive suite" discrimination, conducted at Harvard, UCLA, and the University of Michigan, are hopefully expected to stimulate important changes in discriminatory patterns of executive recruitment and promotion practices. Through discussion and negotiation with industry leaders, the AJ Committee is seeking to overcome barriers and discriminatory practices in these areas.

In addition, both the national and local AJCommittee are helping focus attention on current persecutions of Jews in the Soviet Union. Many Pittsburgh leaders of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths have joined in sending a cable of protest for transmittal through the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

As the oldest human relations agency in the United States, the AJCommittee has pioneered in the field of human relations and intercultural activities, being primarily concerned with obtaining security, equality and dignity for Jews and other minorities within the framework of equal opportunity and dignity for all. Their uppermost aims and objectives are to promote better understanding among all faiths; to combat bigotry and religious and racial discrimination; to strengthen our democratic institutions; to achieve with all Americans of good will a complete realization of the ideals of America; and, above all, to guard and foster human rights throughout the world. The Institute of Human Relations of the AJCommittee is a unique research laboratory dealing in depth with the fundamental aims and objectives of the organization.

From an agency concerned primarily with prejudice and discrimination against Jews, AJCommittee's concept of its role has advanced so that it now conducts pioneer research in the social sciences to understand and overcome bigotry, discrimination, and group hatred. New insights are being developed in such research studies at major universities — Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Michigan, UCLA, and Cornell. **The Authoritarian Personality**, an AJCommittee study published in 1952, was a first ground-breaking analysis of the psychological causes of prejudice. It sparked the three major religious faiths to investigate harmful religious texts and materials used in educational programs and to make revisions, where necessary, to avoid an improper image of other racial and religious groups. **Commentary**, an independent monthly magazine, is published and distributed by the national AJCommittee as a public service. It is a journal of significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs and contemporary issues.

Presentation of the Louis Caplan Human Relations Award is a highlight of the Annual Meeting of the Pittsburgh Chapter. Given each year to the Allegheny County high school senior who has demonstrated outstanding leadership in promotion of understanding and intergroup harmony among his classmates and community, the Award was established in 1955 to honor a founder of the Pittsburgh Chapter and former national, now Honorary, President of The American Jewish Committee.

—photo by Mike Rizzo

CORE EXEC ADDRESSES INTERGROUPERS

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director of the Council on Racial Equality, spoke before members of the Clearing House for Intergroup Relations Organizations on January 15. His visit to the city was sponsored by the Pittsburgh Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, at whose program meeting he was the featured speaker in the Webster Hall Hotel.

Shown above, from left, are: Mrs. Marshall Wagman, Executive Assistant, American Jewish Committee; Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director, CORE; Mr. Arthur Edmunds, Chairman, Clearing House for Intergroup Relations Organizations; and Dr. David Yatzkan, Program Chairman, American Jewish Committee.

"L. P. C."

Lack of Probable Cause. LPC. With these three letters, the Commission on Human Relations often writes "finis" to a complaint brought by an individual who, because he cannot perceive his own human shortcomings, sincerely believes he has been discriminated against solely because of his race or religion. CHR files are replete with such cases.

In one case, a Negro employee claimed he was dismissed as crew chief on a molding machine of a local factory because of his race. His dismissal was based on his foreman's allegation that complainant was negligent in failing to tighten a mold as it was being processed through its working cycle. But, to complainant's knowledge, other crew chiefs, white, who had committed similar acts of negligence, had not been fired. Finally, according to complainant, in a discussion about the dismissal, the foreman told him, "You're a Negro and you talk too much."

Field investigation at the factory revealed that many Negroes were employed there in diversified occupations. An interview with the foreman brought forth his statement that it was complainant who repeatedly raised the issue of race as the main factor in his dismissal; in exasperation, finally, the foreman told him, "If you want to feel that it was your race, it's okay with me." According to the foreman, the real reason for complainant's separation from his job was that he had been lax many times in exercising caution to double-check the mold to make sure it was properly secured, and had been repeatedly warned therefor. The ease with which the machine is operated allows the operator ample time to perform his work adequately and thus permit little margin for error. Producing a personnel folder on the individual who replaced complainant in the job, foreman indicated that the new employee was a Negro hired the day after complainant's dismissal, which nullified complainant's claim that the reason for his dismissal was based solely on race.

To some complainants, the many factors surrounding a refusal in housing or employment, a dismissal from a job, or failure to receive a promotion, often seem to revolve around a racial factor — and in many instances, they do. However, occasions arise when this is not the case, and the field investigation yields overwhelming evidence that the reason for dismissal from a job was other than race. The complainant, emotionally upset and lacking objectivity, may not have been apprised of all the reasons for his dismissal, and therefore, erroneously, believes his dismissal was caused by his employer's biased views.

PRESIDENT SIGNS HOUSING ORDER

On November 20, 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed an Executive Order entitled, "Equal Opportunity in Housing." The Order became effective November 21, 1962, and is designed to end discriminatory practices in housing owned or operated by the Federal Government, housing guaranteed by Federal loans or contributions, property insured or guaranteed by Government credit (FHA and VA), and property obtained from a state or local government agency receiving aid from the Federal Government (urban renewal).

In January, Ex-Governor David L. Lawrence, former Mayor of Pittsburgh under whose administration Pittsburgh's Fair Housing Ordinance was passed, was named Chairman and Executive Director of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. The Committee will be composed of certain Cabinet officers and public members.

The Committee is charged with coordinating activities of all the agencies as they relate to the Order, to examine their rules and regulations, to make such recommendations as it desires, and to report to the President.

Violations, if conciliation fails, can lead to cancellation of contract for Federal aid, denial of further aid to a violator until compliance is secure, and refusal to approve a financial lending institution or lender under any program.

At press time, the Committee had not yet been named. The Pittsburgh Commission has offered its assistance to the President and as a result, liaison has been established with the Housing and Home Finance Agency in Washington, D. C.

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Conference of Commissions Scheduled Here

The Conference of Commissions on Human Rights will meet in Pittsburgh on May 22-24 at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel. The conference membership is composed of state and municipal commissions with legal mandates of law enforcement in housing, fair employment practices and public accommodations.

Representatives, both at staff and commissioner levels, will be present. Such states as New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Minnesota, Washington, California, Pennsylvania and Oregon, and cities such as Toledo, Cleveland, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Philadelphia, will send delegates.

The conference theme is, "Fair Practices Laws: New Devices." Discussions will center on new methods and techniques of coping with new problems of enforcement and with problems of broader community intergroup relations.

Details of the conference will be carried in the April Human Relations Review.

How to Add Skilled Workers to the Labor Supply by Really Trying

According to the January issue of a bulletin issued by the National Labor Service of the Institute of Human Relations in New York City, in dealing with employment discrimination, apprenticeship training is the toughest nut to crack. Less than 2% of apprenticeship positions throughout the United States are filled by Negroes, despite a U. S. Department of Labor report that hundreds of thousands of workers are needed for "hard-to-fill" skilled jobs.

California industrialist Eddy Feldman, head of the Los Angeles furniture mart, views the problem not so much as thinking up new ways to combat discrimination as it is to create adequate numbers of on-the-job training opportunities. Mr. Feldman is therefore calling for administrative action and legislation by the State of California to require that all state contracts, in which journeymen would be employed, include clauses providing for non-discriminatory hiring of at least one apprentice or trainee for every five journeymen.

Should this proposal be expanded to cover the entire nation, mandatory training quotas for Federal, state and local public works, public service, and defense projects would go a long way toward filling this gap and strengthening equal opportunity in training at the same time.

CHR Rules in Housing Case . . .

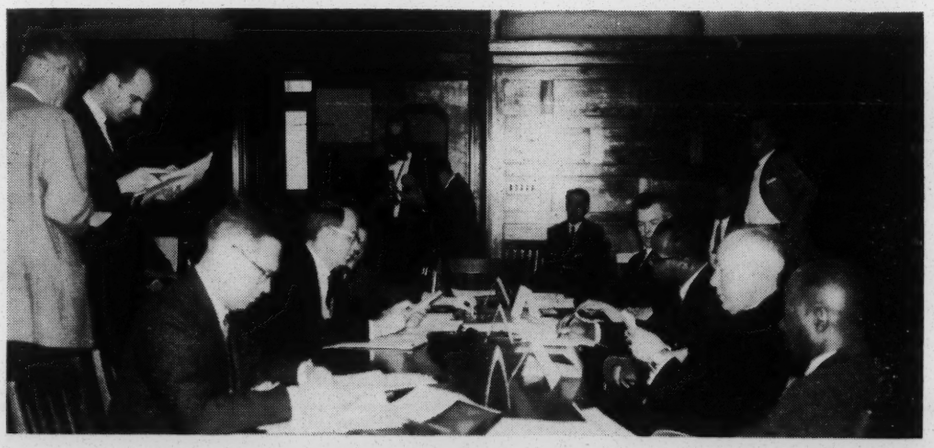
(*Continued from Page* 1)

have access to decent, safe, and sanitary housing. The same equal access to the housing market is also the stated policy of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and many cities and states throughout the country, as well as the policy of the National Government.

The Commission's Opinion, which contained 27 Findings of Fact, included a finding that refusal to sell was for reason of race. In their Conclusions of Law, the Commissioners noted that, throughout the entire series of negotiations between Dr. Nickens and Mr. Totten, the record contains no instance of bickering or honest disagreement over the price or details of sale or construction. The record also shows general agreement that Dr. Nickens was recognized by all parties as a person of excellent community repute. Since the crux of the case hinged on the **reason** for refusal to sell Dr. Nickens a lot, after a thorough examination of all possible reasons for the refusal, the Commission concluded that Dr. Nickens' race was the only reason for his rejection by the Stanton Land Company and Mr. Totten, as supported by all testimony, evidence, and exhibits.

It was noted that Dr. Nickens remains ready and willing to purchase the lot in question from the Stanton Land Company, and has an agreement with Ryan Home Sales, Inc., for the construction of a home on the lot should it be sold to him by Stanton Land Company. The agreement, dated December 12, 1962, is valid for ninety days.

The Commission concluded that there was "no probable cause" for a complaint originally filed against Mrs. Francis X. Totten, who was formerly the secretary-treasurer of the Stanton Land Company, and the C. L. Totten Realty Company, and therefore dismissed the complaint against them.



—photo by Luek James

NICKENS VS. STANTON LAND CO.

The photo above sets the scene minutes before the Commission's public hearing on December 14, 1962. The hearing was held to hear allegations by Dr. Oswald J. Nickens, local obstetrician and gynecologist, that racial discrimination was the reason for refusal by the Stanton Land Company, through its president, Francis X. Totten, to sell him a lot on which to build a home in Stanton Heights.

On January 28 the Commission concluded that the only reason for refusal of respondent to sell Dr. Nickens a lot was because of his race, and issued an Order on February 6 to the Stanton Land Company to sell the lot in question to the complainant by February 18, 1963.

Shown seated at the table, clockwise from bottom left, are: Robert J. Dodds, Esq., counsel for Stanton Land Co.; City Solicitor David W. Craig and Assistant City Solicitor Marion Finkelhor; and CHR panel Commissioners Dr. Charles P. Robshaw, Eric W. Springer, Msgr. Andrew J. Pauley, and James O. Dougan.

Seen seated in the background, at the door, is the complainant, Dr. Nickens. Seated in the background, toward the right, are Commissioners Emery Bacon, Mrs. Donna Salk (hidden from view), and Roland Sawyer, with CHR Executive Director Louis Mason, Jr., standing, right.

—photo by Mike Rizzo

ISKANDER DEPARTS FOR JORDAN

Despite icy streets and sub-zero weather, friends and professional colleagues of CHR Deputy Director Michel G. Iskander turned out for a last farewell luncheon on January 23 at the Oliver Restaurant. Effective in February was Mr. Iskander's resignation to assume a post with the United Nations as a Technical Assistance Expert in Social Welfare to the government of Jordan. This new assignment grew out of Mr. Iskander's work as an advisor to the West African government of Cameroun the past summer, during which he spent a four-month leave of absence from the Commission. Accompanying him to Jordan, where he will reside for at least a year in the capital city of Amman, are his wife and two daughters.

Shown at the speaker's table, from left, are: Morton Coleman, City Planning Dept.; Louis Mason, Jr., Commission on Human Relations; Mrs. Betty Iskander; Michel G. Iskander, CHR; Aaron Sacks, Health and Welfare Association; James V. Cunningham, ACTION-Housing; and Miss Annie R. Swan, Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor.

Mt. Mercy Workshop

Mount Mercy College, in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, will sponsor a second workshop in intergroup relations from June 24 to July 16, 1963.

Entitled **Education and Human Relations: A Workshop on Intergroup Problems**, the workshop will be under the direction of Jeanne E. Brooker, assistant professor of education at Mount Mercy College, and William Neal Brown, associate professor and Director of the School of Social Work Training Project, Graduate School of Social Work, Rutgers University.

Designed to explore intergroup problems of particular concern to public and parochial school educators and community leaders, the workshop program will include lectures, group discussions, readings, individual consultations, and field trips. Consultants from school, church, and community agencies will bring practical experience in the areas under study.

Carrying 3 units of undergraduate credit, the workshop is open to advanced undergraduate and graduate students, and others who wish to enroll without academic credit. Teachers may apply the credits toward permanent certification requirements.

The costs are $83 for tuition and $90 for room and board, which include use of library, swimming pool and gymnasium facilities, and campus housing in Frances Warde Hall.

Pittsburgh public school teachers may apply for Frick Scholarships, the deadline for which is March 15. The deadline for application for scholarships from other available sources is May 31. Complete information may be obtained by writing to: Miss Jeanne E. Brooker, Workshop Director, Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Child Hostility Probed

In cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, six other organizations are sponsoring an Institute on Rearing Children of Good Will at Chatham College on March 27, from 9:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Concerned with the reality of hostility development in children and how parents can deal with it, the Institute's program is designed to give better insight into growth and development patterns in children, and to provide leadership ideas for programs and action. Plans include presentation of a well qualified expert on hostility, Dr. Gordon Jackson, Dean of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary; the first Pittsburgh performance of a new play in the Plays for Living series; and discussion groups with competent leadership.

The registration fee, including lunch, is $4.00. For further details, write Mrs. Ralph E. Tygard, Chairman, 711 Vermont Avenue, Pittsburgh 34. Or phone her at 563-2189.

Airline Stewardesses Wanted

The Urban League of Pittsburgh is in receipt of a job order from one of the nation's foremost airlines, requesting the services of that agency to assist in recruitment of qualified candidates for positions of stewardess.

Applicants should have some college and/or experience in public contact employment. Other requirements are: age, 20 to 26; height, 5'2" to 5'8"; weight, 140 lbs., maximum.

For further information, contact the Urban League of Pittsburgh, at 261-6010.

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HRC Plan Clinics . . .

(*Continued from Page* 1)

Registrations of interested individuals will be handled in their separate churches by the Housing Consultants of the 24 Human Relations Committees. An invitation to attend the clinics is extended to the entire community.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
518 City-County Building
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania
ATlantic 1-3900, extension 480

Mrs. Jonas E. Salk, Chairman
Emery F. Bacon, Vice Chairman
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Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
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Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

program highlights

PAV

Interest Org - HR Council SB

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL

February, 1963

Why desegregate - "Why do you want to go to our schools?"
In Georgia there are 8 area Vocational and Technical schools. Six designated white and two Negro. There is not a single subject made available to Negroes that is denied whites, but there are 17 courses available to whites that are denied Negroes. They are: (1) Air Conditioning and Refrigeration, (2) Aviation Mechanics, (3) Diesel Machines, (4) Dry Cleaning, (5) Electrical Construction and Maintenance, (6) Laundering, (7) Machine Drafting, (8) Machine Shop, (9) Office Machine Repair, (10) Photography, (11) Shoe Repair, (12) Small Gasoline Engine Repair, (13) Watch Repair, (14) Welding, (15) Electrical Technology, (16) Mechanical Technology, (17) Medical Lab Assistant.

The following is a compendium of the case of Columbus Scott vs. the Atlanta Board of Education et al.
In October 1962 Columbus Scott, Negro, 23, graduate of Turner High School and a veteran of five years in the Armed Forces asked us (GCOHR) to help him get some courses in Machine Shop or Die Making. The courses were scheduled at Smith-Hughes Vocational School (white), but not at Carver Vocational School (Negro). He filed application for Smith-Hughes (no answer).

In November Scott visited Carver to find machinery on order and courses planned for January - 1963. The equipment arrived at Carver and a few people were invited to view same and listen to ambitious plans for use (estimated value $150,000).

EVALUATION of EQUIPMENT and PLANS, etc.
A close survey revealed that the equipment was minus component parts, unlevelled, and without electricity - hence, not useable.
DECISION - Carver, at this point, is not equipped to compete with Smith-Hughes.

Early January - 1963 a new application was made to Smith-Hughes accompanied by a letter of desire to the Superintendent of Education (no answer). Scott visited the Deputy Superintendent of Education who offered weak objections to desegregation - "wrong time" - "possible violence" - "possible adverse effect his admission might have on proposed new facilities, etc" -. Nevertheless, he agreed to present the case to the Board.

RESULT
Scott and Thomas McPherson (Assistant Director of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations) - the other applicant - were admitted. They expect to enjoy all the hidden advantages offered such as -- job placement, apprenticeship opportunities, subject variety, etc.

OBSERVATION:
Perserverance made possible now what patience might have accomplished in three years!

STATE COUNCILS

Macon, Georgia
The Macon Council on Human Relations had its last meeting January 28, 1963 at Christ Church. 25 were present.

The Action Committee reported concerning discrimination in the Macon Hospital. William Randall reported inadequate bath facilities for Negroes, non-employment of Negroes in the Admitting and Business offices, and non-admittance of Negroes to the Nurse's Education Program. Mr. Randall stated the matter had been brought to the attention of the Management and a meeting is being arranged with the Hospital Commission. We hope Macon can solve this problem as it has others - over the Conference Table.

Rome, Georgia
Our Council met on January 14, 1963 at the Carnegie Library. It was the first time we had had the privilege of meeting in this Library with a room equipped for meetings of this kind. The screen and projector were available with someone to operate it. The whole atmosphere was ideal and provided the perfect setting. It was, I felt, one of our best meetings. Miss Boas, a wonderful Chairman, presided. Miss Parish, our new Secretary, had secured "The Baltimore Story" for us to see and this film was taken to the City School Superintendent - who promised to show it to the Board of Education.

Our progress seems slow, but we realize we have so far to come from. Our next meeting will be held at the First Presbyterian Church on Third Avenue.

Savannah, Georgia
The Savannah Council again enjoyed a family covered dish supper. This provided fun for all and a chance for the children to get acquainted. The Reverend O. W. Holmes will accompany his nephew, Mr. Hamilton Holmes - who will be the speaker at the next meeting.

Atlanta, Georgia
The Atlanta Council's Scool Committee continues to work diligently on school integration. They are providing tutors for 28 of the Negro transfer students. The Council reports less emotional tension than last year. Some Negro students are playing on basketball teams and some are participating in Glee Clubs, Dramatic Clubs, etc.

Brunswick, Georgia
Brunswick hits the news!
January 28th issue of NEWSWEEK...
"Georgia's seacoast city of Brunswick put its own big dent into the old order - -- it has the quiet good offices of a Council on Human Relations ---"
And in the Atlanta Journal, February 8th, a summary of accomplishments is given. Signs down - library desegregated - lunch counters open, etc. The article ends with, -
"Observers also credit the Georgia Council on Human Relations, a biracial organization, and local branch with exerting strong influence in favor of negotiations."

If you have friends who might be interested in the work of the GEorgia Council on Human Relations, won't you let us know - and we'll write to them?

NAME _____

_____

ADDRESS _____

_____

CITY _____

_____

STATE _____

_____

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_____

CITY _____

_____

STATE _____

_____

WHY?

Why? Why?? Why???

This word becomes a mournful wail. What does man have to lose? What is the foundation for his fear? Is he willing to sell his soul - for what? Why will he not act on a point that he admits is right?

We understand why some people think they cannot act ... but many middle and upper middle class people seem to have little they can possibly lose if they behave according to the principles they profess ... profess both publicly and privately.

In Columbus, Georgia we have a small Council of wonderful people. Everyone of these members has the respect of the community because of his integrity, stability, and methods of working to improve the community. They are not "outsiders", "radical", or "troublemakers".

Why is it so difficult for these people to find a meeting place in the "white" meeting room in Columbus? There is no welcome in any church, - Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic, etc.

Many public agencies - including Fort Benning - find excuses.

"We believe in what you are doing - but NO - you cannot meet here."

Columbus is a fine city in the United States of America that claims to be a free country. Why cannot an intelligent respectable group of citizens not only be allowed to meet - but be encouraged to meet?

W H Y?

NATURAL PREJUDICE

Alexis De Tocqueville, French historian, author of "Democracy in America," which is described as the "greatest book ever written on one country by the citizen of another said, -

"There is a natural prejudice which prompts men to despise whomsoever has been their inferior long after he is become their equal; and the real inequality which is produced by fortune or by law is always succeeded by an imaginary inequality which is implanted in the manners of the people ... this prejudice continues to draw an invisible line between the races."

Excerpt from the POLITICAL ANIMAL

"The Negro in America is not a part of the American Society. This is the greatest single crime that the American people have ever committed, and one of the greatest crimes that any people has ever committed" ..... Robert M. Hutchins

MARCH 1963

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

Vol. 5 No. 2

PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY BY THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Mortgage Loans Up For Negroes, CCHR Finds

Mortgage loans for non-white home buyers are increasingly available in Chicago, but patterns of racial discrimination continue, a study by the Commission on Human Relations revealed April 5th.

Ely M. Aaron, chairman, said the report shows that "at least 91 lending institutions—including the top 15 savings and loan associations, by assets—currently arrange mortgage loans for Negro home buyers in the Chicago area.

"The Commission was able to discover only about a dozen financial institutions, other than Negro-owned ones, which made mortgages to Negroes in 1950."

Aaron noted that although mortgage funds are available to qualified Negro home buyers in stable areas of the city and suburbs that are predominantly Negro, few financial institutions (though the number is increasing) process loans for qualified non-white borrowers wishing to purchase in any neighborhood in the city or any suburb on the same terms as for white borrowers.

The five-month study titled "Mortgage Availability for Non-Whites in the Chicago Area," attempted to answer the question: How available are mortgage funds for non-white home buyers?

This question was raised at the Commission's public hearing in the City Council last summer which sought remedies for abuses that often accompany real estate and financial transactions in racially changing neighborhoods.

The Commission's report is based on interviews with community leaders, mortgage lenders, and mortgagors. Unwillingness of financial institutions to make known their lending practices in regard to non-white applicants made it difficult to establish how many of the more than 500 lending institutions operating in the Chicago Metropolitan area actually make mortgage loans to Negroes.

Mortgage lenders have modified their practices in recent years because of the growth of the Negro middle class, and because lending institutions need new outlets for their money as white loans decrease, the Commission said. Mortgage lenders told the Commission that their experience with Negro home buyers was not substantially different from their dealings with white home buyers.

Copies of the complete report are available by writing the Commission.

Study Gives New Facts About Prairie Shores

The story of Prairie Shores has never been told in its entirety—at least, not publicly.

Participants in the high-level Princeton Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing at Princeton University last October read the full story in a report prepared by The Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies (1726 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington 6, D. C.) for exclusive use of conferees. The Conference was co-sponsored by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials and the National Housing Center. In attendance were top level human relations officials and leaders in the real estate and housing industry. The Commission on Human Relations has obtained permission to report the findings of this 24-page study.

It is not giving away the ending of the story to state that developers of Prairie Shores, a housing development of five high-rise buildings with 1,678 apartments at 29th and South Parkway, accomplished what they set out to do: Construct middle-income housing with racially mixed occupancy in a formerly depressed area and make it financially successful. Almost everybody knows that part of the story. How it was done is another matter.

"Case Studies in Racially Mixed Housing — Prairie Shores," written by Eunice S. Grier, staff member of the Washington Center and co-author of a book on interracial housing, tells it in part this way:

"Prairie Shores is a major element in the overall renewal of Chicago's once-prosperous Central South Area, which had been on the decline since before World War I. During the war period and the decades which followed it, the area became a primary focus of settlement for Negro newcomers to Chicago. By 1950 it was bursting at the seams with almost 60,000 persons per square mile, living for the most part in severely inadequate and deteriorated dwellings. Social and health problems were rampant. The population, 97 per cent Negro, worked predominantly at the lowest-skilled and worst-paying jobs.

"The first new private residential construction in the South Central Area was Lake Meadows, an apartment development built by the New York Life Insurance Company. Located on a 100-acre site just to the south of what is now Prairie Shores, Lake Meadows contains about

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

2,000 dwelling units in ten buildings. . . . Site clearance was begun in 1949 by the Chicago Land Clearance Commission. Construction by New York Life started in 1952, and was completed in 1960.

"Open from the outset for Negro occupancy, the first five of Lake Meadows' ten buildings were rented almost entirely to Negroes. From this point on, in a reversal of the customary trend of racial progression, each succeeding building had a higher proportion of whites. The tenth, a luxury building, was about 75 per cent white. Observers ascribe this phenomenon largely to the increasing desirability of the area as renewal progressed."

While Lake Meadows was under construction, other plans were being made for additional residential development in the Central South Area.

After the land on which Prairie Shores now stands was cleared of existing structures, it was sold on May 1957, after competitive bids, to the firm of Draper and Kramer, Inc. (which had been consultants to the Lake Meadows management from the beginning) at a cost of 50 cents a square foot.

Author Grier writes, "Several respondents for this study estimated that a comparable site on the lake front would have cost at least $5.00 a square foot if acquired privately.

"From the start, it was planned that apartments in Prairie Shores would be available to both whites and Negroes in all five buildings and on all floors."

Every effort was made to keep rental costs as low as possible in order to insure the availability of the apartments to middle-income employees of the adjacent Michael Reese Hospital, employees of other institutions located nearby, and to assure as large a market as possible for a development . . . open to both whites and Negroes.

"The management believed that it was essential that rentals be kept attractive enough to whites to make them forget any prejudices or fears they might have about co-occupancy by Negroes. . . . Prairie Shores' rentals run between $32 and $34 a room."

Lower than average rentals in similar housing was achieved partly by the low price of the land. "In addition, the development was designed in such a way as to make more efficient use of the land than before. When Prairie Shores was completed, there were nearly twice as many households living on the 20 acre residential site as had previously resided on the entire 55 acres allocated for both residential and institutional use.

"Although Draper and Kramer has an interest in each of the five buildings, their interest is a minority one and most of the equity capital has been put up by others. According to Ferd Kramer, president of Draper and Kramer, this was no easy task for the first of the five structures. . . .

"Kramer said: *'We have in our office formed all kinds of syndicates for conventional deals both in the residential and commercial fields but I never tackled a program as difficult as this one. I drove myself almost to the breaking point getting hold of this equity money in dribs and drabs of $5,000 on up.'*. . .

"Some of those who invested in the first building, Kramer believes, probably did so because they wanted to accomplish something of benefit to the city rather than for speculative gains. Among their number were some of the foremost businessmen in Chicago.

"Equity capital came far more readily as the building program progressed. On the second and third buildings, investments ran from $50,000 to $100,000 each; in the last two buildings each investor put up $100,000, making only five or six partners per building. Whereas it had been necessary to persuade and cajole each prospective investor in the first building, Kramer found it necessary to turn away capital on later buildings.

"One investor called Kramer shortly after he received his first dividend to say that he had invested solely because he believed this development was good for Michael Reese Hospital. *'He was astounded,' Kramer reported, 'to see how profitable it was.'*

"Mortgage money has been provided by a combination of government and private sources. Mortgages of all five buildings have been insured by the Federal Housing Administration under Section 220 of the National Housing Act which provides 40-year mortgages for middle income housing. Kramer experienced some initial difficulty in getting a commitment from F.H.A. on the first Prairie Shores building, on the grounds that it was located in a slum area. Section 220 was, of course, designed to assist with the elimination of slums; yet it required a special appeal to Washington before the commitment was issued. All future commitments were forthcoming with little difficulty.

"Draper and Kramer anticipated two major problems in the early stages of its rental program; the fear of whites that they would be isolated in a largely Negro project, and the difficulty in demonstrating to prospective tenants the desirable middle-class residential neighborhood the Central South Area was destined to become. . . .

"The problem of overcoming whites' fears of Negro co-occupancy was perhaps the more difficult. In the first place, there was very little experience with stable interracial occupancy in Chicago to which the developing firm could point. As a matter of fact, all the evidence pointed to neighborhood after neighborhood in which entrance of one Negro family was inevitably followed by many more until the area became wholly or almost entirely Negro-occupied.

"Renting on the first building was begun in mid-1958 with a private showing for personnel of Michael Reese Hospital. This pre-selling procedure to a largely-white potential market enabled salesmen to inform prospects who came later that the applications were running about 80 per cent white, a fact which management considered important to overcome fears of Negro inundation. Nonetheless, applicants came slowly at first, and intensive efforts were necessary to rent the 342 apartments with a racial composition approximately 75 per cent white and 25 per cent Negro.

"In addition to continuous newspaper advertising and a site rental office staffed daily from 10 a.m. in the morning until dark, Kramer undertook other efforts to

Ely M. Aaron, right, chairman of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, presided at the Commission's conference on discrimination in cemeteries and crematories which was held February 28. Others participating were from left, Ald. Robert H. Miller (6th), Ald. Nicholas J. Bohling (7th), who is chairman of the City Council Committee on Judiciary and State Legislation, and Atty. Jerome J. Friedman, chairman of the law and order advisory committee of the Commission.

Urge Stronger Action Against Burial Bias

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations has called for a stronger city ordinance against racial discrimination in cemeteries and crematories and stricter enforcement of the state law.

It recommended that the City Council amend Chapter 199A of the Municipal Code to correspond to the Illinois Civil Rights Law.

State law specifically includes cemeteries and crematories as places of public accommodation and prohibits them from denying service to any person on account of race, religion, or place of national ancestry.

The civil rights section of the Municipal Code does not specifically list cemeteries and crematories as places of public accommodation, nor does it prohibit refusal to sell cemetery lots because of the race of the purchaser. It merely states that there shall not be any racial discrimination in the price charged for lots or graves.

The Commission's recommendations were made in a report issued at a conference on discrimination in cemeteries and crematories in the Chicago metropolitan area. The conference was held February 28 in City Hall. Ely M. Aaron, chairman of the Commission, presided.

The Commission's report was based on research and staff interviews with clergymen, funeral directors, cemetery managers, and representatives of cemetery and funeral management associations.

The report noted that discrimination against non-whites centers in non-sectarian cemeteries, many of which are members of the Cemeteries Association of Greater Chicago. The Cemeteries Association is an organization of 26 non-sectarian cemeteries in the city and suburbs. Commission staff interviewed the managers of all seven cemeteries within Chicago which are members of the Association, plus five outside the city limits. All of the managers but two expressed unwillingness to sell cemetery plots to Negroes, explaining that they feared losing potential business.

Prominent spokesmen for Oriental citizens' groups informed the Commission that Orientals have not experienced any racial discrimination at Chicagoland cemeteries. By choice, most deceased Orientals are cremated or interred in a cemetery on Chicago's northwest side. Spokesmen for American Indian groups said that Indians have experienced relatively little difficulty in obtaining burial plots.

All Catholic, Jewish and Protestant cemeteries in Chicago and suburbs are open to members of their respective faiths regardless of race. There are five cemeteries in the Chicago area that are used almost exclusively by Negroes, but none of these is within the Chicago city limits. There are also other cemeteries in Chicago and suburbs which made their facilities available to all persons, regardless of race.

Several months ago, the Commission received a specific allegation of racial discrimination against Oak Woods Cemetery, 1035 E. 67th Street. The Commission was unsuccessful in its attempt to negotiate a solution. Consequently, with the assistance of Commission staff, the complainant presented his case to the State's Attorney of Cook County. The State's Attorney has filed suit against this cemetery, charging violation of the Illinois Civil Rights Law. The case is now awaiting trial.

(Continued from Page 2)

promote Prairie Shores. One member of his firm was assigned to visit personnel managers of firms located in the Loop area as well as on the south side to tell them about Prairie Shores and to provide them with brochures for employees. Advertising through a local FM radio station with a reputation for reaching people 'of culture and education' was also used.

"After the first building was completed and occupied, renting of succeeding buildings became progressively easier. The advertising campaign was continued, but the special canvassing of business firms no longer seemed necessary. Building Number 2 was on the market for six months, and Building Number 3 for about five and a half months. Buildings 4 and 5 were opened for rental applications on the same day, thus putting almost 700 apartments on the market at one time. Building Number 4 was completely rented in less than ten months, and Building Number 5 two months later."

Tenancy in the latter buildings is about 80 per cent white and 20 per cent Negro.

"In the early days of Prairie Shores, there were a few charges by civil rights proponents that the management had an inflexible limit on the proportion of Negroes who would be accepted, and that some otherwise qualified Negro customers had been turned away because the Negro quota had already been filled for the building being rented. According to the management, just the opposite was the case with the last four buildings of Prairie Shores.

'Had we let nature take its course,' Kramer states, 'these buildings would have ended up almost 100 per cent white because of the larger proportion of qualified whites among the applicants.'"

Case Study Shows Need For Fair Housing Law

"Complaint valid. Case closed with no conciliation possible."

With that notation, the Commission on Human Relations closed a recent case of racial discrimination in housing.

The story is retold here because it points up the limitations of efforts to prevent racial restrictions without a fair housing law which would make certain types of housing available without regard to race.

Involved in the case were James Gradolph, a white graduate student at the University of Chicago; his two roommates, one of whom was Negro; and managers of the Hyde Park apartment building where he lived.

Gradolph had lived at the Hyde Park address for more than two years, sometimes with one, sometimes with two roommates who shared living expenses. Gradolph said his landlord knew of his roommates and had been acquainted with them. Then Gradolph took in a roommate who was Negro.

On July 16, 1962, Gradolph was told by his roommates that, while he was out, the building manager and his wife came to the apartment and inquired if Gradolph had taken in "a colored person." When they were told he had, they said the Negro must move out immediately. They claimed the lease prohibited more than two persons from living in the apartment. The lease did not. Gradolph said there were other apartments in the six flat building and in the adjoining building, also managed by the same people, in which lessees had taken in roommates, without advance permission, and the landlord had not objected.

On August 3, the building manager told Gradolph his lease would not be renewed when it expired on September 30, 1962.

Gradolph called upon the Congress of Racial Equality which asked the Chicago Commission on Human Relations to intervene. Both did what they could to help. The Commission negotiated a meeting between the two feuding parties and their attorneys. It ended in a deadlock.

Stan Williamson, art director of Follett Publishing Company, designed graphics of Commission's 1963 exhibit. Exhibit had been displayed in lobby of Commonwealth Edison Company and is being shown at City Hall during April. Organizations wishing to have exhibit shown on their premises during 1963 should contact the Commission.

Meanwhile, Gradolph continued to live in the apartment. During this time, his electricity was turned off and the apartment was rented to other tenants—three young women students at the University of Chicago. The women declined the apartment when they learned of the incident. The building manager filed a suit in Municipal Court for forcible eviction.

The case finally wound up in court. Gradolph's lawyer asked for a jury trial. Meanwhile, the court had ordered Gradolph to pay double rent—according to a provision in the lease—until the litigation was completed. By December 3, with Gradolph unable to pay double rent, the complaint had for all intents and purposes died and Gradolph moved out of the apartment.

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS
CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 West Wacker Drive • Chicago 6, Illinois
Telephone: 236-4912

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GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March, 1963

ANNUAL

S P R I N G

CONFERENCE

CAN MAN GET ALONG WITH MAN?

The Personal Side of Human Relations

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
April 26th through April 28th
Friday Night through Sunday Morning

The New Episcopal Camp Reese - 23 miles south of Brunswick, Georgia

A delightful spot overlooking the marshes --- Excellent cuisine
Invite a prospective member from a neighboring town.
Relax - Think - Talk - Study

ATTENTION: BOARD MEMBERS

Semi-annual Board Business Meeting - Saturday Noon.

COST - $15 per person for two nights and five meals.

Scholarships available on request.

Another first for the Georgia Council - a weekend meeting in a congenial atmosphere. The program (an exciting one) is being planned as a unit - so plan to come in time for supper, Friday night (6:00 O'clock) and stay through breakfast on Sunday morning.

Camp Reese, 23 miles south of Brunswick, is a delightful new spot. Beautiful - restful - comfortable.

There are separate dormitories for men and women. The beds have fine new Simmons mattresses.

Bring sheets, pillows, pillow cases, blankets, (it is cool at night) and towels.

A map showing exact directions will be mailed on receipt of your registration.

Dress comfortably (LADIES WEAR FLAT SHOES - the ground is rough).

The Camp will be opened solely for our use. Preparations must be made in advance. RESERVATIONS MUST BE IN BY APRIL 15th.

Please be prompt.

Mail by April 15th

GEORGIA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

( ) I wish reservations for (1)(2) nights and (1)(2)(3)(4)(5) meals.

( ) Enclosed money order, check. I will pay ( ) at the Camp-site. $15 per person.

( ) There will be (1)(2)(3)(4)(5)(6) persons with me. ( ) Male. ( ) Female.

( ) I wish to apply for a partial or full Scholarship.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

Intergroup Org. Off. Comm.
SB

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee

105 City Hall, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Phone 421-5700, Line 238

* The Executive Director's *
* *
* REPORT for APRIL 1963 *

HOUSING QUESTIONS INVOLVE THE CITY & CITIZENS IN MANY WAYS City Council on April 24 unanimously voted that "...passage of House Bill 308 in its present form would be of general and substantial benefit to the citizens of Cincinnati," and directed the City Manager to so inform the legislative subcommittee holding H.B. 308 at Columbus. Council acted after requesting the City Manager's recommendation. Concerning the bill (which would prohibit discrimination in selling, leasing and renting both public and private housing), Mr. Harrell concluded: "If the principle of integration is accepted as the ultimate democratic goal of our American way of life, then fair housing legislation such as H.B. 308 should be supported. It is therefore the recommendation of the City Manager that Council go on record as endorsing the passage of H.B. 308."

This 9-0 vote on a controversial question was not reported to readers of either daily newspaper. But on May 1 WCKY picked up the hot potato, "knowing full well that our editorial today is highly controversial." It brushed aside the idea of exempting housing built privately or financed by conventional loans, adding: "If the ideal of integration--equal opportunity for all American citizens, regardless of religion or color of skin--is generally accepted as the ultimately desirable goal of the American way of life, then fair housing legislation will support our constitutional form of government. About 19 states now have fair housing laws on the books, and we think Ohio should have such a law...We believe that discrimination in housing should be prohibited; and we applaud Council for their endorsement of House Bill 308."

(Prospects were dim for passage at Columbus as April became May. But win or lose now, the issue won't 'get lost'; as in FEP's history the battle will be fought until a workable remedy is found. As MFRC's Board on April 24 was "strongly supporting" H.B. 308, other events supported that assumption.)

Parktown Homes' protest to Council about segregative practices in public and private housing nearby--this led to a hearing before Council's Housing Committee on the 15th. A succession of groups and persons rapped the threat to Parktown's gallant integration effort, and public housing officials were closely questioned by the Committee, and asked for further information. MFRC's statement noted: "Many people feel that the question is not yet answered, can any family 'prefer' any CMHA project? So long as Winton Terrace and English Woods have only white tenants, the question remains." The weeks following the hearing were marked by a crisscross of contact and consultation among public and private organizations. Controversy was leading to cooperation.

On the 22d, Council's Housing Committee heard more critical voices, this time aimed at conduct of the Avondale-Corryville conservation project, and its 'citizen participation' aspects. Without getting into the detailed argument, we wonder if one 'villain' of the piece escaped due discredit: namely housing discrimination and segregation everywhere, which has chronically hindered and at points defeated the renewal efforts of this and many other cities.

Public housing had an eloquent interpreter here on April 4. The Commissioner of PHA, Mrs. Marie McGuire, spoke on "The Harsh Realities of Urban Growth," at the annual meeting of Seven Hills Neighborhood Houses. One quote: "Since its

inception the public housing program has been controversial. This controversy nationally revolves around our unwillingness to accept poverty as a neighbor or to admit the potentials of the economically disadvantaged. While the public housing program does not create the families with serious social or adjustment problems, the housing program in the public mind is held responsible for the quality and behavior of all its residents..." (Note: For a copy of this meaty 5-page paper, call MFRC; we have printed a limited supply.)

At April's end, our staff, officers and Trustees were developing new, more flexibly effective deployment of MFRC resources to deal with housing frictions in specific places. Responding first to calls from two areas, we set up teams of MFRC members to work with residents, intensively, on their situation. The early response was hopeful. As someone said, "Maybe we have to take the world as we find it--but we don't have to leave it that way."

AN INTERGROUP HOW-TO-DO-IT; THEY DID IT, WE HELPED This is the step-by-step log of a suburban church group who sought that novelty, interracial acquaintance, and found it with our aid. It began Feb. 3 when MFRC's director spoke at the Sunday service, and some members talked to him afterward over coffee. One of these later phoned Mr. Sparrow, asking: "How can we get to know Negro people, if we don't meet them in church, in informal gatherings and face-to-face discussion?" Into the assistant director's mind jumped the name of an MFRC member, a Negro living in that same suburb, who had told us: "I moved here four years ago; in the neighborhood my acquaintances are still limited to the merchants." But Mr. J soon found himself talking at the church about "A Negro in Suburbia," then making new friends who were asking, "How can we continue contact? How can we lower the barriers?"

The answer came soon in a home, where several church members had an evening of talk with Mr. & Mrs. J., MFRC's Mr. Sparrow and Mr. Wesley, and a young woman from Parktown Homes. The latter, as people opened up, began to talk of her life as a Negro in the deep South, and why she joined the protest movement. Spontaneously someone asked: "Would you please share, with our entire church group, your experiences?" She did, one April Sunday. It was very moving. It moved 15 church members downtown, four days later, to get acquainted with 20 tenants of Parktown, the interracial housing cooperative. The exploration continues...

P.S. In another neighborhood, a morning coffee club of housewives started on a similar odyssey. After inviting MFRC's director to sip and chat, they called in Better Housing League's executive--and then a prettier 'pro' from the Urban League. At their request she gave them leads to women of her race who she felt would be congenial, and interested in meeting with them. What happens next depends upon the individuals and how they click...But in both instances, the people are picking new friends without regard to labels. The individuals are supported in this 'daring' venture by doing it together, in a group. It works.

FEDERAL EQUAL-OPPORTUNITY EFFORTS HERE On the 30th Postmaster Joseph J. Scanlon called the first meeting of his new Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity. Composed of a cross-section of employees, it will help to implement the Executive Order of 1961 to end bias in federal employment. At the regional post-office level, Francis J. Lang is similarly responsible. He has indicated his desire to work with local groups. Also scheduled was a meeting on May 2 of local intergroup agencies with executives of the Army's Cincinnati Procurement District, and David Traub of Philadelphia who oversees "equal opportunity" compliance by contractors who supply the Army in 10 states...All this indicates that federal departments are taking equal job opportunity seriously.

EVEN THE COMPLAINTS WERE HEALTHY AT MFRC'S ANNUAL MEETING A voting majority of Council (Bachrach, Collins, Gilligan, Gradison, Spraul) were most welcome at our 19th Annual Dinner on the 18th--but the people did the important talking. Time ran out during their table discussions at Central High School, adjournment was called by the clock. Then we caught it! Reactions were pointed:-

"Not enough time for discussion".."Not enough time to even start breaking barriers"."Fine speeches..but give us more time, next time"."Suggest MFRC conduct an all-day workshop next fall to discuss further ways to "Break Down the Walls"."I propose a program of interracial home visits, such as started by Friendship House, Chicago"."Let's have a little less talk, more prayer, a few good definite plans, and some action"."Such programs bring together a desirably heterogeneous group of 'old pros' and others of us more limited in knowledge; a unique opportunity for citizens to become more informed, for coordination of related efforts"..."..Inspiring talks by Dan Kane & Mike Israel--can we continue Chicago?"

The last referred to the deeply moving reports by two of seven local men who attended the Conference on Religion and Race at Chicago in January. Regrets of a third delegate--Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, detained in Birmingham--were brought by his wife. "If in the struggle for justice we feel hate instead of love," she said quietly, "we shall have lost half the victory."

Capt. Elmer Reis's talk on ways of reducing police-citizen misunderstanding got an attentive hearing, but the audience of 190 seemed most intent upon applying the "spirit of Chicago" to many local problems. The table discussion range of topics ran like this: housing in general, touched by 6 groups; neighborhood intergroup work, 5; home financing, 3; urban renewal, 2; mass media's role, 2; employment, 5; schools--integration, and intergroup education, 2; Religion & Race, application here, 4; churches' responsibility to improve racial and interfaith relations, 3; the annual meeting itself, 2; police, 1.

Notes of the discussion, and Trustees' impressions from leading the table groups, will be analyzed to profit from the suggestions--and complaints, too.

OF THIS & THAT (1) MFRC's officers and staff held their third monthly evening meeting of strenuous discussion; running as usual to midnight!

(2) In the Post & Times-Star of April 20, an editorial page article by George Bidinger (two-time Trustee) sketched the origin and approach of MFRC. Title: "Friendly Persuasion: A Group at Work for Civic Harmony."

(3) The NAACP Recognition Luncheon on the 7th, honoring William Bowen, Lloyd Trotter and Martha Holt, was attended by MFRC Board-staff members.

(4) At two meetings in April, Mr. Sparrow continued to work with social services, schools and other agencies pooling resources in the West End.

(5) The possibility of another type of interfaith, interracial workshop experiment in Cincinnati was discussed here on April 1, involving several of our members and alumni. A second session is scheduled in June.

DAYTON CHR PICKS EXEC Last September, Dayton's new Commission on Human Relations called in MFRC's director for two hours talk on intergroup work. It then took until April, in a tight market for intergroup workers, to find an executive director: Edward A. King, Neighborhoods Division head in the Pittsburgh Commission's staff. After five years with that excellent agency, Mr. King brings tested talent to a city which seems desirous of using its new instrument effectively. Some 19 years ago, Dayton set up a short-lived 'MFRC'. The 1963 infant looks sturdier. We wish it many birthdays.

AT THE PUBLIC LIBRARY Attention is called to some recent magazine articles. "Prejudice Hurts Everyone" in February Parents' Magazine sensitively appeals to parents to realize how much they influence a child's attitude to prejudice, by words and actions...Educators face problems of "The Disadvantaged" in a special section of April NEA Journal which cites programs for improving the educational level of the culturally deprived and underprivileged of all ages...

In Saturday Review, April 13, Chester Bowles' "A Century: The New Commitment" examines progress toward racial equality since the Emancipation Proclamation... "The North and West Have Problems, Too" (Saturday Review, April 20) analyzes how housing patterns affect school segregation, as seen by Wisconsin U. Law Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.

SPEECHES: United Church Women (AW 4/1); Western Hills Ministers (MB 4/3)
Madisonville Neighborhood Clubs (AW 4/4); UC Education Classes (MB, AW 4/9-10)
St. Bernard Kiwanis Club (MB 4/10); CSC Club (AW & ES 4/10)
DePauw Students at Emanuel Center (AW 4/21); Hughes H.S. PTA (MB 4/25)
Westminster Foundation, UC (AW 4/28)

* * * *

LWD
PA

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

GEORGIA POLITICS

May, 1963

VISIT to the GOVERNOR

Your officers spent a most informative 45 minutes with Governor Carl Sanders last week. We discussed with him matters of our common concern. It was the unanimous decision of those present that it is possible and probable that Georgia can weather the storm of change and build a more democratic state in which man can live with pride.

Voter's Registration

Is your town working on Voter's Registration? Have you offered your services? Only 26.8% of Negroes of voting age are registered in Georgia. Far too small a percent of white liberals are registered. Check your fellow members and your neighbors. Offer to take a car load to the Registrar's Office. Recently Negroes in Baker County influenced an election. This influence goes far beyond whether a certain man wins or loses. About 300 Negroes are now registered in Baker County where two years ago not one was registered. If this can be done in Baker County, what can you do in your County? The political future of Georgia depends on YOU.

PRISON REFORM

One of the first steps necessary in accomplishing Georgia's goals of Justice is the recognition of the necessity for prison reform. The State Administration is to be complimented on the speed and straight forward manner in which the facts have been accepted and changes planned.

Political A ppointments

Mr. A. T. Walden and Senator Leroy Johnson have recently been appointed to the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Mr. Warren Cochran, Chief W. H. Aiken, Dr. C. A. Bacote were appointed as members of the Fifth District Congressional Democratic Committee.

We are seeing the beginning
of the end of taxation with-
out representation in Georgia.

COUNCIL GROWTH

The Council membership continues to climb. We have passed the 900 mark. This is fine when we think two years ago we had around 300 members. But when you compare 900 with the population of Georgia, it makes us see that we must get busy.

You find one new member and return the enclosed blank with the money. We would than have 1800 people in Georgia learning more, taking more action - toward the day when we have a real democratic society in our state.

- NEWS FROM THE COUNCILS -

Saint Simon Island, Georgia

Some people become more and more useful as the years pass. This is true of Mr. and Mrs. Emmett Johnson. They are leaving to spend the summer in Wisconsin with their daughter and from there they plan to work in Southern Rhodesia in the educational field. Georgia is still staggering from the blow of the loss of these wonderful workers in our Council. However, Mrs. Johnson writes:

> "We plan to keep up our membership dues and would like to feel that you will let us be your representative in Africa."

Macon, Georgia

Congratulations on the Second Annual Fund Raising Dinner for the Georgia Council. Just the time gray hairs were multiplying over figuring how to pay the monthly bills, the check came in! Thanks for the vote of confidence, as well as the generous check.

Atlanta, Georgia

Addition to staff of Southern Regional Council. You will be happy to know that Mr. Vernon Jordan, Field Secretary for the NAACP, has joined the staff of Southern Regional Council. We welcome Mr. Jordan into the SRC family! We look forward to working with Mr. Leon Cox who will be succeeding Mr. Jordan with the NAACP.

Schools

We have reason to believe that Junior Colleges and Area Vocational Trade Schools will offer little resistance to desegregation.
What can you do about the one nearest you?

SUJAID SHOID

SUMMER ACTIVITIES

PUBLICATIONS: Rome is preparing cool facts for distribution in their town. They believe that much misunderstanding can be explained and that many people can receive a needed shake when they know the truth. Do you know your town and county?

RECREATION: As you take recreation during the summer, make special efforts to ascertain if public parks are open to all. Share with us your experiences. Georgia has 75 state parks and innumerable local parks. Help us keep a box score on their use.

ARTS: The Quaker House in Atlanta has delightful summer programs for children and youth in the arts --- painting, acting, music. New friends are discovered as well as new experiences in the arts.

EDUCATION: Are there High School students who need a bit of coaching before entering college this fall? Are there High School Juniors who might have extra work and counseling concerning entrance to colleges or trade schools next year? Offer your services to your Principal.

New Court Rulings

Sit In - Playgrounds - Student Expulsion

1. What do they mean to your community?
2. Are there segregation ordinances in your city?
3. Are you prepared to cope with Demonstrations?
4. Are you discussing these things?

If the State Office can lend assistance, please call us. We will try to come or send an expert.

DECLENSION OF A SHIBBOLETH

Interesting data from an address by the Honorable Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, (to Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia) titled "Slogans, Semantics, and Shibboleths":

"You've heard that the District's crime rate is the highest in the Nation and that this rate continues to soar. Here we have two untrue assumptions that have been taken as gospel by people who don't bother to question the source of their information. Instead of being first, Washington actually ranks thirteenth among America's 25 largest cities in the number of crimes per population thousand, according to FBI Uniform Crime Reporting statistics. Further, compared to a national crime increase of 7 percent for the calendar year 1962 over the year 1961, the crime rate in Washington increased only 4.9 percent.

Read what the GAINESVILLE DAILY TIMES

says about the SPRING CONFERENCE of the

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

The Daily Times

GAINESVILLE, GA.

SYLVAN MEYER

The Crusade Consumes Their Lives

Near Brunswick at a church conference grounds beneath the moss-hung water oaks and the tall pines of the marsh country, a group of whites and Negroes stood in a circle. They held hands.

Many of the Negroes were young college students. They sang "We Shall Overcome" and their zeal for freedom from the burdens of race rang with a near religious fervor. No early patriot by Concord's rude bridge burned with greater intensity of purpose.

The people at the small meeting were all workers in the field that is called "human relations." Their organizations, which are myriad these days, labor for such causes as equal employment opportunity, Negro voter registration, better schools. One of the Negroes is a Mennonite, supported by the Mennonite church.

With a number of volunteer aides, white and Negro, he visits the crucibles in which the new attitudes of the South are smelted: Montgomery, Birmingham, Oxford, Albany. He preaches "reconciliation" and talks to whites and blacks alike of tolerance and love. Sometimes he can help with communications between antagonists in a crisis; sometimes this little band meets abuse itself. "We are a witness to the real unity of the family of Christ," he said. This man seems to have no race of his own, People say. He has only his mission.

Reading of marchers accosted by rowdies, of police breaking up the demonstrators with fire hose and dogs to protect them from mobs, one thinks of the singers and the Mennonite and all the others who have taken up a cause.

Oddly enough, they are mostly gentle people. Yet, they have a determination and a moral courage that is most remarkable. They have identified with something they consider more important than themselves, a crusade, if you will, more meaningful to them than anything else in their lives.

Whether their banner, to each personally, is God, America's image, the philosophy of liberty, freedom or whatever isn't as important as the drive and the rallying energy it bestows on them.

Being true to this cause consumes their lives. No police dog, firehose or ignoramus' bludgeon will stop them. Indeed, such treatment steels their hearts and brings them fresh troops by the hundreds.

This is one of the reasons they are winning. They find a fulfillment in their crusade while the truth is the other side is basically sick at heart of the whole business.

The subject of the Conference was "Can Man Get Along With Man." The meetings proved that eighty people, ages from 17 to 70, with economic backgrounds just as varied, could not only get along together but have a tremendous never-to-be-forgotten experience.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

May 26, 1963

Recent events in a number of American communities---Birmingham, Chicago, Nashville, New York, and Raleigh, to mention only the most prominent--underscore the fact that countless citizens have lost patience with the slow pace of response to their legitimate cry for human rights. Pleas of moderation or caution about timing on the part of white leaders are seen increasingly as an unwillingness to face the truth about the appalling injustice which more than a tenth of our citizens suffer daily. While we are thankful for the progress that has been made, this is not enough.

Our Church's position on racial inclusiveness within its own body and its responsibility for racial justice in society has been made clear on many occasions by the General Convention. But there is urgent need to demonstrate by specific actions what God has laid on us. Such actions must move beyond expressions of corporate penitence for our failures to an unmistakable identification of the Church, at all levels of its life, with those who are victims of oppression.

I think of the words we sing as we hail the ascended Christ, "Lord and the ruler of all men", and of our prayers at Whitsuntide as we ask God to work His will in us through his Holy Spirit. And then in contrast to our praises and our prayers our failure to put ourselves at the disposal of the Holy Spirit becomes painfully clear. Only as we take every step possible to join with each other across lines of racial separation in a common struggle for justice will our unity in the Spirit become a present reality.

It is not enough for the Church to exhort men to be good. Men, women and children are today risking their livelihood and their lives in protesting for their rights. We must support and strengthen their protest in every way possible, rather than give support to the forces of resistance by our silence. It should be a cause of rejoicing to the Christian community that Negro Americans and oppressed peoples everywhere are displaying a heightened sense of human dignity in their refusal to accept second class citizenship any longer.

The right to vote, to eat a hamburger where you want, to have a decent job, to live in a house fit for habitation: these are not rights to be litigated or negotiated. It is our shame that demonstrations must be carried out to win them. These constitutional rights <u>belong</u> to the Negro as to the white, because we are all men and we are all citizens. The white man needs to recognize this if he is to preserve his own humanity. It is a mark of the inversion of values in our society that those who today struggle to make the American experiment a reality through their protest are accused of disturbing the peace--and that more often than not the Church remains silent on this, our greatest domestic moral crisis.

I commend these specific measures to your attention: 1) I would ask you to involve yourselves. The crisis in communities North and South in such matters as housing, employment, public accomodations, and schools is steadily mounting. It is the duty of every Christian citizen to know fully what is happening in his own community, and actively to support efforts to meet the problems he encounters.

2) I would also ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help.

3) I would ask you to take action. Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully. Diocesan and church-related agencies, schools and other institutions also have a considerable distance to go in bringing their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race. I call attention to the firm action of the recent Convention of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. It further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral or financial support if these practices are not eliminated in the specified time. I believe we must make known where we stand unmistakably.

So I write with a deep sense of the urgency of the racial crisis in our country and the necessity for the Church to act. Present events reveal the possible imminence of catastrophe. The entire Christian community must pray and act.

- Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop

Hi!

Intergroup Org. Off. Comm.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Vol. 8, No. 1 May 1963 NEWSLETTER

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

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* HELP !!! HELP !!! HELP !!! *

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* ACHR is in the middle of its Annual Membership and Finance Drive. And your HELP is urgently needed to assure success. The Council must increase its financial support and broaden its membership base in order to maintain and extend its program. We are initiating among our membership an "each member get a member" campaign in order to double our present roll. Participation in this campaign is a tangible way for you to endorse the Council program, extend its scope and effectiveness, and demonstrate your interest in its work. We not only need your help. We are counting on it. A self-addressed envelope and two enrollment cards are enclosed for your use. We will be looking for your response. *

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LITTLE ROCK TAKES A GIANT STEP FORWARD

Last September a field secretary of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC - pronounced snick) appeared on the campus of Philander Smith College to help students plan their protests against discrimination. Sequence of events followed the pattern established in other upper-South communities: students ask businesses to desegregate, business men say "I will when the others do" but do not move to organize with others, students demonstrate, business organizes, committees negotiate plans and time tables, period of controlled desegregation, open facilities. (Some of these steps are more necessary than others!)

Although the white citizen's council held terror for individual business men, it proved completely ineffectual. A picket at Blass carrying a racist and anti-Semitic sign each noon hour for several weeks had no effect on business. Neither did an organized effort to close accounts. The picket subsequently moved to the Marion Hotel, headquarters for Arkansas' new and integrated baseball team, and finally to the ball field where he was all but stampeded by the crowd hurrying to find seats in the desegregated stadium on opening night. Few read the picket's sign: "Mr. Faubus plays ball with Negroes." The Travelers won!

Pub. Accomm. for BP.

For the record, the following facilities in Little Rock have opened since the first of 1963: Eating facilities at Blass, McClellan, Walgreen's and Woolworth; Rest rooms and water fountains in all downtown department stores; hospitality at the four hotels in the Southwest chain, Marion, Grady-Manning, Lafayette, and Albert Pike. (Dining facilities are open only to Negroes staying in the hotels) Still to be negotiated are restaurants and theaters.

ACHR served in both mediating and negotiating capacities and took the occasion to report discrimination of housing and eating facilities for Army, Navy and Marine inductees to the Defense Department. Complete desegregation was reported back within a week.

PINE BLUFF ASKS FOR GIANT STEP

With the help of two SNCC field workers students at A.M. & N. College in Pine Bluff organized to protest segregation in Pine Bluff. Their original number, about 30, was reduced to about 15, when President Davis warned he would expel any participants in demonstrations. Protests began the first of February. Attendance at Sunday evening rallies peaked at 900. A parade of adults and students included almost 500. 46 demonstrators (some of them high schoolers) were in jail at one time. The present peace would indicate that Pine Bluff prefers the pattern of Little Rock to that of Birmingham.

ACHR served as consultant and stimulator of communication.

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TOYM

Still a thrill to recall is the annual Ten Outstanding Young Men Congress held in Little Rock under the sponsorship of the National Junior Chamber of Commerce. To a standing ovation the ten without exception spoke out on freedom and civil rights. Bob Richards, Olympic pole vaulter and master of ceremonies, summarized by crying out to the audience: "Do we need to emphasize that we stand for freedom? In Little Rock, Arkansas, tonight we have honored a man who stands for civil rights -- another who said that we can't be free until James Meredith is free. If you're not inspired tonight, friends, you can't be touched."

JACQUELYN EVANS HEARD ROUND THE WORLD

Former Congressman Brooks Hays told a Hendrix College audience that while making a speech during a recent tour of Africa he was handed a cablegram from the State Department that Jacqui Evans (a student member of ACHR) had been elected to the National Honor Society of Hall High School in Little Rock. We hope this international approbation encourages Little Rock school officials to eliminate the remaining barriers to the schools as well as inside the schools. It was just

(continued)

last year that Miss Evans was denied membership in Beta Club, a less exacting honor group, was not allowed in the band, and was not allowed to participate in the Science Club Field trip.

Negro Parents Await Next Step

The 8th Circuit Court of Appeals said thusly in its March 2, 1961 Little Rock School decision:
"This injunction further requires that they (the School Board) 'take affirmative steps, on their own initiative' to facilitate and accomplish operation of the school district on a non-discriminatory basis."

It stated further, "We also appropriately observe that integration was to be effectively completed not later than 1963."

Now is the time for the School Board to make a public announcement ('affirmative step') that Negro elementary students are eligible to attend the school nearest their homes.

Summer Workshop for State Staffs

SRC is cooperating in a summer meeting for staffs of the Southern States' Human Relations Councils at the Blue Ridge Conference Grounds, Asheville, N.C., July 19-23. The directors of ACHR plan to participate. Out of it may come closer correlation and helpful cooperation among the states.

Catholics Study Race Relations

St. John's Catholic Seminary in Little Rock is taking a leadership role in education in human relations. In February it conducted an Institute on Race Relations for some two hundred laymen with four professors giving the lectures.

College Students Hold Race Conference

An interdenominational interracial conference for students was held at Aldersgate Camp, April 20-21. Some sixty-five students from nine Arkansas colleges joined in the program planned jointly by the Student Christian Associations, the Baptist Student Union, the Methodist Student Movement, and the Westminster Fellowship. Mrs. Edna Anderson, with the special student project in human relations of the national YWCA, took the initiative. Two ACHR directors, one Board member; two Advisory Council members and one member were used as resource leaders.

A Communist and States' Rights

"Karoly Csatorday, Communist Hungary's Ambassador to the United Nations, stopped in Dallas .... and told newsmen that Mississippi's racial problems should be left up to the state's officials 'just as the problems in my country are internal affairs.'"
-- ARKANSAS GAZETTE, April 27, 1963

Little Rock Institutes Interfaith Conference on Race and Religion

Continuing the Interfaith Conference on February 5 at Lasker Auditorium which was initiated by ACHR and co-sponsored by the Arkansas Council of Churches, the steering committee effectively instituted the Greater Little Rock Conference on Human Relations at a meeting, April 22, at Holy Souls Catholic School. One hundred and eight representatives from twenty-three Protestant affiliated groups, two Jewish congregations, one Greek Orthodox congregation and many Catholic institutions had the approving presence of six bishops and other church leaders for this interfaith movement to confront problems of race together. The steering committee was authorized to go forward with plans for the next session of the Conference.

Fayetteville Tackles Some Problems

Progress in desegregation of facilities continues well ahead of the rest of Arkansas but remains uneven in the home of the University. Theaters are desegregating. Some hotels and motels are taking Negro guests. University housing is not yet available on a desegregated basis, if at all. A one-room school for Negroes is still in existence.

Jim Loudermilk, Assistant Director of the University Wesley Foundation weathered the storm which resulted from his participation in a quiet protest against University discrimination in housing. He will be back next year as Director despite the efforts against him. Major objections to Loudermilk's activities came from the Board of Central Methodist Church of which Frank Broyles, the football coach, is chairman. (The day may come soon when the athletic department will have to work toward the desegregation of University and community facilities in order to attract Negro athletes.)

Jonesboro

Nothing is desegregated in Jonesboro but the college where a handful of Negro students attend classes but live off campus. A few of them were integrated into the Wesley Foundation program, directed by Don Franks. Unsuccessful in an attempt to modify a college policy against planned social activities which include Negroes, the Wesley students voted against having any planned social activities. Don Franks' future at the college is still uncertain.

Nat Griswold was speaker for the annual meeting of Pi Gamma Mu honorary social science fraternity at Arkansas State College. J. E. Griner, a professor of social science, said he heard nothing but complimentary remarks about the speech on "Trends in Race Relations."

over please

TENNIS, ANYONE ???

Spring weather is bringing to light the results of the court order desegregating recreation facilities in Little Rock. As a recent visitor to the ACHR office said after seeing some of the medical students playing at the Walker Tennis Center, "Suddenly 'mixed doubles' has ~~a~~ new meaning."

Paul Anthony Visits Little Rock

"Many thanks for making my visit to Little Rock so worthwhile...I would like to return soon." So wrote the Field Director of SRC in regard to his visit April 10-12. His schedule here included a meeting with the Finance Committee; an evening with Fred Darragh, Elaine McNeil, Roy Reed, Bev and Del Fisher, Jim and Pat Youngdahl at the Arnolds'; a luncheon at the Albert Pike with twenty-seven members of the Advisory Council with George Gunn presiding; the monthly meeting of the Board of Directors; a meeting of Negro leaders at the Suttons'; conference with Pat House and Irene Samuel of the Women's Emergency Committee; lunch with Messrs. Hugh Patterson, Grainger Williams, Frank Duff; and a visit with Ted Lamb.

The Director Visits Fayetteville

Margaret Griswold went to Fayetteville April 5-7 to plan for study at the University of Arkansas during the first summer session. Nat Griswold went along and thanks to alert members had profitable conferences and sessions: with the Religious Workers at their "sack lunch" - thanks to George Gunn; with the Fayetteville Council on Community Relations and Students for Freedom at dinner with the Petersens'; with leaders of the United Church Women; with Elaine McNeil at lunch; with students at the Wesley Foundation - thanks to Jim Loudermilk and A. W. Martin.

EACH

MEMBER

GET

A

MEMBER!

NEWSLETTER

LWD SDB BP MM

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W. — ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Chairman: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman May, 1963

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INSIDE PAGES

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JUNE LUNCHEON CANCELLED

Because of extra activities at this particular time of the year, and because more than 50 members of the Council are working on the finance campaign, and because we were not able to work out a satisfactory arrangement with a speaker from Grady Hospital, no June membership luncheon will be held.

As has been reported, in March we invited Dr. Jarman, Medical Advisor at Grady Hospital since last August, to speak to us in May. He agreed tentatively but when we called him for confirmation in April, he said that the pressure of business was too great. We then wrote asking him to speak on June 1, on any phase of Grady's program but pointed that the Council's special interest is that race not be a factor in the availability of all the hospital's facilities to all persons. On May 13, Dr. Jarman wrote "My position at Grady is one of advisor to the Hospital Authority on professional matters and as such, I do not consider it my prerogative to speak on subjects related to Grady that you appear to be interested in." Mr. Duvall, chairman of the Hospital Authority, was willing to meet with us but said he could give a more complete report in the fall.

AMBULANCE SERVICE - WHITE OR COLORED

Atlantans are shocked when reminded periodically that before answering an emergency call, Grady Hospital asks if the victim is white or colored. The explanation has always been that Grady calls on local funeral homes for supplementary emergency ambulance service and the funeral homes are "segregated." After such a report some weeks a go, a GACHR representative made a telephone survey of all the funeral homes listed in the classified section of the telephone directory. There are 41 in the metropolitan area, 17 Negroes and 24 whites. Although the normal business is completely segregated, all but 1 of the 41 agreed that they would provide emergency ambulance service to anybody without regard to race or color - and that 1 did not say that he would not. This information has been forwarded t o the Hospital Authority.

RESTAURANTS

Interviews with Operators: During the winter, GACHR representatives called on most of the eating places which are desegregated and asked for reports on their experiences. Without exception the reports were of good business and no unpleasantness with staff or customers. Armed with this, GACHR called quietly on various members of the Atlanta Restaurant Association (who made it clear they could not speak for the Association) urging that Atlanta take this step voluntarily and take it now before tension and bitterness mount. There was agreement on one thing - that "it is bound to come." The question seems to be when and how. The operators say they do not want "pressure" and yet they do not seem to have plans for moving on their own. GACHR has worked closely with other groups and individuals. During the last month, a number of GACHR members, Negro and white adults, have quietly gone to restaurants and asked for service. In most instances they have been refused, and quietly left, but in some instances they have been served - also quietly!

The interracial nature of the group has demonstrated that there are white people who are concerned and when service is refused, Negroes and white share the refusal alike. This seems to be one way in which individuals acting on their own and with their friends can demonstrate their hope to have Atlanta restaurants desegregated.

Student Appeal: See last page of Newsletter.

Greetings to an African Visitor: "We're happy to have you in Atlanta and glad that you are able to stay in a comfortable hotel. We must advise you, however, to stick to the hotel when you eat in this vicinity and not try any of the numerous other eating places closeby. There is a restaurant, about a mile downtown, and places in downtown stores where you may eat, but none of the places closeby.. We hope you enjoy your stay in Atlanta."

SCHOOLS

What Would You do?: A year ago several Atlanta senior Negro Transfer students were told by teachers and principals that they would not be able to go with their class on a trip to Callaway Gardens, because Callaway Gardens does not admit Negroes. GACHR pointed out to the Board of Education that the fact that all other class functions were open to those students was known and appreciated but that it did not seem proper for a school sponsored function to be planned or permitted at any place which would automatically exclude any member of the class.

This month a senior Negro Transfer student was told that she would not be able to go with her class on a trip to Callaway Gardens. The principal, when questioned, said that frankly they had not thought about it but he did not think this student would want to have the class miss the trip just because she could not go. GACHR again wrote to each member of the Board of Education, questioning the policy of permitting school sponsored function to be held at a place which would exclude Negro members of the class. (Correspondence with Callaway Gardens last year confirmed the policy of excluding Negroes).

When a GACHR representative telephoned the President of the Board of Education, Mr. Elmo Holt, he said he had not replied because he "couldn't think of anything to say".. As of this writing, the student still would like to go with her class on the trip.

Separate and Equal: From the Agenda for the April 8 meeting of the Atlanta Board of Education this information: While the average teacher load for Atlanta high schools dropped from 24 to 23, 8 of the 25 high schools still have 24 or over. It figures out that of 10,521 Negro high school students, 6924 or 65% are in schools with above average teacher load; out of 19,617 white students, 4,164 or 26% are in schools with above average teacher load.

DeKalb Schools: The Commission on Christian Social Concerns of Glenn Memorial Church has endorsed the Council's request that the DeKalb Board of Education voluntarily desegregate DeKalb schools.

Silence: From Westminster Schools about admission policies for summer school, in spite of a letter and telephone call to the principal. Lovett trustees are still wrestling with the matter whether they will accept for consideration any application from a Negro child.. still "no policy."

STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

Congratulations to the Atlanta Constitution and The Atlanta Journal for removing any designation of race from listings of funeral notices, movies and classified "help wanted" ads! (We hope that Everybody will read All the ads and apply for jobs accordingly).

Welcome: to Charlotte Arnise Small, first Negro baby born at St. Joseph's Inf..

Reminder: that all courses at Smith-Hughes Vocational School and all training programs at Grady Hospital, including x-ray and medical technology, are desegregated. And for the summer - pops concerts, Theater Under the Stars at Chastain Park, Academy Theater and practically all local art, drama, and offerings are for everybody... also all city of Atlanta facilities. (Facilities of other parts of metropolitan area still segregated as far as we know. We hope we're wrong, would like to be corrected).

MISCELLANEOUS

Atlanta, Miami and Houston: In Atlanta, 191 Negro students applied for transfer to 14 (4 more than this year) white high schools for 1963-64... When Dade County (Miami) schools open in 1963-64, 32 schools, including senior, junior high and elementary, will be integrated, "with more than 2500 Negroes in attendance." (News item)... All hotels in Houston are desegregated, according to a recent traveler there.

Housing Authority: Although, the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing is not binding on projects already in operation, it "directs departments and agencies to use their good offices... to promote abandonment of practices of discrimination in housing heretofore provided with federal assistance.

A letter from GACHR to Mr. John O. Chiles, chairman of the Atlanta Housing Authority asking what affect the Order would have on the practices and/or policies of the Atlanta Housing Authority brought the reply that "to date (April 4) there has been no change in Board policy."

Well Said: "My claim to equality has its logical basis in the recognition of my fellow men's identical claim. Do I not forfeit my own rights by denying to my fellow man the rights I claim for myself." Abram Heschell in "Race: Challenge to Religion."

By Mayor Allen, after disagreement with 1 Atlanta hotel operator: "I expect to be going into Atlanta's hotels with respect and dignity for the balance of my life."..... Would that all citizens of Atlanta could voice the same expectation.

In the Works: Revised list of integrated facilities and a chronoligical summary of desegregation in Atlanta since 1954 we hope to send with the next Newsletter. If you could or would help with tracking down details, call the office.

COMMITTEE ON APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
Post Office Box 202
Atlanta University Center
Atlanta 14, Georgia

AN APPEAL TO THE CITIZENS OF ATLANTA

Atlanta has set the example of good will in many areas of our city. Let's keep Atlanta a place where people want to live and where people outside Atlanta want to visit.

Three years ago, 500 students were arrested in Atlanta when they tried to buy meals at eating places which are licensed as PUBLIC PLACES of Business. They were refused service because they were Negroes and when they refused to leave the premises, were arrested for trespassing, under a Georgia state law passed that same year.

Since that time, many merchants have opened their service facilities of their stores, including eating places, to all customers. One new restaurant and two hotels have opened their doors to all regardless of race or color.

We have waited patiently now for three years for some indication from the restaurant operators that they have plans for changing their policy of not serving Negroes. The general attitude has been that they have no objections to Negro customers, but that their white customers would object. We cannot believe that citizens of cosmopolitan center like Atlanta, who travel to all parts of the world and welcome visitors from all parts of the world, want this situation to continue or would object to service to Negroes on the same basis as service to whites.

We appeal to the fair-minded people of Atlanta to express to individual restaurant operators to the Restaurant Association, the Chamber of Commerce and to city officials their conviction that public places of business should not grant service to some and deny it to others on the basis of skin color, and that they themselves, as individual customers, would regard desegregation of restaurants as a happy combination of good business and true Americanism.

We make a special appeal to the city officials who grant the licenses for these places to do business to lend their efforts to make Atlanta a truly progressive city.

If you would like to help your city, won't you mail the statement below to Ralph Moore; the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights: P.O. Box 202, Atlanta University Center, Atlanta 14, Georgia.

I earnestly recommend that all the restaurants in Atlanta admit people to their places of business without regard to color.

Signed: _____

PITTSBURGH
HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW

Commission on Human Relations
518 CITY COUNTY BLDG

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 3 JUNE, 1963

NEW COMMISSIONER TAKES OATH

—Photo by Joe Mueller

With an inch of snow on the ground, and Reds parading in Red Square, Pittsburgh area high school seniors observing Law Day on May 1 were privileged to witness Mayor Joseph M. Barr administer the oath of office to new CHR Commissioner Thomas M. Kerr, Jr.

Looking on with approval are, from left, Joseph Joscak of Braddock, Dick Jewell and Janet Milliken of Bethel Park, Mrs. Thomas M. Kerr, Jr., Thomas M. Kerr, Jr., Mayor Joseph M. Barr, and CHR Director Louis Mason, Jr.

Fair Housing Act Tested

The February 1963 issue of the "Human Relations Review" carried a story on the refusal of a realtor, who is the owner and developer of a parcel of lots for residential building, to sell a lot to a Negro doctor who wished to build a home there. Under provisions of Pittsburgh's Fair Housing Ordinance Number 523 of 1958, after all attempts at peaceful conciliation had failed, the Commission on Human Relations ordered a public hearing to be held in December, 1962, as a result of which the Stanton Land Company and its president, realtor Francis X. Totten, were ordered on February 6 to sell a residential lot in their Stanton Heights Manor Plan to Dr. Oswald Nickens.

The Stanton Land Company and Francis X. Totten, refusing to obey the Commission's order to sell the lot to Dr. Nickens, then requested Common Pleas Court to issue an injunction to prevent the City of Pittsburgh from enforcing its Fair Housing Act. This ordinance stipulates that any person who owns or controls five or more properties shall not discriminate in the sale or rental of these properties because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

The City of Pittsburgh filed a counterclaim, charging that the Stanton Land Company and Francis X. Totten were in violation of the City's Fair Housing Act.

Thus it is that the constitutionality of Pittsburgh's Fair Housing Act will be tested in a precedent-setting case. Lasting nine days, the trial began on July 16 and was heard by Common Pleas Judge Frederic G. Weir. Attorney Gilbert J. Helwig, counsel for the respondent, asked for, and was refused, a

(*Continued on Page* 4)

Unions Accept Negroes

At the request of Mayor Joseph M. Barr, a meeting was held on June 17 to implement a program of wider employment of non-white craftsmen in the construction industry in the City of Pittsburgh. Representatives were present from the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, the Human Relations Committee of the Building Trades Council, and the Master Builders Association. Chairing the meeting was Eric Springer, chairman of the Labor Committee of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, which was instructed by the Mayor to take immediate steps to integrate the construction industry within the City.

A resolution, to the effect that the Building Trades Council of Pittsburgh agreed to cooperate to eliminate discrimination in employment in the building and construction industry, was presented by Anthony Furlan, President of the Building Trades Council, which unanimously adopted the resolution on June 12.

A policy statement issued by the Master Builders Association of Western Pennsylvania was presented by their Executive Secretary, William C. Bowden. It indicated the desire of the construction industry to eliminate any presently existing discrimination, and complete willingness to cooperate with the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations.

In order to implement immediately these policies, a subcommittee was appointed to meet June 18 to further the integration of the construction industry by (1) opening up the apprenticeship program of the unions to all qualified persons, regardless of race, creed or color, and (2) to eliminate barriers,

(*Continued on Page* 2)

Kerr New Commissioner

Named to succeed Branch Rickey, who left Pittsburgh to advise the St. Louis Cardinals, Thomas M. Kerr, Jr., was sworn into office as a member of the Commission on Human Relations by Mayor Joseph M. Barr in May.

Mr. Kerr is chief counsel in the Anti-Trust section of Westinghouse Electric Corporation. He joined Westinghouse in 1956 and was elevated to his present position in 1961.

Mr. Kerr is a graduate of Lafayette College and earned an LL.B degree at George Washington University in 1950. During World War II he saw 4½ years service in the U. S. Marine Corps.

Before joining the legal staff at Westinghouse, Mr. Kerr was a trial attorney in the Anti-Trust Division of the U. S. Department of Justice, and from 1954 to 1956 was assistant chief of the Midwest office in Chicago.

Mr. Kerr is chairman of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a board member of the First Unitarian Church.

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CHR ELECTS

At its official meeting in May, the Commission on Human Relations elected new officers. Mr. T. Z. Korsak, an attorney with the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, was elected Chairman. Elected to serve with him as Vice-Chairmen were the Reverend Charles P. Robshaw and Eric W. Springer. Mrs. Louis J. Reizenstein was elected to the office of Treasurer, and Dominic F. Dornetto to the office of Secretary.

Mr. Korsak, a native of Poland, replaces Mrs. Jonas E. Salk, who served as Chairman of the Commission for the past four years and has left Pittsburgh for California.

Mr. Korsak became a United States citizen in 1946. He received his B. A. degree at Carleton College in Minnesota, M. A. degree at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Massachusetts, and a law degree from the University of Pittsburgh. He served with the Field Artillery of the Polish Army in France and Great Britain, and with the American military service in the United States Army in 1945-1946.

A former board member of the American Service Institute, he is a member of the American Bar Association, the Allegheny County Bar Association, and the Polish Art League. He served on the Mayor's Civic Unity Council up to his appointment as Commissioner in 1955.

Mr. Springer is Assistant Director of the University of Pittsburgh Health Law Center, and Rev. Robshaw is Pastor of the East Liberty Presbyterian Church.

(*Continued on Page* 4)

Unions Accept Negroes . . .

(*Continued from Page* 1)

where any exist, for all competent and qualified craftsmen.

Members of the subcommittee are: Representing the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Eric Springer and Joseph Sabel; representing the Master Builders Association, Lee Weed and William C. Bowden; representing the Building Trades Council, Anthony Furlan and Angelo Carboni. Serving as consultants to the subcommittee are Louis Mason, Jr., Executive Director of CHR, and Mrs. Marion Finkelhor, City Law Department.

By July 8, when the Interim Report was released to the public, the subcommittee had scheduled and held six meetings to confer with representatives of all major unions within the Building Trades Council, with the exception of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 5. The other unions agreed to cooperate with the subcommittee, either by opening up union membership to non-white workers, or by increasing non-white membership, in those unions which already have integrated membership. The Electrical Workers, Local 5, concluded a similar agreement with the City on July 23.

Anti-Discrimination Legislation. Because the public policy of the City of Pittsburgh has been embodied through legislation of the Pittsburgh Fair Employment Ordinance, No. 237 of 1955, to eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, or place of birth, by employers, employment agencies, labor organizations and other groups, the aim of the subcommittee in meeting with each union was to **implement** these prohibitions against discrimination by a positive program, and to enlarge the participation by non-whites in the building trades.

Variations in Unions. Because of differences in the membership procedures, hiring practices, apprentice-training programs, and the degree of integration of the various trade unions, emphasis was put on elimination of racial barriers within the building trades, rather than on requesting inclusion of a specific percentage or number of non-white members.

Agreements Reached. Essentially, all of the major unions of the Building Trades Council accepted the Council's resolution to cooperate with the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, and to implement the extension of employment opportunities for the Negro worker. All of the participating unions tentatively agreed to the following proposals, subject to formal ratification by the union membership:

1. **Journeymen** (skilled craftsmen): Qualified craftsmen who can meet present standards of skill as established by individual unions will be accepted immediately for membership. As a protection to both the union and the applicant, where the union requires a written or oral examination, a neutral observer selected by the Mayor's Commission will be present, or such other safeguards will be taken as deemed necessary to insure fair and impartial testing.

2. **Apprentice-Training Program:** Because of widespread current unemployment in the building trades industry, many unions do not have an active apprentice program. However, each union agreed to accept an appropriate number of interested, qualified non-white applicants for their next apprentice program. In those unions wherein the trainee is selected entirely by the employer, the unions agreed they would set up no barriers to the selection of non-white applicants, and would welcome such apprentices.

—Photo by Frank Davis, Pa. Human Relations Commission

Members of panel on "Religion, Government, and Fair Practices" confer before session on May 23 during 15th Annual Conference of Commissions for Human Rights at Penn-Sheraton Hotel in Pittsburgh. From left to right are: Dr. Charles P. Robshaw, Commissioner, Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations; John A. McDermott, Executive Director, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago; Mrs. Florence S. Reizenstein, Commissioner, Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations and Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission: Mrs. Marguerite I. Hofer, Director, Department of Church and Community, Pittsburgh Presbytery; and Louis Rosenzweig, Chairman, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Implementation. The subcommittee viewed the participation of the major craft unions as evidence of their desire to cooperate and to implement a positive program of training for, and participation of, Negroes in the building industry. However, because of the serious unemployment of trained and experienced craftsmen, both white and Negro, in the building trades, the ultimate solution of the unemployment problem will be realized mainly through new construction and an increase of total employment opportunities. At the same time, it is necessary to step up the training of non-white youth to be ready to take full advantage of skilled job opportunities when they come.

Future Recommendations. The work of the subcommittee to date has been with union representatives. In many trades, opportunities for employment and apprentice-training rest with the contractor, rather than the union. While the Master Builders Association has been a member of this subcommittee, other employers, such as the electrical and the roofing contractors, did not participate. Therefore, the subcommittee made the following recommendations:

1. The subcommittee should hold meetings with all affected employer groups to establish more specific procedures, particularly on apprentice-training programs.

2. The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations should specifically follow up with both unions and employers on each apprentice-training program, at the time of recruitment for same.

3. At the end of a 3-month period, each union will submit a progress report to the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, to determine the effects of this program on journeymen applications for union membership.

Participants. Among those who participated in the agreements reached were the following: Representing the Master Builders Association, President Lee Weed and Secretary William C. Bowden. Representing the Pittsburgh Building Trades Council and their Human Relations Committee, President Anthony J. Furlan, Secretary Tim Crannan, Angelo Carboni, and Carl T. Westland. Representing the National AFL-CIO, Field Representative Victor A. Mills. Representing their Civil Rights Committee, Chairman James R. Thomas. Representing the City of Pittsburgh Law Department, Mrs. Marion Finkelhor. And finally, representing the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Commissioners John B. Warman, Joseph H. Sabel, Mrs. Florence S. Reizenstein, Dominic F. Dornetto, Eric Springer, and Executive Director Louis Mason, Jr.

Industrialists Tell How

Participants in the Conference of Commissions on Human Rights held in Pittsburgh in May were treated to an account of methods used by industry leaders to comply with the "letter and spirit" of anti-discrimination employment laws.

At a panel discussion, Edward M. Beck, General Personnel and Research Supervisor of the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania, asserted that Bell Telephone has embarked on a program of "positive action," in recognition of the fact that it is not enough to simply have a policy of equal employment opportunity. Moving in a number of directions concurrently to provide equality of employment, the Bell Telephone Company informs public school guidance specialists that they hire without regard to race, and as part of their recruitment program, the company requests the presence of non-whites at the career conferences. The company works directly with the Negro community, through its ministers and other leaders, to interest Negro employees in their program, often utilizing present Negro employees to help recruit others. The internal phase of Bell Telephone's positive action program includes re-training of all personnel department employees to insure that they will carry out the program in an affirmative manner. When a complaint of racial discrimination is lodged against the company, they conduct an internal investigation and take appropriate action. Complete integration in all plants is fostered, including the social programs of the company.

Dr. Charles Scholl, Manager of Industrial Relations, Defense and Space Group, Burroughs Corporation, indicated that the Burroughs Corporation has undertaken a similar positive program. At its inception, the company's supervisors had it "spelled out" to them that the company could not afford a reputation of bigotry because of the adverse financial effect such a reputation would have; also, that their largest single customer, the United States Government, would not tolerate employment discrimination. Supervisors were impressed with the fact that the Burroughs Corporation needs highly qualified and skilled men regardless of race, because of the technical nature of their products.

(*Continued on Page* 4)

MARC-NAHRO ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Not the least of important conferences held in May and June was the Middle Atlantic Regional Conference of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, held at the Pittsburgh Penn-Sheraton Hotel, June 16-19.

The keynote address, "The Task Before Us," was delivered by Adolph W. Schmidt, Vice President, T. Mellon & Sons; Executive Committee Member and former President and Chairman, Allegheny Conference on Community Development; Chairman, Pennsylvania State Planning Board; and President, Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission.

Asserting that the task before us is to increase our housing starts from 1,400,000 to 2,500,000 annually for the next ten years, and to double the current rate of our urban renewal activities throughout the entire United States, Mr. Schmidt indicated there are certain fundamentals without which the task cannot be accomplished:

● **Political Organization.** With increasing urbanization of population, the political structure under which we operate has been increasingly outdated, especially for the past fifty years. In Pennsylvania, whose legislature is dominated by the rural element, a Constitutional revision and re-apportionment are long overdue. Until this situation is fundamentally corrected, city planners cannot accomplish their tasks; without political tools, the job can't be done.

● **Population Control.** Citing impressive statistics, Mr. Schmidt stated that, at the present annual U. S. population growth rate of 1.7%, our 1963 population of 190,000,000 will double in 37 years. By the year 2000, there will be well over 350,000,000 people in this country. In the Southwestern Pennsylvania region, the population in 1960 was 2,600,000, and is expected to be 5,200,000 in 2000.

Noting that it has taken 200 years for us to build and produce everything we see today, Mr. Schmidt wondered if we can double all this in the next 37 years, or whether a population growth of these dimensions means we'll all have to do with less. We cannot expect Science to come to our rescue. Warning that we must "make no little plans," Mr. Schmidt suggested that (1) businessmen should study demographic facts and decide what's best in the long run, (2) businessmen should support all efforts to bring the seriousness of the population problem to all, (3) we must advocate and support intensive research by the National Institute of Mental Health and others for contraceptives acceptable to all religious groups, and (4) planning for national population goals should be advocated much as economic and business goals are planned for, since business is "interested only if its largesse is not increasingly atomized."

● **International Organization.** All planning can be erased in a few minutes if we fail to give this area our attention. We presently spend 83% of the federal budget for war preparation. Aside from these large amounts spent on appropriations for defense, cost of Veterans Administration and related programs, interest on federal debt as result of World War II, foreign services, and aid to underdeveloped countries, where then will money for housing starts come from?

The solution can only be a political solution, which is possible to achieve today. Though we should have no hopes of disarmament, and peace cannot be won by bribing underdeveloped countries which will become greater liabilities in the years ahead as their populations explode, we should take at least half of our tremendous budgets devoted to nuclear "over-kill" and utilize it to (1) prevent future wars among ourselves, by continuing the European Common Market, which can become a most divisive force if linked up with the U.S.S.R., and (2) make a common bloc in the 15 NATO countries against the Soviet bloc, which can only hope to win, even without firing a shot, if they can keep us separated and fighting among ourselves. This is a political, not an economic, problem. However, the Atlantic Common Market is our only hope for any chance of increasing our rate of economic growth; what could our businessmen do with a new market to reach of 450 million people?

Mr. Schmidt concluded that peace, like happiness, is only a by-product of other things being in tune and being right. It is not likely that we shall succeed in the task before us if we fail to take appropriate cognizance and action in the three major problem areas discussed.

—Photos by Mike Rizzo

Panelists who spoke before the General Session at the MARC-NAHRO Conference on June 17 are shown at one of the major sessions, at which the keynote address was delivered by Adolph W. Schmidt.

In upper photo, from left, are: Rev. Charles H. Foggie, Commissioner, Housing Authority of Pittsburgh; David W. Craig, City Solicitor of Pittsburgh, and President, American Society of Planning Officials; Thomas R. Finlon, Chairman, Allegheny County (Pa.) Housing Authority, and Regional President, MARC-NAHRO; Adolph W. Schmidt, Vice President, T. Mellon & Sons, and President, A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust; Alfred E. Tronzo, Administrator, Housing Authority of Pittsburgh, and Chairman, Program Committee for Conference.

The bottom photo portrays some of the Conference delegates and visitors who listened intently to the keynote address.

Housing—A Case History

A Negro doctor applied for an apartment in one of Pittsburgh's highest priced apartment buildings. Shown several apartments by the real estate agent, the doctor could not make up his mind among them. Telephoning the agent several days later to inform him of his choice, the doctor was told he would have to make arrangements in person, as the apartment could not be reserved by phone. The doctor and the real estate agent agreed to meet at the apartment house to discuss lease arrangements.

The agent did not appear at the designated time, and when the doctor telephoned him next day, he was informed that the apartment had been rented. The doctor and the agent agreed to meet again to select a suitable apartment. This time the agent said that his application would be studied by a "committee" who would decide whether the doctor was qualified to be a tenant. They would notify him within two weeks of his acceptance or rejection.

At this point, the doctor filed a complaint with the Commission. The Commission decided to withhold investigation pending a decision by the "committee."

After two weeks, the complainant was accepted as a tenant, and presently resides in the apartment house. There has been no apparent difficulty, and the Commission closed the case.

This case demonstrates the necessity for vigilance in cases of suspected discrimination, while emphasizing the importance of knowing when to employ restraint.

Fair Housing Act Tested . . .

(*Continued from Page* 1)

jury trial of the case. Judge Weir upheld City Solicitor David W. Craig's arguments that a jury would sit only in an advisory capacity and its decision would not be binding upon the judge; and there is no constitutional right to a jury trial in an injunction case.

In refusing to sell a lot to a Negro, the respondents through their attorney contend:

- Their refusal to sell to Dr. Nickens was not based on racial grounds.
- The City of Pittsburgh does not have the power, under the Pennsylvania second-class city code, to confer on a commission the authority to require a seller to sell to any particular person.
- The order of the Commission on Human Relations will have no reasonable tendency to accomplish the purpose of the ordinance.
- The ordinance is inconsistent with the requirements of due process, because it has no provision for judicial review, and the Commission acts as prosecutor, judge, and jury.

Since testimony in the nine-day case will not be transcribed until October 1, Judge Weir directed the opposing attorneys to submit briefs by that date so that he may prepare his decision by October 31.

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CHR Elects . . .

(*Continued from Page* 1)

Mrs. Reizenstein has been prominent in the field of civil rights on local, state, and national levels. She is a Commissioner with the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission. Mr. Dornetto is International Representative with the United Auto Workers of America.

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Industrialists Tell How . . .

(*Continued from Page* 2)

To those company presidents who say, "I'm not prejudiced, but I don't believe my employees will stand for an integrated work force," it is respectfully suggested they study the positive programs undertaken by these leading lights who have seen the light.

—Photo by Joe Mueller

At a farewell luncheon in her honor, former CHR Chairman Mrs. Jonas E. Salk accepts a plaque imprinted with the resolution passed by City Council in June (see story below). From left to right are: CHR Commissioner Mrs. Florence Reizenstein; Mrs. Salk; and newly elected CHR Chairman, Commissioner T. Z. Korsak.

CITY CITES CHR CHAIRMAN

On the occasion of the resignation of CHR Chairman Mrs. Jonas E. Salk, who left Pittsburgh in June to join her husband in La Jolla, California, the City Council of Pittsburgh passed the following resolution on June 3rd, approved by the Mayor on June 6th:

WHEREAS, Mrs. Jonas E. Salk was appointed to the Commission on Human Relations in 1955 and was elected its Chairman in 1959 having held various committee chairmanships in the interim; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Salk gave effective leadership to both Commissioners and staff in the work of the Commission; and

WHEREAS, Through work with civic, fraternal and nationality groups, Mrs. Salk gave unstintingly of her time and energy to improve intergroup relations and understanding throughout the community; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Salk, in addition to innumerable radio and television broadcasts, appeared before seventy-two divergent groups speaking directly with more than fifty-seven hundred individuals between October 16, 1959, and May 16, 1963; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Salk served as co-chairman of the Allegheny County Committee for Fair Housing Practices, the work of which was instrumental and resulted in the City of Pittsburgh becoming the second in the nation to enact a fair housing ordinance; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Salk dispatched her service with moral courage and conviction, with tact and diplomacy, and with sympathetic understanding for all points of view;

THEREFORE, be it

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and the Members of Council at its official meeting on June 3, 1963, extends its deepest appreciation, love and affection for the leadership given by Donna L. Salk in her humanitarian efforts to further the important work of The Commission on Human Relations.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
518 City-County Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219
281-3900, extension 480

T. Z. Korsak, Chairman
Rev. Charles P. Robshaw, Vice Chairman
Eric W. Springer, Vice Chairman
Dominic F. Dornetto, Secretary
Mrs. Louis J. Reizenstein, Treasurer
Louis Mason, Jr., Executive Director

HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW
(Official publication of the Commission on Human Relations)
Marion A. Keller, Editor
June, 1963

Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FROM THE DESK OF
monroe schlactus

Mr. Blackford —

How about this?

at least I give
you the credit!

M.

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

MEMORANDUM

To: Southeastern Regional Advisory Board

From: Monroe Schlactus

Date: August 14, 1963

Subject:

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1963

Attached is another synopsis of recent developments in areas of racial protest and reaction which was prepared by the research department of the Southern Regional Council.

It covers the period June 24-July 24, 1963.

It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of these events. It is meant only to serve as background information.

Additional data or corrections are invited.

We would appreciate knowing whether or not the information contained in this series of special reports is of interest to you.

ms/bw

ALABAMA

Bessemer -- Has repealed city ordinances requiring segregation.

Birmingham - Has been quiet and without demonstrations or arrests pending terms of May agreement being put into operation. June 27 --three municipal golf courses desegregated without incident. At least 9 churches integrated.

July 11 - City tentatively agreed the use of City Auditorium on August 5 by the American Guild of Variety Artist's "Salute to Freedom '63," integrated show before a non-segregated audience (two firsts for the hall).

July 13 - Mayor Boutwell announced formation of a 211-member bi-racial community affairs committee, created by city council resolution, to have 10 subcommittees, about 20% Negro membership. Some segregation signs down in stores' fitting rooms and water fountains, a Negro reportedly hired as a retail clerk, approximately 10 department & chain store lunchcounters to desegregate this month, according to truce timetable.

July 23 - city repealed its segregation ordinances.

Gadsden -- Since June 23, when approximately 600 attended a Martin Luther King rally demonstration, marches were heavily attended and continuous through July 1. During this time, at least 52 demonstrators arrested (June 27) and one protestor (June 29) who sat on white side of Trailways Bus Depot waiting room. A Justice Department aide sparked mediations.

July 1 - Negroes announced suspension of demonstrations indefinitely as transit compnay buses ended de facto seating segregation.

July 6 - KKK rally.

July 10 - County solicitor announced his office had been hampered in work on death of freedom walker William Moore (there have been no developments) as "all of our investigation agencies have been tied up" with racial demonstrations. Persons arrested during previous mass demonstrations released on bond pending trial.

Huntsville - Week of May 20 - first Negro policeman named to city force.

Montgomery - Has repealed city segregation ordinances.

Talladega - Demonstrations aimed largely at lunch counters desegregation, which began April 9, resulted in more than 50 arrests before a temporary injunction halted them briefly April 28.

July 5 - Permanent injunction barring racial demonstrations issued.

Selma - June 17 - A Negro voter registration worker arrested during drive.

June 26 - Justice Department's motion for injunction to bar the trial denied. City has repealed segregation ordinances.

GEORGIA

Albany - July 6 - KKK rally of approximately 300

July 7 - Groups of Negroes and whites attempted to swim at former city pool. Now privately owned and operated for whites only.

Resulted in 12 arrests.

July 8 - Thirteen arrested in protest gathering at City Hall.

July 10 - Six arrests.

July 12 - One white arrested for shooting at Negroes.

July 13 - Ten arrested for picketing home of head of Board of Education.

In early July a Justice Department negotiator attempted to bring city commission and Negro and white business leadership together in a bi-racial committee. No official results, but 40-odd businessmen have met unofficially with Negro leaders in recent weeks.

July 23 - City Commission refuses to appoint a bi-racial committee. Periodic, isolated outbursts of disorder and/or vandalism.

Americus - July 12-14 - Thirty five persons total arrested picketing segregated movie theatre.

July 19 - At least 11 arrested after attempts to enter theatre.

Atlanta - June 25 - Approximately 45 restaurants began desegregating, and

Since June 27 - pickets protesting integration have appeared sporadically at about six locations.

June 27 - University of Florida band cancelled reservation for 140 persons at a hotel which had declined to integrate during the previous week (when approximately 14 did) - band currently has no Negro members.

Since June 27 - Negroes have picketed off and on a liquor store protesting discriminatory employment. Owner has agreed to hire an additional Negro employee.

June 30 - Attempts by Negroes to worship at morning and evening services of First Baptist Church failed.

July 1 - Approximately 250 Negroes marched through downtown protesting discriminatory hiring of restaurant chain.

July 7 - NAACP, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Committee for Cooperative Action, and Committee on Appeal for Human Rights met and reactivated (1961) Student-Adult Liaison Committee. Goal - 5,000 new jobs for Negroes.

July 7 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again.

July 13 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 14 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again, but that date Negroes arrived early, seated themselves for evening services, had their seating area roped off by ushers when they did not leave.

July 16 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 16 - Mississippi Gov. Barnett spoke under auspices of White Citizens' Council with pro-and con- pickets, no incidents.

July 19- Twelve pickets arrested at one restaurant, site of more or less continuous anti-segregation picketing and some hurly-burly.

July 22 - Picketing at telephone company favoring hiring of more Negroes.

Augusta - June 29 - May Park desegregated as Negro and white children played baseball together without incident.

July 14 - Chronicle-Herald editorially advocated desegregation of tax-supported facilities, equal civic, county employment.

Brunswick - Has an advisory bi-racial committee set up by city government, dates from Winter 1963, is currently active.

Carrollton - June 27 - An Episcopal minister publicly addressed members of his congregation to support his opposition to White Citizens' Council.

Columbus - June 25 - Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theatres have agreed to desegregate in fall 1963.

Since July 5, when seven Negroes used the library reading room but were denied library cards, protests with substantial numbers of demonstrators have centered around the library, with at least 10 arrests, the library being closed at times, indefinitely on July 18.

Three separate groups of Negro leadership have expressed opposition to protest demonstration.

July 17 - While pickets marched before Muscogee County School Board, Board announced library and school desegregation on a "timetable," probably 1964.

July 17-19 - Successive attempts of Negroes to use Lakebotton and Weracoba Parks, rocks hurled by Negro and white youths at one another. Five arrests, parks closed.

July 17 - Two (one Negro and one white) of the city's three pools closed.

Cordele - July 16 - Announced hiring of city's first Negro policeman.

Macon - July 1 - Ten establishments, including Mercer University and Wesleyan College, a grocery, bookstore, and shopping center, signed contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Savannah - June 19 - July 16 - (When demonstrations, which had been halted briefly, erupted into violence) negotiations between Negro leaders and white businessmen have been intermittent and a bi-racial committee had been meeting with the approval of the City Commission and the Chamber of Commerce.

July 16 - After nearly a month of stalemate and disturbances, closed negotiations commenced, mediators being named by a group of 100 business elite.

No agreement has been reached on desegregation of public accommodations asked by Negroes, their cause confused somewhat by lack of centralized leadership to date. Activities through July 12 included nightly demonstration marches numbering hundreds, daytime picketing and smaller demonstrations, mass meetings, weather permitting. Police surveillance has been thorough.

Toll in wounded at least six, arrests estimated at 240, with some violence.

June 25 - Arrest of youth leader triggered intensive and resumed talks, several days of calm, then July 4 renewed demonstrations demanding his release. A school desegregation plan to commence with the 12th grade in fall of 1963 announced July 1 dissatisfying to many.

July 5 - First appearance of approximately 30 white, anti-integration pickets.

July 9 - Popular Negro leader arrested, currently in jail on reduced bond of $15,500.

July 10 - Thirty arrested for lying down in streets protesting arrest. Concurrently - July 10 and 14, wade-ins at Savannah Beach, with at least eight arrests.

July 10-11 - Midnight demonstrations comprising approximately 1000 persons, exchanges of rocks and tear gas, vandalism. By dawn of July 11, approximately 100 state troopers arrived.

July 12 - Demonstrations, further violence.

July 13 - Pro-segregation white motorcade of approximately 65 persons -- 31 ministers, including Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist Bishops, call for "just resolution," offer their services.

July 14 - Negroes denied admittance to several white churches.

Savannah - cont'd

Subsequently, all factions of Negro leadership have called for end to violence and mass demonstrations, urged voter registration, peaceful picketing, economic pressure.

July 16 - Negro fireman shot by white youths, six arrested.

July 18 - Negro youths picket Chase-Manhattan Bank (buyer of Savannah Municipal Bonds) in New York.

July 20 - Ku Klux Klan outdoor meeting. Rallies, picketing, negotiation continue. Atmosphere quiet, tense expectant.

SOUTH CARILINA

Anderson -

June 12 - City Council repealed local ordinance prohibiting serving whites and Negroes at the same lunchcounter, also agreed to hire Negro policemen and to the establishment of a bi-racial committee.

Charleston -

July 3-July 23 - An estimated 150 Negro demonstrators arrested on charges of obstructing traffic July 3 in the first mass arrest of anti-segregation demonstrators here in 1963.

Similar demonstrations had been occurring for more than a week, but this was first time Negroes had been marching at a slow step. Fire trucks were used July 16 to break up a crowd of 500 Negro demonstrators. Trucks called out after four policemen were injured by flying bricks in first racial violence during a month of protests; crowd scattered at sight of trucks and no fire hoses were used. S.C. Governor Donald Russell ordered state troopers into Charleston July 17, and alerted certain national guard units.

During a march by 175 Negroes through downtown area July 20, three Negro ministers and Wilhelmina Gantt, mother of Harvey Gantt, first Negro admitted to Clemson, were arrested. Meanwhile, white and Negro leaders reported that two bi-racial conferences held July 19, had proven helpful, though no settlement was reached. Sixty-two downtown merchants agreed July 23 to integrate their stores, but the move did not placate demonstration leaders who said the series of demonstrations which began six weeks ago would continue. "We don't know who these 62 merchants are," commented one leader, "they will have to let us know specifically who will integrate and who will not integrate."

In another development, it was announced June 27 that Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients in the fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

Columbia - June 24-July 10 - The district office of the Internal Revenus Service here hired its fourth employee June 24. Governor Russell met with five white and three Negro members of the S.C. Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission June 28. It was a closed door meeting, but two members indicated that a wide range of topics involving integration in S. C. was discussed.

July 7 - A white man began 30 days of hard labor for slapping a Negro girl who refused to move to the back of a bus.

July 10 - Federal Judge J. Robert Martin of Greenville, S.C., ordered desegregation of all state parks.

Desegregation to take place 60 days hence. There is a possibility, however, that the parks will be closed; present state law forbids the operation of any park that is not segregated.

Florence - June 30 - A 20-man bi-racial committee has been formed here to establish lines of communication between white and Negro leaders. Its formation was endorsed by 82 community leaders.

Greenville - July 3 - The Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors urged the formation of a bi-racial committee, saying such a move should be taken in the best interests of local race relations.

Orangeburg - June 28 - The president of the S.C. Municipal Association called upon Negroes to refrain from demonstrating and urged them to try to solve racial problems in each community in "good faith."

Richland - County July 2 - Two Negroes were among four deputies hired by the Richland County sheriff's office. The two deputies are the first Negroes to be hired in Richland County.

Rock Hill - June 12 - The Rock Hill Chamber of Commerce recommended immediate integration of all city businesses serving the general public; resolution passed unanimously by chamber's 15-member Board of Directors.

Sumter - July 3 = The Carnegie Public Library here is now open to Negroes.

TENNESSEE

Bolivar - July 7 - a group of Hardeman County citizens met with Negroes from the County Improvement Assn. to discuss job opportunities and use of public facilities. Judge Max Frost told the group the jobs they were seeking are state and federal and that local citizens have no control over them.

Chattanooga - July 7 - The Board of Directors of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce unanimously issued an appeal to "the owners of the firms doing business with the general public to provide...equal treatment of all people."

July 9 - Officials announced that most of the city's leading restaurants, about 70%, had been or would be desegregated. This move was the result of negotiations that have been underway for weeks.

Knoxville - July 3 - Approximately 50 Knoxville restaurants and careterias have agreed to desegregate their facilities voluntarily. The desegregation move was worked out by an executive group of the Committee for Peaceful and Orderly Desegregation.

* * * * ** * * * * * * * * * * *

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED: JUNE 24- JULY 24

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Gadsden
Huntsville

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Augusta
Cordele
Macon

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Charleston

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Knoxville

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. 523-1618 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SPECIAL REPORT

Intergroup org.
Off. comm.

PITTSBURGH
HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW

Commission on Human Relations
518 CITY COUNTY BLDG

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 4 AUGUST, 1963

City Tightens Construction Contracts

The City of Pittsburgh in August inserted a rider into its construction contracts clarifying and tightening the City's fair employment requirements, with the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations designated as the compliance agency.

Under the rider, specific procedures are set up to insure compliance with the legal provisions that no contractors, subcontractors, or unions shall discriminate in employment on construction for the City of Pittsburgh because of race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin.

CHR has been given authority to inspect relevant records of contractors, sub-contractors, and unions, and make necessary investigations, when discrimination is alleged. The findings will be then reported to a Contract Committee of three members, consisting of the Director of the City Department for which the work has been contracted, and two citizen members of the Commission on Human Relations.

Failure to comply with the City's non-discrimination laws can lead to contract termination with loss of all money due that contractor, under provisions of the Pennsylvania Public Contracts Act. While the new rider carries penalty clauses, it is not basically a punitive measure. Rather, it is an effort to develop creative and positive day-to-day implementation of fair employment legislation.

The new rider, included as part of every City construction contract since July 1, makes the following provisions: (1) Non-discrimination by contractors in hiring and personnel practices, including selection of employees for training, apprenticeship, promotion, etc. (2) All sub-contracts let by contractors must include the same provisions. (3) Formal and informal agreements between labor organizations, contractors and sub-contractors, if in violation of the Pennsylvania Public Contracts Act, the Pittsburgh Fair Employment Ordinance, or the new Rider. (4) Posting of notice by contractors and sub-contractors, in readily accessible places during construction period, of non-discriminatory employment policy. (5) Confidential access by CHR to books and records of contractors and sub-contractors, in connection with administration of the State and City Fair Employment Practices Laws. (6) Machinery for filing of complaint alleging discrimination, including provisions for immediate investigation and subsequent action. (7) Where finding is made of a violation constituting a "substantial breach of contract," provision that the

(*Continued on Page 2*)

PA. HRC ISSUES ORDER

A continuing examination by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commision of their racial policies was avoided by seven AFL-CIO crafts unions in Pittsburgh when, on July 10, the second day of public hearings scheduled to run for three days, they abruptly agreed to take immediate steps to admit Negro members and apprentices.

The State's integration order is substantially identical to a voluntary agreement reached between six of the union members of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council and the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations on July 8. These six unions are: Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Local 751; Iron Workers, Local 3; Elevator Constructors, Local 6; Plumbers and Pipefitters, Locals 27 and 449; Asbestos Workers, Local 2. In addition to the above unions who signed an agreement with the City, the agreement signed with the State included the Electrical Workers, Local 5. The latter union concluded their agreement with the City on July 23.

The State agreement additionally applies to State contracts and to all territory covered by unions, which means beyond the City limits of Pittsburgh to much of Western Pennsylvania, in some instances.

—Photo courtesy of Keenan Photos

St. Paul's Cathedral in Oakland was the scene of the first of a series of demonstrations urging stronger civil rights legislation, conducted by representatives of the Catholic Interracial Council during Sunday masses on September 22.

Placard-carrying demonstrators marched before the Cathedral armed with thousands of handbills which they distributed to parishioners and passers-by, with the approval of Bishop John J. Wright and Msgr. Andrew J. Pauley, rector of St. Paul's and a CHR Commissioner.

The handbills urged recipients to petition the President and House Majority and Minority Leaders Carl Albert and Charles A. Halleck, respectively, "expressing support of the administration's omnibus civil rights bill H. R. 7152, including an amendment establishing an enforceable Fair Employment Practices Act."

CIC Board Member Eugene Webb, of St. Richard's parish, Webster Avenue, is shown explaining the use of the CIC handbill to Virginia Hughes, of St. Edward's Parish, Blaw-Knox.

CHR GAINS SUBPOENA POWER

During the last session of the Pennsylvania Legislature, a law was passed giving subpoena power to any official of the City of Pittsburgh empowered to conduct public hearings. This action culminates years of effort on the part of the Commission on Human Relations to obtain the power of subpoena.

It was the belief of those concerned with the effective enforcement and administration of our local laws against discrimination that some power was needed to compel persons to attend and testify at public hearings to which they were a party. Since the formation of the Commission on Human Relations in 1955, three public hearings have been conducted and, in each case, the respondents have failed even to appear. It is obvious that a much more complete adjudication of a case occurs when respondents appear and present their defense to a charge of discrimination.

The bill (No. 1808) was originally introduced into the House of Representatives on March 18, 1963, by Messrs. Kramer, Kamyk, Clarke, and Fenrich, and referred next day to the Committee concerned with Class 1, 2, and 2A Cities and Counties. Under the new law, any person subpoenaed as a witness to attend a public hearing held by the Commission must attend. The law also gives the Commission power to issue subpoenas DUCES TECUM, which can compel the production of books, records, documents, etc., at public hearings.

Any person who refuses to obey a subpoena, or who refuses to be sworn or affirmed, or refuses to testify once he has appeared, may be cited for contempt, and for this purpose application may be made to the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County.

—Photo by Mike Rizzo

Seeking to learn whether Pittsburgh's manners have improved during the past thirty years, Editor Marion A. Keller interviews two Shrine leaders at their Hotel Penn-Sheraton Convention Headquarters in August. Shown agreeing that Pittsburgh's hospitality to outsiders was "most satisfactory" are, from left, James E. Denkins of Baltimore, Imperial Director of Public Relations, and Waynard H. Jones of Detroit, Convention Director, Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

CITY RATES PRAISE

"Times have changed since 1933," recalled Mr. Waynard H. Jones in an interview with Editor Marion A. Keller on August 22 at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel during a Shrine Convention. Mr. Jones, Convention Director of the Ancient Egyption Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (AEAONMS), remembered that the last convention held in Pittsburgh by the Shriners, thirty years ago, took place in the Hill District, with local residents offering their homes to the delegates, there being limited hotel accommodations then for the guests.

Since 1949, the Shriners have had an increasingly high rate of attendance at their conventions, held annually in different cities. In recent years, the Shrine Convention has been received well in all convention cities. Asked how Pittsburgh treated them by comparison with other cities, Mr. Jones stated that the reception in Pittsburgh was the "same or better; there is no known instance wherein anyone was refused service." No complaints regarding hotel accommodations or hotels were received by the Convention Director from any of the guests. There were approximately 8,000 Shrine members attending the 6-day convention in Pittsburgh, with representation from the total Shrine membership of 15,247, and Women's Auxiliary known as Daughters of Isis, whose membership is 6,400.

All in all, the Shrine Convention in Pittsburgh was considered by its own leadership to have been a "quite satisfactory" experience.

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City Construction Contracts . . .

(*Continued from Page* 1)

City deduct from funds due and payable to the contractor a penalty of $5.00 for each person for each calendar day during which the contract breach persisted. (8) For a second or subsequent breach, subjection of contractor to provisions of the Public Contracts Act under which the City may terminate the contract immediately, with forfeiture of all money due or to become due to the contractor.

KABB COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING

The KABB Community Council held its annual meeting in May and elected new officers. Mr. James V. Tortola presented some remarks based on his experiences during the past seven years while acting as Chairman of the Manchester Neighborhood Council. Mr. C. Howard McPeak was re-elected to serve as Council President for the 1963-64 program year. Other officers chosen to guide the activities of this citizen action group during the coming year include: Mr. Lee A. Harris, Sr., Vice-President; Mrs. Margaret Shaw, Recording Secretary; Mr. Budd Spangler, Corresponding Secretary; and Rev. Bradley Caddell, Treasurer.

The KABB Council is a broadly representative citizen organization brought into being through the joint efforts of CHR staff and interested area residents. The council brings together many social forces from the South Hills neighborhoods of Knoxville, Allentown, Beltzhoover and Bon Air, on a non-political, non-sectarian and interracial basis. CHR presently provides direct staff service to the council and its constituent committees.

The Commission decided to organize this action group only after a good deal of deliberation and study. Mr. Norman Taylor, a graduate student from the School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, carried out an in-depth exploration of intergroup relations in Beltzhoover from February until May of 1961, to determine whether or not there was a need for Commission activity in Beltzhoover and the surrounding South Hills neighborhoods.

(*Continued on Page* 3)

Jobs Sought Under ARA

Recently organized by a group of Pittsburgh men and a woman to encourage new business and business expansion, the Business and Job Corporation hopes to create additional jobs in two areas having a high level of unemployment. Under provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act, this community non-profit corporation has as a goal the creation of increased employment opportunities in the Hill District and the Homewood-Brushton areas.

Having received its charter in July, the Business and Job Corporation already is sponsoring one project, which is expected to create eighty-two jobs. Two additional projects, involving manufacturing processes, have been suggested. Future plans call for consideration of ideas which will promote new business in the Pittsburgh area.

The Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) was enacted by Congress in 1961, and was designed to create a working partnership between private enterprise, the state, and the federal government. The purpose of the Act was to encourage new or expanding business to create new jobs, in areas which suffered economically due to high rates of unemployment.

For business firms, establishing or expanding in certified redevelopment areas, the Act makes possible low-interest, long-term loans. ARA loans from local commercial sources, and investment capital, provide the financial stucture necessary. In addition to loans being made available, the community must participate, through its willingness to invest in new or expanding business by supplying 10% of the needed capital in the form of loans. Repayment of the community loans occurs after all other fixed loans are satisfied. Because the Act states that the community must be involved, it is necessary to establish a legal entity.

The sixteen Incorporators of the Business and Job Development Corporation are: President, Russell Shelton; Vice President, Rev. Walter J. Hardaway; Secretary, Lenore E. Rainey; Treasurer, Leonard N. Browne; Harry Bray, James M. Burgette, Harry Fitzgerald, William Goode, Arthur Halloway, John V. Hicks, Luther J. Johnson, James Jordon, Silas Knox, Robert Lavelle, Luther Sewell, Henry Smith, Jr.

COMMUNITY TENSION — A CASE HISTORY

One Friday evening, a CHR field representative received a phone call at his home. The caller, a Negro mother, stated that her young son and a white boy who resided several doors away had had a fight, and as a result white teenagers were driving up and down the block threatening her family. An eruption of violence appeared imminent.

Arriving on the scene in short order, CHR investigator questioned the Negro family. Watching the scene, the white family sat on their doorstep five houses away. Tension and hostility, on both sides, were at a peak. Diplomacy of a high order was called for.

The story, later confirmed by the white family, was that the white boy accused the Negro boy of stealing his shoes at the high school they both attended. In the heat of the ensuing argument, the Negro boy struck the white boy in the face. His older brother, upon learning of this, went to the home of the Negro family, waving a screwdriver threateningly in the air, and cursing the Negro father to goad him into a fight. When the Negro father refused to fight, the brother left.

Soon after, two carloads of white boys drove up and down the street, shouting curses at the Negro family and warning them, "You'd better not fall asleep tonight." They carried baseball bats in their hands; it was suspected other weapons were hidden in the autos. To this, the Negro father's terse reaction was, "I have some guns upstairs—if they start trouble, I'll drop them in their tracks."

CHR investigator then talked with the white family, asking what they thought the solution to the problem might be. Agreeing as to the basic facts of the case, the young man with the screwdriver said, "Well, if they leave us alone, we'll leave them alone." They were reminded of their obligations as citizens to keep order in the neighborhood, and prevent racial outbreaks. The family agreed to accept this.

Returning to the home of the Negro family, CHR investigator told them of the white family's willingness to cease aggression, and suggested further contact between the two families be eliminated. The Negro family agreed to abide by the truce. Violence was averted, and the Negro family moved from the neighborhood, as they had planned for some time, seven days later. During this period, close follow-up was done by Commission staff, to make sure nothing could go wrong. Case was closed after the Negro family moved from the neighborhood and it was determined that no further community friction resulted from the original incident.

—Photo by Joe Mueller

Getting into practice for a quick trip to the next 4-alarm fire, Battalion Chief Jack H. Harrison, of Sheraden, is ready to go with his driver, Chief's Aide James Flavin. Elevated in August to position of District #1 Battalion Chief, Mr. Harrison is the first Negro to be promoted to this position. He has 21 years service with the Fire Department, working as a "hoseman" until 1956, when he became Captain of #5 Engine Company in District #1. Chief Harrison's District begins at the Point; its boundaries include the Strip to 33rd Street, the Soho area, and the Bluff.

KABB Council Meeting . . .

(*Continued from Page* 2)

In all, a full year of research, planning and discussion meetings preceded the Council's organizational meeting held during February, 1962. Representative committees of hilltop residents worked with Commission on Human Relations staff members in contacting and meeting with the various citizen organizations, agencies and institutions in the Allentown, Knoxville, Mt. Oliver, Beltzhoover and Bon Air area.

Council members feel that the KABB Community Council is serving a number of significant functions which benefit the hilltop neighborhoods it represents. It is providing a channel of communication through which individual residents and the various groups in the hilltop area may have an opportunity to make their wishes on neighborhood issues known to other groups and individuals in the area. The Council is also providing a means for the common discussion of community problems and for **unified** efforts directed toward the solving of these problems. The Council is affording an opportunity for the residents of the hilltop communities it represents to participate in community planning through contact with city-wide planning bodies. The Council also acts as a vehicle for promoting understanding by stimulating the community to look at and seek solutions to intergroup relations problems in the area as these arise.

Currently, the Council represents thirty-three South Hills agencies, institutions, civic and social groups. There are approximately 115 individual and group members on the mailing list. An average of 35 to 50 members have attended general membership meetings. Standing committee members have maintained a high level of attendance at committee meetings.

This past Spring, two project committees carried out programs agreed on by the general membership: (1) a traffic planning committee was successful in securing additional traffic control devices and is hoping to secure some changes in traffic patterns in the neighborhoods the Council represents; (2) a clean-up, paint-up committee is presently carrying out a community improvement program in cooperation with local Boy and Girl Scout groups.

The committee responsible for planning and carrying out the Clean-Up, Paint-Up program included the following KABB Council members and Boy and Girl Scout leaders: Mrs. Thomas Truax, Mrs. Iona Kraus, Mrs. Ann Linz, Mrs. Lucille Stockhausen, Lawrence Johnson, Minor Thomas, Milford Davis, Joseph Linz, Sam Campagna, Elwyn Weber, Charles Dobbs, Andrew Pottgeiser, Mrs. U. E. Dibble, E. T. Powell, Al Gorski, Mrs. Catherine Highgate and C. S. Whitaker.

Members of the Traffic Planning Committee are: Lee A. Harris, Sr., Budd Spangler, Mrs. Glenn Vensel and C. S. Whitaker.

The Permissive Area of State Anti-Discrimination Laws

We note with interest that the first volume of the Duquesne University Law Review (Spring 1963) carried an article on the subject of laws against discrimination. The article, written anonymously by a Duquesne University Law School student, deals with the thorny problem of how far state and local governments may legislate against discrimination before a conflict arises with federal law covering the same subject matter.

The article first analyzes the recent decision of Levitt and Sons, Inc., vs. Division Against Discrimination, a 1960 New Jersey Case involving the builder of Levittown, Pennsylvania. In the Levitt case a complaint was filed with the Division Against Discrimination alleging that the Levitt Company was guilty of racial discrimination in failing to sell houses to the complainant. The issue on appeal was "whether Congress' refusal to incorporate a policy of non-discrimination in national housing legislation indicated a specific policy, thereby precluding state action forbidding racial discrimination in federally assisted housing." The Supreme Court of New Jersey decided that the New Jersey law against discrimination did not conflict with federal law. The Court stated: "There is a considerable gap between Congress' refusing to adopt an express policy of non-discrimination in regard to FHA insured housing to be applicable under all circumstances and in all sections of the country, and a congressional policy prohibiting states from enacting laws prescribing such discrimination." Another recent decision analyzed in the article is Marlon D. Green vs. Continental Air Lines, Inc. In the Green case, unlike the Levitt case, the Supreme Court of Colorado held that the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission had no power over the airlines doing business both in and outside of Colorado, because the federal government had pre-empted the field through the Civil Aeronautics Act and the Railway Labor Act. However, on further appeal the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that there was no conflict with the federal law and that the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission has jurisdiction over an airlines engaged in inter-state commerce, doing business in Colorado.

The following sentence, in the conclusion of the article, cogently summarizes the policy basis for the actions of the New Jersey Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court in sustaining the respective actions of the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, and the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission.

"The recent decisions stemming from Brown vs. the Board of Education, the 1961 ICC ruling banning discrimination in waiting rooms, the Presidential Executive Orders 19025 and 11063, and the widespread prevalence of state anti-discrimination statutes, are sufficient to indicate that the statutes in question actually aid in already existing national policy."

It appears that another legal attempt on the part of those who would seek to abrogate the laws against discrimination has failed. The argument that local and state anti-discrimination laws conflict with federal laws on the same subject matter, be it housing, transportation, etc., is without merit. As the article clearly points out, local and state anti-discrimination laws are in consort rather than conflict with federal policy and federal law.

—Photo by Joe Mueller

At their biennial meeting to evaluate CHR policy and program, Commissioners and Staff added to a busy schedule when they met at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel on September 17, from 3:00 to 11:00 p.m. Shown, from left, are Commissioners Dean N. R. H. Moor, Roland M. Sawyer, James L. Hayes, Rev. John B. Warman, James O. Dougan, Mrs. Florence Reizenstein, Chairman T. Z. Korsak; Executive Director Louis Mason, Jr.; staff members Marion A. Keller and Leonard L. Karter; Commissioners Eric W. Springer and Dominic F. Dornetto; staff members W. John Hannigan and David Washington.

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

SEPTEMBER 1963

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

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Chicago Now Has A Fair Housing Ordinance

The City Council of Chicago, by a 30-to-16 vote, adopted September 11 a Fair Housing Ordinance. Its preamble declares:

"It is . . . the policy of the City of Chicago to assure full and equal opportunity to all residents of the City to obtain fair and adequate housing . . . without discrimination . . . because of . . . race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry."

The ordinance amends the Municipal Code to prohibit real estate brokers licensed by the city, and those operating in Chicago but licensed elsewhere, from discriminating against a prospective home buyer or renter because of his race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

On September 12, the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, whose duty it is to carry out the purposes and provisions of the ordinance, indicated it would "consult with interested groups in determining rules and regulations to carry out the letter and spirit of the ordinance."

To speed up preparation of such procedures, Ely M. Aaron, chairman, appointed a special Commission subcommittee which will go to work immediately. Dr. Marshal L. Scott, dean of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, chairman, and Attorneys Jerome J. Friedman and William R. Ming, Jr., are on the subcommittee.

The ordinance prohibits real estate brokers from:

1. refusing to sell, lease or rent any residential real estate,
2. exploiting or overcharging any person for residential housing accommodations,
3. discriminating or participating in discrimination in connection with borrowing or lending money or accepting mortgages,
4. refusing to show a listing

because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

It also outlaws "panic peddling" in racially changing neighborhoods by prohibiting real estate brokers from soliciting residential real estate on the grounds of loss

(Continued on Page 4)

Commission Seeks Nominees For Seven Annual Awards

Nominations are being sought by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations for its seven annual awards in human relations.

Lee Schooler, chairman of the Awards committee, inviting persons throughout Chicago to nominate candidates for the awards, said:

"We need your help in locating those who deserve to be so honored. Your nominations are the basis for our selections."

Six awards are given to individuals and organizations that have made outstanding contributions to the improvement of human relations in Chicago. A seventh award, a memorial to the late Thomas and Eleanor Wright, is given to a professional human relations worker. Thomas Wright was at one time executive

(Continued on Page 4)

Owen F. Lee, second from right, chief examiner of the Department of Financial Institutions, State of Illinois, presents credit union charter to a committee of tenants of the Frances Cabrini-William Green Homes. Eugene M. Johnson, right, president of the Cabrini-Green credit union, accepts charter, as George W. Tynes, Mrs. Augusta Cunningham and Andrew F. Johnson, from left, look on approvingly. This is the second credit union to be organized in a Chicago Housing Authority development under a pilot program developed by the Mayor's Committee on New Residents in cooperation with the Illinois Credit Union League. The first was formed last November at the Rockwell Gardens-Maplewood Court project on the West Side. (Chicago Daily News Photo)

Roundup of Illinois' New Rights Legislation

The 1963 session of the Illinois General Assembly approved legislation which marked some progress in human relations.

A roundup of bills passed and signed into law shows:

—Swimming pools were added to the list of places of public accommodations where it is unlawful to practice racial discrimination (House Bill 93).

—The Fair Employment Practices Act was broadened to include the State of Illinois as an employer and all other political subdivisions and governmental agencies (House Bill 137).

—Hospitals are now required to give emergency treatment or first aid to persons suffering serious medical disability as well as to the injured (House Bill 106).

—School boards are required as soon as practicable to change boundaries of school districts to take into account the prevention of racial segregation (House Bill 113).

—Business schools may suffer suspension or loss of certificate if they refuse to admit applicants on account of race, color or creed (House Bill 849).

—Reimbursement to the counties for care of children will be made only for care in those institutions which admit children on the basis of need without regard to race or ethnic origin (House Bill 54 and Senate Bills 310, 312).

—An Illinois Emancipation Centennial Commission was established for the observance of the Century of Negro Progress and was appropriated $73,350 (House Bill 783).

—A Commission on Spanish-speaking Residents was established to study the problems faced by Spanish-speaking peoples and make recommendations to lessen these problems (Senate Bill 919).

The proposed Fair Housing Practices Bill (House Bill 755), which failed to pass, generated the most excitement in the area of civil rights. It would have made racial discrimination unlawful in the sale or rental of all housing units in the state except owner-occupied dwellings with three units or less, and housing owned and operated for members of religious bodies and bonafide private clubs. It also would have established a Fair Housing Practices Commission empowered to investigate complaints, conciliate and persuade for a solution, and to seek court orders if necessary to carry out its decisions. This bill failed of passage in the House by just two votes. A similar bill was introduced in the previous session of the legislature and received 71 favorable votes as compared to the 87 this year.

Meanwhile, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois has called for the elimination of racial and religious discrimination in all phases of state government. He issued a Code of Fair Practices as an executive order governing state services and facilities, employment, licensing, contracts for public works, financial assistance, state-supported training and apprentice programs, employment services and professional training.

Governor Kerner requested all executive agencies to post the Code in a conspicuous place and report to him by January 15 of each year on steps taken to implement its provisions.

Negro Population in Chicago Suburbs Shown on New Map

The map on the opposite page shows the distributon of Negro population in Chicago's suburbs in 1960. It was produced by the Community Renewal Program of the City of Chicago, and published in "An Atlas of Chicago's People, Jobs and Homes." The atlas is available from the Community Renewal Program.

The map is based on the 1960 United States Bureau of Census' official tabulation. The census disclosed that 30 Chicago suburbs in Illinois, out of a total of 253, have 100 or more Negroes. In eight of these, the Negro population is swelled by resident domestics and caretakers or persons in state institutions.

Survey Finds Job Agencies Still Accept Biased Orders

Most private employment agencies in Chicago still accept discriminatory job orders, according to a survey conducted by the American Jewish Congress.

Elmer Gertz, local Congress president, said members of the Women's Division had contacted by telephone 122 private employment agencies in Chicago to find out whether they would accept a job order for a "white Protestant stenographer."

Of 95 agencies which gave clear-cut responses, 86 accepted the discriminatory job order in spite of the fact that nine of these believed the practice to be illegal. Only nine agencies refused to accept such an order, five of these specifically stating that they believed it to be illegal.

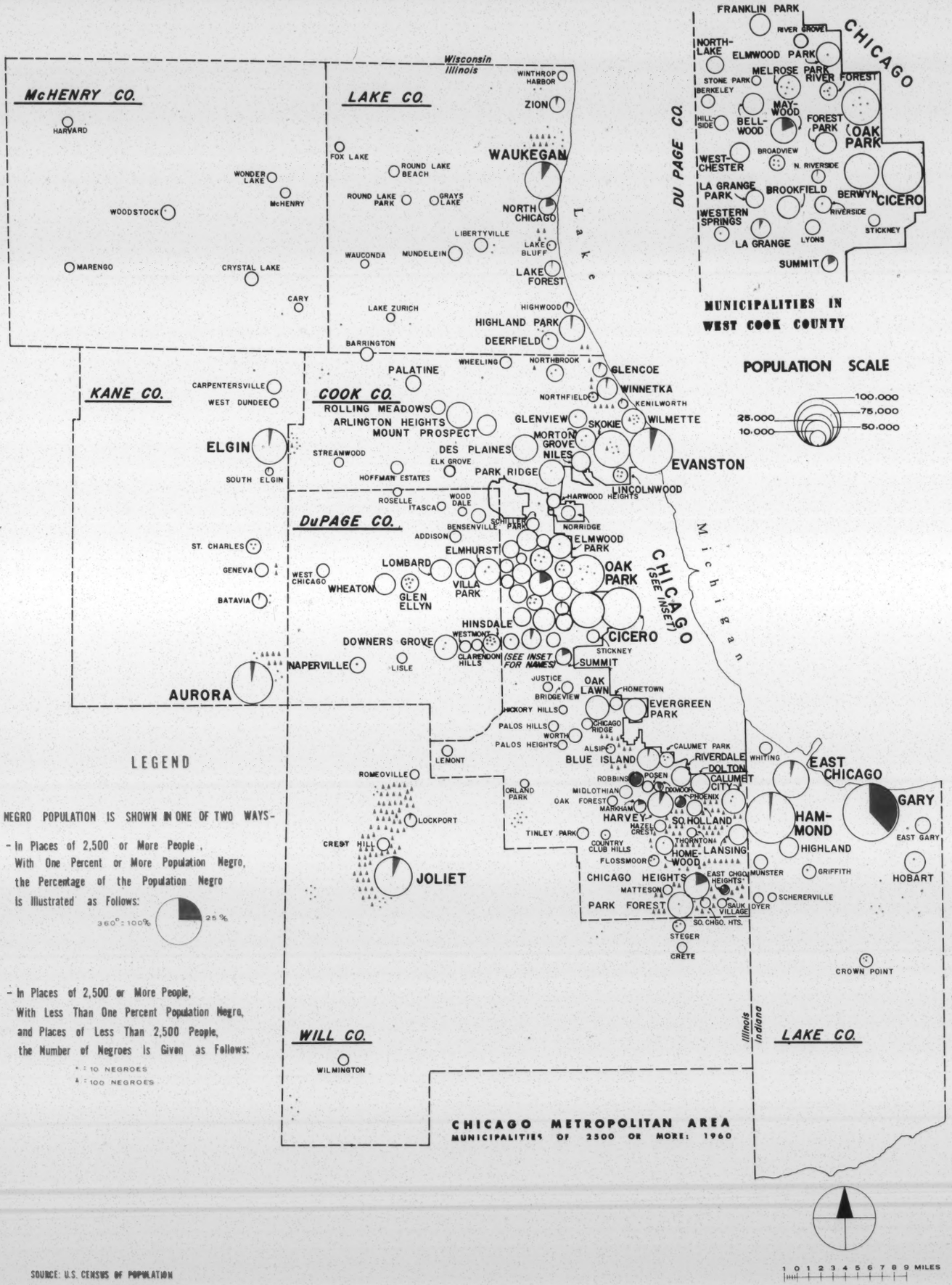
Results published in the report covered "usable" responses — that is, those in which the employment agency either accepted or refused the discriminatory request. "Non-usable" responses, which were not included in the final results, consisted of agencies that could not be reached or did not supply stenographers, or whose answers were ambiguous.

Chicago was one of six cities in five states where the survey was conducted.

Commentary Available

Edward Marciniak's annotated commentary on Elinor Richey's article "Splitsville, U.S.A. — An Ironic Tale of Urban Renewal and Racial Segregation" has been reprinted in the June 28 *Congressional Record.*

Miss Richey's article first appeared in the *Reporter* magazine. Copies of the commentary can be obtained from the Commission office.



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS OF POPULATION

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION IN 1960

City of Chicago
Community Renewal Program

Commission Awards

(Continued from Page 1)

director of the Commission and his wife was director of public information.

Mr. Schooler, president of the Public Relations Board, Inc., heads the committee of 16 distinguished Chicagoans who will select the winners.

The awards will be presented at the Commission's Eighteenth Annual Awards Luncheon which will be held at noon Friday, December 6, in the Grand Ballroom of the Palmer House.

Get entry forms from the Commission office, Room 1310, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois, 60606, Telephone 236-4912. No nomination can be made after Friday, October 11.

Who is eligible for an award?

Any business or industrial enterprise, any civic or community organization, religious institution, organ of communication, government department, trade union, or any individual who has made an outstanding contribution to good human relations. Human relations agencies and organizations are not eligible.

Chicago Fair Housing

(Continued from Page 1)

of value due to the entry into the neighborhood of any person of any particular race or religion.

Under its provisions, the Chicago Commission on Human Relations can initiate, receive and investigate complaints charging unlawful housing practices. It can seek conciliation of the complaints, hold hearings and make findings of fact, and has the power to subpoena witnesses and documents.

The Mayor is empowered to suspend or revoke the Chicago city license of any broker found guilty of violating any section of the ordinance. He also can direct the Corporation Counsel to seek suspension or revocation of the state license issued to a broker.

Brokers affected by such action have the right to appeal the decisions in accordance with procedures specified in the Administrative Review Act of Illinois.

Copies of the ordinance can be obtained from the Commission on Human Relations.

Awards for national leadership in civil rights were presented by the Second National Methodist Conference on Human Relations which met in August in Chicago. Bishop Charles Brashares, of Chicago (center) and Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr., of St. Louis (second from right) presented citations to awardees, left to right, Aaron Henry, a layman, of Clarksdale, Miss.; Bishop A. Raymond Grant, Portland, Ore.; Mrs. Marion Downs, concert singer, of Los Angeles; Albert Cardinal Meyer, of Chicago; Rabbi Julius Mark, of New York City; Miss Thelma Stevens, Methodist women's executive, of New York City; and Bishop Charles F. Golden, of Nashville. Cardinal Meyer was cited for leadership in "ceaseless pursuit of fairly established and enforced civil rights," and for "forthright and incisive statements of concern for social justice."

Human Relations Subject Of Teachers College Course

A course in human relations is being taught this Fall at two branches of the Chicago Teachers College.

"Human Relations—Sociological Insights," is offered Mondays from 4:30 to 7:30 p.m. at the South campus, 6800 S. Stewart Avenue. "Human Relations in the Elementary School" is offered the same time Fridays at the Crane Branch, 2240 W. Van Buren Street.

In addition, "Human Relations for Principals" is being taught two afternoons a week at 228 N. LaSalle Street.

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS

CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 West Wacker Drive • Chicago, Illinois 60606
Telephone: 236-4912

Richard J. Daley, *Mayor*
Ely M. Aaron, Chairman
Ralph D. Robinson, Secretary
Morris Bialis
Augustine J. Bowe
Dr. Preston Bradley
William G. Caples
Lester Crown
Jerome J. Friedman
Mrs. Wendell E. Green
Daggett Harvey
John H. Johnson
William R. Ming, Jr.
Hale Nelson
Peter R. Scalise
Dr. Marshal L. Scott
Edward Marciniak, *Executive Director*

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program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 31, 1963

STOP for a minute in your busy and useful life to give thought to the organization of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

LOOK back for only a second and see the progress of the Council.

COME to the annual meeting and plan for the future.

MAKE 1963 - 1964 the most wonderful year ever.

Annual Meeting

Saturday November 16, 1963

Y.W.C.A.
72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

5 o'clock -- have coffee and chat with your friends

6 o'clock -- business session

7 o'clock -- dinner ($3.00)

SPEAKER Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council:
"GEORGIA AT THE END OF ITS LONG DARK NIGHT"

The Georgia Council depends on YOU, the member, to make decisions.

COME!!

Officers and board members will be elected on November 16, 1963. These people have accepted nomination to be your leaders 1963-1964. Nominations may be made from the floor at the annual meeting provided the consent of the nominee has been received.

The nominating committee submits the following list:

Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman
Dr. Newsom has served diligently as vice chairman, is professor of Sociology at Morehouse College, is serving on Governor Sanders' Education Commission.

The Reverend Austin Ford, Vice Chairman
Reverend Ford has served well as a member of the Georgia board, is the rector of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal church, DeKalb County.

Mr. A. J. McClung, Vice Chairman
Mr. McClung has been outstanding in his work as vice chairman of the Georgia Council and in the Council in Columbus, Georgia. He is director of the Columbus Y.M.C.A. and a valued member of the Georgia Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. John Glustrom, Treasurer
Mr. Glustrom has served efficiently and tirelessly for several years as treasurer of the Council. He is a successful Atlanta businessman.

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Secretary
Mrs. Richardson has filled an unexpired term as secretary. She is an active worker with many state and local organizations and the wife of the president of the Interdenominational Theological Seminary.

The following nominees are submitted for the first time as members of the board of directors, for a three (3) year term of office.

Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men, Mercer University, past chairman of the Macon Council.

Mrs. Arnette Waters, past chairman of the Savannah Council.

Mr. Gerard E. Sherry, editor of the Catholic "Georgia Bulletin".

The Reverend Charles Demere, retiring chairman of the Council.

Rabbi Alfred Goodman, active member of the Columbus Council, Rabbi Temple Israel Congregation.

The Reverend H. W. Shipps, Episcopal minister, Savannah, and an active Albany Council member.

The following nominees have consented to have their names submitted for another three (3) year term of office:

Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur
Rev. Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentis Q. Yancey, Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardener, Atlanta
Mrs. Stephen May, Atlanta

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1964:

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
Rev. Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta
Rev. John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta
Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
Dr. E. A. Manley, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1965:

Mr. Vincent Harding, Atlanta
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon
Mrs. Fischer Mosley, Macon
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Mrs. Dan Hollums, Atlanta
Mr. Harry Adley, Atlanta
Mrs. C. E. Blythe, Albany
Mr. C. W. Aycock, Rome
Mr. Albert W. Thompson, Columbus
Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, Glynn County
Captain Frank Spencer, Savannah
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, Macon
Dr. R. B. Young, Milledgeville
Mrs. Sujette Crank, Atlanta
Mrs. Carlton Binns, Atlanta
Mrs. John Shields, Atlanta

Chairmen of local councils are voting members of the board of directors:

Atlanta, Mrs. Clifton Hoffman
Columbus, Mr. Albert Thompson
Augusta, Dr. Victor C. Vaughan
Savannah, Mr. John Ralston
Glynn County, Mr. E. T. Rogers
Albany, Dr. E. D. Hamilton
Rome, The Rev. Clarence Tuggle
Rome, Miss Franziska Boas
Macon, The Rev. J. L. Key
Macon, Mr. J. Y. Holloway
Glynn County, The Rev. T. P. Martin

Nominating Committee:

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Chairman
Mr. Robert Thompson
Mrs. Suzette Crank
Miss Ruth Gogel

WHERE YOUR MONEY COMES FROM AND HOW IT IS SPENT

October 1, 1962, cash on hand - overdraft of $ 294.00

Income

Grants-in-aid from Southern Regional Council	4,800.00
Memberships	2,796.00
Contributions	17,888.25
New South Subscriptions	164.00
Miscellaneous	570.76
Total	$26,219.01

This is approximately $2,000.00 more than we raised in 1962-1963

Expenditures

October 1, 1963, cash on hand $ 1,287.23

The budget for 1962-1963 was $26,300.00

This budget covers travel, salaries, office expense, printing and mailing. Every contact means a long distance call, a visit, or a letter - all costly. Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi. Your staff traveled 18,921 miles within the state during the year.

Anyone wishing to see the audit for the year may contact the office.

WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL

	October 1, 1962	October 1, 1963
Atlanta	476	592
Albany	13	21
Augusta	38	46
Columbus	19	28
Macon	59	75
Rome	64	53
Savannah	66	68
Glynn County	20	33
Members at large, Georgia	50	53
Out of state members		54
Total	805	1023

Contributors without membership - 49.
Members at large live in 30 towns in Georgia.
Increase in memberships 1962-1963 - 218 members.

SMALL MEMORIES

"The small memories of childhood can keep one from bitterness as an adult," suggests Mrs. Olive Snead, principal of a Philadelphia grade school. To prove her point, she tells about the kindergartner, invited for the first time to go home and have supper with a school friend. The children played while the mother fixed the meat and set the table. "Get ready for dinner" she said. The visiting child hesitated. "I'm colored," he announced. "I'm white," the mother replied. "Now let's wash up and sit down to eat." From: "Lets Be Human" - Institute of Human Relations

SUCCESS

A League of Women Voters in a small Georgia city accepted the membership of three Negro women. Results: one resignation; thirty new white members; net membership increase thirty two.

FROM THE AMERICUS JAIL

A young Negro girl was scrubbing the floor of the jail and talking to herself. "See that electric wire and me standing in two inches of water, I'll catch hold of it and get out of this mess." The jailer rushed to stop the threatened act - slipped and fell and as he slid across the wet floor he cried "Freedom".

MILITANT

A 6'10" Negro doorman named John Barrow, wearing a splendid $275 uniform, is now on duty outside the Van Ness showroom of Jim Wessman, the Lincoln dealer. Friday, a Little Old Lady sidled up to him and asked: "What army are you with?" Thinking she was putting him on, John smiled: "Why, the Lincoln army, of course." She wagged her head in dismay. "I'm sympathetic to your cause," she said, "but sometimes you go too far!"

From: A San Francisco Newspaper

Reservation

Mail to:

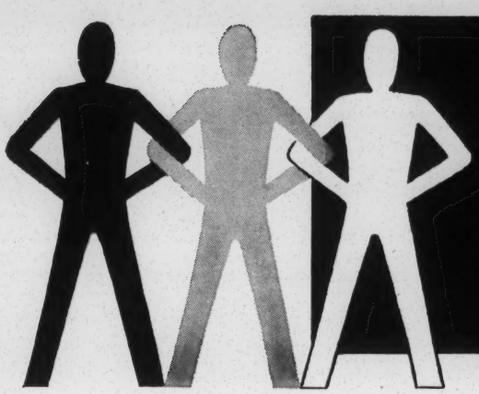
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place S.E.

Please reserve _____ tickets at $3.00 each for the dinner at the annual meeting. Y.W.C.A. - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E. Saturday November 16, 1963.

Signed_____.

Intergroup Org. Human Rel. Con.

NOVEMBER 1963



HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

Vol. 5 No. 7

PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY BY THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Commission Names 1963 Award Winners

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations has announced the 1963 recipients of its human relations awards given annually to individuals and organizations who make outstanding contributions to better human relations.

One hundred twenty-eight nominations, more than ever before, were received this year by the 14-member Awards Committee, according to Lee Schooler, president, The Public Relations Board, Inc., and chairman of the Committee.

Mayor Richard J. Daley will present the awards at the Commission's Eighteenth Annual Awards Luncheon at noon Friday, December 6, in the Grand Ballroom of the Palmer House.

> Reservations can be made by sending check or money order to the Commission on Human Relations, Room 1310, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606. Cost per person is $4.00. Tables of eight or ten can be reserved. Late reservations can be made by telephoning 236-4912.

James C. Downs, Jr., chairman of the Real Estate Research Corporation, will be luncheon chairman.

Ely M. Aaron, Commission chairman, and Edward Marciniak, executive director, will report on human relations in Chicago during 1963.

Award winners for 1963 are:

The Reverend J. Hugh Anwyl, 8158 S. Kimbark Avenue, former pastor of the Avalon Park Community Church, "For his courageous attempt, in the face of dismissal from his pastorate, to have his church take the lead in solidifying racially changing North Avalon."

Mrs. Laird Bell, civic leader, chairman of Women's Board of Opportunity Centers, 746 E. 63rd Street, "For her long and energetic efforts to help disadvantaged peoples in the central city, and her forthright stand for equal opportunity in housing."

(Continued on Page 2)

More Near North Housing Opening up to Non-whites

Substantial advances in equal opportunity in housing in Chicago's Near North Side were revealed in a study by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

An increasing number of Near North Side apartment developments and apartment buildings, including the more fashionable ones, are renting to all qualified applicants, regardless of their race, creed, color or national ancestry.

Marina City, Carl Sandburg Village, Outer Drive East, DeWitt-Chestnut Apartments, Old Town Gardens Apartments, and a number of miscellaneous apartments on North Lincoln Avenue, East Oak Street and North LaSalle Street are being offered to all qualified tenants on an equal opportunity basis.

Hal M. Freeman, coordinator of housing and community services division of the Commission, said the major developments had adopted a non-discriminatory policy even before passage of the new Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance, which prohibits racial or religious discrimination by real estate brokers. Some voluntarily set up such a rental policy; others acted in compliance with President Kennedy's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing to admit Negro tenants.

Freeman said, "These apartment developments are paving the way for owners of various sized apartment buildings on the North Side also to offer vacant apartments to all qualified applicants on a non-discriminatory basis."

Marina City, a 60-story twin tower apartment complex at 300 N. State Street, has 896 apartments. It was privately developed by the Building Services Employees of America, AFL-CIO. The first tenants moved in October, 1963. Marks and Company, Real Estate, is the managing agent.

Carl Sandburg Village is situated at 1455 N. Sandburg Avenue, on land cleared and sold by the city's Department of Urban Renewal. When completed, Sandburg Village will contain six high rise and two low rise apartment buildings, and sections of town houses — a total of 1,875 units. Tenants now are occupying four completed high rise buildings. Arthur Rubloff and Company manages the development.

(Continued on Page 4)

1963 Award Winners

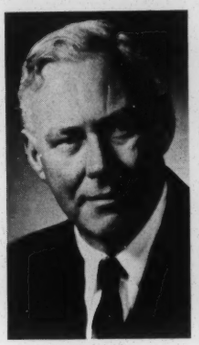
(Continued from Page 1)

Mrs. Madeline R. Stratton, 5142 S. Ellis Avenue, teacher at Arthur Dixon School, "For her devotion, as a teacher, to the mutual understanding of peoples and for her efforts to make Negro history a part of public school curriculum."

Honorable James B. Parsons, executive chairman of the Chicago Host Committee to the National Conference on Religion and Race, "For his dedicated leadership in launching a national movement by the three major faiths in the United States for joint action to remove racial discrimination and segregation in the nation."

Rabbi Ernst M. Lorge, honorary co-chairman of the Chicago Host Committee to the National Conference on Religion and Race, "For his dedicated leadership in launching a national movement by the three major faiths in the United States for joint action to remove racial discrimination and segregation in the nation."

His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer, honorary co-chairman of the Chicago Host Committee to the National Conference on Religion and Race, "For his dedicated leadership in launching a national movement by the three major faiths in the United States for joint action to remove racial discrimination and segregation in the nation."



Todd

Holding

Parsons

Mrs. Weston

Mr. George F. Sisler, honorary co-chairman of the Chicago Host Committee to the National Conference on Religion and Race, "For his dedicated leadership in launching a national movement by the three major faiths in the United States for joint action to remove racial discrimination and segregation in the nation."

Northwestern Students — Sears YMCA Tutoring Project, with headquarters at 3210 Arthington Street, "For the direction and leadership it gave to popularizing volunteer tutoring by college students of potential school dropouts in Chicago." Accepting the award for the Project will be: John Todd, member of the Sears Roebuck YMCA board of directors and chairman of its Executives' Service Club, sponsors of the Project, and Robert L. Holding, director of the Project.

The Thomas and Eleanor Wright Memorial Award to *Mrs. Jane Weston*, 1730 N. LaSalle Street, director, Housing Opportunities Program, American Friends Service Committee, Inc., "For dedicated leadership to expand housing opportunities for minority families throughout the Metropolitan Area and for encouraging them to take advantage of non-discriminatory housing opportunities."

The Wright Award is given for extraordinary professional performance in the field of human relations.

Church Home for Aged Affirms Non-Bias Policy

The Rev. John H. Scambler, vice president of the board of trustees of the Church Home for Aged Persons, 5445 South Ingleside Avenue, formally announced a non-discriminatory admissions policy in a letter to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

The letter came following a Commission investigation of charges the Church Home practiced discrimination in its admissions. The Department of Urban Renewal requested the investigation after objections were made to the possible sale of city-cleared land to the Church Home because of the discrimination allegations. A city ordinance states land cleared and resold in urban renewal projects must be used in a non-discriminatory manner.

Established in 1885 by the Episcopal Church Diocese of Chicago, the institution provides a home for aged persons.

Rev. Anwyl

Mrs. Bell

Mrs. Stratton

Rabbi Lorge

Cardinal Meyer

Sisler

Housing Body Endorses Policy of Fair Housing

The Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council has issued a statement, adopted by its Board of Governors, endorsing the policy of the City of Chicago as declared in the Fair Housing Ordinance.

The Council is a non-profit, non-partisan citizen organization concerned with improvement of housing and neighborhood conditions through code enforcement, urban renewal, new construction and sound metropolitan planning.

The Council's statement called the ordinance "a step in the right direction." It said, "The Council endorses and supports the policy of the City of Chicago as declared in this ordinance, that all people should be assured full and equal opportunity to obtain fair and adequate housing without discrimination and that no person should refuse to sell or rent or otherwise deny housing accommodations to anyone on grounds of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry."

But the Council stated, "No matter how fairly and vigorously the law is enforced however, the ordinance will fall short of achieving its declared policy for two principal reasons:

"First, the prohibitions laid down by the enactment apply only to licensed real estate brokers and the only direct penalty it provides is a suspension or revocation of the broker's license. Other persons who are involved in the market for housing accommodations including home owners, landlords, rental agents, building managers, mortgage companies and other lenders are beyond the reach of this law unless they also happen to hold city licenses as real estate brokers. At best, therefore, the ordinance is only a partial remedy.

"The second shortcoming of the law lies in the fact that as an ordinance of the City of Chicago, it has no effect in the metropolitan area beyond the city limits. The problems of adequate housing for people of all races and religions are not confined by the municipal boundaries. An effective solution will require unified action throughout the metropolitan area.

"We recognize of course that both of these limitations are beyond the control of the city government. However, the ordinance as passed cannot be accepted as a final solution. We therefore urge, as in the past, a vigorous campaign in the next session of the Illinois General Assembly for legislative action at the state level to assure by legal means full equality of housing opportunity."

League of Women Voters Survey

The League of Women Voters of Chicago has completed a survey of the rental housing market as it relates to racial discrimination in housing.

Copies of the complete survey report are available for 15 cents each from the League office, 67 E. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603.

Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, third from right, presents proclamation designating Saturday, November 9, Civil Rights Day in Chicago in recognition of the Ninth Labor Conference on Civil Rights held in the Sherman House. Receiving the plaque in the Mayor's office is Jacob Siegel, second from left, chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, sponsors of the Conference. Others at the presentation are from left: Aaron Aronin, field director of the Committee; Theodore Robinson, program chairman of the Conference; Paul Iaccino, who was master of ceremonies; and Morris Bialis, Conference chairman. In his proclamation, the Mayor urged all citizens "to give heed to the deliberations and determinations of the Conference."

Ralph D. Robinson, secretary of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations and assistant coordinator of the National Organizing Department, United Auto Workers, leads a panel discussion at the Ninth Labor Conference on Civil Rights. On the photo are left to right, Eugene Tournour, field secretary, CORE; Robinson; Byron Miller, president, Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems; and Cecil Partee, Illinois state representative, 21st district. The Conference attracted 600 persons, the largest delegation in its history and of any similar labor civil rights conference in the country.

Rights Laws Sent to Hospitals

A compilation of equal rights laws that affect Chicago hospitals has been sent to all of the 84 private and public hospitals in the city by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

The printed statement summarizes for the first time laws that have been passed at various times by the Chicago City Council and the state legislature.

It covers measures on patient care, opportunity for physicians, emergency care, legal penalties, tax exemption and racial information.

The Commission has requested it be posted at the hospitals in compliance with the requirements of Section 137-13.4 of the Chicago Municipal Code. Copies are available from the Commission.

Near North Housing

(Continued from Page 1)

Outer Drive East, at Randolph Street and the Lake, is a 40-story apartment building owned and operated by the Jupiter Corporation. The first tenants recently began moving into the exclusive new building which has 940 apartments.

DeWitt-Chestnut Apartments, a 43-story high rise, currently is under construction at DeWitt Place and Chestnut Street, and eventually will contain 407 units. Initial occupancy is expected in the Fall, 1964.

Old Town Gardens, formerly known as the Marshall Field Apartments and later as Town and Garden Apartments, at 1448 N. Sedgwick Avenue, has long been recognized as a fashionable apartment development on the Near North Side. It was built in 1927, and, along with the Julius Rosenwald Apartments on 47th Street, was one of the first privately developed slum clearance projects in the country.

Old Town Gardens continues to attract middle-income white families who prefer to live close to the Loop. The block-long five-story building contains 628 units and is owned and operated by Hanover Equities Corporation of Bayside, New York.

Women's Club Tells Of Non-Bias Admission Policy

The Eleanor Association has adopted a non-discriminatory policy in the admission of residents of its clubs, officials of the organization informed the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

Mrs. Beth Middleton, executive director, told the Commission, "We accept colored girls as we accept white girls; that is based on compatibility and sociability. We reserve the right to interview and screen all girls."

The executive director's statement followed a complaint filed with the Commission charging racial discrimination. The Eleanor Association is a privately-endowed Chicago organization which provides housing, meals and recreational facilities for employed women.

City, State Laws Bar Bias in Barber Shops

In response to questions directed to it following an incident involving musician Dizzy Gillespie, the Chicago Commission on Human Relations recently stated that both the Municipal Code of Chicago and the Illinois Revised Statutes bar discrimination in barber shops.

Ely M. Aaron, chairman of the Commission, said the city and state designate barber shops as "public accommodations" and as such guarantee full and equal use of them by all citizens.

In addition, Aaron said the state Department of Registration and Education uses the same examination for every applicant and issues the same license or certificate to each successful candidate.

"Furthermore," he said, "Rule I for the Illinois Barber Law makes it clear beyond doubt when it says the 'holder of a license or certificate of registration issued under the provisions of the Illinois Barber Law shall not refuse to render service to a person solely on account of that person's race, religion, color or national origin . . .' and provides for revocation of the barber's license if he should discriminate."

Frank Katsis, a teacher-manager of one of the seven Moler Barber College schools and a past member of the Barber Committee of the Illinois Department of Registration and Education, says every Moler student cuts the hair of Negroes and whites before he leaves school and no special instruction is needed or requested by students.

"If you blindfold a barber and tell him the kind of hair his customer has — straight, wavy or kinky, for example — he could not tell you the race of that customer," Katsis said.

Earlier a report reached the Chicago Commission on Human Relations indicating Gillespie had been denied a haircut by a loop barber. The Commission staff went to work, and that afternoon the internationally known musician had his hair cut and the Commission was assured the barber shop would not discriminate.

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS
CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 West Wacker Drive • Chicago, Illinois 60606
Telephone: 236-4912

Richard J. Daley, *Mayor*
Ely M. Aaron, Chairman
Ralph D. Robinson, Secretary
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Augustine J. Bowe
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DECEMBER SUPPLEMENT 1963

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

Vol. 5 No. 8

PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY BY THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Trends in Human Relations, 1943–1963

This issue of Human Relations News contains reports made by Ely M. Aaron, chairman of the Commission, and Edward Marciniak, executive director, at the Commission on Human Relations Eighteenth Annual Awards Luncheon on December 6.

Mr. Aaron's Report

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Commission, and the 18th anniversary of the Commission Awards.

The Commission was created by City Ordinance in 1947 as part of the city government, but its immediate forerunner was the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, which had been constituted by Mayor Kelly in 1943 because of the threat of conflict and racial riots in the city. Its purpose was to find ways and means of alleviating this threat and maintaining the peace of the community. Its underlying principles were that equality of opportunity and equality of treatment were the proper possessions of all citizens and that the much repeated phrase, which is never a cliche, that "our government is a government of laws and not a government of men" applies equally to all Americans.

Mr. Aaron

There was a recognition that unequal rights and privileges existed in our community, and that some persons were the recipients of superior rights which they sought jealously to maintain, and others had no such rights and were trying to obtain at least some of them, and the conflict arising between these groups had to be contained.

This problem of equality is the ever present American goal, which started in 1776 and the complete attainment of which has not yet been reached. How much or how little equality is not the answer; just equality, and the means to achieve it should be the determining factor. This task calls for educating the general community as to its need and also calls for participation of people throughout the community in action programs to bring it about.

The Commission in 1946 determined that each year awards should be given to those individuals, groups or enterprises who furthered these programs, and it is interesting to view this development. Most of those who received awards in 1946 would not be eligible for them today because what was accomplished then is commonplace in our living today.

For example, a radio station was given an award for programming about democracy. Today, democracy forms the themes for documentaries in numerous forms and almost daily programs appear on television and radio using democratic actions as their central point. Today Negroes are seen on camera not as "Exhibit A Negroes," but as people just doing a job, which has nothing to do with race.

In 1946 a restaurant was awarded for serving all persons without discrimination even though the Illinois Public Accommodations Act prohibiting such discrimination had been on the Statute Books since 1885. But its enforcement had been honored in the breach for so many years that just following the law was considered sufficiently outstanding as to merit an award.

An important award in 1946 went to Roosevelt College for "attracting a student body, faculty and Board of Trustees without discrimination and without quotas." Such an award would not be given this year to any university or college in Chicago since none discriminate.

All of these 1946 awards were proper because they were granted to people who were pioneers in their day, and though these acts may seem commonplace in 1963, they were actions which were taken beyond the call of duty and merited the community recognition which they received.

Through the years following 1946, recognition of the work of the Commission and the growth in com-

(Continued on Page 4)

HUMAN RELATIONS HIGHLIGHTS OF 1963

Mr. Marciniak's Report

The place is Chicago — where local events pack a national wallop. The year is 1963 — a hundred years after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

In January the National Conference on Religion and Race makes history in Chicago.

In February the Chicago Real Estate Board admits its first Negro members.

In March the Commission's findings on cemetery bias are given to the City Council and an ordinance is passed.

In April the Chicago Urban League joins a skilled job bank.

In May the Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations is formed. Negro medical students organize to encourage Negro youth to enter medicine in Chicago.

In June Mayor Daley launches a series of top level discussions with business, union and religious leaders to multiply employment opportunities.

In July the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People convenes in Chicago.

In August the Second National Methodist Conference on Human Relations meets in Chicago, and the League of Women Voters announces the results of its survey of the rental policies of 695 Chicago landlords.

In September the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Exposition concludes in Chicago.

In October the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance becomes law.

In November the Jewish Labor Committee sponsors the largest civil rights meeting ever held anywhere by organized labor.

And now it is December.

New Spirit Emerges

Our national movement for human rights is not new. What is new is the spirit and determination to move forward. Gone are the hollow years when human rights were hedged by "if," "maybe," or "later." The year 1963 ushered in a new era of the "shall" and the "now." It was a year of boycotts, picketing, marches, demonstrations, and court suits. It was a year with moments of panic, fear, threats, and violence. It was a year which produced fresh and courageous leadership. It was a year in which we strode forward. It was a tumultuous and tragic year.

The new spirit was immortalized by our late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Last June, he said about civil rights: "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution."

To review our steps forward is not any empty salaam to progress. An honest look at the record tells us what direction we have set for ourselves; what we have in fact accomplished; and, finally, what still needs to be done.

It was a great boon for Chicago that the National Conference on Religion and Race chose Chicago for its historic meeting. That conference catapulted the major religious groups into the center of the civil rights movement in this nation.

The renewed religious conscience was evident among the priests and ministers who patrolled the race-troubled sidewalks of Englewood last August, among volunteers from Catholic and Protestant colleges tutoring on the West Side and other neighborhoods, and in the solid backing religious leaders gave to fair housing practices for the city and suburbs. In 1963, home visitations between Negro and white families expanded into a national program with the aid of religious leaders, and, thanks to Chicago's Friendship House, which had cradled the program locally for many years.

Merit-Employment Program

This past summer under the Mayor's initiative and in his office, special meetings were held with the city's top business, union and religious leaders to develop "A Chicago Plan" for employment. The three-point plan calls for — 1) extending fair hiring practices, 2) full employment in the Chicago metropolitan area, and 3) adequate preparation and education of our young people.

The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry responded by setting up a full-employment committee to follow through on this three-point program. This is an important task, and we look forward to results.

Nowhere else in the country has there been such close day-to-day co-operation among city, state and federal agencies to extend job opportunities for minority youth so that public money does not subsidize racial or religious discrimination. Thanks to such co-ordinated action, old recruiting patterns were remodeled and new opportunities for Negroes were opened up during 1963 in many skilled trades, including boilermakers, sheet metal workers, sprinkler fitters, elevator constructors, machinists, hoisting engineers and asbestos workers. Our job isn't finished, the Commission's recent survey of unions showed.

The establishment of the Chicago Urban League's talent bank and the League's pact with eight top Chicago banks for merit recruitment and employment forcefully demonstrates once again that the opening up of new jobs for minority youth and adults must be matched by a recruitment campaign to get nonwhites to qualify and apply for these positions.

Important are the practices and policies of private employment agencies. For 1964 we plan to marshal their support for merit placement of Negroes, Mexi-

(Continued on Page 3)

Mr. Marciniak's Report

(Continued from Page 2)

cans, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, American Indians, Jews, and others.

In neighborhoods all over Chicago, college students have volunteered to teach children and adults in a mass effort to raise educational skills. We now have a genuine, home-grown peace corps. The tutoring program is exploding in all directions. Hundreds of college students are now tutors — and adults are joining in. By the end of next year we hope to count on several thousand volunteer tutors, using their God-given talents to help those in need. The Mayor's Committee on New Residents will continue to give this project full support.

This year saw the realization of a long sought Commission goal when the Cook County Board of Commissioners moved to relieve overused facilities at Cook County Hospital by taking advantage of underused beds available at private hospitals. Under this program, patients — many of whom are Negro — will be referred to private hospitals which will be reimbursed by the Cook County Department of Public Aid. The result is a major breakthrough in nondiscriminatory patient care in private hospitals.

This year saw Negro medical students organizing a special committee to encourage young Negroes to pursue medical careers and to take advantage of the increasing opportunities for Negroes in medicine. Forty of Chicago's private hospitals now have Negro physicians on their staffs. For the first time in twenty years there has been an upturn in the number of Negro physicians practicing in Chicago.

The School Issue

In every large, northern city across the land the school issue remains a feverish concern. No large city has solved the problem. What is involved is the quality of education being given our children, particularly in the city's older neighborhoods and a debate about racial discrimination and segregation in the schools.

There can be no doubt that educators are being challenged to improve the education being given in the inner city. There can be no doubt that Chicago is committed to giving such education free of racial discrimination and segregation.

One important step taken in Chicago was the appointment of a five-man panel which will report on the schools attended by Negro children, in an effort to resolve the tangled and thorny issues which beset the city's public schools.

Scheduled to report next March, the panel's findings should provide recommendations to guide the Board of Education in giving all our children the finest education available.

The Commission recognizes the need for members of the Board of Education and citizens' groups to continue their serious discussions about the character and climate of the education to be given our children. Any rupture in such conversations should be avoided. If such a possibility is imminent, the Commission repeats its offer of services in any way, including finding an acceptable intermediary, to continue the conversations and resolve the issues.

The new Fair Housing Ordinance enacted by the City Council says — "It is . . . the policy of the City of Chicago to assure full and equal opportunity to all residents of the City to obtain fair and adequate housing for themselves and their families . . . without discrimination against them because of their race, religion, national origin or ancestry."

Fair Housing

It was the Commission's announced goal at the beginning of 1963, to create a single real estate market throughout the metropolitan area so that all families can locate a home or apartment with equal opportunity; in other words, to take questions of race, religion, and nationality out of the housing market.

Early in the year, two reports prepared by the Commission provided a factual base from which to consider appropriate public action.

The first report outlined the changing situation in mortgage availability for Negroes. The second report, prepared with the co-operation of the Department of City Planning, surveyed the effectiveness of fair housing legislation in other cities and states.

After the Illinois Legislature failed to pass a fair housing law which would have applied to the entire state, the City Council adopted the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance.

The Commission has responsibility for the ordinance's implementation and has started processing complaints. The Chicago Ordinance is but one of the many steps that must be taken to protect the right of people to shop for housing. If citizens can shop for furniture or automobiles without fear of racial, ethnic or religious barriers, they should be able to shop for housing in any real estate office under the same conditions.

We have called attention to the fair housing achievements of Hyde Park, Kenwood, Lake Meadows, Prairie Shores, Marina City, Outer Drive East, Carl Sandburg Village, Old Town Gardens and others.

Today a word of special praise is due the city's hard-working community organizations — and there are dozens of them — who strive to upgrade their homes and neighborhoods without downgrading anybody. The communities which they represent have successfully attracted middle class dwellers of all racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds.

This list is incomplete, but we point with pride and encouragement to organizations like the South Shore Commission, the South East Community Organization, the Organization for the Southwest Community, the Lincoln Park Conservation Association, the Marynook Homeowners Association, and others.

These organizations, and others like them, are the hope and pride of Chicago. They have encouraged us far more than we can encourage them.

Mr. Aaron's Report

(Continued from Page 1)

munity understanding of what it sought to accomplish has been manifested by aid given to public housing, opening of hospitals, opening up of employment — all on a non-discriminatory basis — and cooperation with the Police Department, which especially in the past years under Superintendent O. W. Wilson's direction, is consistently carrying on and is committed to programs of integrated personnel and understanding human relations problems.

We know that minds do change and have changed, that people do learn and that because of the on-going battle for freedom and equality we have achieved gains which are permanent and by reason of their very permanence are accepted as a matter of course.

All of these rights which we here in Chicago have accepted as our due, are in fact, in different parts of the country, being denied to millions of Americans for differing reasons, but in reality for no reason at all, other than for physical or religious differences.

We must all be emancipated from limitations on some of us, in order to assure equality to all of us.

No Reason in Violence

No American since the assassination of President Kennedy can ever be the same person he was before that day. The utter irrationality of conduct, the wastefulness, the feeling of numbness, of horror, of outrage and the eternal questioning of the reasons *why* this *had* to occur, will be with us for many days to come. We have been priding ourselves on being the leader of the world, on the physical aspects of our existence, and suddenly we are faced with questions as to whether our guidelines, our faith in the democratic process, our belief in the supremacy of law are understood by many segments of our community, and when so misunderstood we see that they are doubted and the doubts are flaunted before us.

In the last analysis as the oldest existing Republic in the world, the outstanding contribution the United States has made to civilization is our belief in the supremacy of law through our written Constitution as interpreted by the courts. We have constitutional guarantees protecting us as individuals; we have the right of petition, of peaceable assembly, and we also have the right to seek in proper legal ways to urge changes in our laws and to have them changed by legislative action or by constitutional interpretation through the courts, but we have no right to resort to violence which leads to lawlessness. Acquiescence to illegal methods affecting constitutional rights of individuals in the North as well as the South have made us too complacent of violations of law which can only result in anarchy.

Racial Justice a Must

A few days ago former Governor Leroy Collins of Florida speaking in Washington called for the need of Southerners to change the image of the South so that it can become a full partner in this nation "in which racial justice is recognized as a national commitment and a national necessity." He decried the fact that the South has allowed extremists to speak for it. The words he used were "How many Sunday School students have to be dynamited to death; how many leaders have to be shot in the back; how many Governors have to be shot in the chest; how many Presidents have to be assassinated?"

Violence is violence wherever it occurs and laws restricting violence must be upheld, and the constitutional guarantees protecting individuals and granting the right to urge changing of laws by proper legal means must also be upheld.

We of the Commission stand ready to aid all the citizens of Chicago in every way we can, to carry out the intent and mandates given to us by the various City Ordinances for providing equality of treatment, equality of opportunity for all the people of our city and to aid in maintaining the peace of our community. We bespeak your cooperation and the cooperation of all citizens and all citizen's groups in this effort, and we ask it *NOW*, for as President Johnson has said "100 years is too long to wait" — and so is 20!

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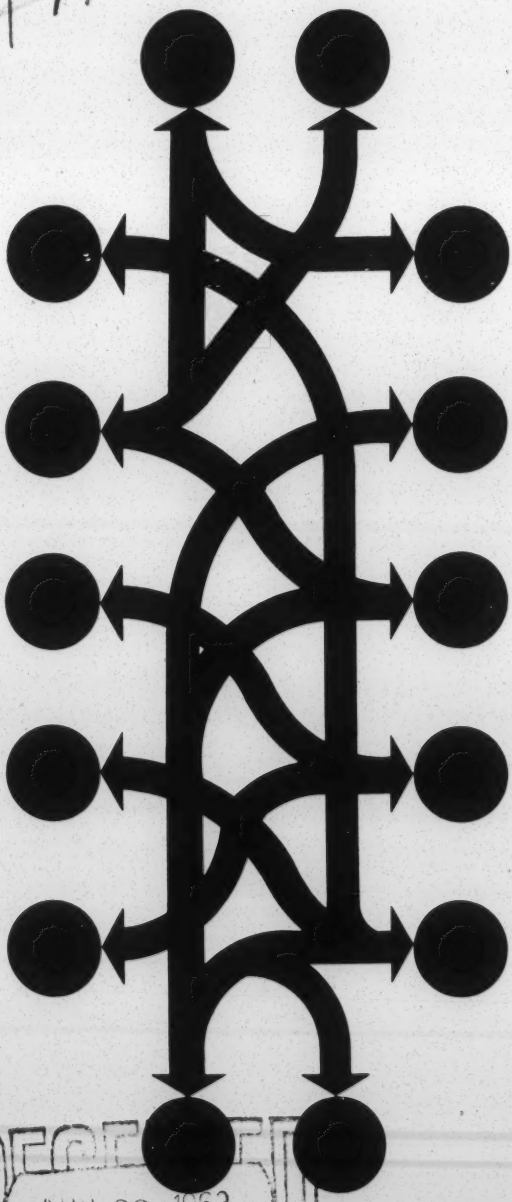
HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

SUMMER 1963

Research

Intergroups Org.
Off. Comm.

PA



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The Council on
Human Relations

Cleveland 14, Ohio

Tackling the Complex Problem of Human Relations *Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.*

THE HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOP

(Its origin and present function)

At the time of the publication of *An American Dilemma* in 1944, some pervasive and far-reaching changes were already under way in this country in the area of interracial and interreligious relationships. These changes had begun early in the century. But progress was inordinately slow. During the 20's and 30's, high walls still separated religious groups. As for race, the prevalent mood was nothing if not explosive. Education, characteristically described as "gradualism," was generally regarded with active disfavor. Exponents of civil rights were vigorously advocating legislation as the surest way of correcting intergroup inequities and inequalities.

Out of undeniable need, however, and forged by the conscience and intelligence of the nation, a new instrumentality was created: The Human Relations Workshop.

Almost overnight, the Human Relations Workshop brought a radically new concept and approach to public education. The point of departure or the incentive for the new program was not another theory of education but rather a clear and present crisis in American life. In the second place, the procedures of the workshop were *ad hoc* procedures, i.e., derived from or determined by that crisis. And, finally, acceptance of these two propositions logically necessitated additional educational innovations such as the elimination of a classroom "atmosphere" the deemphasis of the status relationship between teacher and student, a rather fluid schedule, experimentation with group dynamics and role playing, with expressional media and film, training in self and social awareness or sensitivity, and even such unconventional practices as granting passing grades to all participants on opening day in order that anxieties and problems incident to grades might be obviated.

After almost two decades of effort, the Human Relations Workshop is now a recognized adjunct to the summer program of colleges and universities throughout America. Thousands of teachers, social workers, police and industrial personnel, clergymen, professional persons and community leaders have gained useful information, invaluable insights, not infrequently a complete reorientation, and sometimes, most valuable of all, a new understanding of the significance of their own importance as persons in the struggle for improved human relations for all.

Thus, without fanfare and without grandiose claims or proclamations, the educational institutions of the country, with support and collaboration from community agencies, have assumed major responsibility in a strategically important area. Education has proved its worth. Human Relations or Civil Rights Commissions, founded in recent years, no longer think of education in condescending or disparaging terms. Indeed, today, most new professional workers in the field have availed themselves of the benefits of Human Relations Workshop training.

The year 1963 will see some 50 such summer workshops in operation, attended by a total of upwards of 2000 persons. These workshops are carefully staffed. A great many are "living-in" workshops, in which participants have the obvious values accruing to informal, continuous and residential association. Some centers have introduced "advanced" workshops. At least one, St. Louis University, has conducted a workshop in a foreign setting, seemingly with excellent results. While a perusal of this brochure will exhibit a stimulating variety of workshops both in content and approach, all are oriented to the basic and important endeavor of the education of the individual participant.

The Council on Human Relations is happy to present this 1963 roster of Human Relations Workshops. The Council publishes this brochure as a service to the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO). It acknowledges with gratitude the services of Miss Nell C. Henry, Council volunteer who compiled the materials contained in this brochure. It also acknowledges, with gratitude, the funds contributed by the Harry K. & Emma R. Fox Foundation which made possible this publication.

J. D. Nobel, Director
The Council on Human Relations
Cleveland 14, Ohio

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTERS

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (Philadelphia)

Charged with a three-fold responsibility, the University of Pennsylvania's Center encourages and carries out both pure and applied research, offers courses of instruction with special emphasis on the graduate level, and engages in community service. Fellowships are offered to doctoral students in allied areas on condition that they write their dissertations in the field of human relations. In addition to the staff's serving on advisory committees of intergroup agencies in housing, employment, public accommodations, and education, the Center also has an intern relationship with some of the city intergroup agencies. M. A. degree in Human Relations is granted.

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY STUDIES OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY (New York City)

At present, the program is entirely graduate in scope, with the exception of one course taught as an elective for persons specializing in the various helping professions. The program is built around four basic areas: a foundation course in human relations, a community laboratory course in which there is continuously operated a program in some New York neighborhood, a theory and philosophy course, and a thesis. There is considerable flexibility in the requirements in order to tailor-make a program to fit the unique needs of an individual. The Center places continued emphasis on applied research, consultation and training.

COMMUNITY TENSIONS CENTER OF SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE (Springfield, Massachusetts)

The Community Tensions Center concentrates on the instruction and study of intergroup relations. Since 1957 the Center has offered courses, conducted research, and performed consultative services in the areas of racial, ethnic, and religious relations.

A number of research projects have been undertaken on such topics as race awareness among preadolescent boys and the evaluation of films designed to reduce prejudice. In addition, periodic workshops, conferences and consultations for students, community and professional groups are held under the auspices of the Center. One such conference, for example, brought together clergymen, school administrators and intergroup workers to consider religion in education. A regional workshop in intergroup relations for youth serving agencies was planned in close coordination with the Center. Whenever possible, such activities involve students, in the conviction that they provide valuable learning situations.

The Center issues an Annual Report for each academic year, as well as occasional papers and reprints.

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER OF BOSTON UNIVERSITY (Boston, Massachusetts)

Focused on that part of the spectrum of personal relations that extends from interpersonal relations through group, intraorganizational and intergroup relations, to community relations, Boston's areas of responsibility include instruction (seminare and field service projects), research (basic and applied), and community service (short-term and long-term training programs, and consultation to particular agencies involved with certain intergroup problems). Annual faculty conferences on relationshops between human relations studies and various problems of university instruction, research, and administration; the provision of voluntary "unstructured" groups designed to support self-examination; fellowships to outstanding graduate and professional students, and a "living-in" summer workshop round out the Boston program.

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA (Norman, Okla.)

The basic purpose of the Human Relations Center is to provide opportunities for the study of human conflict and its resolution. To accomplish its purpose, the Center has three types of sub-goals:

EDUCATION — to develop educational opportunities and intergroup experiences at the adult and graduate levels for professional persons and lay leaders. This is done through institutes, conferences, workshops, seminars, and other educational programs throughout the regular school year, and in summer sessions.

CONSULTATION — to provide consultative services to organizations and committees on intergroup problems.

RESEARCH — to initiate and stimulate research in the field of human relations, to collect and disseminate research findings.

Designed by Epstein and Szilagyi
Printed by Smith & Setron, Cleveland

The Workshop Goes Abroad — *St. Louis University St. Louis, Mo.*

HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

Summer 1963

CALIFORNIA

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Los Angeles 45, California
"Human Relations and Group Dynamics Workshop"
June 24 - August 2 *(6)

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
University of California Conference Center
Arrowhead, California
"17th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
July 14 - 26
"3rd Annual Laboratory for School Executives"
July 14 - 26
Conducted by:
National Training Laboratories and Western Training Laboratory, University of California Extension
Los Angeles 24, California
(See statement under Maine National Training Laboratories)

SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE
San Diego 15, California
"Workshop in Community Influences on Learning and Civic Development"
June 24 - August 2 (6)

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
San Francisco 27, California
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 24 - July 12 (3)

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California
"Workshop in Intergroup Education"
August 5 - 16 (4)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY
Berkeley, California
"Encampment for Citizenship"
June 30 - August 10
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2209 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California
(See statement under New York Encampment for Citizenship)

* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
Stockton, California
"Human Relations Workshop"
July 22 - August 2

COLORADO

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
Denver 10, Colorado
"Human Relations and the School"
July 8 - 19 (2)

CONNECTICUT

UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD
West Hartford, Connecticut
"Workshop in Intergroup Education"
June 24 - August 3 (9)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
Washington 16, D. C.
"Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding"
June 24 - July 12 (3)

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington 1, D. C.
"Intergroup Relations Workshop"
June 17 - 28 (3)

OUTDOOR SEMINAR *Boston University, Boston, Mass.*

PUBLISHED BY:

THE COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS
281 THE ARCADE
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

INDIANA

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Bloomington, Indiana
"Southern Student Human Relations Seminar"
August
Apply to:
Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

KENTUCKY

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS
Berea, Kentucky
"Workshop on Urban Adjustment of Southern Appalachian Migrants"
July 12 - 26
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
Lexington, Kentucky
"Seminar in Intergroup Relations"
June 17 - July 12 *(3)

MAINE

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
Bethel, Maine
(1) "17th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
June 16 - 28 July 17 - 19 July 28 - Aug. 9
(2) "4th Annual Training Program for College Leadership"
June 16 - 18
(3) "4th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership Training"
July 7 - 19
(4) "Continuing Human Relations Laboratory"
July 7 - 19
(5) "Laboratory for Organization Trainers"
August 11 - 30
(6) "3rd Annual Laboratory for School Executives"
July 28 - August 9
Conducted by:
National Training Laboratories
National Education Association
1201 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

The work of the **National Training Laboratories** is part of a massive modern trend, falling under the head of behavioral science. It is at Bethel, Maine, that Kurt Lewin's pioneering idea for the analysis of face-to-face groups has been given a practical laboratory testing year after year since 1947. Beginning in mid-June, three sessions are held, each of two weeks' duration, for participants from all walks of life. It is the primary business of NTL to study group reactions, to alert members to what is wrong, and what they can do about it. The three main goals are to increase the sensitivity of the individual to his own role and his own responses and help him express complicated or even negative attitudes acceptably, to provide new skills for conducting and diagnosing group meetings, and to develop methods of participation and leadership. Additionally, the "Bethel pattern" has expanded into laboratory sessions running two weeks for professionals in various occupational fields. Planned in close co-operation with leaders in these fields, these laboratories are tailor-made programs for a particular occupational group, and are held annually in various locations throughout the country.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
Orono, Maine
"Education for Intercultural Understanding"
July 8 - 26 (3)

* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Boston 15, Massachusetts
"Tenth Annual Laboratory in the Improvement of Human Relations"
June 28 - July 12 (3)

MERRILL-PALMER INSTITUTE
Detroit, Michigan
"Communities in Transition; The Role of the Professional Person"
July 8 - 19

UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT
Detroit 21, Michigan
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 24 - July 19 (6)

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Detroit 2, Michigan
"Workshop in Human Relations"
August 19 - 30 (3)

MISSOURI

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY
Saint Louis, Missouri
"Workshop in Group Guidance and Human Relations"
June 17 - July 26 (6)
(See "Ireland")

* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

NEW JERSEY

RUTGERS — THE STATE UNIVERSITY
New Brunswick, New Jersey
"Human Relations in Professional Education"
July 1 - 20 *(3)

RUTGERS — THE STATE UNIVERSITY
Extension Division
"Introductory Workshop — Sources of Community Tension"
July 14 - 20
"Advanced Workshop — Problems and Programs"
July 21 - 27

NEW MEXICO

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque, New Mexico
"Intercultural Relations"
June 24 - July 19 (4)

NEW YORK

ADELPHI COLLEGE
Garden City, Long Island, N. Y.
"Police and Community Relations"
Dates to be announced (3)

BROOKLYN COLLEGE
Brooklyn 10, N. Y.
"Intergroup Workshop"
June 20 - August 2 (6)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Riverdale, N. Y.
June 30 - August 10
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, N. Y.

The Encampment for Citizenship is a six-week "living-in" educational program designed for junior citizens (18-23 years) who are interested in firsthand acquaintance with basic social issues. Guided by informed and skilled adult leaders, the Encampment participants explore problems in human relations, labor and international relations and civil rights. The participants themselves represent a great variety of socio-economic, racial, religious and cultural groups, a fact which makes the Encampment interlude intensely personal and stimulating as well as profoundly educational.

LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.
"Institute in Human Relations Education"
July 1 - 18 *(4)

* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
Syracuse 10, N. Y.
"Workshop in Human Relations and Social Conflict"
July 1 - August 9 (3-6)
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO
Buffalo 14, New York
"Workshop in Human Relations"
July 1 - 19 (3)

OHIO

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
Columbus, Ohio
"Institute on Human Relations:
The Many Faces of Prejudice"
July 22 - 25
UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
Cincinnati 21, Ohio
"Workshop in Intergroup Relations"
June 17 - July 12 (5)
WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
Cleveland 6, Ohio
"Workshop on Intergroup Relations"
June 17 - July 26 (6)

OKLAHOMA

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Norman, Oklahoma
"5th Annual Human Relations Workshop"
July 8 - 19 (2)
"Advanced Human Relations Workshop"
August 5 - 9 (1)

OREGON

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
General Extension Division
Portland, Oregon
"Intergroup Relations"
August 12 - 23 (3)
* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

TENNESSEE

FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tennessee
"2nd Annual Race Relations Institute"
June 24 - July 6 *(3)

TEXAS

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
Dallas, Texas
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 11 - July 7 (4)

UTAH

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
College of Southern Utah
Cedar City, Utah
"17th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
August 11 - 23
"4th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership and Training"
August 11 - 23
Conducted by:
National Training Laboratories
National Education Association
1201 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
(See statement under Maine National Training Laboratories)

WISCONSIN

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
No Workshop in 1963.
Will have a Workshop in 1964.

* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

WORKSHOPS TO BE HELD OUTSIDE CONTINENTAL U.S.A.

IRELAND

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY
will conduct a Workshop in Ireland
"Group Guidance and Human Relations"
June 29 - August 29 (6)
Conducted by:
Saint Louis University
221 North Grand Street
Saint Louis, Missouri

ISRAEL

HEBREW UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM
Jerusalem, Israel
"Seminar at Hebrew University"
July 17 - August 15
Apply to:
Inter-University Committee on Israel
515 Park Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

PUERTO RICO

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
La Mina, near San Juan, P. R.
June 30 - August 10
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, N. Y.
(See statement under New York Encampment for Citizenship)

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
Rio Piedras, P. R.
"Social Welfare Workshop"
6 weeks, July and August (8)
Apply to:
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Department of Labor — Migration Division
322 West 45th Street
New York 36, N. Y.

* Signifies number of hours or units credit.

RELATED PROGRAMS

LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Lisle Fellowship, Incorporated, sponsors young adult summer camps in seven locations throughout the world (two in the United States and five in foreign countries). Each provides four to eight weeks of living, learning, and work for the varied nationality, religious, and racial membership attending. Campers become better acquainted with themselves, others, and the communities near the camp. There are educational tours and "living-in" experiences at reasonable cost for most European countries.

For further information:
Dewitt and Edna Baldwin
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
3039 Putsview Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Interpp - 86, 1963

YOUR RIGHTS

to

housing

education

employment

public accommodations

IN KENTUCKY

RESEARCH
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST. N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Commission on Human Rights
Commonwealth of Kentucky
168 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

The Role Of The Commission On Human Rights

KRS 19.040 (3) empowers the Commission on Human Rights to "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination and to recommend ways of eliminating any injustices occasioned thereby." All persons who are subjected to racial discrimination in any area of public life are encouraged to contact the Commission on Human Rights. The Commission may direct the complainant to the proper agency for redress or accept a complaint and proceed with an investigation.

Employment Opportunities

State Government

KRS 18.310 (1) forbids racial and religious discrimination in the employment practices of departments of State Government under the Merit System. Individuals who are denied employment because of race, color or religion by any such department should report the incident to the Commissioner of Personnel, Department of Personnel, Capitol Annex Building, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Federal Government

Executive Order 10925 forbids racial discrimination in the employment practices of agencies of the Federal Government. Violations of the Order should be reported directly to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington 25, D. C. within ninety days of the occurrence of the discriminatory act.

Private Industry

Executive Order 10925 forbids racial discrimination in the employment practices of private employers having contracts with the Federal Government. The Order applies to recruitment, hiring, upgrading, demotion, and dismissal of employees. Violations of the Order should be reported to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity within ninety days of the occurrence of the discriminatory act.

Job Placement

A directive from the Federal Bureau of Employment Security forbids the managers of all local Employment Service offices to select or refer applicants on job orders containing racially discriminatory specifications. Individuals denied employment by Federal contractors after referral by a local Employment Service office, should report the incident to the Employment Service manager who is required to assist in the filing of a complaint with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

Violations of the directive by Kentucky Employment Service personnel should be reported to the Director, Kentucky Employment Service, Capitol Annex Building, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Equal Service In Public Accommodations

Public Facilities

The Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America requires that all places of public accommodation owned or operated by a State or a municipality be open to all members of the public without regard to race or color. "Public accommodations" includes parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, recreation centers, public buildings, restrooms in public buildings, cafeterias located in public buildings or on publicly owned land and all other facilities open to the general public. The right to equal service in publicly owned or operated places of public accommodation, if denied, may be enforced through court action. Denials of service in such places should be reported to the Commission on Human Rights.

Hospitals

The Hill-Burton Act forbids racial discrimination in the admission policies of hospitals receiving funds for construction under that Act.

KRS 216.450 (24) forbids the denial of emergency care in any hospital on the basis of race, creed, or color. Instances of racial discrimination in hospital services should be reported to: Hospital and Medical Facilities Director, Department of Health, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Transportation

Part 180 (a) of the Regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission forbids racial discrimination in the seating of passengers on interstate buses and in the operation of terminal facilities. Violations of the regulations should be reported within fifteen days of their occurrence to the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington 25, D. C.

Housing Opportunities

Federally Assisted Housing

The President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing requires that the benefits of Federal housing programs and assistance be made available to all on a nondiscriminatory basis. The Order applies to housing that is --

(1) Owned or operated by the Federal Government;

(2) Provided in whole or in part with the aid of Federal grants, advances or contributions.

(3) Provided in whole or in part by loans insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government.

(4) Provided by the development or redevelopment of real property made available by a State or local public agency through Federal financial assistance for slum clearance or urban renewal.

Each Federal department and agency will be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of the Order as it applies to operations and programs which it administers.

The regulations of the Veterans' Administration and the Federal Housing Administration require that houses available for sale as a result of foreclosure proceedings be sold without regard to race or color. Veterans' Administration, Federal Housing Administration and Public Housing Administration offices maintain lists of such houses. The lists are open for public inspection. Sales are generally consummated through real estate brokers in

particular communities. In case of a broker's refusal to cooperate, the house may be purchased through the local offices. Inquiries should be addressed to: Loan Guarantee Section, Veterans' Administration Regional Office, 1405 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky or Property Management Section, Federal Housing Administration, Madrid Building, Louisville, Kentucky.

Education

The Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America forbids racial discrimination in the admission practices of public schools, colleges, and universities. Any person who is denied, for racial reasons, the right to enter a public institution of learning may secure his right to admission through appropriate court action.

KRS 161.800 requires local school superintendents, in the suspension of teachers' contracts by reason of decreased enrollment of pupils, or by reason of suspension of schools or territorial changes affecting the district, to give preference, within each teaching field affected, to teachers on continuing contracts and to teachers who have greater seniority. Teachers whose continuing contracts are suspended have the right of restoration in continuing service status in the order of seniority of service in the district if and when teaching positions become vacant or are created for which any of such teachers are or become qualified.

On the basis of this statute the Attorney General has stated the opinion that in the reduction of teachers "the school district must give priority to and retain those teachers who are better qualified" by state certification "and who have greater seniority, without reference to race or color."

KRS 161.100 requires district boards of education to satisfy the State Board of Education that it is impossible to secure qualified teachers in a school under the control of the district board before the State Board may issue emergency certificates to otherwise unqualified teachers.

Qualified teachers whose rights are violated under either of these statutes should report such violations to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Office Building, Frankfort, Kentucky.

How To File A Complaint

I. An aggrieved person makes and signs a complaint on a form provided by the Commission. The Commission makes complaint forms available by mail or personal delivery and renders any assistance which might be required by the aggrieved person.

II. The complaint consists of the name, address, and telephone number, if any, of the parties involved, a statement of the acts complained of, and the signature of the aggrieved person.

III. The completed form is mailed or personally delivered to the office of the Commission, 168 Capitol Annex Building, Frankfort, Kentucky.

How The Commission Processes Complaints

1. Upon the filing of a complaint it is assigned to a member of the Commission staff.

2. The Commission staff undertakes a complete and objective investigation of all the facts.

3. If on the face of the complaint it appears that the Commission is without power to proceed with an investigation, or if the investigation shows that probable cause for crediting the allegations of the complaint does not exist, the Executive Director may dismiss the complaint. The aggrieved person may appeal from this decision to the entire Commission.

4. If the investigation indicates probable cause for crediting the allegations of the complaint, the staff endeavors to work out a satisfactory adjustment between the parties. If such efforts are successful the respondent will be encouraged to enter into a conciliation agreement, subject to the approval of the Commission.

5. Should efforts at conciliation fail, the Commission may schedule the complaint for a public hearing. All the evidence is put into the record at this time and all parties may be represented by counsel.

6. Following a review of the evidence, the Commission makes a final recommendation to the parties.

Intergroup org.
Of. Comm.

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Budget - 1963-1964

INCOME	1963-1964
Southern Regional Council	$ 6,000.00
Field Foundation	10,000.00
Memberships	3,000.00
Contributions	12,300.00
	$31,300.00

EXPENDITURES	
Salaries (2 professional, 1 clerical)	$19,400.00
Pay Roll Taxes	700.00
Refund to Locals	1,000.00
Office Supplies	700.00
Printing	1,000.00
Postage	700.00
Telephone	1,000.00
Travel	4,000.00
Meetings	500.00
Rent	1,050.00
Equipment	400.00
Accounting	240.00
Books and Subscriptions	200.00
Miscellaneous	410.00
	$31,300.00

G E O R G I A C O U N C I L
O N
H U M A N R E L A T I O N S

T E N T H A N N U A L M E E T I N G

Y W C A - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.

Saturday, November 16, 1963

"Every noble deed dieth,
if suppressed in
silence...."

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

November 16, 1963

6 P. M.

PRESIDING - Father Charles Demere and Mr. A. J. McClung

MINUTES - Miss Rosetta Gardner

TREASURERS REPORT - Mr. John Glustrom

BUDGET DISCUSSION AND APPROVAL - Mr. John Glustrom

MEMBERSHIP REPORT - Mrs. Noyes Collinson

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION OF PROGRAM - Mr. Max A. Schaible, Rome, Moderator

Chairmen of local councils -
Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Atlanta
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Mr. James Y. Holloway, Macon
Mr. Albert Thompson, Columbus
Mr. John Ralston, Savannah
Dr. Victor Vaughan, Augusta
Dr. R. E. Hamilton, Albany
Mrs James Ray, Glynn County

ELECTION OF OFFICERS - Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Chairman Nominating Committee

DINNER

7 P. M.

PRESIDING - Dr. Lionel Newsom

INVOCATION - Dr. J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER - Mr. Donald Hollowell

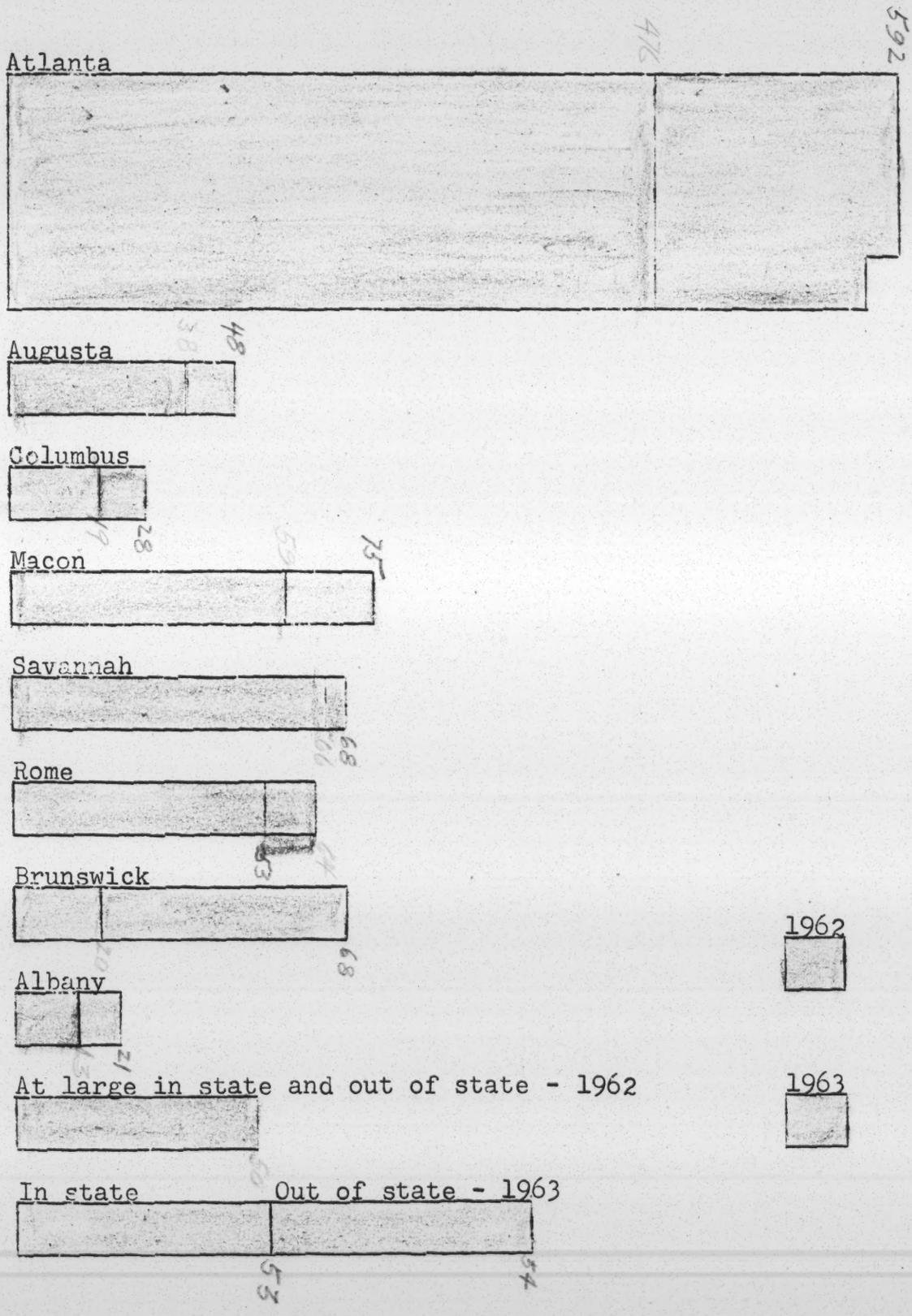
SPEAKER - Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director, Southern Regional Council
"Georgia At The End Of Its Long Dark Night"

FINANCIAL REPORT AND BUDGET PROPOSAL

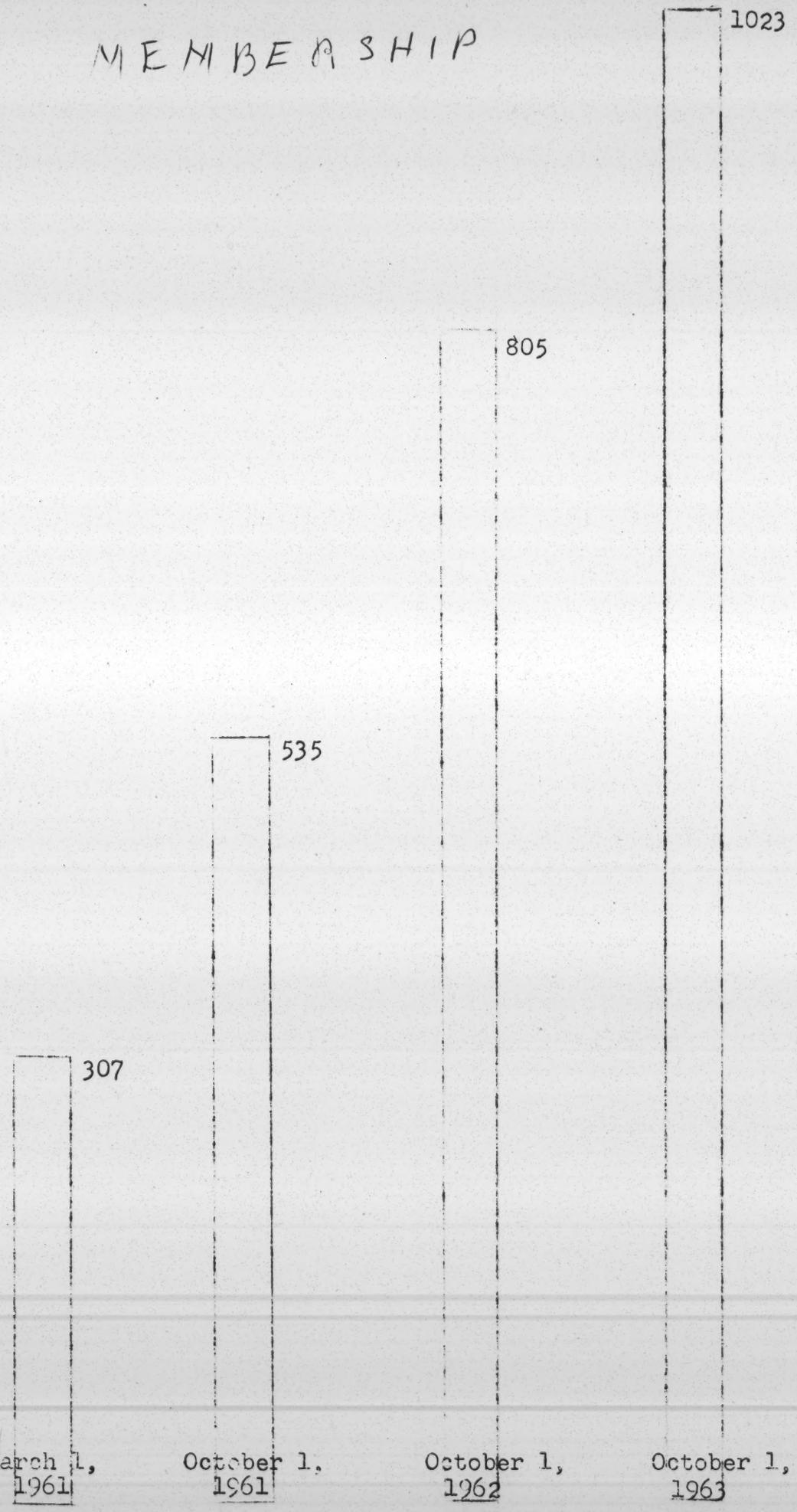
Mr. Johnny Glustrom, Treasurer

	1962-1963	Budget 1962-1963	Proposed Budget 1963-1964
INCOME			
Southern Regional Council	$ 6,300.00	$ 6,100.00	$ 6,000.00
Field Foundation	9,000.00	9,000.00	10,000.00
Memberships	2,796.00	3,700.00	3,000.00
Contributions	8,888.25	6,000.00	12,300.00
Fund Raising Event		1,500.00	
	$26,984.25	$26,300.00	$31,300.00
EXPENDITURES			
Salaries (2 professional, 1 clerical)	$15,712.44	$15,200.00	$19,400.00
Pay Roll Taxes	498.16	500.00	700.00
Refund to Locals	624.00	1,500.00	1,000.00
Office Supplies	606.73	750.00	700.00
Printing	564.31	1,000.00	1,000.00
Postage	581.00	900.00	700.00
Telephone	875.62	1,000.00	1,000.00
Travel	3,236.62	3,000.00	4,000.00
Meetings	202.46	200.00	500.00
Rent	1,050.00	1,200.00	1,050.00
Equipment		400.00	400.00
Accounting	145.00	150.00	240.00
Books and Subscriptions	166.24	150.00	200.00
Miscellaneous	187.20	350.00	360.00
	$24,449.78	$26,300.00	$31,300.00

MEMBERSHIP


Atlanta
592
476
Augusta
48
Columbus
28
Macon
75
Savannah
68
Rome
63
Brunswick
68
Albany
21
1962
1963
At large in state and out of state - 1962
In state
Out of state - 1963
55
54

MEMBERSHIP


307
535
805
1023
March 1, 1961
October 1, 1961
October 1, 1962
October 1, 1963

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Chairman
Mrs. Sujette Crank
Miss Ruth Gogel
Mr. Robert Thompson

The nominating committee submits the following list of officers for 1963-1964:

Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman, Atlanta
The Reverend Austin Ford, Vice Chairman, Atlanta
Mr. A. J. McClung, Vice Chariman, Columbus
Mr. John Glustrom, Treasurer, Atlanta
Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Secretary, Atlanta

The following nominees are submitted as members of the board of directors, 1963-1966:

Mr. R. L. Cousins, Atlanta
The Reverend Charles Demere, Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardner, Atlanta
Rabbi Alfred Goodman, Columbus
Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Macon
Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Stephen May, Atlanta
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur
Mr. Gerard E. Sherry, Atlanta
The Reverend H. W. Shipps, Savannah
The Reverend Dennis Walsh, Atlanta
Mrs. Arnette Waters, Savannah
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Reverend Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentis Q. Yancey, Atlanta

The executive committee is made up of the officers, chairmen of standing committee and five members of the board. The nominating committee suggests the following board members for members of the executive committee:

The Reverend Charles Demere
Mr. Richard Hocking
Mrs. Fred Patterson
Mr. Gerard E. Sherry
Mrs. Susan Waters

Nominations for the nominating committee, 1963-1964:

Mrs. Noyes Collinson, Chairman
Mrs. Stephen May

Mr. William Randall
Mrs. Harry Richardson
Mr. Robert Thompson

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1964:

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta
Reverend Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mr. E. H. Gadsen, Columbus
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Dr. E. A. Manley, Atlanta
Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta
Reverend John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mr. William Randall, Macon
Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro
Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1965:

Mr. Harry Adley, Atlanta
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Mrs. Carlton Binns, Atlanta
Mrs. C. E. Blythe, Albany
Mrs. Sujette Crank, Atlanta
Mr. Vincent Harding, Atlanta
Mrs. Dan Hollums, Atlanta
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon
Mrs. Fischer Mosley, Macon
Mrs. John Shields, Atlanta
Captain Frank Spencer, Savannah
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, Macon
Mr. Albert W. Thompson, Columbus
Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, Glynn County
Dr. R. B. Young, Milledgeville

Chairmen of local councils are voting members of the board of directors:

Albany, Dr. E. D. Hamilton
Atlanta, Mrs. Clifton Hoffman
Augusta, Dr. Victor C. Vaughan
Columbus, Mr. Albert Thompson
Glynn County, The Reverend T. P. Martin
Glynn County, Mr. E. T. Rogers
Macon, Mr. J. Y. Holloway
Macon, The Reverend J. L. Key
Rome, Mr. Max A. Schaible
Savannah, Mr. John Ralston

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

October 1962 - October 1963

Looking back over the year 1962-1963 there are sights and sounds and feelings as well as the statistics that follow in this report. I stood watching and listening at midnight in Savannah as a line of 2500 marchers chanted Free-e-dom----What do we want----- Free-e-dom--Freedom. One noon I suddenly found myself shouting in the middle of a mob that had assembled unbelievably quickly. I learned the feeling of mass hysteria.

In Americus I saw on the faces of the young people leaving the jail--an expression far deeper and more wonderful than a broad smile---also I saw the purple anger of the sheriff. After singing at mass meetings of the Movement in Albany, Brunswick, Rome, Augusta and Savannah, I held hands in a circle of 80 of our own members at Camp Reese as we sang together for the first time, "We shall overcome". I saw the faces and heard the words of high school students proving their determination and their ability to leap over the gaps of deprivation and really overcome.

I saw the sudden realization in the faces of white and Negro members when they discovered a new true friend who had the same fears and the same yearnings and the same loneliness. I felt the deep ache of bitterness and hopelessness in the faces and words of people in Albany; the frustrations and anger and disappointment at failure in making progress in southwest Georgia; the staggering feeling of humility when again and again I heard, "you'll never know what it meant to us that you were here"; the inadequacy of words as we tried again and again to answer, "why the urgency? Now is not the time". I had a deepening of the conviction that a strong statewide interracial organization is essential to the future of the state.

Program Activities of the Georgia Council Included:

I. EDUCATION:

This year has seen an increase in the number of schools that have desegregated. In many cases the Georgia staff and board and local councils have assisted. Tokenism exists in each case.

Colleges:

University of Georgia	5
Georgia Tech	6
Georgia State	7
Emory	9
Armstrong	1
Savannah State	1 (white)

University of Georgia Extension, Columbus	1
Mercer	3
Valdosta State	2
Oglethorpe	1
Total	36

Schools, Public:

Atlanta	153
Athens	7
Savannah	19
Brunswick	6
Total	185

For the first time school boards have desegregated, and others are planning to desegregate, without court order. This new approach creates slightly different problems. Some school board members seem to believe that voluntary action gives them greater degree of control than risking a court order. The General tendency is to begin with the 12th grade and proceed 1 year at a time. Columbus plans to start with only the 12th grade in September 1964, even though there is no high school on the military base for the 500 high school children of service men, (38 Negro). About $1 million is given yearly to Columbus by the federal government. The council hopes to be able to encourage the school board to move faster.

There is a Macon school desegregation case in the courts at the present time. Augusta is preparing for desegregation.

The council in Savannah played an important role in helping the city prepare for the opening of schools by bringing together organizational individuals who formed OPTICS (Operation for Peaceful Transition in Chatham Schools). The council is helping tutor the transfer students who wish and need help in their school work.

The council in Brunswick helped from its formation to create a climate of acceptance and in many instances a desire for real integration. With the desegregation of schools some of the white students were looking forward with pleasure and excitement to the new experience in their living. However, a youth group of the Citizens Council was also being organized. The six students who were admitted report that the faculty is most helpful and that some students are friendly. In this town where good will and understanding have been most evident, where change has taken place without demonstrations and a minimum of court cases, there is still much work to be done before all children receive the maximum education in a free society.

We hope that great effort will be expended in Brunswick, Savannah, Athens and Atlanta and in other cities as desegregation takes place, to persuade school authorities and the community to

move faster and to persuade parents of Negro children to allow them to transfer. Much staff time was spent during the summer in working with parents of children who wished to transfer.

In Georgia real integration is not going to take place without thoughtful effort on the part of citizens. More organized effort is needed in planning and working in the education field.

Trade Schools:

One school that moved quickly from tokenism is the Smith-Hughes Vocational School in Atlanta. From one student in January 1963 to 51 in September 1963. There is reason to believe that when the new Atlanta $6 million area Vocational and Technical School is opened the faculty and students will be truly integrated.

It is reported that the Valdosta trade school admitted two students for the September term who failed to attend. Four Negro students are attending the DeKalb County Vocational school. Many young people have unsuccessfully sought to enter the Rome school, a case is now in the courts which we believe will open this new all white school. Too many plans are being made throughout Georgia for separate trade schools. In Albany, Columbus, Macon and Savannah separate schools now exist. These schools follow the old unequal pattern. Many courses taught in the white schools are not offered in the Negro. The new schools although built with state and local funds will be operated with federal funds. It is sincerely hoped that Atlanta will set an example and other cities will see the necessity for good vocational and technical training for all our young people.

II. EMPLOYMENT:

If the Negro is to take advantage of the opening in employment he must receive better training. A larger number of students must be admitted not only to the new trade schools but to in-service training, specialized courses such as the government training and retraining programs.

State Employment Offices:

In many of these programs the state employment offices play a key role, either by deciding on programs to be offered or testing and selecting trainees. In spite of attempts on the state level as well as on the local level in several localities the practice in employment offices remains one of discrimination. With the exception of Atlanta, the employment officers follow the custom of the South in spite of the practically 100% financial support of the federal government. Outside of Atlanta we have found no Negro employee over the rank of janitor. Separate waiting rooms, though

not marked, are the practice. This bottleneck of employment services in the state will have to be changed before Georgia can move ahead economically.

Employment in Retail Establishments:

In several towns employment for Negroes is moving in retail businesses. Macon has been the most successful city in this area with close to 200 Negroes working as cashiers, bookkeepers and clerks. Cooperation of many organizations, the Council one of the chief groups, carefully planned training programs, placement services, as well as the encouragement and pressure necessary to open the doors. Augusta has a few employees on main street Savannah a few, Atlanta a few.

The Georgia Staff has worked with the "Operation Breadbasket" in Atlanta, a project of Negro ministers to open employment in certain industries, such as bakeries and soft drink companies. We have learned the necessity for proper training, sound negotiating, cooperation within the groups. There has been success in providing new jobs and in upgrading old employees. In one bakery over half the present employees are Negro in a variety of positions.

Government Contracts:

Various councils in the state have helped in reminding companies with Government Contracts that there are certain regulations. Although there has been no large undertakings by councils, there has been sound progress. Encourgement offered the contractors and in some instances actual recruitment of personnel has helped open new doors.

Military Installations:

Some positive results have come from contacts made at Turner Air Force Base and the Marine Depot at Albany. Local Negroes now have a chance to know when jobs are available and when tests will be given. Council complaints caused U.S. investigations and changes in practices. However, local graduates are greatly handicapped by poor preparation. Our Councils have proven that with a minimum of professional help, with facts concerning training, available jobs, various regulations, constructive work can be and has been done. Often a letter, a question, a bit of encouragement, a complaint registered, makes the difference.

III. LIBRARIES:

Library boards all over the state have been meeting and discussing the problem of integration. Again Albany has served the state. Not even Albany wanted a closed library and Albany seems the only town to want to have the library open on a stand up basis.

However, again there are various methods used to discourage Negroes who might take advantage of this facility. Rome though allowing full use of books still resists an interracial meeting in the library. Valdosta voted to open the library but kept the decision a secret. Griffin voted to open the main library but started plans for a new Negro branch. As far as we have been able to ascertain none of the newly integrated libraries have integrated their staffs. Various councils haveencouraged the use of this essential facility. In Georgia's dual school system 440 school libraries are available to Negro children and 1188 for white children. The number of school libraries is unequal but the difference of quality is even greater. Library facilities must be opened, old habits must be changed so that the total public enjoys the benefits of tax monies collected from the total public.

The following towns have desegregated their libraries: Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, Macon, Tifton, Brunswick, Valdosta, Albany, Rome, Columbus and Griffin.

IV. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:

Hotels:

Savannah desegregated its hotels after the pressure of a summer of demonstrations, violence and negotiations. The Council staff played an important role in a final settlement of the dispute. Two of the minor Atlanta hotels are desegregated. The major Atlanta hotels are open for conventions with a limited number of Negro members.

Restaurants:

The Convention Bureau reports that this limited plan has not been the help they anticipated. Conventions want all their members to be free from possible embarrassments outside the hotel as well as in. The restaurant desegregation in Atlanta and Savannah has been a battle ground with pickets both for and against.

Lunch Counters:

Lunch counters and tea rooms in department stores are open in the following cities: Savannah, Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, Columbus, Athens, Brunswick and Griffin.

V. THEATERS:

Down town theaters are open in Atlanta, Savannah, Columbus and Athens. Attempted entrance in Americus theater caused the arrest of many young Negroes. Four "outsiders" were held under an old Georgia law on a charge of insurrection, which carries a

possible death penalty. This was declared unconstitutional on November 1, 1963 and the young men freed. They are out on bail.

The southwest section of the state, Lee, Terrell, Baker and Sumter, has had no desegregation of public accommodations with the possible exception of bus stations. The general white population still maintains massive resistance. The attention of the Governor and other public officials has been called on several occasions to the possibility and probability of violence in this area of the state. The local public officials in Americus as in Terrell County and Albany are still determined that all the "trouble" is from "outsiders" and are determined to "keep the Negro in his place". The result is a complex of deep anger, bitterness and hurt and a determination for right and non-violence on the part of many Negroes

There is a difference in near by Columbus. Our Council member are doing a superb job in negotiating and pushing for progress in this city. The opening of theaters being the latest accomplishment.

VI. BUS STATIONS:

In spite of the ICC rulings there are some bus restaurants who still refuse to serve Negroes. The Greyhound Station in Griffin, Georgia is one example. Arrests have been made. Complaints have been registered. The only change has been the closing of the counter in the Negro waiting room. After several complaints registered by the Council the restaurant at the Vidalia bus station has closed. In all stations discriminatory signs are down but unfortunately it is hard to break habits. Negroes still wait on the "dirty" side and are fearful of sitting in the once white only waiting rooms. Throughout Georgia the Council is encouraging Negroes to use these open facilities, not to stand in the rain on the outside, but to take the rightful seat or shelter.

VII. PUBLIC PARKS:

The 36 state parks follow the usual segregated pattern, separate and very unequal. The state park director, the Jekyll Island Authority (which has broad powers) all refuse to consider negotiations. The reply to our questions is "why dont your people use the parks set aside for them". The NAACP has a suit in the courts at the present time directed toward the opening of Jekyll. It is hoped the decision on this case will affect all our parks. The following cities have desegregated city parks: Savannah, Macon, Atlanta, Rome and Augusta. Brunswick through the united efforts of the Council and the NAACP have desegregated the amusement facilities on Saint Simons Island. The only swimming pools that are opened are in Atlanta.

Golf Courses:

The following golf courses have been desegregated: Atlanta,

Macon, Savannah and Gainesville. No incident of unpleasantness has been reported.

Mayor's Bi-racial Committees:

Although the appointment of a bi-racial advisory committee is no answer in itself, it is a help in establishing communications and increasing understanding and in suggesting solutions to problems. We are encouraging cities to establish these advisory groups. The following cities have appointed committees: Valdosta, Columbus, Brunswick, Athens and Augusta.

VIII. LOCAL COUNCILS:

With the exception of our youngest Council, Albany, the general health of the Local Councils is good. Members are becoming more knowledgeable and more active. Albany is a sick city. Here discouragement is at its depth. Help has been given to various individuals and groups in the city. Sincere communications need to be opened. There is a consistent growth in all Councils. Total membership has grown from 307 to 1023.

Griffin has organized a Council this year. Help has been given in many ways but at the present it is not to be affiliated with the state group.

New Contacts:

During the year many contacts were made throughout South Georgia. Mailings were sent to a selected group of business men. The following towns were visited: Waycross, Valdosta, Tifton, Dawson, Cordele, Warner Robbins, Statesboro and Americus.

It was disappointing that no new Councils were formed in these towns. The fears of economic reprisals of both white and Negro and the fear of any "outsider" are the chief obstacles. It is difficult to measure the success or failure of the person to person contacts in the hard core area of South Georgia. The eagerness of some people to talk and tell of their fears and problems, and the interest in certain printed materials make us believe the time well spent even though few new names appear on the rolls.

IX. CONFERENCES:

Three very successful statewide conferences were held during the year. The annual meeting and workshop was held in Atlanta October 27, 1962, 42 were present. A three day meeting at the Episcopal Camp Ground near Brunswick on April 24, 25 and 26, 1963,

attracted 80 members. On October 4 and 5, 1963, a joint conference with the Alabama Council was held at Tuskegee, Alabama to help the Councils plan winter programs. Sixty three Georgia members attended.

X. GROWTH OF OPPOSITION:

The KKK, the White Citizens Council, the States Rights groups, the Conservatives, the Birchers seem to be strengthening their groups. In Savannah the Conservatives and other groups of upper middle class white's as well as three groups of KKK or similar groups were active throughout the summer's unrest. In Brunswick the Citizens Council seemed to be behind the injunction to stop the desegregation of the schools. (The decision of Judge Scarlett to stop the voluntary desegregation was over ruled a few days later by the U.S. District Court of Appeals.) In Columbus the Birchers and the Citizens Council have been active. During the summer when the NAACP youth group was sitting in in the library it was the upper class white teen agers who caused the violence. In Rome Lester Maddox' PASS (People's Association for Selective Shopping) has been enlisting members and has successfully frightened the merchants with threats of white boycotts. Mrs. J. Milton Lent, executive director of the "Conservatives" in Savannah has enlarged her organization to a statewide group. The number of people enrolled in segregationist organizations may not be large in numbers, but the groups are strengthening their organizations in Georgia.

X. PUBLIC OFFICIALS:

With the new administration coming into the Capitol, special effort has been given to setting up a working relationship with as many of the newly elected or appointed officials as possible. The Governor has received us cordially. He is not seeking to curtail our work. However, at this point he is not willing to support any integration activity. He has appointed two Negroes to the new Education Commission, Dr. Lionel Newsom and Dr. H. E. Tate. He has appointed a committee of 100 committee women to study "status of women". Four of these are Negro. There has been no other board appointments. Four Negroes have been appointed fire inspectors. The discriminatory signs are down in the main Capitol building but remain in the other state office buildings. The National Guard has received one Negro member. The chairman of the State Democratic Committee has appointed two Negroes on the State Executive Committee Mr. James Dunlap, a Sanders appointee, chairman of the Board of Regents shows great concern over the development of an improved system of higher education for all. Mrs. Bruce Shaeffer as Director of the Department of Family and Children's Services and Mr. Jim Parham as Chief of Children's Services, bring a breath of fresh air to the old highly discriminatory Welfare Department. The Council is hoping for new practices on the local level. Contacts with the Labor Department and the Parks Department have been unsatisfactory.

XI. FINANCES.

The constant worry of staff is how to have time to do fund raising and at the same time plan and execute program. A trip to New York in May helped us get foundation support to help meet our budget. See finance report attached.

XII. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

The Council is constantly in touch and works cooperatively with many organizations. The help from the Southern Regional Council cannot be over emphasized. They are essential to our operation. The Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, United Church Women of Georgia, YWCA, ACLU, are some of those with whom we have worked during the past year. We see little evidence of duplication of efforts in the cities and towns where we have been working. In fact, more interracial activities need to be organized outside the Atlanta area. There is a desire and need for an Urban League in several places. There is a desire and need for a truly United Church Women. There are towns that need NAACP. There is a need for many bridges across the huge gulf of separation in Georgia.

XIII. PUBLIC RELATIONS:

Many phone calls and many visitors come into the Council office seeking information concerning phases of our work; writers come wanting a quick evaluation of conditions and background for articles. The interpretation of our work is time consuming but important.

XIV. CONCLUSION:

It has been a year of progress. Violence and brutality in several places in the state gave deep pain and heartache. Inability to get white business leaders to realize the urgency of the situation gave great frustrations. Lack of understanding between people working for our same democratic goal gave discouragement. The abundance of good will, forgiveness, trust, and willingness to work with little thought of self, proved that an organization of lay members such as the Georgia Council on Human Relations can be helpful in this time of revolution.

310 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.

CURT DOERNBERG
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

October 12, 1963

The Board of Directors,
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

We have examined the balance sheet of the Georgia Council on Human Relations as of September 30, 1963, and the related statements of operations for the period October 1, 1962 through September 30, 1963. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of internal control and of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying balance sheet and statements of operations present fairly the financial position of the Georgia Council on Human Relations at September 30, 1963, and the results of its transactions for the period then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles for religious and educational organizations and applied on a basis consistent with those of preceding periods.

Curt Doernberg

Curt Doernberg,
Certified Public Accountant.

Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OPERATING STATEMENT
For the period October 1, 1962 through September 30, 1963

GENEREAL FUND

INCOME		
Grants-in-aid from Southern Regional Council		$ 4,800.00
Memberships		2,796.00
Contributions		8,888.25
New South Subscriptions		164.00
Miscellaneous		570.76
		$ 17,219.01
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries	$ 9,937.50	
Travel	1,878.42	
Rent	1,050.00	
Telephone	875.62	
Refunds to locals	624.00	
Office supplies	606.73	
Postage	581.00	
Printing	564.31	
Payroll taxes	301.51	
Board meetings	202.46	
New South	188.00	
Books and subscriptions	166.24	
Miscellaneous	156.50	
Legal and accounting	145.00	
Bank charges	3.20	
	$ 17,280.49	
Less: Reimbursement Field Foundation	3,132.01	14,148.48
Excess of income over expenditures		$ 3,070.53
Purchase of additional equipment		81.12
		$ 2,989.41
Less: Current Fund balance - October 1, 1962		(294.00)
Current Fund balance - September 30, 1963		$ 2,695.41

Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OPERATING STATEMENT
For the period October 1, 1962 through September 30, 1963

FIELD FOUNDATION FUND

INCOME		
Grant		$ 9,000.00
EXPENDITURES		
Salary	$ 5,774.94	
Overhead	3,159.51	
Travel	1,358.20	
Payroll taxes	196.65	10,489.30
Excess of expenditures over income		$ 1,489.30
Current Fund balance - October 1, 1962		2,516.90
Current Fund balance - September 30, 1963		$ 1,027.60

Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BALANCE SHEET
September 30,1963

ASSETS			
CURRENT			
Cash in bank			$ 4,107.77
FIXED			
Equipment - General Fund		$ 979.46	
Equipment - Field Foundation		392.80	1,372.26
			$ 5,480.03
LIABILITIES			
CURRENT			
Payroll taxes payable			$ 99.69
Federal income tax withheld			234.80
State income tax withheld			50.27
			$ 384.76
GENERAL FUND			
Invested balance		$ 979.46	
Current balance		2,695.41	
		$ 3,674.87	
FIELD FOUNDATION FUND			
Invested balance	$ 392.80		
Current balance	1,027.60	1,420.40	5,095.27
			$ 5,480.03

OFFICERS 1963-1964

Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman, Atlanta
The Reverend Austin Ford, Vice Chairman, Atlanta
Mr. A. J. McClung, Vice Chairman, Columbus
Mr. John Glustrom, Treasurer, Atlanta
Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Secretary, Atlanta

Board members - terms to expire in 1964:

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta
Rev. Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mr. E. H. Gadsden, Savannah
*Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Dr. E. A. Manley, Atlanta
Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta
Rev. John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mr. William Randall, Macon
Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro
Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta

Board members - terms to expire in 1965:

Mr. Harry Adley, Atlanta
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Mrs. Carlton Binns, Atlanta
Mrs. C. E. Blythe, Albany
Mrs. Sujette Crank, Atlanta
Mr. Vincent Harding, Atlanta
Mrs. Dan Hollums, Atlanta
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon
Mrs. Fischer Mosley, Macon
Mrs. John Shields, Atlanta
Captain Frank Spencer, Savannah
*Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, Macon
Mr. Albert W. Thompson, Columbus
Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, Glynn County
Dr. R. B. Young, Milledgeville

Board members - terms to expire in 1966:

Mr. R. L. Cousins, Atlanta
*The Rev. Charles Demere, Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardner, Atlanta
Rabbi Alfred Goodman, Columbus
Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Macon
Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Stephen May, Atlanta
*Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
Dr. J. M. Richards, Decatur
Mr. Gerard E. Sherry, Atlanta
The Rev. H. W. Shipps, Savannah
The Rev. Dennis Walsh, Atlanta
*Mrs. Arnette Waters, Savannah
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Rev. Samuel Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentis Q. Yancey, Atlanta

*Members of the Executive Committee.

Chairmen of local councils are voting members of the board of directors:

Albany, Dr. E. D. Hamilton
Atlanta, Mr. Morgan Stanford
Augusta, Dr. Victor C. Vaughan
Columbus, Mr. Albert Thompson
Glynn County, Rev. T. P. Martin
Glynn County, Mr. E. T. Rogers
Macon, Mr. J. Y. Holloway
Macon, The Rev. J. L. Key
Rome, Mr. Max A. Schaible
Savannah, Mr. John Ralston

Nominating Committee - 1963-1964:

Mrs. Noyes Collinson, Chairman
Mr. William Randall
Mrs. Stephen May
Mrs. Harry Richardson
Mr. Robert Thompson

Since 1918, when the first Southern Publicity Committee was formed — the forerunner of today's Georgia Council on Human Relations — the face of America has been transformed.

But some things — basic things — remain unchanged:

Human needs remain unchanged. We share alike the need for a welcome which goes beyond mere acceptance; for respect which goes beyond admittance; for tolerance which goes beyond toleration.

Human strivings for justice remain unchanged. This was the motive of the small group which assembled forty years ago. Though their goals were limited to the seeking of equal facilities and anti-lynch legislation, this aim required tremendous courage at that time.

This striving for justice is our motive today. Our goals have broadened. Working within the framework of the law, we seek full equality for all citizens in a society which benefits all and leaves no man a victim.

Here is what the Georgia Council on Human Relations has done:

We have adhered to the principle that racial problems must be solved by both races.

We have created opportunities for local people to meet as peers to discuss and solve their problems.

We have spoken out in support of law and order.

We have established councils in Georgia's eight largest cities, and have advised and counselled city officials and citizens in communities where our councils are not located.

Working cooperatively with local organizations seeking the same goals, we have investigated abuses and denials, negotiated grievances, and encouraged the implementation of the 1954 decision in its broadest concept.

Here is what needs to be done:

We need to enlarge our base of operation through more councils throughout the state, more members and more funds to facilitate travel.

We need to publicize our organization and its aims through more literature.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations is a voluntary association which depends upon the participation and financial support of concerned individuals, like you, to extend its program. We employ no high powered professionals to carry out the program of the Council. It is a membership organization. Ours must be a simple person-to-person appeal to the sense of morality and fair play of thoughtful Georgians. Please fill in the coupon on the reverse side.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Membership: ( ) $5.00 Single; ( ) $9.00 Family; ( ) $2.00 New South Subscription.

Contribution Without Membership: $_____

One Hundred Club: $100.00

Pledge Plan: $_____ pledge; $_____ enclosed; $_____ monthly.

(Contributions are tax deductible)

Please check desired plan and return to:

Georgia Council on Human Relations 41 Exchange Place S.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

From This

We've come a long way...

To This

Intergroup Org. Off. Comm. WD ✓
PA ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓
JJ ✓
MM
MG

Proposed by Tenn. Council

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. _____

WHEREAS the basic principle of all democracies is that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable right, and

WHEREAS it is a responsibility of democratic government to safeguard and foster the rights of all persons to utilize their capacities to the fullest, and

WHEREAS the State of Tennessee is composed of progressive, fair-minded, freedom-loving citizens, and

WHEREAS the State of Tennessee has throughout its history occupied a place in the front ranks of the states which have given dimension and depth to our national commitment to human dignity and liberty,

WITNESSETH:

By virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor of the State of Tennessee, I , Frank Clement, do hereby proclaim and establish a Commission on Human Rights, with the following powers, duties and purposes:

I

To promote better understanding between racial, religious and ethnic groups, and discourage discrimination, which is defined as any unfair treatment based on religion, race or national ancentry, there is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Governor's Commission on Human Rights.

II

The Commission shall consist of fifteen (15) members, one to be appointed from each Congressional district and six (6) from the state at large. The Governor will appoint all members and will name one member as chairman. Of the fifteen members first appointed, five shall serve for one year; five shall serve for two years and five shall serve for three years. Thereafter, all members of the Commission will be appointed to serve for three years. In the event of the death or resignation of a member, his successor shall be appointed to serve the unexpired term for which such member had been appointed.

III

The powers and duties of the Commission shall be:

(a) To conduct research projects or make studies into and publish report on discrimination in the State of Tennessee.

(b) To receive and investigate complaints of discrimination and to recommend ways of eliminating any injustices occasioned thereby.

(c) To hold public hearings and request the attendance of witnesses.

(d) To cooperate with other organizations, public and private, to discourage discrimination.

(e) To act as conciliator in controversies involving intergroup and interracial relations.

(f) To cooperate with federal, state, municipalities, governmental agencies and support them in their efforts to develop harmonious inter-group and interracial relations.

(g) To encourage fair treatment for all persons regardless of race, religion or national ancestry.

(h) To make an annual and other such reports to the Governor of its activities and its recommendations in the field of human rights.

(i) To prepare and recommend to the Governor a proposed Code of Fair Practices to be adopted as the governing policy throughout the Executive Branch of the Government of the State of Tennessee.

(j) To make recommendations to the Governor and the General Assembly of such legislation as may be necessary to carry out and accomplish the purposes and end of the Governor's Code of Fair Practices and the duties of this Commission in connection therewith.

(k) To accept on behalf of the State of Tennessee grants and donations from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out the function of this Commission.

V

All members shall serve without compensation, but subject to the approval of the Commission and within the limits of the budget, they shall be allowed their necessary expenses attendant upon their duties.

The Commission shall be authorized to:

(a) Employ an executive director and other necessary personnel within the limits of funds available and with the approval of the Governor.

(b) Prepare an annual budget for the ensuing fiscal year and to submit such budget to the Governor for his approval.

(c) Make and adopt such rules to govern its preceedings and to conduct the meetings of the Commission.

VI

The Commission shall meet as often as it deems necessary, but should meet not less than four (4) times in any twelve (12) month period.

Any member of the Commission who is absent from three (3) meetings of the Commission without being excused by the Commission shall automatically be dropped as a member.

VII

The Commission shall elect a vice-chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as it shall deem necessary, except the chairman, who shall have been designated by the Governor to serve at his will and pleasure. The chairman of the Commission shall appoint such committees as the rules of the Commission shall provide and such other special committees from time to time as the Commission may deem necessary in order to carry out the purposes of this Executive Order.

IX

If any provision of this Executive Order, or application of such provision or provisions to any person or circumstances shall be held to be invalid, the remainder of the Executive Order or the application of such provision or persons, or circumstances other than those as to which it shall have been held to be invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

This Executive Order shall become effective upon being signed by the Governor of Tennessee.

_____

GOVERNOR

Interpr - H R Council

WHAT IT IS . . .

WHAT IT BELIEVES . . .

WHAT IT SEEKS TO DO . . .

an introduction to

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS . . .

THE COUNCIL . . . is a non-profit organization open to all people who believe that Southerners can—and will—work through their problems by constructive, cooperative action;

works to bring understanding and acceptance of the legitimate aspirations of all of the people of Virginia, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin;

emphasizes the techniques of fact-finding, education, publicity, negotiation, and persuasion;

has a membership of over 2,000 drawn from all the principal religious groups, from both major political parties, from various educational, economic, and social levels, and includes both public officials and private citizens;

cooperates with the Southern Regional Council and with the Councils on Human Relations of the other Southern states in approaching South-wide problems on the same basis.

WE BELIEVE . . . that all men are entitled to equal respect, equal rights, and equal freedom in the enjoyment of all facilities which are offered for public use, and that laws and customs that deny these basic values to any group are an offense against God's law and against the ideals to which America is dedicated;

that free speech, free discussion, and freedom of association must at all costs be preserved, unhampered by any public policy or concerted private action that tends to intimidate individuals or to deprive people acting through lawful organizations of their civil and constitutional liberties;

that the question of human relations becomes, in larger terms, the question of world peace; and that we cannot conscientiously or effectively advocate to the community of nations ideals which we are unable or unwilling to practice in our own communities.

WE SEEK . . . to create in Virginia an atmosphere in which independent citizens may meet, counsel, and work together toward overcoming the fears and the customs that stand in the way of a more humane and democratic America;

to foster and maintain active communication among responsible members of various racial and other groups to the end that misunderstanding and ill-will shall be avoided and a sense of mutual trust and fair play shall be established and widely extended;

to establish councils on human relations in our local communities as rallying points for all citizens who wish to approach our common problems in a spirit of reason and open-mindedness.

WE OFFER . . . opportunities to participate in the programs of eighteen local councils or cooperating groups throughout Virginia, and to support the state-wide program;

practical assistance from professionally-trained leaders and from experienced consultants in the study of local problems, in the organization of new local councils, and in the planning of workshops and special programs;

information, educational aids, and the sharing of experience with respect to such specific problem areas as School Desegregation, Fair Employment Practices, Housing, Inter-cultural Relations, Public Facility Desegregation, and Education on Legal and Voting Rights and Registration.

YOU CAN HELP

. . . by calling on us: speakers, consultant services, and materials are available to any community.

by being a member of the Virginia Council: send the attached coupon with $5.00. You will automatically become a member of the local council if there is one in your area, and will receive the VCHR's monthly newsletter. Add $2 if you desire *New South*, monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council. (Contributions to the Council are exempt for Federal Income Tax purposes, and amounts above the membership fee are needed and greatly appreciated).

Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street, Richmond 19, Va. Date_____

I/We apply for membership in the VCHR, and in the affiliated local council for our area.
Enclosed is the following:

$5.00 membership (single or couple)

$2.00 New South

$_____ additional contribution

Name:_____ Phone:_____

Address:_____ County:_____

Special interests or requests:

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOCAL COUNCILS AND COOPERATING GROUPS:

Alexandria • Arlington • Blacksburg • Bluefield area • Charlottesville • Charlottesville-Albemarle Youth Council • Danville • Jefferson (U. of Va. Student) • Fairfax County • Fairfax Co. Junior (High School) • Fredericksburg • Loudoun County • Lynchburg • Norfolk • Peninsula (Newport News-Hampton) • Prince William County • Richmond-Petersburg area • Roanoke • Williamsburg

OFFICERS, 1963:

President: DR. AUBREY N. BROWN JR.,
The Presbyterian Outlook, 512 East Main St., Richmond

First Vice-President: MR. W. R. WALKER, JR.,
72 Shoe Lane, Warwick

Vice-Presidents: DR. G. GORDON MOSS,
Dean, Longwood College, Farmville

DR. E. B. HENDERSON,
307 W. Fairfax Street, Falls Church

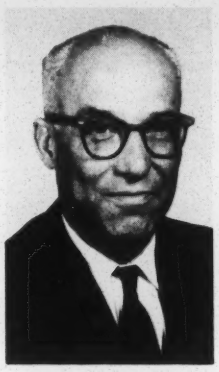
RT. REV. WILLIAM H. MARMION,
Box 2068, Southwestern Episcopal Diocese, Roanoke

Secretary: DR. HARRY ROBERTS,
Virginia State College, Petersburg

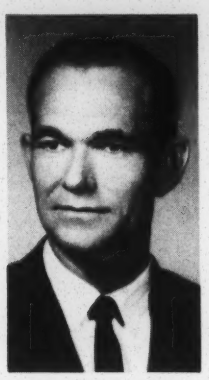
Treasurer: DR. J. RUPERT PICOTT,
316 East Clay Street, Richmond

Executive Director: REV. HESLIP M. LEE
Associate Executive Director: MR. OCIE LEE SMITH
17 East Cary Street, Richmond 19, Va.
Telephone MIlton 9-0872

DR. AUBREY N. BROWN, JR.



MR. W. R. WALKER, JR.



REV. HESLIP M. LEE

MR. OCIE LEE SMITH

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Term expires 1963

Mr. Edward A. Alfriend, 909 Vicar Lane, Alexandria
Dr. L.B. Allen, Bluefield State College, Bluefield, West Va.
† †† Rev. Hubert S. Beckwith, Box 288, Annandale
Rev. Daniel Bowers, P.O. Box 667, Portsmouth
Rev. Benjamin F. Bunn, 800 Anderson Street, Charlottesville
Dr. Frank D. Daniel, Box 136, Charlottesville
* Mrs. George A. Eddy, 5151 Polk Ave., Alexandria
Mr. Jo. K. Higdon, 3305 West Franklin Street, Richmond
Rev. H. G. Knight, 1320 DuBois Avenue, Richmond
Mrs. B. A. Makielski, 955 Locust Avenue, Charlottesville
Mr. M. C. Martin, President, 1st State Bank, Danville
Dr. Earl H. McClenney, President, St. Paul's College, Lawrenceville
Dr. Reuben R. McDaniel, Virginia State College, Petersburg
Dr. Lambert Molyneaux, 400 Alderman Road, Charlottesville
Mr. Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas
Dr. Samuel Newman, Newman Building, Danville
Father Thomas Scannell, 1 Saint Michael's Lane, Annandale
Mr. Carrell Tod, 1908 N. Quintana Street, Arlington
Mr. J. B. Woodson, P. O. Box 692, Fredericksburg
†† Mr. Thomas W. Young, 1660 Carprew Avenue, Norfolk 12

Term expires 1964

* Rev. Alvord M. Beardslee, Chaplain, Hollins College, Hollins College
Rev. William J. Cumbie, 5417 Juliet Street, Springfield
Dr. J. L. Blair Buck, 310 Hillwood Road, Richmond
Father Richard Burke, St. Joseph's Villa, Richmond
* Mr. Harold O. DeWitt, 426 Burbank Street, Williamsburg
Dr. John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond
Rabbi Emmet A. Frank, 3830 Seminary Road, Alexandria
Dr. Paul Gaston, 138 Mimosa Drive, Charlottesville
Mrs. I. G. Gladden, 29 Pembroke, Hampton
Rev. Emmett Green, Jefferson Street & Gilmer Avenue, Roanoke
Mr. Nelson E. Greene, 814 Franklin Street, Alexandria
Dr. Rachel Henderlite, 1617 West Laburnum Street, Richmond
Mrs. Wilson J. Hodgin, 408 West Braddock Road, Alexandria
Mr. Jacques J. Jolie, 1108 Wellford Street, Charlottesville
* Dr. Ed. C. Kollman, Hampton Institute, Hampton
Mr. George Lawrence, 101 Gilmer Avenue, N.W., Roanoke
* Rt. Rev. William Marmion, Bishop, Southwestern Episcopal Diocese, Box 2068 Roanoke
* Mrs. George E. Mattus, 1502 South Main Street, Blacksburg
* Dr. G. Gordon Moss, Dean, Longwood College, Farmville
††* Dr. J. Rupert Picott, 316 East Clay Street, Richmond
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Mrs. Samuel Z. Troy, 4610 West Grace Street, Richmond
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* Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, The Presbyterian Outlook, 512 E. Main Street, Richmond
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Dr. Alan Peirce, 121 Hillcrest Street, Fredericksburg
Dr. Harry Penn, Allied Arts Building, Roanoke
* Dr. Harry Roberts, Virginia State College, Petersburg
Mr. William Sanders, Law Building, Princeton, West Virginia
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Dr. Thad Tate, Jr., James Geddy Addition, Duke of Gloucester Street, Williamsburg
Rev. Virgil Wood, 1419 Grace Street, Lynchburg

Executive Committee Members Marked* † Past Presidents †† Members, Southern Regional Council

Cover Photo by Permission of The National Committee for Children and Youth; From the Exhibit "These are Our Children"

Interracial - H R Councils

The Jefferson Chapter of the VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

What is it?

What does it do?

What does it advocate?

Our Origin and Purpose . . .

In the spring of 1961, a group of University students, mostly Southerners, decided that an educational institution of such stature in the nation and in the South as the University of Virginia should not be devoid of an organization dedicated to the solution of problems arising out of relations between majority and minority groups within contemporary society. The result of this decision was the formation of the Jefferson Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The Council on Human Relations, whose constitution was approved by the University's Student Council in the fall of 1961, is a non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political meeting ground for students and faculty members whose diverse views on specific political and governmental issues are reconciled in a consensus of agreement on one fundamental principle: that all persons should be dealt with and evaluated, personally and legally, on their individual merits, without regard to race, creed or color.

Moderation and Individualism . . .

Because the segregation-integration controversy has since 1954 posed the greatest problems of human relations to the South (if not, indeed, to the entire nation), it is not surprising that the Council should find itself most concerned with that issue. In times when emotion often subdues reason, when nothing is needed so much as a calm, moderate voice rising above the cacaphony of extremists on all sides, the Jefferson Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations offers to the concerned University student an outlet for his desire to ease, rather than magnify, the strains of transition in Southern society vis-a-vis the race question.

Devoted as it is to the concept of individual worth, trying to avoid the injustice of stereotyping, the Council feels no uneasiness in revealing its distaste for segregation or discrimination of any type which ignores the capabilities and dignity of individuals. Thus, on the personal level, the Council fosters inter-racial and inter-religious communications, convinced that only experience with a wide range of person-

alities can lead one to a wise judgment about the valid criteria for discrimination.

Similarly, the Council supports the incorporation of this attitude toward individuals into the policies of collective private groups and enterprises such as restaurants, civic clubs, etc. — not through legal coercion which merely redistributes the general burden of injustice and endangers the freedom of all, but through persuasion (not threats) aimed at procuring voluntary acknowledgement of the essential rightness of the individualistic approach.

Equal Opportunities . . .

On the legal side, the Council opposes laws which interpose the power of the state between the individual and what he could accomplish if the determinants of his success were his own talents, skills and character, rather than his race, religion or socio-economic background. Though the Council itself takes no direct part in politics, it follows that Council members would generally favor legislation which removes arbitrary ceilings on individual accomplishments — ceilings constructed of faulty building materials. The Council, moreover, harbors no pre-conceived opinion on what facilities, services or enterprises in society should be public; but it does suggest that those which are public should either (1) be of benefit to all persons, or (2) be of benefit to all persons in accordance with criteria which apply to all persons equally.

Some Specific Points: . . .

State laws which place blanket restrictions on interpersonal contact are viewed by the Council as infringements of individual freedom. The Council does not assume that all federal civil rights legislation is **a priori** good, just or necessary — the same might be said of State or local enactments in this field — and members of the Council may disagree over whether such federal legislation is Constitutional in the same way that non-members may debate the point. The Council supports enforced integration in some areas no more than it supports enforced segregation in other areas, and for the same reasons.

The Council is not unmindful of the rights of a majority within a democracy, though in supporting the rights of a minority it strives to prevent that "tyranny of the majority" against which Jefferson so eloquently warned. The Council does not pretend that public arrogance toward past or prevailing social and legal customs is an acceptable substitute for personal labors toward changing those customs which are not consistent with an individualistic value system; as a corollary, the Council finds it neither fruitful nor tolerant to attack all who may disagree with its aims as "bigots." The Council does not consider the destruction of property rights as a necessary or desirable pre-requisite to the advancement of individual opportunities.

Strength In Diversity . . .

All of this having been said, it becomes clear that as the Council on Human Relations is described on bases farther removed from the person-to-person level, that description reflects less precisely its essence. We reject any classification of our collective body as politically "conservative" or "liberal". The fundamental principle stated in the opening section of this presentation is the only one on which all members will probably agree, and adherence to it is the only philosophic requirement for good membership. This is why, when we use phrases like "The Council believes", etc., we are describing only a consensus of the membership or what can logically be deduced from the base of intellectual freedom which the Council has built into it.

A Posititve Program . . .

The Council endeavors to present to the University community regular programs of the discussion or lecture type, making use of qualified speakers from within and without the University. While we do not necessarily endorse the views expressed by these speakers, we do offer an uncensored forum for their expression. We are particularly interested in bringing to the University whenever possible persons who are outstanding representatives of their general points of view.

Meetings are held at least once a month during the regular school session and are publicized in the **Cavalier Daily;** members, moreover, are notified of all meetings by mail. Our major public programs, which usually follow the business meetings, are also publicized in other Charlottesville news media.

From time to time the Council may undertake special projects which are approved by the membership, such as conducting opinion polls, discussing the unique problems of Negro students with local businessmen, etc. Throughout the year, though, the Council performs one of its most valuable functions by simply extending the hand of welcome and assistance to students who are members of minority groups — not by imposing itself upon any student but by giving all students an equal opportunity for membership and constructive work in the organization.

You Can Help . . .

We solicit your inquiries and suggestions for ways in which we may be of service to the University community and to the people of Virginia and the South, whose best interests we — by our geographical setting and membership composition — are most directly hoping to advance. Finally, we invite you to join the Jefferson Chapter of the Council on Human Relations if you are in agreement with our principle and would like to augment our efforts.

Address inquiries To:

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Box 62

Newcomb Hall Station

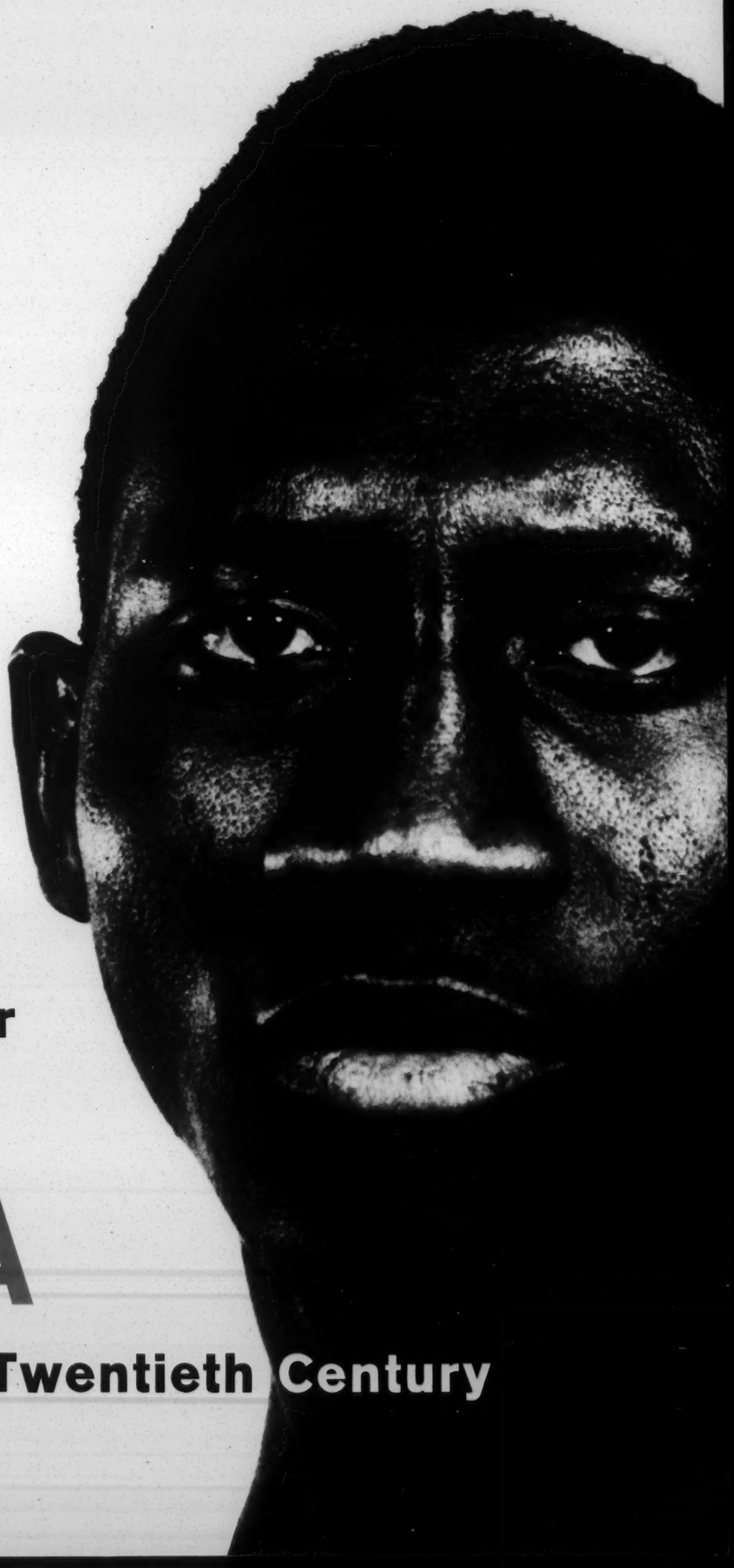
University of Virginia

Charlottesville, Virginia

Intergroup Org. Misc

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

a report for 1962



At Work in the Nation's Capital

A World Without War

AFRICA

Surging into the Twentieth Century

SDB✓ Interagy Mtg

MINUTES, SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA - JANUARY 3-4, 1963

Administrative.

Suggestions of the Steering Committee on several matters were approved: (1) henceforth costs for the social hour will be pro rated among those attending each meeting, excepting any persons who inform the secretary that he or she does not wish to share in this cost; (2) for the current meeting participants will be billed by the secretariat for their meals and other costs; (3) for future Atlanta meetings, where costs can be accurately estimated, participants will be charged in advance in the nature of a registration fee. When meetings are not held in Atlanta procedures will still be determined by the host agency and the conditions involved.

The Steering Committee, acting on a formal request from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, recommended to the full group that that agency be invited to participate. Following discussion, it was voted that SNCC be invited to participate in future meetings. Another recommendation by the Steering Committee, that agencies not be represented by persons receiving salaries from organizations and agencies not invited to participate, was disapproved by the full Conference.

In response to the suggested need for formal structure to cover certain areas, it was agreed that a committee be formed for the purpose of proposing to the Spring meeting a minimum structure. It was emphasized that the committee's mandate is to suggest a minimum structure. Jean Fairfax, Vincent Harding, Ruby Hurley, Charles Wittenstein, and Paul Anthony were selected and agreed to serve, with Anthony as chairman.

Conference on "The Ethical Demands of Integration."

This meeting, recently held in Nashville under the co-sponsorship of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council, was discussed in some detail by those present who had participated. Individuals were urged to share their reactions with the sponsors.

Discussion of National Conference on Religion and Race.

Interagency participants who will be present were asked to form themselves as a committee to meet during the national conference and begin thinking about problems of follow-up in relation to the way SIC agencies operate; a report to the Spring meeting was requested. Wyatt Walker will serve as chairman.

Fund for Rebuilding of Burned Churches.

Wyatt Walker reported on decisions of a meeting of groups receiving donations toward the rebuilding of burned churches in southwest Georgia. The first Sunday in February has been selected as ground-breaking date and successive services will be held at the sites of the three churches. Four churches were burned in this area of Georgia; the congregation of one decided not to share in the

rebuilding fund. Approximately $63,000 cash is now available and will be used for building actual physical facilities. It is hoped that lighting fixtures, pews, communion tables, etc., will be donated when they are needed.

Report on Alabama - Norman Jimerson, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Politically, the one big factor in the state is the election of Gov. Wallace. In November the people of Birmingham voted to change the form of city government from a commission to a Mayor-Council by a margin of some 700 votes. Alabama has also become the first state to have its legislature reapportioned by federal court order. There has been significant voter registration activity. Little change in traditional patterns of Negro employment has occurred during the last year. Police brutality and blatant Ku Klux Klan activity continue.

In the schools, within the next few months a suit will probably be filed in Huntsville to desegregate Madison Pike School, which is contiguous with Redstone Arsenal. Reportedly, legal counsel has been retained on behalf of from five to fifteen Negro students, children of military personnel. The University of Alabama has announced that it has received applications from three Negroes; registration for spring quarter was closed before applications from the three were considered. The president of Auburn University has announced that he has received applications from Negroes. The University of Alabama will very likely have a Negro student by September, 1963; Auburn will likely face a court suit by next fall. A suit to desegregate Birmingham public schools was heard in October, 1962, and it is anticipated that there will be a ruling sometime this Spring. It is a matter of speculation as to whether the court will order actual desegregation of Birmingham schools in September, or merely submission of a plan for desegregation.

Some discussion of what agency efforts might be most significant in the Alabama--and particularly the Birmingham--situation followed.

It was decided that the reinstitution of emergency meetings of SIC in connection with crisis situations is desirable. The group agreed to devote the major portion of the regular Spring SIC meeting to the Birmingham situation, meeting in Atlanta and bringing in resource persons from Birmingham.

Other.

A brief report on Albany emphasized the feelings of hopelessness and frustration on the part of Negroes in that city. The Georgia Council on Human Relations and SNCC are, so far as is known, the only groups now doing work there. In surrounding towns, however, there is apparently not so much fear.

The Oxford, Mississippi insurrection and some of its effects were discussed, and members of a Quaker team which went to Mississippi reported their experiences. One of the purposes and accomplishments of the Quaker mission was to raise questions with some people in responsible positions about what next steps they might take to pull the state out of its present tragic situation. It was observed that in Mississippi there had been virtually no place for moderates to take a stand.

In a short report on progress of the Voter Education Project, it was noted that October, November, and December are fairly slack months due to schedules of registration offices. Most groups encouraging registration are prepared to resume full activity this month. Programs in Huntsville (Madison County) and Birmingham, Alabama, and in Florida were mentioned. The NAACP is conducting a program in the Gulfport, Laurel, and Hattiesburg areas of Mississippi, and in East Texas, not, however, with VEP funds. A new staff member will join VEP as of February 1; preparation of materials to stimulate registration is planned after his arrival.

Suggestions for future agenda were brought up throughout the meeting and SIC participants were urged to send further suggestions to the chairman.

January 21, 1963

Intergrp Org - Misc

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGION

"Quaker Service in Southeast"

★ NORTH CAROLINA
★ SOUTH CAROLINA
★ VIRGINIA
★ TENNESSEE
★ ALABAMA
★ GEORGIA
★ FLORIDA

Volume I | High Point, North Carolina, January, 1963 | No. 3

High School Program Stresses Involvement in Social Concerns

The High School program of the American Friends Service Committee, now being developed in the Southeast, is part of a worldwide program designed to educate for responsible world citizenship, to witness to certain religious truths which the Committee believes to be relevant to life in these times, and to relieve human suffering.

The primary purpose of the program, under the direction of William Dreyer in this region, is to provide an opportunity for high school age people to study, analyze and to discuss the economic, social, and political problems of today not only to be better informed but to find the implications of non-violent approaches to these problems.

Since one of the purposes of the program is to maintain a free platform where controversial issues can be discussed by people of diverging opinions, resource people used in the program often-times are themselves controversial figures. In the program, however, every attempt is made to bring a balance of ideas. It is also a purpose of the program to bring together people from a variety of national, religious, economic and racial backgrounds so that the dignity inherent in everyone may be given recognition, and an opportunity provided for democratic living.

In the Southeastern region, the High School program is specifically charged

(Continued on Page 4, Column 3)

Reading from left, Bob Cameron, Faye Setzer and Charles Morgan, of High Point Central High School assist in blanket collection for Algerian refugees, conducted on December 30. Approximately 30 high school students participated in drive.

College Program Seeks Wider Participation In Growing Projects

Under the leadership of Don Irish, chairman, the College Program of the American Friends Service Committee in the Southeastern region is currently expanding its activities into new areas, notably in South Carolina.

Irish, sociologist on a temporary research assignment at the University of North Carolina, was elected chairman of the College Program Committee this past fall.

With Richard Ramsey as staff director, the program meantime continues its widespread activities in Piedmont North Carolina and plans are underway for joint College-Peace Education seminars. Projected into the summer of this year are plans for Voter registration and Interns in Community Service activities in areas yet to be announced.

New Focus Planned

Ramsay pointed out that the College program would give special attention to work in the field of race relations, emphasizing that the focus should be on anticipating racial crises rather than moving into a tension situation after it has developed. With this in mind, special programs may be initiated in Mississippi and Alabama as well as in South Carolina.

Of special importance in the College program is its weekend and summer work experience offered to college students. A consistent effort is carried on to draw into the program students from small, comparatively "unsophisticated" campuses.

In the summer of 1962, the College program sponsored a ten-week project of Interns in Community Service,

(Continued on Page 4, Column 2)

AMERICAN
FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGION

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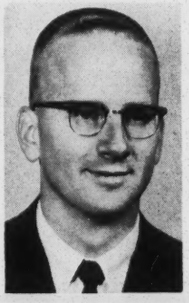
Two New Peace Interns Assigned to Southeast

Two interns have been appointed to the Southeeastern region's Peace Education program, it has been announced by **B. Tartt Bell,** Executive Secretary.

Ralph Zeiss

The interns, **Ralph Zeiss,** assigned to the St. Petersburg, Fla., office, and **William E. Rhoads,** in the High Point office, represent the first time two peace interns have been assigned in any regional office for the same period, it was pointed out.

Calhoun Geiger, Peace Education Director, explained that the increasing potential for Peace Education support in this region was responsible for these appointments.


William E. Rhoads

Rhoads was graduated this past June from Guilford College, is married and Mrs. Rhoads is completing her final year at Guilford as a psychology major. He is a native of Wilmington, Delaware.

Zeiss is also married and they have three children. He received his M.S. in marine biology from Cornell, where he served on the peace and social concerns committee of the Friends meeting, later to become chairman. During this period, his concern about the state of world affairs led to his decision to enter his present work.

Regional Director Lays Emphasis On Financing As Key Program

By

B. Tartt Bell

Executive Secretary

Elsewhere in this issue is a feature story on SERO's "finance and interpretation" program and a picture of B. Russell Branson. This is included because the business of securing the financial support for the Service Committee's operations is in every sense a "program", not just a part of the internal administrative apparatus. Furthermore, it's one of the more fascinating chapters in the whole book! I don't mean our human fascination with dollars and cents. I am talking about the amazing chronicle of how, why and when people choose to use the channels of the AFSC to express their concerns and their hopes. Few — if any — staff members can match the tales of humor, faith, and commitment reported by the fund raisers! I wish you could hear some of them. Personally, I'm not sure which are more moving, those that report gifts of large sums by generous philanthropists or those of small contributions which may represent a personal sacrifice. The confidence in the Service Committee which every gift implies is, in any event, a frightening responsibility for the staff and committees.

Often we hear friends lament the fact that it's necessary "to raise funds" for the Service Committee's programs. None of us would claim that it is a simple or an easy task to support the budgets year after year. However, we think of the fundraising as a service, almost as a ministry. In many instances, a gift of money is the most immediate and personal way individuals in the southeast can relate themselves to regional, national, and world needs. Is it not, therefore, a genuine service when we are able to offer the giver a constructive program in the areas of his concern? Moreover, the numerous opportunities enjoyed by Russell Branson, and the other fund-raisers, to join in a spiritual search with contributors and prospective supporters for areas of mutual concern has made his work something far more than "raising money".

There is another way also that "finance and interpretation" eminently qualifies as program. One of the objectives of all AFSC work is to "involve" people, i.e., provide the opportunity to think, to work, to worship together, in other words, to participate in something beyond immediate self-interest. Regardless of size every contribution represents a part of the individual who makes the gift. All who give through the AFSC to the causes that are important to them are, thus, very much involved.

There is, quite naturally, some disagreement among staff and committee members about the relative importance of the particular programs in which we specialize. In these discussions Russell has gently reminded us that his program is the **most** important —because he has the privilege of representing all AFSC work in a very special way!

Bell Visits Florida

The executive secretary will spend a week in Florida, February 3-8. Bell speaks to the Daytona Beach Open Forum on Sunday afternoon, February 3rd, on "The United Nations and The Prospects For Peace". From February 4 through February 7 he will visit in St. Petersburg for consultation with Ralph Zeiss, peace education interne, and the local committee about program developments.

On the return trip Bell will stop in Atlanta for conference with Noyes Collinson, director of the Atlanta employment on merit program of the regional office.

Donors Share In AFSC Projects With Financing

A conference for African diplomats, a seminar in Western Europe, and in Thailand, work camp involvement in Nigeria, in Ghana and other west African countries, a volunteer working in an Indian village assisting with the treatment of leprosy, a VISA volunteer in the Tanganyikan community development program, a Washington seminar on international affairs for governmental officials, a high school student involved in an intensive period of study at the UN and in Washington, transporting tons and tons of surplus food to hungry peoples in foreign lands, clothing for thousands of refugees — all these exotic sounding activities are parts of the total effort of the American Friends Service Committee to make real its underlying motivation which is "Love expressed through creative action, can overcome hatred, prejudice, and fear."

Many persons participate directly in these activities through the department of finance and interpretation. AFSC maintains a close contact with its contributors through personal letters and personal visits. Thus, a contributor feels close to the work because of these interpretative activities and that he is a definite part of the work in this country and in foreign lands. It is, of course, impossible for all persons to be present physically as these service projects are carried on. It is not impossible, however, for all persons to participate directly in these activities through their representatives who are acting in behalf of the American Friends Service Committee. Staff members are highly selected and their programs are directed and reviewed by volunteer committees.

The scope of the work of the American Friends Service Committee is seldom comprehended even by members of the Religious Society of Friends, which was the inspiration for the original formation of the American Friends Service Committee. Not only does the Service Committee work carry into areas of tension in foreign lands; large scale activity is constantly under way in this country and more particularly in the Southeastern Region about which we are most directly involved. For example, we have for years had staff personnel working in the area of school desegregation; and seeking new openings for work opportunities on the basis of merit alone. Also, we have representatives working through the colleges and more recently through high schools to reach students of these institutions in an effort to stimulate social consciences to the degree where they will feel the necessity of meeting their responsibility to all mankind through constructive activity. Underlying all the many facets of AFSC programs is our constant search for ways to relieve tensions and thus to create among all nations and all men a nonviolently ordered society.

Russell Branson

Financing of these efforts is the key to their scope. The Service Committee seeks financial assistance from those individuals, groups and foundations who share our common concern and wish to give encouragement to our program direction and services.

Generally, organizations which maintain programs of service do not consider their financing aspects as one of their service programs. In the concept of our Finance Secretary, the individual, group or institution which does assist with the financing is equally the beneficiary of deep seated rewards as is the person whose hands administer the service. On the one hand, it enables a person to give expression to his concern through his gift of money or material; this in turn enables another person to put into action his concern by giving some of his life and creative talent. Thus, the forthright presentation of our direct service projects to potential financial supporters is an important objective of this program. It is our experience that such presentations create a wish and an equally sincere desire to become an active participant through financial assistance. This touches upon the philosophy of our associate secretary for the Southeast region, **Russell Branson,** who is responsible for the finance and interpretation program in this region.

Our staff is in need of less expensive transportation that is ready to go and time saving. The use of staff's private cars is quite expensive. Public transportation is often difficult and time consuming.

If our staff of eight persons had two AFSC-owned cars, where the only expense would be gas and oil and a few incidentals, we could do much more work than we are presently able to do on our own limited travel budgets.

Do you have a car you could give us? Any make, any model; just so it has lots of good mileage left in it and does not need major repairs. Tires and batteries are considered incidental.

Our need is such that this will be better than a cash contribution. Write: RUSSELL BRANSON, P. O. Box 1307, High Point, North Carolina.

Bell, Herbin Lead Panel on Equal Employment

B. Tartt Bell, Regional Executive Secretary, and Sarah Herbin, Associate Director of the Employment on Merit program of the American Friends Service Committee, were leaders of one of the panel discussions at a Consultation on the Ethical Demands of Integration held last month in Nashville, Tennessee.

The consultation, jointly arranged by the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of Churchmen, was opened by an address by Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., on December 27 and continued through December 29, with James McBride Dabbs delivering the closing address.

"Public Schools in Charlottesville, Virginia," was subject of a discussion led by Paul Gaston and Tom Hammond of the University of Virginia and "The Role of Religion in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta," was discussed by Dr. Samuel Williams of Morehouse college.

The study presented by Bell and Herbin was: "Equal Employment in Greensboro, North Carolina."

———

A New Commandment I Give to you, That you Love One Another.—John 13.

School Desegregation Implements Belief In Equality of Man

Since 1956, the American Friends Service Committee, as a part of its national community relations program, has carried on a School Desegregation project in the Southeastern region.

"Quaker work in community relations is motivated by the testimony of Friends on the equality of all men in the sight of God and of one another," B. Tartt Bell, Regional Executive Secretary, explained.

This testimony emphasizes the dignity and worth of the individual and his right to grow up in a social environment in which he can develop his God-given potential to the fullest, he said.

Based on the belief that desegregation is inevitable and morally right, but that much community and individual preparation and planning is necessary to insure that the change will come in an orderly and constructive manner, the program has been concentrated primarily in North Carolina because the State's legal machinery has permitted desegregation. The Southeastern regional office is located in High Point and there are a large number of Friends' groups and a strong Quaker tradition in this area.

The program is directed by William Bagwell and Charles Davis, staff members, and the following are members of the program's committee: James Mattocks, acting chairman; Robert Bryden, Joseph Hines, D. Eric Moore, Dan Pollit, William Wells, Joseph Straley, W. I. Morris, Susie Jones, Gladys Wood, Irvin Birdseye, Owen Lewis, Carl DeVane, Ernest Campbell, Howard Givens, Sidney Freeman, McLeod Bryan, Carson Ryan and Susan Smith.

The long-term goal of the program is to provide an opportunity for every public school child to attend a school in his community in which decisions regarding curriculum, assignment of pupils, use of facilities and the appointment of teachers will be made on a nonracial basis. The short-term goal is the desegregation of as many school districts on as extensive a basis as possible.

Methods involved in the program include education through speeches, literature, etc.; counseling of groups and individuals, confrontation of local and state leaders in school and other governmental positions and the convening of groups to discuss problems.

Emphasis during 1963 will be placed on a more concentrated area carefully selected after a study of various pertinent factors; sponsoring a series of workshops and seminars aimed at developing leadership, and maintaining sufficient flexibility in order to be able to consider providing emergency aid in crisis areas which may develop in North Carolina or elsewhere in the South.

Some work previously has been carried on outside North Carolina in Little Rock, Arkansas, and Prince Edward County, Virginia.

COLLEGE

which was designed to provide college students with actual work experience in community agencies. A Voter registration project also was sponsored by the College program, in Jackson, Tennessee. Objectives were more awareness of the procedures of registration, voting, marking ballots, folding ballots and the rights of voters. The project sought ways to determine issues in an election and criteria to use for decision-making, and how to petition for improvement of the community.

HIGH SCHOOL

with promoting events that will deal in depth with the concerns of peace and race. In order to achieve the greatest effectiveness, we are trying to orient the program along two-fold lines; events directed to students and events directed to adults who work with students. Because of this philosophy, the program committee now being carefully selected will consist of approximately two-thirds adults and one-third students.

Among the most rewarding and appealing aspects of the program are the summer work and study projects. Dreyer is available to speak to church, school and other groups interested in knowing more about these opportunities for service.

Another type of service in which students participate through the program was illustrated December 30, 1962, in High Point, North Carolina, when approximately 30 students from High Point Central High School held a drive to collect blankets to be sent to the AFSC to Algerian refugees. The blanket collection effort was supported by members of the Key Club, Junior Civitans and Civinettes with the AFSC serving as coordinator.

According to Dreyer, "Those of us who work with high school youth are becoming increasingly aware of new depths in judgment, responsibility and spiritual concern being exhibited by today's teen-agers. If we fail to mold the attitudes of youth, we have failed the World," he concluded.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
1818 SOUTH MAIN STREET
HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA

NEWSLETTER

NEWSLETTER

This is the last in a series of three newsletters in which we have sought to give you some insight into the various activities currently underway by the AFSC in the Southeast.

Through your interest, manifest in many ways often deeply moving in their motivations, we include you as one of our "constituent supporters." Whenever, if at any time, activities of the AFSC raise questions you would like answered, please understand that we welcome communications from you on all subjects within our competence, and would be happy to go more into detail regarding any of our programs.

Perhaps you will find it helpful if you retain this "set" of newsletters, and use the material for reference.

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January 1963 Volume 7, Number 3

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN ONE WEST 47th STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

COUNCIL REPORTS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

What is progress in race relations? As these reports from different parts of the country indicate, it depends on where you are starting from. In a large Southern city such as New Orleans, the fact that public facilities are being desegregated and school desegregation, even on a token basis, is taking place represents progress. In Chicago, on the other hand, where segregation is purely unofficial, progress toward integrated living has been slow and difficult.

Looking at progress in race relations in both the North and the South in recent years, it becomes clear that each step inevitably leads to the next one. In some places the steps needed today may be legal ones, to force public authorities to grant equal treatment to Negroes and to prevent segregation. In other places there may be a primary need for patient negotiations to open opportunities for Negroes to acquire skills and work at decent jobs. In still other communities, the important current task will be to develop new ideas and programs in education, community life and recreation which will give all young people access to the equal opportunities to which the law says they are entitled.

Eventually, if the term "equality" is to have meaning, we must move away from the acute consciousness of race which has become embedded in the American character. For people to function effectively in the society in which they live, they must be considered as individuals, not as part of a "group." That time, unfortunately, seems to be far in the future, with many stages to go through along the way before we reach it. In the meantime, we must measure progress by steps.

Some thoughts and evaluations on recent local progress toward racial desegregation are offered here by Council leaders living in various parts of the country. As a backdrop for these local on-the-scene reports, here is a brief review of major recent developments on the national civil rights scene.

The Public Schools

In all but three "deep South" states where public schools are still completely segregated, slow but steady progress in school desegregation continued in the past year. When school opened in the fall of 1962 Negro and white children were enrolled in desegregated schools in 972 school districts in the Southern and border states. This was an increase of sixty districts since last spring. The number of Negro youngsters enrolled in schools with white children also increased this fall in every state with desegregated schools, so that 8,400 more Negro children in the Southern and border states were attending desegregated schools.

In the North, a closer look is being taken at the problem of de facto segregation in the schools, resulting from segregated neighborhood patterns. Redistricting, transfer and open enrollment plans to provide more opportunity for integrated education have been instituted in a number of communities, in response to mounting demand for equal, unsegregated schooling and growing recognition of the benefits of this democratic experience to all children.

Open Occupancy

The big news on the fair housing front is the signing of the long-awaited Executive Order by President Kennedy requiring open occupancy without discrimination in housing built or bought with Federal financial assistance. The order was generally greeted as an important advance toward equal opportunity in housing, while, at the same time, its limited scope was criticized by many who had been pressing for this "stroke of the pen" for the past two years. The major gap is the failure of the order to cover existing federally-aided housing — including public and urban renewal housing in every part of the country, much of it segregated. Housing contracted for prior to the November 20th date of the

President's order is also not covered. Federal agencies are, however, directed to "use their good offices" and to take court action, if necessary, to promote open occupancy in existing government-assisted housing.

Effective immediately, the order bars discrimination in the sale or rental of residential property, including vacant land, owned or operated by the Government, federally financed in whole or in part by loans, grants or by federal guarantee of private loans. This will cover almost all future public housing, since most of it is built with federal aid; urban renewal or slum clearance housing built on property acquired by states or localities with federal aid; and homes financed by mortgages guaranteed by the Federal Housing Authority or the Veterans Administration. It is estimated that about 25 percent of new housing will be affected by the President's order. A committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing is established by the order to oversee its operation and enforcement.

The 87th Congress went home without passing any civil rights legislation, but executive action by the Federal Government has helped to promote equal rights in transportation, in voting and in employment, as well as in housing.

• Almost complete compliance with an order by the Interstate Commerce Commission to desegregate all interstate transportation and terminals is reported. Vigorous enforcement and legal action by the Justice Department has backed up the order.

• Following through on the Attorney General's stated conviction that the right to vote is basic "and from it all other rights flow," a major effort has been mounted by the Justice Department's expanded Civil Rights Division in support of recent voter registration drives in many communities. Evidence of discrimination is being systematically collected and court action instituted in a number of cases.

• The Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established by the President to combat job discrimination in government and in companies with government contracts, reports expansion of employment opportunities for Negro workers in defense industries. This has resulted from growing cooperation by major defense plants, as well as stronger enforcement of non-discrimination clauses which appear in all federal contracts.

These are some of the steps we as a nation have taken in recent months to back up the fundamental belief of our democracy that everyone should have an equal chance. They may not be the giant steps, which we know are needed, but they represent encouraging movement toward the national goal of equal opportunity.

RACE AND HOUSING IN CHICAGO

By Mrs. Siegfried Shattil

Member, National Committee on Public Affairs

Six weeks ago the third Negro family moved, without incident, into the northwest Chicago suburb of Skokie, Illinois. Two years ago, when the first Negro family bought a house in Skokie, there was harassment of both buyer and seller. Proponents of fair housing practices point with pride at what they hope is an idication of an easing of tension in the suburb, brought about through educating the community and through the judicious handling of the residents on the block by teams of Skokie clergymen and members of the Human Relations Committee.

Slow Pace

Thus the score stands at three Negro families in Skokie, one Negro family in the southwest suburb of Park Forest, an integrated block in Evanston, another family in Niles and a few families in a handful of other suburbs. But there are 800,000 Negroes in Chicago, living mostly in expanding ghettos. The rapid increase in the number of middle-income Negro families has been steadily pushing the "fringe" areas farther east, south, north and west within the city. Neighborhoods which were all-white three years ago are now all-Negro.

For lower income families, who must rely on public housing, the opportunity for integrated living does not exist. Because land is expensive, the city has switched to highrise public housing developments. Just completed, on the South Side, is the Robert Taylor Homes project housing 30,000 people. Already, the director of this city within a city has been nicknamed "Mr. Mayor." Composed primarily of young married families, the ratio of children is high. The distance from playground to mama on the tenth floor is great. The amount of discord, rivalries, problems bound to arise from this type of proximity living is causing concern among Chicago's educators, sociologists and psychologists, who are sadly shaking their heads at this vertical ghetto.

Ostensibly, public housing is available to all who qualify, regardless of color. Actually, public housing sites must be approved by the Chicago City Council and there exists a gentlemen's agreement among the aldermen that public housing developments in white areas, which conceivably might draw Negro applicants, be vetoed by the Council. Consequently, such public housing that is approved is well within the confines of all-Negro neighborhoods.

Some Progress

Hopeful signs on the horizon, though few, are significant. Recent private housing developments, perhaps anticipating President Kennedy's executive order prohibiting discrimination in federally aided housing, have announced a policy of rentals and sales on an open occupancy basis. Included are the already integrated Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores apartments on the near South Side. Marina Towers in downtown Chicago, now being completed, and the near North Side Old Town Gardens development have recently announced adherence to this policy. In the Hyde Park-Kenwood area, bolstered by the strength and millions of dollars of the University of Chicago, integrated living based on a quota system is maintained within the shadow of the campus.

Last month the Hyde Park Savings and Loan Association received a Human Relations Award for lending money to Negroes wishing to buy in white neighborhoods. This made the purchase of the three homes in Skokie possible. Obtaining mortgage money is one of the greatest hurdles a Negro must overcome if he desires to buy a home which is not in a Negro or "fringe" area.

Two years ago an open occupancy bill was presented to the Illinois State Legislature by a citizen group called the Freedom of Residence Committee (FOR). It received 71 votes in the House where 89 votes are required for passage. During the recess year of the legislature, FOR has worked statewide to win support for this legislation. A new FOR bill will be introduced at the new session of the legislature, convening in January 1963. Chances are that the bill will pass the House, but it is unlikely to get through the Senate which is dominated by downstate and suburban representatives.

There has been a recent upsurge in public support of the principle of open occupancy. A year ago, 700 people belonged to the Illinois FOR Committee. Today FOR has 15,000 members. Yet this morning's newspaper headline proclaimed "Housing Segregation Here Rises to a 50 Year High." This is the conclusion drawn from a four-year study of Chicago's housing patterns by a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago.

Proponents of an open occupancy law assert that Chicago and its suburbs must be integrated in the next five years or Illinois will be faced with social and economic disaster. This terrible trend of white families fleeing from the inner city of Chicago must be halted for the good of the entire metropolitan community.

CHANGING NEW ORLEANS

By Mrs. Lazare Levy
Member, National Board of Directors

Any picture of race relations in New Orleans at this time must, of necessity, have as its background the current status of school desegregation. The first phase of the battle to keep schools open and desegregated on a partial basis has been won. This was accomplished by a determined school board, a court decision, some dedictated citizens and a city administration and press which finally — and rather reluctantly — concluded that some desegregation was better than no schools at all. The Catholic schools, both public and private, have been declared wholly desegregated by order of the Archbishop.

In this situation are evidences of the changes which have taken place in the last three years. Perhaps the most significant are the following: the change in the attitude of the press, general public support of open schools, the support of "name" people, and the city administration's determination to see law and order preserved.

The Press and the Polls

The change in attitude in the press has been particularly apparent. For the first time, editorials were written strongly supporting open schools and pleading for the preservation of law and order. This is very different from the past attitude of complete silence or, on the other hand, urging legal methods to keep the schools segregated. The press also strongly supported the liberal candidates for the school board in the past election.

In this election two incumbents who were outspoken in their efforts to come up with an acceptable plan for desegregation were opposed by candidates supported by the White Citizens Council and the state's rights group. Both incumbents were elected. Their opposition had drawn the lines clearly, and the voters in re-electing the incumbents showed that the majority of our citizens were now accepting the inevitable by an orderly process. In addition, perhaps the idea of supporting by taxes both public education and a grant-in-aid program for private education did not appeal to the taxpayers.

Race Relations and Economic Progress

The power structure of the community, which for the past few years has been hard to identify—or almost nonexistent — became evident again. A committee of one hundred business and professional men spoke out in favor of open schools. This group with additional support, both moral and financial, backed the incumbent school board candidates. Another group of leading citizens formed a state-wide committee with the main purpose of encouraging industry to locate in Louisiana. While this is their basic purpose, they have stated that the projected image of this state must include stable race relations.

Because the city administration was determined that order would prevail, it made certain that school opening under planned desegregation was carried out smoothly this fall, with little or no disruption. Added to this determination was its awareness that if a proposed new defense installation was to be located in New Orleans, it was important to demonstrate that the race relations of this community are not a deterrent to new industry, particularly industry in which the federal government is so closely involved.

The 1962 recipent of the annual award presented by the National Conference of Christians and Jews was so honored for his work in human relations. This in itself is a decided change in the nature of this award. This leading citizen said at the time, "New Orleans must accept change gracefully in order to keep pace . . ."

Changing Patterns of Leadership

In addition to these cited examples, there are other indications that patterns of segregation are changing here. The combination of strengthened leadership in the white community and younger, more vigorous leadership in the Negro community has brought about some very encouraging developments. The most obvious in recent months was the quiet desegregation of downtown lunch counters in department stores, drug stores and "five-and-tens." This was accomplished by businessmen and civic leaders working with Negro groups for months in advance. Plans were worked out in detail as to timing, publicity and numbers of people to be involved. Those who participated in this effort, both Negro and white citizens, have said it was most rewarding, and are hopeful that other problems can be handled in this way.

Since 1954, we had seen a breakdown in Negro-white relationships in the community. Human relations groups were made completely ineffective by the attitudes of both whites and Negroes. Today we find a human relations group of leading citizens starting again, serviced by professionals on a consultative basis. There is every indication that this may be the beginning of a truly effective Community Relations Council.

In our opinion, some progress has been made in the race relations fiield here in the past two years. We believe that the community knows that its growth and progress depend to an extent on its sensible handling of delicate race questions. This is no guarantee that tense, unhappy situations may not arise, but with experience as a teacher, and with the changes which have taken place in leadership and attitude, perhaps these situations will be dealt with to the mutual advantage of all concerned.

CAPITAL AREA: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By Mrs. Marvin Sonosky

Vice Chairman, National Committee on Public Affairs

Three forward steps and two backward steps make for slow progress. That is the situation in school desegregation in Washington and its surrounding suburbs. As for the capital itself, almost 85 percent of the children in public schools are Negro, an increase of about 15 percent in the past ten years. The population of the city now has the greatest proportion of Negroes (an estimated 54 percent) of any of the nation's cities. The move to the suburbs by the white population is the main reason for this change; and while it cannot be accounted for entirely by schools desegregation, this must be accepted as the major reason.

The District of Columbia now has eight years of experience in school desegregation. The District's Superintendent Carl F. Hansen has emphasized the fact that in desegregating a school system, more must be done than simply opening the school doors and optimistically awaiting "spiritual fusion," or loss of consciousness about race. Stressing the need for understanding differences in cultural background and the importance of developing enrichment programs, he has noted that the decline in overall academic achievement reflects not a decline in the quality of the schools, but the first step in bringing previously segregated schools up to higher standards.

The District, like all major cities, is facing the growing problem of the high school drop-out. It is even more serious here, however, because of the lack of job opportunities even for the holder of a high school diploma, when he is a Negro. Strong efforts by school officials and community leaders are being made to ease the situation.

Meanwhile, suburban housing is closed to Negroes due to "custom," high rent, inflated real estate prices and difficulty in borrowing from local banks. The President's housing order requiring open occupancy in government-sponsored housing will eventually open up the market, but no immediate relief is expected. The most important need is for middle-income housing, and some progress is being made by interracial groups working with banks to obtain building loans for responsible individuals.

Token Desegregation in Virginia

Ironically, "residence" is the tool used to deny equal opportunity to the Negro in the Northern Virginia suburbs. Although local school boards will occasionally remove this obstacle, a Negro child usually cannot transfer out of his school zone whenever his home is nearer

to a Negro school. In Prince Georges County, Maryland, racial discrimination continues. Negroes must make formal application to enter a predominantly white school closer to home when moving up from the elementary to the secondary school.

Virginia's Prince Edward County has no public schools. There is a case pending in the courts which would require the state government to support free public schools in Prince Edward, or to withdraw its support from every other locality in the state. The courts have declared that there shall be no state payment of tuition grants for attendance at private schools as long as there is no free public school in the county. No Negro child is at present attending school in Prince Edward County. Except for casual summer classes, it has been four years since Negro children have received any schooling. There is a community-supported private school for the white children.

In Warren County, about half the white children who attended private schools when the public schools were closed a few years ago, have returned to the integrated public school system. The others continue to attend private schools, using tuition grants offered by the state ($155 per year) and by the locality. The state compulsory school attendance law, repealed in 1960, has not been reinstated, but several localities have instituted their own attendance laws.

Although assignment to white schools in Virginia are no longer only as a result of court decrees, initiative for such assignments rests entirely with the Negro student. However, some progress has been made. "Class suits" for desegregation are now possible in Virginia. Decisions in these suits apply to all people in a similar situation as well as to the individual bringing suit, so that some of the individual steps formerly necessary in the process of seeking admission to a white school can be eliminated. Still, the pace is distressingly slow. Less than ten percent of the children of northern Virginia are receiving a bi-racial education.

Gleams of Light

Some progress toward opening job opportunities in the service field has been made in Northern Virginia, especially at the clerical level in department stores and local government offices. Vocational training is still extremely limited, however, as are job opportunities in the building trades – the largest source of employment for the non-professional worker in the area.

A vote for a stronger public school system was cast by the electorate in Virginia in November when a "free-holders" amendment which would have enfranchised only property owners in local school bond issue referenda was defeated. If the freeholders amendment had passed, the schools – which are dependent in the fast growing suburbs on large local bond issues – would have been hard hit. Virginia citizens also voted in November to ease voting registration procedures by providing a simpler registration form, which should be a help to recently renewed registration drives throughout the state.

With these gleams of light through the gloom, we can hope for ever-increasing responsibility on the part of citizens and government to provide equal opportunity for all.

ROLE OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

By Mrs. Leopold Fleischaker

Chairman, National Committee on Public Affairs

"You can't legislate attitudes!" For many years these four words expressed the irreconciable views of many who regarded the status quo as the only status manageable in a community with race problems. The great number of state and local commissions which have been established in recent years to deal with this very problem indicates, however, that such a stance is no longer considered valid. There is growing recognition of the contribution which a human relations commission can make to the progress and peace of a community.

The value of such an agency is clear when one considers that the problems of discrimination confound almost every social problem facing a community. The ordinance which a year ago established the Human Relations Commission of Louisville, Kentucky states it this way: "Prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color or national origin is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress and welfare of the city . . . And the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership in the community retards the progress of the community and affects the general well-being of all its citizens."

Weight of Official Policy

The effectiveness of a human relations commission is seriously hampered, however, unless it is established by ordinance or statute. This has been demonstrated by our recent community experience in Louisville. As a member of the former Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, I was keenly aware of the lack of budget, prestige or effectiveness in the community of this unofficial group which was set up in March 1961 as a token response to demonstrations for desegregation of public accommodations. But when the present Commission was established as a legal entity, it was made clear to the community that the government endorses – and may enforce – steps to reduce areas of discrimination.

Working now as chairman of the Committee on Public Accommodations (one of twelve working committees set up by the Commission to investigate existing practices in various areas) the prestige and public impact of the official agency has been evident to me. Habit and custom are such strong factors in our lives that most of us need a vigorous statement of principle by the authorities in order to force a change in community patterns of business, education, housing. No matter how prominent the members of any unofficial human relations committee — and they must be persons of prestige as well as representative of all facets of a community life — the committee's value is substantially limited unless officially established.

Person to Person

"Keep the lines of communications open." Here is a cliche we hear almost daily; yet it is basic to the value of a human relations commission. Obviously, there must be a forum where official attitudes can be expressed; where minority groups can delineate clearly the discriminatory practices used against them; where well intentioned citizens can obtain the necessary facts to allay their fears, whether economic or social; where those resistant to changing patterns of human relations can be compelled to state their position before the entire community.

We do not learn to know people merely by reading about them and their problems. Keeping the lines of communication open through a commission means that many individuals and groups of people, who have heretofore had almost no contact, will be working together in an attempt to come to satisfactory solutions of what are essentially problems between people. The process itself becomes important and helps to build understanding.

Working together through the offices of an official agency does not imply that there is only one approach to problems of discrimination. Discrimination takes many forms; and many people, many groups, many methods are needed for its elimination. However, a commission can assure that these various groups are not working at cross purposes, but are pooling all the resources of a community toward the same goal — to develop and use the productive capacity of its entire citizenry.

A commission must keep in mind its essential role as a channel for progress. Unless it sees itself as an action group and not merely as a peace-keeping agency, the commission can become a sounding board only, limiting its effectiveness in the community. It is patently clear that fact finding, the dissemination of these facts, and speaking to the truth of what exists is an essential function. But a human rights commission, by its very nature, has an obligation to be more than an educational agency. Its educational function is only the first step toward predetermined goals of community change — changes in the old patterns which are obstacles to full participation in the community by all its members.

Any community will find itself with many problems, which will vary in scope and intensity. However, as in any problem-solving situation, problems need to be met one at a time. Not every situation can be tackled at once or the total community will suffer from confusion and conflicting pressures. The community will find it far easier to change its own image and its old patterns by building one success upon another.

A human relations commission is a valuable asset when created, financed, and staffed with understanding of its basic role — to modify the community climate in order to achieve gradual elimination of discriminatory patterns and practices. It is merely one tool in a long, slow process of social change; but, fully understood, it can be a most important one.

WHAT ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY?

These civil rights stories from other parts of the country will, of course, raise the question of how your community is dealing with its own problems of race relations and equal opportunity. How does this top problem on the American scene today touch your community most closely? This story, as it looks to you who live in your home community will be of deep interest — and the basis for searching discussion — within your Section and to National. It can be prepared by an informed Section leader or by a special fact-finding or study team. Draw on personal impressions and experiences, as well as the following local sources of information:

- School board, to find out about school desegregation policies and plans.
- Housing Authority, urban renewal agency and citizens housing council, for facts and trends in housing patterns.
- Board of elections, for a look at registration procedures.
- State laws and local ordinances against discrimination in housing and employment.

Send in your local civil rights story to National. Copies of this special *Platform* issue are available for general membership distribution.

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For Immediate Release

UNITY OF NEGRO, JEWISH STRUGGLE
FOR EQUALITY STRESSED BY DR. KING
IN ADDRESS FOR AJCONGRESS CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK -- The American Jewish Congress opened its 1963 campaign this week with an address by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stressing the unity of Negro and Jewish efforts to attain equality.

Robert Wechsler, campaign chairman, presided at a dinner meeting in the Essex House at which the annual drive was launched. Theme of the 1963 campaign, he said, was "to strengthen Jewish life and advance the frontiers of freedom for every American." The Congress conducts a an independent fund-raising drive in the New York metropolitan area. Outside of New York, it is supported by grants from 300 local Jewish welfare funds across the country.

In his address, Dr. King underscored the "centuries-long common struggle of Negroes and Jews not only to rid ourselves of bondage but to make oppression of any people by any others an impossibility."

He praised the American Jewish Congress as an organization "whose understanding of the major social problem of our age has been boldly expressed and resolutely supported by deeds and action."

Other speakers included Dr. Joachim Prinz, AJCongress president; Shad Polier, governing council chairman; and Sidney Hollander of Baltimore, a national vice president of the Congress and former President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

"Every Negro leader is keenly aware, from direct and personal experience, that the segregationist makes no fine distinction between the Negro and the Jew," Dr. King declared, adding:

"The irrational hatred motivating the white supremacist is as readily turned against Jew, Quaker, Liberal and One-Worlder as it is against the Negro. Some bigots have burned the homes and churches of Negroes; some have smeared swastikas on synagogues and thrown bombs at them.

"Our common fight is against the enemies of democracy, and our glory is that we are chosen to prove that courage is a characteristic of oppressed people, however cynically and brutally they are denied full equality and freedom."

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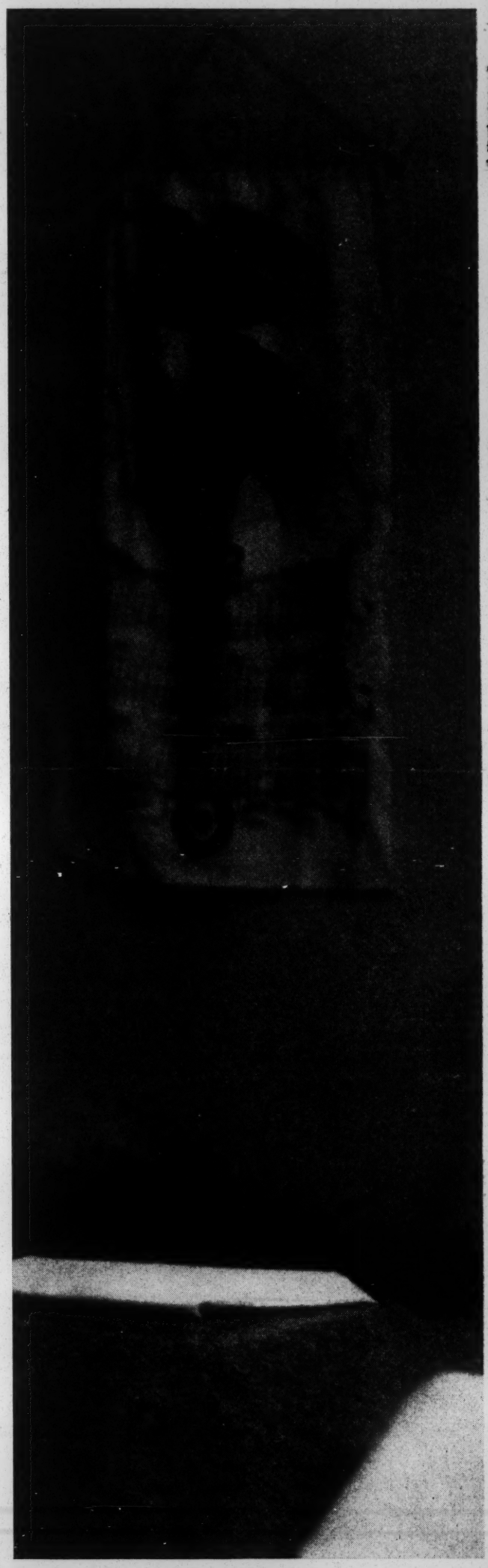
A VISIT WITH Martin

In a style that combines intellect with intensity, King addresses a Birmingham, Ala., congregation.



A Negro leader talks about the struggle ahead

BY ERNEST DUNBAR
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

AT 34, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has become an American institution. Since he led a Negro boycott of Montgomery, Ala., segregated buses in 1955-56, the young Baptist minister's name has become known in the remotest corners of the world. When the head of newly independent Algeria came to America last year to see President John F. Kennedy, he also requested a special briefing on U. S. race relations by Martin Luther King. Kennedy himself has occasionally invited the counsel of King, and candidate Kennedy's call to the wife of the then-imprisoned minister during the 1960 campaign is widely credited with swinging enough Negroes behind Kennedy to give him his thin margin of victory.

Palavering with Presidents has not diverted King's attention from his role as a battler for equality. But today, the King influence ranges far beyond the borders of his native Southland. During one recent week, he spoke at a fund-raising rally in White Plains, N. Y., on Tuesday. On Wednesday evening, he addressed similar rallies in two other New York towns. On Thursday, he met in Manhattan with fellow board members of the

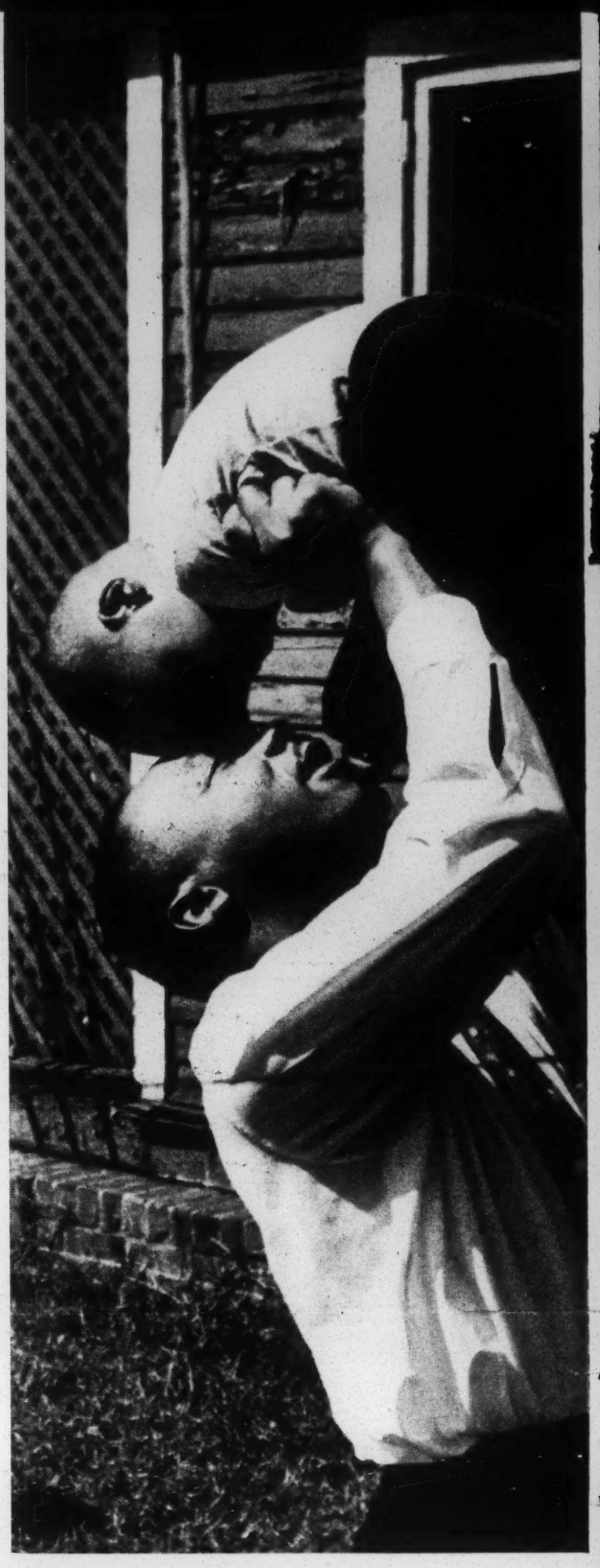
continued

PHOTOGRAPHED BY JAMES H. KARALES

Luther King

"I told my child about the color bar," *says King, "after she'd begged to be taken to Fun Town, an Atlanta amusement park that she'd seen advertised on television. I knew they did not admit Negroes. But I told Yoki that, even though she could not go, she was as good as anybody else. I think she understood. Sometime later, she became very upset by hearing that I had been imprisoned in Albany, Ga. It isn't easy to explain such things to a seven-year-old, but my wife Coretta told her that I was in jail so that all people could go where they wished without worrying about color. 'Good,' Yoki said. 'Tell him to stay in jail until I can go to Fun Town!'"*

The Kings enjoy a backyard romp at their Atlanta home. The couple are expecting a fourth child.



King playfully hoists five-year-old Martin III. Frequent absences from his family are among the most serious of the sacrifices demanded of him in his work.

Coretta and Martin Luther King join hands to sing hymn "We Shall Overcome" *at convention of integration groups. Like King, she is a native of the South.*

Gandhi Society, an organization that provides legal aid to Negro integration leaders; then consulted with publishers of a forthcoming book of King sermons, and flew to the West Coast to give lectures to the students at Los Angeles State and San Jose State colleges. On Sunday, he went to Houston, Texas, for a fund-raising dinner. On Monday, he flew to Washington, D. C., to join other Negro leaders for a White House audience with President Kennedy on American policies in Africa. Afterwards, Kennedy and King met alone to discuss the continued bombing of Negro churches in Alabama. At the day's end, King returned to the Atlanta, Ga., headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which he is president, to help organize an SCLC voter-registration drive in the South. Somewhere, during these days, he managed to write his biweekly column for a Negro newspaper and compose a sermon for his next church service.

The wide-ranging scope of these activities typifies the kind of life King lives today. He has become a symbol of the struggle against bigotry, not only to Southern Negroes, but to those in the North as well. At the same time, his nonviolent methods have won him many white supporters, particularly among college youth, and he is much in demand as a lecturer. Such adulation might make some men pompous, but Martin Luther King remains a warm, friendly, human being. Basically, this is so because it is King's nature. But even if it were not, there are plenty of daily reminders that, despite some successes, his goals are far from being accomplished.

He is the kind of American hero who may find himself lunching with a Northern governor one day and behind the bars of a Southern jail the next. He has been imprisoned twelve times, spent more than 40 days in jail (most recently in Albany, Ga.); his home has been bombed, his family threatened, and he himself roughed up by Southern policemen. He suffers no illusions about the dangers that exist. But while he eschews the martyr role, he is determined to continue his work. "Every man should have something he'd die for," says Dr.

King, center, listens as Mrs. Rosa Parks accepts an award. Her arrest for refusing to give up her seat to a white male passenger triggered the King-led 1955-56 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

In Birmingham, Ala., King was taken to police station following his refusal to press charges against a white attacker. Below, his admirers listen intently as King addresses them after his return.

"Give me some shoes to wear down here!"

King. "A man who won't die for *something* is not fit to live."

King's fervor may stem partly from his rearing in a family in which religion has always played a dominant role. His great-grandfather was a minister. His maternal grandfather was, for 37 years, the pastor of Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, where King is now co-pastor with his father, the Rev. M. L. King, Sr. The latter has headed the church for 30 years. A brother, A. D., and an uncle are also ministers. In the pulpit, King summons up masterful oratory that blends Hegel with hallelujahs. His normally gentle tones give way to a rolling, booming baritone that evokes cries of "That's right" and "Yes, Lord!" The cardboard fans bearing morticians' advertisements swish back and forth with increasing rhythm as King works up to a climax: "It's all right to talk about silver slippers Up There, but give me some shoes to wear down here! It's all right to talk about the mansions Up Yonder, but I want to see some new homes right here! Communism may be in the world because Christianity hasn't been Christian enough, and democracy hasn't been democratic enough." College professors and ill-schooled domestics, his audience is with him, and their cries of assent swell like an orchestra in full voice.

Martin King's missionary zeal permeates the Atlanta headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southwide integration organization. SCLC is an umbrellalike group that seeks to coordinate and assist local organizations working for the implementation of democracy in America. It has grown from a nucleus of five people with a budget of $63,000 in 1960 to a present staff of 40 and an annual budget of $475,000. Its activities range from sit-ins at segregated public facilities and voter-registration campaigns to a "citizenship-education" program that sends teams around the South to provide basic instruction to illiterate Negro adults. Though King provides the motive force behind SCLC, much of the administrative burden is carried by another energetic young minister, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, a close King associate.

Periodically, King embarks on a "people-to-people" tour of such areas as backwoods Alabama, the Mississippi Delta or the "wool-hat" rural regions of Georgia, to visit and talk to the Negroes of these racially critical sections. In these areas, where the name Martin Luther King is almost an epithet to whites, King refuses the services of bodyguards, and on a recent visit to Selma, Ala., he came uncomfortably close to being attacked by an angry crowd. To the casual observer, he appears to be almost unconscious of the dangers to which he is frequently exposed. At a convention of the SCLC in Birmingham, Ala., last fall, a visibly disturbed white youth leaped onto the speaker's platform before a stunned audience and began pummeling him. King made no move to defend himself and refused to bring charges against

continued

Bias in the North frustrates attempts to end segregation, says King

the youth, who said he attacked King because of his integrationist views.

To an irate Birmingham police official who wanted him to press charges, King patiently explained: "This system that we live under creates people such as this youth. I'm not interested in pressing charges. I'm interested in changing the kind of system that produces this kind of man." Later, over the kitchen table in the modest frame house King rents in Atlanta, his attractive wife, Coretta, chided her husband gently over having asked that his attacker be permitted to return to his seat in the audience. "Suppose he had had a knife or gun?" she asked. "Well, if he had, he would have used it before then," he replied calmly. Coretta King, perhaps recalling the near-fatal 1958 stabbing of her husband by a deranged Negro woman in Harlem, was

In the pulpit of Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, where King is co-pastor with his father, his sermons have an electric effect upon the congregation.

plainly having difficulty seeing the Birmingham affair in the same light as King. In their nine years of marriage, Mrs. King has become adept at coping with crises, but there are still many moments of anxiety.

King's busy schedule plays hob with his domestic life. He travels more than 200,000 miles in a year, often with as little as 4½ hours of sleep a night. The King children, Yolanda (Yoki), 7, Martin III (Marty), 5, and Dexter, 2, cram loving, rough-and-tumble play into those treasured hours their father can spend at home.

Sometimes, the tensions of racial enmity intrude even into the world of the youngsters. King recalls: "Coretta was driving to visit me while I was in jail at Albany, Ga., and she had brought Yoki along. On the way, a car full of white teen-agers yelled 'Nigger!' at them as they passed. Yoki asked, 'Mama, why do white people hate colored people?' My wife reminded her of Hank, a white seminary student who had lived in our house during the summer, and explained that *all* whites did not hate Negroes. That's the real tragedy. A kid can grow up with bitterness and hatred because of the conditions here, and never really be able to shed that bitterness."

When King urges Negroes to press, without violence, for the full rights of American citizenship, he is emphatic about the nonviolent approach. But he is equally adamant about the necessity to go forward. "I believe in a militant, nonviolent approach," he explains, "in which the individual stands up against an unjust system, using sit-ins, legal action, boycotts, votes and everything else—except violence or hate." To Martin Luther King, the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi was a turning point in the integration struggle. "The Meredith case may well determine the situation in other Deep South cases. It will now be easier to integrate the University of South Carolina and the University of Alabama. If the Federal Government had failed to take a stand in the Meredith case, it would have encouraged resistance to integration orders from Federal courts in other Southern states. The Meredith incident served notice to the resisters that they are standing on the beaches of history trying to hold back the tides. You just can't do it. The people have seen now what violence and chaos can do to a community."

While King generally approved the Federal backing of Meredith's application to Ole Miss, he is critical of the way the situation in Oxford was allowed to deteriorate. "The Oxford riots were the evidence of a widespread failure, the moral failure of the ecclesiastical, economic and political power structure of the community," he says. "Nobody stood up to the demagogic actions of Gov. Ross Barnett." King also says that if the Kennedy Administration "had moved in a faster and more determined manner in the beginning, it could have saved the lives of two men and averted the bloodshed that ensued."

Though King says John F. Kennedy "has done more than his predecessor in the area of civil rights and improved the moral climate of Washington itself," he believes that Kennedy should take a more vigorous stand on civil rights than the President has yet seemed willing to assume. "We still have not had a strong voice from the White House dealing with the moral issues in this thing," says King. "We have not seen the kind of action that the enormity of the situation demands. The heroic effort of the Negro in these situations is overlooked or taken for granted. Our churches are bombed and burned, people are shot, the vote denied, but it does not seem to call forth the kind of passion and vigor the President has displayed in situations such as the steel-price rise, for instance. I would like to see the President use the tremendous popularity of the Presidential office to exercise moral persuasion on this matter. He should go on television to counsel the nation on this issue, as he does on other issues. He should make more use of the powers he has to deal with the situation in executive orders. The President must change the trend from that of saying, 'Something must be done,' to coming up with a strong, specific program. It does no good to apply Vaseline to a cancer."

King is generally hopeful that the elimination of segregation in the South will proceed "if we press on and if the forces now at work—the rolling tide of world opinion, the growing industrialization of the South, the increasing willingness of white churches to take a stand, and above all, the increased determination of the Negro himself—continue to work."

"But this should not lead any of us to a superficial optimism," King cautions. "With the continuing population shift now going on, ten years from now the majority of Negroes will live in the North, not in the South. The problem then will not be one of segregation by law, but of discrimination in housing and employment, which creates a *de facto* segregation and social isolation. In short, the same old ghetto problem." Despite the tensions, the inequities and the dangers, Martin Luther King loves the South and believes that ultimately relations between Negro and white Southerner may be warmer and more genuine than those that exist between the races in the North. That time lies in the uncertain future, however, so King continues to cram his days with organizing demonstrations, fund-raising speeches, morale-building visits with backwoods Negroes, writing columns and delivering sermons. "One must not only preach a sermon with his voice," he says, "he must preach it with his life." King does just that.

NOTES FROM THE SOUTH

From

Mary King
and
Bobbi Yancy

February 12, 1963

COLLEGES

Harvey Gantt of Charleston, South Carolina, 20, second-year architecture transfer from Iowa State, walked easily into the administration building of Clemson College. Easily, that is, but for the barrage of newsmen who seemed at the moment to be doing more blocking of South Carolina's "progress" than anyone else.

Aerial photographs of the campus of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, are now in the files of the Federal Government which was sorry it didn't have photographs of Oxford. Back on ground, incoming Governor George Wallace cried, "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." However his Lieutenant Governor James Allen differed and said, "Alabama's soul will soon be laid bare before the world. God grant that we may not be ashamed of it." Earlier, John Caldwell, Chamber of Commerce leader in Tuscaloosa, said, "We must tell the politicians, 'Now that (strong segregation promises) was good during campaigning...But now you are hurting my business. You just keep your mouth shut." We know of several student groups working in Tuscaloosa now in preparation for desegregation.

At the University of South Carolina which is currently preparing for the admission of Miss Henri Monteith, the school newspaper, The Gamecock editorialized on February 1, 1963, that "Capable leadership in state government was provided by Governor Donald Russell at a time when failure might have meant federal intervention." The next sentence continued, "Following Gantt's peaceful enrollment, Russell spoke before the General Assembly Tuesday endorsing tuition grants for private schools." In a final sober paragraph it stated, "We ask more than co-existence, however; we ask that it be acknowledged that Harvey Gantt and you and I and millions more are alike in one thing if no other - and that is the sharing of a human condition."

Token integration is now a reality in four Georgia schools: the University of Georgia, Georgia Institute of Technology, Georgia State College and Emory University.

Hearings which began the first week in October, recessed the next week, resumed for the next two weeks, re-resumed after a recess of three months on February 6, in Talladega, Alabama. The hearing is on the State of Alabama's petition for a permanent injunction to bar integration activity by Talladega College students and faculty, plus several civil rights groups and individuals. The NAACP which has been barred from Alabama since 1956 appealed in an effort to have the injunction lifted.

Six picketers from Tougaloo Southern Christian College were arrested shortly before Christmas as they launched a boycott of the downtown business district in Jackson, Mississippi. Groups conducting the boycott have sent a list of demands to the businessmen from whom patronage is being withheld. This list includes demands to end segregated drinking fountains, restooms and seating; to serve all customers on a first-come-first-served basis; and to use the titles Mr. and Miss in addressing all customers. The boycott is reported to be 70% effective.

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Although a federal ruling acknowledged the right of a private school to remain segregated, Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, admitted 11 Negro students for the spring semester.

STUDENT GROUPS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with headquarters at 6 Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, has launched a direct action program in Pine Bluff , Arkansas and is working in protest areas in Alabama. The Nashville Nonviolent Movement continues its attack on segregation in downtown Nashville. Although Albany, Georgia is no longer in the national spotlight, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee continues to work at registering Negroes in the counties surrounding Albany, in the same manner with which they began a year ago. Not long ago a white SNCC worker was charged with "accosting young Negro girls" after talking with demonstrators wearing t-shirts with the words "Don't Buy Downtown or Midtown."

The Freedom Singers are 5 SNCC field secretaries who have recently been organized as a singing group to spread the story of the Southern student movement. The songs have been an integral part of the movement in various protest areas. They have appeared in Albany, Georgia; Atlanta, Georgia, with Pete Seeger; Chicago, Illinois; and in Champaign, Illinois at the National Student Assembly of the Y's. Their most recent appearance was in Carnegie Hall on February 1st, 1963, the third anniversary of the Sit-Ins. Engagements for the singers can be arranged through SNCC's Atlanta office.

Representatives from the National Student Christian Federation, American Friends Service Committee, National Student Association, Students for a Democratic Society and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee met recently to consider voter registration projects. In meeting with the executive personnel of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council which is administering funds for South-wide voting drives, the five student groups discussed the use of student manpower to be used in voter registration. They also discussed locations of possible projects and hope to have information gathered from several sources available for distribution nationally soon.

Four Rhodesian students arrive February 10th to begin a tour of the South which will center in Atlanta and New Orleans, arranged by the Young Adult Council, a coordinating council of 28 student groups. The Young Adult Council is presently planning a conference to be held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, from May 2-5, which will bring together 100-150 of the top student leaders of the South, and will include a cross-section of young workers, rural youth and college students. Its theme will revolve around the changing South.

The quadrennial National Student Assembly of the YM-YWCA passed specific mandates for voter registration projects, tutorial projects and attacks on housing discrimination on campuses at its week long meeting after Christmas in Champaign, Illinois.

Students from all over the country will converge in Atlanta during Easter week for the National Student Christian Federation Frontiers Conference. The theme will be "The Church In Frontiers Of Ferment," and the conference will seek to understand the process of change in a conservative community brought on by liberal influences.

The American Friends Service Committee is hoping to have several summer projects in the South. Interested students may write to Dick Ramsey, A.F.S.C., 1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina.

The Southern Region of the National Student YWCA will have a Work-Conference in Atlanta, June 2-8, centering on urban problems - an encounter with the city. The areas of housing, education and politics will receive emphasis, and the conference will be broken down into small interracial teams which will work and study together.

SO THIS IS JUSTICE....

Narcotics Charge

Two students from Michigan State University were arrested during Christmas in Clarksdale, Mississippi, on charges of possession of narcotics, when they brought food, clothing and medicine for Negroes being harassed for trying to vote. They were first held under $15,000 bond which was reduced to $1,500 and they were freed after 11 days in jail. Three doctors in Louisville, Kentucky, where the shipment originated, are reported as having made sworn statements that there were no narcotics or sedatives, but such supplies as asperin and vitamins, although local police claimed there were narcotics. The goods were intended for the Delta area where many Negroes have lost jobs, been put off the land or been unable to receive surplus foods since voter registration drives increased. Sharecroppers average $300-$400 each year, and day laborers receive $150-$160 yearly. At Thanksgiving 22,000 Negroes in LeFlore County were taken off welfare because of voting drives.

Voter registration efforts in Mississippi are being conducted by the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, directed by Bob Moses of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Carry on the work of the Michigan students by organizing a collection of food, money and clothing in your area. Ship to Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Clyde Kennard Freed

Clyde Kennard, a young Negro, left the University of Chicago in 1955 after completing three years, to support his mother and disabled step-father on a small farm in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. In 1958 Kennard applied for admission to Mississippi Southern University. At the request of Governor Coleman he withheld his application until after the approaching elections. In 1959 Kennard reapplied to MSU and was rejected because of undisclosed "deficiencies and irregularities" in his application.

On September 25, 1960 five sacks of chicken feed, valued at $5.00 each, were taken from the Forrest County Cooperative Warehouse. A 19-year old illiterate Negro confessed to the theft. As a state's witness, the youth testified that Kennard had initiated and planned the burglary. He received a five-year probation sentence; Kennard was sentenced to seven years in Parchman Penitentiary. Kennard has served two years of his sentence.

It has recently been disclosed that Clyde Kennard is dying of cancer. The University Hospital gives the 34 year old veteran a one in five chance of living another 5 years. Last week Ross Barnett suspended Kennard's sentence indefinitely since he had been such a good prisoner and was near death. And now the nation recognizes the case of Clyde Kennard, although the Justice Department never did.

Walled-In Ghetto

We hear that the "Atlanta Wall" has shocked the nation. We ask why? since many exist in every Northern city. There is nothing new about this one except that as former Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield said in criticizing the current mayor, Ivan Allen,

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"He shouldn't make a mistake that can be photographed."

Two wooden and steel barricades were constructed on two streets running between Negro and white areas in a Southwest Atlanta residential area to forestall "encroachment" by Negroes and to stimulate white buyers. Those who defend the "buffer-zone" and barricades claim them as protection from Negro "block-busting" tactics. W. L. Calloway, president of the Empire Real Estate Board (Negro) stated, "...Atlanta is experiencing another growth and expansion boom, brought on by the thousands of Negro families who have been displaced by urban renewal .... Instead of working on its 'growing pains' in an intelligent manner, a search is made for a 'scapegoat' and Negro real estate brokers are again being made the victims."

Suits have been brought against the city for the erection of the "little Berlin Wall" by both Negro and white residents who have been outraged by the inconveniences created.

Joan Browning, a white Georgia State College Student and Vice-Chairman of the Greater Atlanta Student Council on Human Relations said that the matter had been brought to the open and that, "...white home-owners now may publicly express their fears of depreciating real estate values. Negroes may inform that they have no desire to invade white homes. Perhaps there is hope for an end to discrimination in housing."

IN GENERAL

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission which serves as a funnel for getting state funds to the White Citizens' Council, is sending seven speakers to Iowa, South Dakota, Indiana, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois and Washington to "tell the Mississippi story on segregation and race relations."

President Kennedy's executive order banning discrimination in government sponsored housing established a President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing and details a program of enforcement for direct U. S. aided housing -- a fourth of the nation's supply. It does not cover housing in existence prior to its issuance. (Anyone interested in a hasty redevelopment program?!)

In Atlanta, a Negro, Leroy Johnson, was elected to the State Senate for the first time in 50 years (Democrat.) Negroes were elected for the first time to statewide office in Massachusetts (Republican) and Connecticut (Democrat.) A Los Angeles Negro was the first of his race to win a House seat West of the Mississippi.

Dr. Donald Matthews, a University of North Carolina political science professor has recently completed a study of racial attitudes in 11 Southern states. By scientific sampling of 694 whites and 618 Negroes, the study showed that only 22 per cent of the whites realized Negroes really wanted desegregation, while a startling 53 per cent of the Negroes did not believe the majority of Southern whites favored strict segregation. "Contrary to popular opinion," Dr. Matthews said, "the Negro down here isn't very happy." His findings will be published in 1964.

IMPRESSIONS

Since there were no disturbances at Clemson College, Harvey Gantt's desire to be known as, "Harvey Gantt, that colored fellow that entered Clemson, remember him?" could come true, according to the University of South Carolina Gamecock.

Ernie Dixon, an Ohio Wesleyan University senior on being a Negro student on a Northern campus: "In time James Meredith will be accepted at Ole Miss in the same manner in which I'm accepted here. People will say hello and nod to him, but he won't be a real part of the school community."

From the editorial page of the January 26th Mississippi Free Press: "While Clyde Kennard languishes in prison, a man who 'visited Oxford' goes free. General Edwin Walker, who helped incite a mob of rabble-rousers to violence the night of September 30, failed to be indicted by the Oxford Grand Jury."

Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina, after announcing the formation of a Biracial Job Panel: "Despite great progress, the Negro's opportunity to obtain a good job has not been achieved in most places across the country. Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the nation and its states."

Howard Johnson, presiding over the opening of a new motor lodge and restaurant in Atlanta stated that Atlanta will find it "pretty difficult" to locate a World's Fair here without first desegregating motels and restaurants. He later added, "Desegregation in many areas is bound to come, but we feel local people have to decide. We want to see these things handled with grace and without trouble. As a company policy, we're a national institution. We abide by national laws." (We know of two people who weren't served in Atlanta's new restaurant ----but the fair isn't until 1968!)

Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman of New York at the end of the recent National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago: "The walls of separation in our total American culture make it difficult for the American white man to know the breadth and depth of our Negro religious leadership. There is a tendency to use Negroes as porters, at whatever level."

State Senator Leroy Johnson of Atlanta, after he had appointed one white page for the State Capitol along with several Negro youths: "If I can appoint a white boy who has had all advantages, what moral imperative is placed upon white senators to appoint a Negro boy who has had no advantages."

Bobbi Yancy on the press: "If newsmen don't watch it, five years from now children are going to think Negro was Mr. Meredith's first name."

THINGS FOR READING AND LISTENING

Copies of a sheet containing editorials which appeared in Southern colleges as a reaction to events in Oxford, Mississippi are available from one of the three groups which cooperated in its publication: Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia; Human Relations Project, National Student YWCA, Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.,Atlanta 3, Georgia; Southern Student Project, United States National Student Association, Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

"The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Schools," C. Vann Woodward, Harper's Magazine, October 1962.

"Negro Youth's New March on Dixie," Ben H. Bagdikian, Saturday Evening Post, September 8, 1962.

Mississippi Free Press, (Weekly) 1253 Valley Street, Jackson, Mississippi. $4.00 per year - $2.50 for six months. Samples on request.

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"Freedom in the Air" (record) a documentary on Albany, Georgia, produced by The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, $4.00, 6 Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia

"Black Merchants of Hate," Alfred Black and Alex Haley, Saturday Evening Post, January 26, 1963.

A pamphlet called "Voter Registration in the South: The Student's Role," will soon be published by Students for a Democratic Society, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York. Edited by Sandra Cason Hayden, the pamphlet will include political analyses of voter registration, several case studies and a critical bibliography.

"Notes from a Region in My Mind," James Baldwin, The New Yorker, November 17, 1962.

"My Negro Problem - And Ours," Norman Podhoretz (editor of) Commentary, February, 1963.

"The Ivy-League Integrationists," The Reporter, February 14, 1963, on the Northern Student Movement.

CU/SR

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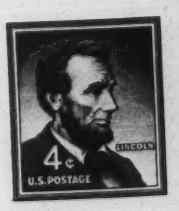

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Intergroup Org. Misc.
2/63

F O R Y O U R I N F O R M A T I O N

The attached material is a compilation of varied and sundry bits of information assembled by the Human Relations Special Project Staff Internes of the National Student YWCA, Southern Region - Miss Mary E. King and Miss Roberta Yancy.

Interpp Mem Research

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

February 14, 1963

Dear Sir,

During the course of its fifteen year history, the United States National Student Association has enjoyed the cooperation and respect of many people within the academic community. It has endeavored to maintain close contact with key educational groups such as the National Educational Association, the American Council on Education, the National Association of Women Deans and Counsellors, the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, and many more.

Recently however, many people in the academic world have questioned the purpose and direction of the National Student Association. We believe that this questionning arises in part because of our work in academic freedom, in part because of the Association's tendancy toward social action, and in part because of the attacks of right wing extremists. It is our opinion that all too often administrators and faculty members, come to know the Association only through some of the more controversial stands taken at its Congress, or only because of materials sent out to discredit it.

For this reason, we believe it essential to extend the range of our contacts in the academic community. Enclosed you will find a mailing from the national office, one designed to inform you of our work nationally and internationally. It is brief and purely descriptive, but we hope that it will raise questions for you. We hope that if you have time, you will write to us and ask about some of the projects in which we are now involved, or offer your criticisms or suggestions.

We certainly realize that the Association, precisely because it is a student group with little continuity, will always face difficulties in communicating with the campus. It also faces the problem of how to gain the full respect of all groups in the academic community, while at the same time championing causes which are particularly student causes. And precisely because students are often zealots and idealists, who sometimes act without discretion, we will also face the problem of moving too rapidly, or in the wrong directions. For all of these reasons we need your help and suggestions.

We hope that this first brief description of some of our projects will not only acquaint you with more of what you are doing, but will stimulate you to write us. We will be sending you more information during the course of the next three months. With deep gratitude

Sincerely yours,

Dennis Shaul
President

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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THE ROLE OF USNSA

Throughout its history, the United States National Student Association has continually sought its proper role in American life. It faced on the one hand, the example of militant and syndiclist student unions abroad; on the other, the reality of a comparatively settled society, a society which has never recognized students as a separate class, and has for the most part cared little for their opinions.

The Association has never fully been able to accept the role American society has relegated to students, nor has it been able to change it entirely. But now that it is more confident of its own existence, it is able to view its own objectives with a better perspective.

With this confidence comes the surety that the organization must build its own role by examining American life and the American university and student - very little is exportable from other countries and other student unions to here. Not only, for instance, is it true that American students are not a separate class; it is probably more important that they never consider themselves so. The diversity of educational institutions, the competing and conflicting nature of their philosophies, seems to make that an imperative.

But it is true that the Association's prime objective should be to instill in the student a sense of the importance of his position. For education has always been the essential prerequisite of democratic society. Moreover it ought to help convince the student that he must have a deep concern about the quality of his education, that he ought to take an active part in making it a more perfect experience. There is a certain sense in which the institution exists for him. As the sole consumer of the product education, he can play a significant role as constructive critic and innovator. Moreover, concern about one's own education easily expands into a concern about American education as a whole.

To instill this concern USNSA can do a number of things. Through its Congresses and conferences it must give students the conviction that they themselves should think about and evaluate their curriculum,their extra curricular activities, and their college living experience. Through its programs it can give students methods and ideas which may form a possible basis for discussion among students, faculty, and administration. It can provide a constant incentive to make extracurriculars a supplement rather than a detraction from classroom activity.

Above all, the Association must continue to provide a structure through which students may come together to gain new ideas, and an opportunity for comparison.

The particular obligations of a national union of students are most nearly unique with regard to the issues which directly affect students and higher education. But precisely because the university community is composed of educated individuals, and because the university is meant to be a citadel wherein truth is sought, it has particular responsibilities within the field of civil rights and civil liberties. No democratic society can long maintain its citizen's rights and liberties, if its universities are held in

bondage to an outside force which attempts to restrict the areas of research. It is true also that no democratic society can continue to progress unless its universities dare to provide a forum for the new and unorthodox opinion.

It is equally important that in a democracy the university serve as a model on the question of equality; it should recognize differences among individuals only on the basis of academic standards. Therefore it must admit its students on the basis of their intellect and knowledge, and award them honor and standing solely according to their academic achievements.

In American society, as in all other societies, such principles stand as ideals and not realities. Here, then, the function of a national union of students is to formulate a concept of the ideal university and hold this before American students as a goal toward which they must strive. Additionally, it is NSA's duty to promote activity on the part of students which will help make freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of access to information, equality of admission procedures, a reality on the American campus. While recognizing the many differences that exist within the many forms of American universities, NSA must enunciate those common principles which are essential to the meaning of the word university.

None of the above should suggest that NSA can remain passive to the daily needs of education and students. Insofar as time and energy will allow, the duty of the organization is clear: it must serve to express areas of student concern and interest and must affect student thought and welfare through its programming.

The former category demands that the organization ask questions and stimulate debate, and not just propose answers. This becomes all the more imperative with the gravity of the question involved, and with the degree of disagreement among articulate and concerned students. It involves not only approaching the people who facilitate change - student personnel administrators, and state and federal legislatures - but it also implies that the organization must present itself to the greater community, to educational, civic, and governmental groups as an institution with something to contribute, an institution with a special and broad prospective, an organization which is capable of thinking in terms broader than its own special short term interest.

To affect student thought and programming the organization has the responsibility to translate the ideas of its constituents into action programs. Student responsibility entails providing programs which make the university a better place in which to live. It means developing patterns of action which allow students to affect the long range goals and quality of American education.

The differences in programming may be startling. For some of the constiuency it may mean activities such as participation in curriculum evaluation, research into some of the fundamental questions about the future of America's education; for other parts, it may mean striving to develop better freshman orientation programs, or better techniques of student government. The vastness of the constituency, and its many differences, make it essential that NSA be responsive to as many different kinds of needs as possible.

Today, perhaps the greatest challenge for NSA is in the field of international affairs. For not only does it face a growing number of new unions from the developing nations, and the older, more established union of Europe, but it also faces the duty of translating its own international programming into something meaningful for the individual

member campuses. Scholarships to foreign students, exchanges and delegations, may be valuable in themselves, but their importance is greatly increased if they help to enlarge the American students' knowledge and understanding of foreign affairs.

In an age which is dominated by the crises and tensions of the cold war, NSA must make its international program, a genuine expression of the American students' sympathy with the aspirations of students in the developing nations. Only so conceived is it a meaningful attempt to arrive at that degree of understanding which is a prerequisite for world peace.

Because NSA is a student organization, characterized by quick change of personnel and lack of tradition, it is inevitable that it will continue to search for its place in American society. Each year brings it closer to the time when it will have established its own peculiar area of competence. Each year too, increases the necessity for its existence. For as the world becomes more complex, and the four year college experience becomes more inadequate as a preparation for life and democracy, its potential as an organization becomes more vast. Confident that democracy's best defense is the education of her citizens, the full education of her most talented citizens, NSA must continue to do its part to meet the century's challenge.

NATIONAL COMMISSION PROGRAM

The work of the national commission of the United States National Student Association is varied. The Commission strives to meet the numerous programming requests from member schools; simultaneously it strives to fulfill the resolutions and program mandates of the National Student Congress. To be successful the Commission must meet the requests of many different types of institutions--public and private, religious and technical. Some of the Commission's programs and activities are briefly described below.

The Student Government Information Service, a comprehensive file on the activities, and programs of student organizations throughout the country, is maintained at the national office to answer requests for information on such matters as speakers programs, honor systems, judiciary systems, campus communications, cultural programs, freshman orientation, and leadership training programs.

For the second year, the Association is active in academic freedom programming, under a grant given by the Andrew Norman Foundation. Several publications, and several regional conferences, have discussed the responsibilities and rights of students in the 1960's. The Association has solicited the opinions of deans and presidents, the American Association of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union, in operating this project. This year, investigations were made of academic freedom cases at Flint Junior College, and at the University of Colorado. In the spring of 1962, the Association entered an amicus curiae brief in the speakers' ban case at the University of California at Riverside.

This year, too, the Association continues its Southern Project financed by a grant from the Field Foundation. Constance Curry, director, and Dorothy Dawson, her assistant, continue to sponsor human relations conferences and continue their travels throughout the South helping students institute human relations programs. Plans for the spring of 1963 include Southern conferences on international relations, human relations, and student government. Plans are also being made for the 6th Annual Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. Participants in last summer's seminar played key roles across the South in supporting James Meredith's attempt to enroll at the University of Mississippi and in supporting the peaceful integration of Harvey Gant at Clemson.

The Association's efforts in civil rights and human relations have not all centered in the South. During the past two years within the Association there has been an increasing interest in community involvement projects. Students from New England to Oregon have responded to national needs through tutorial projects, human relations councils, neighborhood renewal work.

For the second year the Association will sponsor the Democratic Campus Award, in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. This is an effort to stimulate student governments to carry out campus or community programs in human relations.

For several years, the Association has encouraged the discussion of issues of civil liberties. The discussion and resolution of the issues centering around the first amendment of the Constitution are essential to the democratic process. The questions of freedom of belief, speech and assembly which are the central issues of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Internal Security Act of 1950, have been particularly important. Perhaps the Association's greatest contribution in this area has been in raising these issues for debate and consideration in the open forum of the student community.

In March of 1961 the Association sponsored a nationwide conference on the International Peace Corps, and thus became one of its first and strongest proponents. Since its establishment, the Association has been interested in the possibility of a domestic peace corps. On March 1--3, the Association is sponsoring a national conference on the National Service Corps. Over 300 students will travel to Washington to discuss the corps' implementation with members of the executive ane legislative branches of the government, and with representatives of voluntary organizations. Senators Hubert Humphrey and Harrison Williams have agreed to speak, and the Attorney General has been asked to keynote.

This year too, the Association takes its first steps into cultural programming. An international cultural exchange, and a nation wide festival of the arts are the long-range goals, but initially the Association will sponsor a literary magazine competition in the spring of 1963. The competition will be open to all student literary magazines. Entries will be judged on a regional and national level on the basis of general excellence. Mr. Norman Cousins, Editor of the Saturday Review, has agreed to serve as honorary chairman. To supplement this, the Association is sponsoring a conference on the artist and the university community. The conference will bring together students, faculty, administrators and adult artists.

Last summer the Association sponsored a voter registration project in Raleigh, North Carolina. Fifteen participants, white and Negro, from North and South, registered over 1600 new Negro voters in less than six weeks. Besides their registration work, the participants tutored grade and high school students, and helped local leaders in adult education. This summer the Association plans to hold a month long civil rights leadership training seminar for fifty Southern students. This is an effort to develop local campus leadership for the civil rights movement. The seminar will attempt to develop the social, economic, and political knowge necessary for progress in the South.

Presently, the Association is engaged in negotiations with several insurance brokers and companies in attempts to develop national student health and accident insurance plans which would be optional to member schools. Plans for an entertainment bureau to reduce the cost of talent and entertainment for member schools are also being discussed.

Traditionally too, the Association provides background papers and mailings in a number of important subjects in the field of education. This year the emphasis is on the President's federal aid to education program, a critique and description of the recently introduced bill, together with general background on the whole question of federal aid. The commission encourages student governments to study and research the question of the impact of the cold war on higher education: that is, the effects that the cold war has on teaching within the college, and the attitudes of faculty and students; the impact that federal money given for technology and research has on large state institutions, and thus indirectly on small schools,

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION PROGRAM

The Foreign Student Leadership Project (FSLP) is designed as an educational experience for American and foreign student leaders. The FSLPaims at introducing a new dimension in international student relations by bringing American students into close contact with a group of representative foreign students who have had previous leadership experience in student activities and organization. The overseas guest, selected to participate in the project, is awarded a scholarship to live and study for one year at a prominent college or university in the United States. In this way, he becomes an informal interpreter of his native country for his American counterparts and provides insight into his own environment and culture. Through academic studies and particularly through responsibility in planning and organizing student activities, the FSLP participant can share his aims and hopes with his fellow students in America as well as learn about theirs.

International Student Relations Seminar: Designed to provide a nucleus of informed leaders in the college community who will be prepared to assist on all levels of USNSA international programming, the International Student Relations Seminar (ISRS) is held for eight weeks each summer.

Around fifteen students from USNSA member schools all over the country participate in the program. Using the facilities and research material of the International Commission of USNSA, the seminar participants study the basic history and problems of international student relations, developments in the student movement around the world, the role of USNSA in this movement, and the relation of these activities to the American student and his campus.

International Commission Publications: The International Commission has prepared a number of publications--several for distribution internationally explaining USNSA and the studen's role in facing particular American problems, many more for campus seminars and programs. Included in the list of these publications are: USNSA Relations with the International Union of Students, African Student Affairs, Near and Far Eastern Student Affairs, Latin American Student Affairs, International Student Cooperation, International Student Exchange and Travel, Guides to Campus International Programming, Student Government and Foreign Student Programming, Work-Study-Travel Abroad, snd Steps Toward Equality.

The Campus International Administrator is a full time staff member devoted to assisting member schools and regions with all phases of international programming. Each year the administrator visits numerous member campuses and answers written requests for information on campus programming.

Overseas Representatives The overseas representatives of USNSA attend national and regional conferences of other national unions of students. They confer with student leaders of many other countries on matters of mutual concern. These representatives send frequent reports to the national office. These reports are a source of invaluable background information for campus conferences and programs, the International Student Relations Seminar and policy formation at the annual National Stdent Congress.

Cooperation The International Commission of USNSA cooperates in various programs and conferences with the World Assembly of Youth, the International Student Conference, the Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students, the U. S. Commission to UNESCO, World University Service, the Institute for International Education and the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers.

Contact with Foreign Student Organizations The International Commission maintains a full time staff member to establish and encourage contact and cooperation between USNSA and the many foreign student organizations located in the United States. Each of these groups include visiting students from a particular area or country and are responsible, effective spokesmen for the 50,000 foreign students in U. S. colleges and universities.

Visiting Foreign Student Leaders USNSA is host to as many as 200 foreign student leaders each year. Such visits serve to enhance both USNSA's understanding of international student problems and the visitor's knowledge of the United States, its people, and its students. On many occasions tours have been arranged for these visitors to numerous member campuses where they are hosted by the student government.

Special Exchanges The purpose of the exchange programs is to provide an opportunity for long-term substantive interchange between students of the United States and students of countries with which there is limited contact. Since 1960 USNSA has exchanged 11 students with the Soviet Union and Poland. Students participating in the exchange programs take an active part in the student activities and community life of the universities they attend and promote better knowledge and understanding of their own nations and societies.

Scholarship Programs The purpose of the scholarship programs is to provide an opportunity for students who, because of abnormal conditions in their homelands, are effectively denied access to higher education. USNSA is continuing its program of Algerian scholarships instituted during the Algerian revolution. While Algeria is now independent, the university is not presently adequate to meet the needs of a new nation. Opportunities for higher education in Angola are, because of the Portugese domination, virtually non-existent. USNSA has joined with a number of other organizations in attempting to provide opportunities for higher education for the persons who will be needed to provide leadership when Angola achieves its independence.

Student International Responsibility Project The Student International Responsibility Project was created to increase the responsibility and influence of the university in world affairs and to provide a skilled and knowledgeable cadre of students to assist in evolving this more sophisticated role. Utilizing FSLP participants and other foreign students, pilot projects are being operated on several campuses designed to develop a broad commitment on the part of the university in general and student organizations in particular to non-academic, high-level international programming.

Polback Polback is an extensive information program designed to provide background on a number of crucial international issues for seminars, conferences, newspaper articles, etc.

Technical Assistance Program The Technical Assistance Program (TAP) is concerned with fund raising and technical assistance on American campuses used to promote international awareness and to indicate to foreign national unions of students the concern of American students for international student problems.

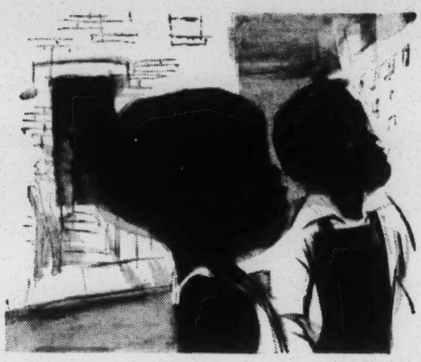
International University Seminar Program The International University Seminar program is designed to give students the opportunity for academic but non-curricular examination of pargicular international problems. Participants in the seminars, selected by academic criteria, meet with foreign students from the areas under examination. Seminars are being held this year on the Jacobin left in Latin America and neo-colonialism in Africa.

it has been largely muffled in the West German press and parliament. The dramatic last-minute letter from Secretary of State Rusk to German Foreign Minister Schröder at Brussels urging that the negotiations be kept going had exactly the opposite effect to that intended, according to press observers in Brussels.

Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak, who, in defiance of the Rome Treaty, publicly urged that the continental five continue negotiations with Britain without France, was the most violent of the anti-Gaullist crusaders. There are rumors that he was working in close touch throughout with the British delegation, with international labor leaders, and with a posse of vigilantes from the New Frontier. The temper and strategy of these anti-Gaullists were indicated by an article of Nora Beloff in the London *Observer* on the eve of the dramatic session in Brussels. Assuming that the French would refuse London's terms for continuation of the talks, the British, wrote Miss Beloff, wanted "the conference wound up at once—with a clarion call to France's five partners and Britain, declaring to the world that Britain's entry is desirable and that negotiations should be resumed as soon as circumstances permit. In this way France would be isolated and the way open for diplomatic and psychological war, backed by commercial and political reprisals—which have, in fact, already started."

Fortunately, no organized anti-French bloc was set up to take sanctions against de Gaulle or to exert concerted new pressures upon him. For this the French largely credit the Bonn government's diplomacy, which though outwardly schizophrenic has been both more subtle and more constructive than generally realized. There is also said to have been a strong reaction inside the Belgian government against Spaak's attitude and a noticeable cooling off of the anti-Gaullist crusading spirit that Italian Premier Amintore Fanfani evidenced to President Kennedy in Washington.

Perhaps, after all, Europe is busy working out its future and strengthening a unity that is already an accomplished fact; it can scarcely afford to indulge in fits of resentment.



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The Ivy-League Integrationists

R. W. APPLE, Jr.

JUST DOWN the street from the most aristocratic of Yale's secret societies, Skull and Bones, are the headquarters of another and very different college organization. This is the Northern Student Movement, a loose federation of college civil-rights groups formed only a year and a half ago, which now has about twelve hundred members on sixty-five Eastern campuses. Most of its members are white, like the colleges they come from, but its leadership is more equally biracial.

A number of Northern college students have taken part in Freedom Rides, sit-ins, and voter-registration drives in the South, but the members of the NSM have decided to do something about the barriers to racial equality closer to home. Accordingly, the organization has taken as its primary task the development of leadership and self-esteem in the Negro ghettos of the North.

Because students' chief assets are time and education, the NSM is putting most of its effort into tutoring Negro children in Harlem and North Philadelphia. But in addition to this, it has raised more than ten thousand dollars to help finance the Southern Negro voting drive run by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), participated in sit-ins and similar projects along the Eastern Shore of Maryland, picketed a segregated apartment building in Rye, New York, collected ten thousand books for Miles College in Birmingham, and operated an educational and recreational program for 150 of the fourteen hundred schoolless Negro children in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

Many of its partisans speak of the Movement—and it is always a movement, never an organization—with such fervor that they sometimes sound rather civil-righteous. ("If you sit down to have dinner with Mary," a Sarah Lawrence girl says of an NSM friend, "you have to talk civil rights. She never talks about anything else.") For some, the NSM takes the place of a fraternity or sorority; for others, perhaps, it is a cult.

To a considerable degree, the NSM is cast in the image of Peter Countryman, its executive director. An intense, slight young white man of twenty, the type sometimes described on campuses as a "cause chaser," Countryman has been in on the NSM from the beginning. "I'm not a utopian," he told me a few weeks ago. "I'm in this simply because I have certain ideals."

Under ordinary circumstances, Countryman would have been a senior at Yale this year, studying philosophy and living in Berkeley College. But an experience during his sophomore year, in the spring of 1961, changed all that. From time to time he had been helping youth workers with Negro boys in the Dixwell area of New Haven, and one night he went to hear three Virginia girls describe their part in a sit-in. "I was very impressed with their honesty and integrity and sac-

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rifice," he said. "It made the academic world seem pretty sterile, and I decided I had to do something." After the meeting, one of the girls, a Negro from Virginia Theological Seminary and College, told him of the poverty of its library. For the next two weeks Countryman cut all his classes and in a frenzied personal campaign collected six thousand books for it.

At a meeting of the New England Student Christian Movement last June, Countryman was chosen as chairman of a committee to raise money for the Freedom Riders. (Although religious groups gave the NSM much of its early support, both Countryman and his organization operate on a completely secular basis.) That summer he lived and worked in a Chicago slum, and that fall, when the fund-raising committee gathered in New Haven, he persuaded it to turn itself into a new organization that would co-ordinate civil-rights activities on Northern campuses.

THE experiences of SNCC and CORE seemed to prove that students had the power to initiate social change, and to some the possibilities appeared limitless. "We had a vision of an integrated society," Countryman explained, "a society with social institutions extremely sensitive to individual problems."

Countryman's objective was to get Northern students to lead the attack on segregation and prejudice in the North: "We had to build a student movement which was not just a deposit for extracurricular energies but a significant force in the solution of racial conflict." To generate this sort of enthusiasm, he concluded, he would first have to involve the students vicariously in the dramatic events in the South. Then, he hoped, they could be made to concentrate on the less spectacular if no less significant problems in the North. During its first year, therefore, the NSM spent most of its energies raising funds to support SNCC's voting drive in the South.

During that year Countryman met Joan Cannady, a Negro mathematics student at Sarah Lawrence whose father is a guidance counselor at a Philadelphia high school. When they began seeing a good deal of each other, it led to the estrangement of Countryman and his father, a Chicago industrial magazine editor. But this only hardened Countryman's determination to travel his own road; he and Joan have since been married.

In April last year, at a conference at Sarah Lawrence, the NSM program was broadened to include sit-ins along the Eastern Shore of Maryland and help for schoolless children of Prince Edward County. At the same time, the tutorial program for Harlem and North Philadelphia was conceived. A panel of speakers at the conference described the frustration and despondency of families caught in the endless slum cycle of poor jobs, poor housing, and poor education, and their remarks helped to shape the new program.

One of the speakers was the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, Mrs. Countryman's uncle, who was a leader in the series of "selective patronage" boycotts against Philadelphia firms that hired Negroes only for menial jobs. He urged the students to help young Negroes capitalize on the new opportunities being opened up by the boycotts. The tutorial program, he agreed, might be a good way to start.

From Theory to Practice

With no money and no experience, the NSM moved into North Philadelphia to try out its theories. The area is one of chronic educational crisis, where sixty per cent of the students never finish high school and only 2.5 per cent go to college. The tutors, college students, hoped not only to help their pupils with academic difficulties but also to put education on a personal rather than an institutional basis.

The prospective tutors found jobs in hospitals, laundries, camps, and icehouses to support themselves for the summer. Getting pupils proved to be no problem. Some were referred by clergymen and social workers; others were recruited by the tutors on trips to five predominantly Negro high schools. The Philadelphia board of education, under pressure to improve secondary education in the area, welcomed the students' help and lent them textbooks. Fourteen churches and five welfare agencies agreed to serve as tutoring centers. Still, there was no working capital, so Countryman went to the Fels Foundation to ask for help. Four days later, the foundation made two thousand dollars available. Half was used to hire Mrs. Countryman's father as a sort of tutor for the tutors; the rest went for supplies.

When the project itself got under way, there were 375 pupils and 175 volunteer tutors (about seventy of them Negro) from Amherst, Beaver, Bryn Mawr, Yale Law School, Connecticut College, New Rochelle, Penn, Sarah Lawrence, Rhode Island, Lincoln, Temple, Oberlin, Lehigh, and elsewhere. One tutor commuted twice a week from Fort Dix, New Jersey, where he was in the Army. Tutors and pupils met from two to four times a week for ninety-minute sessions, and in addition there were biweekly guidance seminars for the tutors and joint excursions to ball games, concerts, and theatres.

Did it work? A definite answer is impossible, but there is already some evidence of success. Countryman likes to cite the case of Kenneth Taylor, an eighteen-year-old vocational student at Edison High who had belatedly decided to go to college. His college preparatory courses were proving too much for him until the NSM tutors came along, but six hours of special help a week during the summer cleared up his difficulties. He now expects to enter college next fall—possibly West Point. A second star pupil was Albert Milliner, fifteen, a junior at Simon Gratz High School, whose tutor, Meredith Brooks from Vassar, got him through a summer-school geometry course that had baffled him.

The community reaction was excellent—a joint citation from the board of education, the commission on higher education, and the commission on human relations; flattering newspaper editorials; contributions from businessmen and labor leaders; and a tribute from Senator Hugh Scott. Heartened, the NSM decided to continue the project during the school year with a paid staff and volunteer tutors, and almost all the pupils eagerly joined in again.

Harlem yielded less easily to the NSM's mission. The problems there

indicate some of the difficulties that the NSM may face as it expands into new areas. The head of the Harlem operation is Kathie Rogers, a tall, pretty girl from New Canaan, Connecticut, who was graduated last year from Sarah Lawrence. "Sometimes," she said a little wearily, "Harlem is impossible." In an attempt to cope with the impossible, she spends as many as eighteen hours a day on the job—until recently without pay.

The Harlem tutorial project last summer was similar to Philadelphia's but much smaller. It, too, was successful enough to warrant continuation into the school year. But Harlem's educational community lacks the homogeneity of North Philadelphia's. Discovering potential pupils and co-ordinating their tutoring with teachers is much more difficult.

Thanks largely to Miss Rogers's diligence and the help of the Harlem Neighborhoods Association, the project has had a modest success. At the Abraham Lincoln Community Center last month, I met three Negro girls who have been working with college students from the metropolitan area. One of them, Leolive Tucker, had been a problem student, with A's in English, C's in social studies, and F's in algebra. She studied only what she wanted to. Her tutor last summer, Andrea Cousins, a daughter of the *Saturday Review* editor, was greeted with belligerence and disdain. But Miss Cousins ultimately succeeded in getting across an enthusiasm for disciplined study and in winning the younger girl's friendship. Leolive won a scholarship to a private school in North Carolina; she hopes eventually to go to Sarah Lawrence.

The second Harlem project, which attempted to transplant the Philadelphia selective-patronage boycotts, was unsuccessful. Carl Anthony, a young Negro who hopes one day to be a city planner, was in charge, and he admits that through inexperience he "went to too many leaders in too many fields." But it was the complexity and reluctance of the Harlem leadership that compelled him to do so. The result was that economic pressure of the sort the Philadelphia ministers can apply was never brought to bear on the milk company chosen as the initial New York target. Eventually the entire campaign was dropped.

Looking Ahead

The NSM's most serious problem is money. The Harlem project, which had begun on a shoestring, has just received ten thousand dollars from the Field Foundation. The Philadelphia project is also solvent. But the headquarters staff—the Countrymans and field worker Cliff Henry—has run through a four-thousand-dollar grant since last September and must now subsist on money raised in occasional campus fund drives. This summer, tutorial projects will be operating in six cities, and Countryman hopes to put the movement on a national scale. It is unlikely that he can do so with a treasury largely dependent on dollars saved from parental allowances.

Some of the staff members also detect a major flaw in the tutorial program. Because most of the pupils are sent in by churches and social agencies and because the program is voluntary, the NSM is reaching only the student eager to find a way out of his difficulties. With a girl like Leolive Tucker, the problem is not to create motivation—she always wanted to go to college—but to show her how to realize her goals. This is laudable enough, but it leaves untouched the great mass of young Negroes who are hostile to education. If the NSM is to work its revolution in the ghetto, a way must be found to reach them as well. One plan, conceived by Bob Knight of the New York staff, is to set up a cultural and athletic program for junior high school students in the hope that it would feed pupils into the tutorials as they reached senior high. To effect real change, however, the program may have to begin with even younger children in order to reach them before the cynicism and despair of the slum have begun to seep in.

A Manual of Soviet Strategy

RAYMOND L. GARTHOFF

A NUMBER of recent newspaper articles, some scandalously misinformed and misinforming, have referred to a new volume on Soviet military strategy—"smuggled out of the Soviet Union," as one account would have it—that is supposed to offer a secret description of the Kremlin's war plans. The facts are somewhat different.

Military Strategy (*Voennaya Strategiya*) is the product of the collective labors of fifteen leading Soviet military theoreticians, headed by Marshal Vasily Sokolovsky, who served as chief of the general staff from 1953 to 1960. In its 456 pages, it surveys general principles of military strategy, the character of modern war, and doctrinal and organizational concepts for waging war. The book is described in the introduction as the first comprehensive work on strategy published in

OPERATION FREEDOM
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Feb. 16, 1963

Washington, D. C. - Feb. 16 - - "I wish every person in this country could visit Mississippi, as I have," said Jack McKart, coordinator of Operation Freedom, today after arriving in the nation's capital. Mr. McKart has been in the Mississippi delta twice during the winter to help set up machinery whereby Operation Freedom can be of assistance to the harassed Negroes who have tried to register to vote.

He continued: "I wish everyone could sit as I have in the cold sharecroppers' cabins with coat on, see the hunger and the children out of school because they have no adequate clothes, see the bullet holes in the houses of registration workers, hear of the two young women left unattended in a white hospital after they had been shot, talk to the young man just out of jail charged with telephoning a white woman, hear of the mutilated body found near Canton.

"You have to be there to believe it. When I told one Northern minister about these things, he said, 'Don't take it too seriously; this sort of thing has been happening a long time in the south.'

"This minister is not a segregationist; he is not an evil man. He would do anything to help a hungry family next door - people he could see. Most people would. But it is so hard to comprehend when thousands of people are suffering, when a whole state is suffering. I guess that is why the Germans couldn't comprehend about six million Jews in gas chambers. It was too big. They didn't see the human beings. It was just an abstraction - like Mississippi to many people now. When you see, you have to act. I wish everyone could go and see for themselves."

Operation Freedom, with headquarters at 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, has for two years aided people in West Tennessee who have been evicted and boycotted as a result of their attempts to register to vote. Jack McKart is now in Washington on a tour to raise funds and focus attention on the need for aid.

Operation Freedom's story is told in the accompanying brochure entitled, "Operation Freedom Expands Its Aid Program . . . While Continuing in West Tennessee, Operation Freedom Moves into Mississippi."

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Austin American Statesman
Sunday, February 17, 1963

Harold Kilpatrick, right, of the Texas Council of Churches, receives an award from Ernest Goldstein of the Southwest Advisory Board of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League for the council's work in human relations. Looking on are Governor John Connally, background left and State Senator A. R. Schwartz of Galveston. The award was presented at the league's 50th anniversary dinner here Saturday night.

American-Statesman/UPI

Nod Given To Dobie, Churches

Texas' salty ambassador of folklore and goodwill, J. Frank Dobie, shared equal billing Saturday night with the Texas Council of Churches at an award's presentation banquet of the Southwest Advisory Board of the Anti-Defamation League.

Dobie, characteristically, was unable to be present — he was attending a meeting of the Texas Institute of Letters in San Antonio to fight censorship and bigotry—the very thing that won him the 1962 Human Relations award.

The awards are a presentation of the Southwest Advisory Board of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith for making significant contributions to better intergroup understanding.

No one in Austin had ever received the award before.

Highlight of the awards banquet, the 50th anniversary of the ADL, was an address by Governor John Connally.

Connally cited the League for helping to create a climate in which freedom and education could grow.

"Today the Anti-Defamation League is serving America by working to insure that all Americans receive equal rights and fair treatment," Connally said.

"The Anti-Defamation League substitutes fact for fancy and inculcates common sense where bigotry used to prevail," the governor said.

Dobie, in a tape recording, voiced disapproval of the recent censorship of books in public schools, claiming that if anybody really wanted sin "they can see it anywhere."

Accepting the 1962 Human Relations award for the Texas Council of Churches was Harold Kilpatrick, executive director.

A long list of state officials and public figures attended the banquet, which was held at the Driskill Hotel. State Senator A. R. Schwartz of Galveston, chairman of the Southwest Advisory Board of ADL, was toastmaster.

Sunday, Feb. 10, 1963 Austin American Statesman

Shares With Council of Churches

Dobie Honored for Fighting Bigots, Censors

J. Frank Dobie, salty chronicler of Texas tales, and the Texas Council of Churches this year share top state honors for their work in human relations.

Dobie and the council have been named recipients of the 1962 Human Relations Awards given by the Southwest Advisory Board, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The honors will be given at a banquet at the Driskill Hotel at 7 p.m. Saturday, Feb. 16. Governor John Connally will make the principal address.

The awards are presented to the person, persons, or organization in the Southwest who made, said, "ranks in eminence with the great Carl Sandburg, as a champion through words of the American ideal."

The Texas Council of Churches, Feld added, has been a vigorous spokesman over the years for religious truth, and "the conscience of our people."

In recognizing the Council, he said, the Anti-Defamation League "pays tribute to the thousands of church people and clergymen in every city, town and hamlet . . . who have stood firmly, yet with great courage, the test of our people, the test of the religion, to a greater understanding of the American dream."

Reservations for the awards banquet may be made by calling Mrs. Jack Goldstein, GR 2-1496; Chester Snyder, GR 2-[illegible]; or Pat Adelman, GR 8-5755.

The honors banquet annually coincides with the founding of the Anti-Defamation League, which this year is celebrating its 50th anniversary.

Benj Feld of Houston, chairman of the Awards Committee, said that in selecting Dobie, "the League pays tribute to him for having consistently fought bigotry and censorship for the past half [illegible]

Austin's beloved Pancho, he

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For immediate release
February 21, 1963

Intergr Com. charges

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee yesterday (Wednesday) announced that it had agreed to accept the case of Advance, a New York youth organization, as a legal test of the constitutionality of the McCarran (Internal Security) Act of 1950.

It is expected that hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board will take place in the early Spring. The ECLC will carry the case into the courts in the event of an adverse ruling by the SACB.

The basis for the acceptance by the ECLC of the case of Advance was outlined thus yesterday by Clark Foreman, director of the civil liberties organization:

"On January 10, 1963, the Attorney General of the United States petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to label Advance a 'communist front' organization under the terms of the McCarran Act. The charges include the accusation that certain positions taken by Advance 'parallel' those taken by the Communist Party, that the Communist Party inspired the formation of Advance, helped obtain contributions for it and that some Advance members are Communist Party members.

"Advance is a group of 150 young people, mostly students, organized in February of 1960, with a membership exclusively in New York City. The group describes itself as a socialist-oriented youth group organized to carry on discussion and activities consistent with its general outlook.

"The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee takes the position that even if all the charges are true -- which we do not concede -- that the group has a constitutional right to exist; that the Attorney General's action not only violates First Amendment guarantees of a small local group, but is destructive of the

(more)

rights of all young people democratically to discuss and act upon the crucial issues of our day.

"The ECLC believes that the danger in the Advance case goes far beyond the fantastic penalties imposed by the McCarran Act. We share with Justice Black the view expressed in his magnificent dissent of June 5, 1961 (Communist Party vs. S.A.C. Board): 'When the practice of outlawing parties and groups begins, no one can say where it will end.'

"Because of our profound confidence in the basic democratic good sense of the American people, we are convinced that the case of Advance and similar proceedings can be won. We believe that while the instant issue is over a small organization, Americans of varied political views share our conviction that what is involved is nothing less than the democratic freedoms of us all. We are persuaded that, sooner or later, this will be recorded in the decisions of our courts."

30

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HUMAN RIGHTS NEWS

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

Volume Three | January-February, 1963 | Number One

400 Managers Respond to Equal Service Plea

The Commission on Human Rights has received an encouraging response to the appeal of Governor Bert Combs to restaurants, motels and other places of public accommodation to serve all persons without racial discrimination.

The Commission received return postal cards from more than 400 business establishments which indicated "We provide equal service for all regardless of race or color." About three-fourths of these businesses said that they would display the equal service emblem provided by the Commission and asked that copies be sent them to post in a conspicuous place.

About 17 cards were returned with negative responses. Eight managers marked the card "We are considering this policy. Send us more information or contact us when convenient."

7,000 Asked to Serve All

The Governor's letter was sent in November to 7,000 places of public accommodation throughout the state. The Equal Service For All program is a part of Kentucky's commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation which took effect in January 1863.

The emblem which Governor Combs asked the business managers to display consists of a copy of the State seal under the heading "Equal Service For All - Commended by the Commonwealth." It is already on display in Kentucky State parks.

Commenting on the response to the Governor's request, Commission Executive Director Galen Martin said, "We are pleased to learn of many places that are open without discrimination which we hadn't known about earlier. This is particularly true of places in smaller towns and along some of our major highways. Tourists and our own citizens will be glad to see the Equal Service Emblem in such places as they travel."

Several newspapers in various parts of the state have given editorial endorsement to the program and urged businessmen in their community to participate. Among papers carrying such editorials are: The News, Auburn; Kentucky Standard, Bardstown; Enterprise, Beattyville; Meade County Messenger, Brandenburg; McLean County News, Calhoun; The News, Greenup; Herald, Hazard; and the Anderson County News, Lawrenceburg.

The United Church Women and other religious and civic groups have been active in distributing small cards designed to be left with managers or cashiers of restaurants and other public places to register support for equal service. A second order for 10,000 cards has been made.

New members of the Commission on Human Rights are pictured above as they attended the Nov. 1 Commission meeting. Left to right are Mr. William F. Billingsley, South Fort Mitchell; Paul Oberst, Lexington; Mrs. Paul Kraus, Bardstown; and Glenn W. Denham, Middlesboro. Mr. Billingsley, an international representative of the United Steel Workers, is from the 4th Congressional District. Representing the 6th District is Paul Oberst, a professor in the University of Kentucky College of Law. Mrs. Kraus is from the 4th District and Mr. Denham, an attorney, represents the 5th District.

December 30, 1962

GLEANER and JOURNAL

212-218 North Elm Street, Henderson, Ky.
WALTER M. DEAR 2nd, PUBLISHER
FRANCELE H. ARMSTRONG, EDITOR

Official Sanction for a Big Job

It may come as a puzzlement to some as to why the city commission has passed an ordinance creating a commission on Human Rights when such an organization has already been functioning in Henderson for a long period of time.

The answer is to be found in the direction of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The 1960 legislature directed that such groups could and preferably should be given official status by city governments in Kentucky.

Henderson's Commission on Human Rights has been an active and well-functioning group which believes that Negroes should not be relegated to second class citizenship. But the organization has been self-impelled, lacking official status.

Now the city commission has complied with the desire of Governor Combs, the legislature, and the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. Through the passage of the ordinance creating an official Commission for Henderson, the group becomes affiliated with the state commission and has its official stamp of approval.

The Henderson Commission on Human Rights has been an active body of about 20 Negroes and Whites who have been working under the leadership of elective officers of whom Hecht Lackey is chairman, Rev. Tom Frances vice president and Annette C. Brown, secretary. No treasurer has been elected because the group has functioned without dues and without funds.

Now that official status has been given the group by the passage of the ordinance, Mayor Robert B. Posey will appoint 25 members who will become the official body of the Commission on Human Rights. Doubtless many of the new appointments will be carry-overs, but it is likely that new names will also appear on the roster.

It has taken courage for white people to get on the front lines in this battle for the rights of Negroes. But courage is a concomitant of belief in the rightness of the cause, and the members have been not only willing, but anxious to serve.

The group has been divided into sub-committees on education, employment, recreation, housing, etc. This type of grouping will be continued as the group works forward on one of the first community surveys to be conducted by such an officially constituted body in the state of Kentucky. Louisville has had the first such groups and Henderson is running a close second.

We are grateful to the city commission for its temerity in creating such a body. Its existence in no way embarrasses the city commission members by requiring city approval of studies and activities. But the official status of the group does add impetus to the study which is already underway.

Congratulations to Mayor Posey and Commissioners King and Williams for their cooperation in sending the Henderson Commission on Human Rights on its way. The survey now being undertaken should lead to some interesting and worthwhile findings in the field of human relations.

December 29, 1962

Are You a '99'?

A Greyhound bus pulled into the bus station at Henderson and four Negroes alighted. One of them took a dime and went to a telephone booth to call for a taxi.

Seventeen minutes later by the clock a taxi pulled up to the bus station. But this time a white man had joined the group awaiting the taxi. As the Negroes started to board the taxi they were told they couldn't ride in the cab because the white man objected to riding with Negroes. The taxi pulled away leaving the Negroes to call another cab in hopes of having better luck with the next cab.

Another Greyhound bus pulled up to the station. A white man and a Negro got off together. The white man told the colored man that he needed a taxi but didn't have a dime with which to make the call. The Negro furnished the dime and the white man called a cab.

When the cab arrived, the white man got on first and the Negro followed. He was told that he couldn't ride with the white man.

"If he can't ride then I won't ride either," said the white man.

"If it is all right with you it is all right with me," said the cab driver. The two drove off together.

Ordinarily the problem is solved in another manner. The cab driver reports to his switchboard "I've got a 99." This means there is a Negro passenger aboard and the switchboard is supposed to avoid mixing white and blacks in the same cab.

Are you a "99"? How would you react to such a treatment by a public conveyance and common carrier?

The Negro's first objective in his fight for first class citizenship was to be allowed to break the hold of the "Jim Crow" regulation which relegated him to the back of a train or bus. In many places "Jim Crow" is no longer a serious problem.

But now that there are no more street cars, and few trains, the Negro runs into a problem with another type of "Jim Crow" regulation. He can't ride in a taxi with any white person who objects to his color, even though the Negro may have been the one to call the cab in the first place.

Who is going to solve this knotty problem? Possibly some progress can be made by bringing it to the attention of the city commission in reference to the licensing of public conveyances. A great deal of business which goes to taxis comes from the segment of the population not able to afford private cars.

Obviously something needs to be done, and obviously the switch from "Jim Crow" to "99" hasn't solved any problems either for those who must bear the insufferable insults, or for those who drive the cabs and seek to avoid trouble through separation of races.

We can't give the answer but we can state a problem. Nobody want to be known as a "99"—and nobody running a public conveyance wants to be put in the position of refusing service to one class of citizenry because his skin is pigmented.

There is an answer, and we are hoping that the city commission will find the answer to a perplexing and cruel situation.

Municipal Recreation Desegregation

Most City Owned Facilities Admit Negroes

15 Cities Operate "Open" Swimming Pools; 9 Segregate

The vast majority of municipally owned recreational facilities in Kentucky are open to all persons without racial discrimination. Nearly all city parks, playgrounds, community centers, tennis courts and golf courses in Kentucky serve all citizens alike, according to a survey conducted in the fall of 1962 by the Commission on Human Rights.

While fifteen Kentucky cities operate swimming pools without discrimination, there are nine cities with segregated pools, and this is the phase of municipal recreation where most segregation persists.

Seven cities operate pools for whites only and from which Negroes are excluded. These cities include Greenup, Harlan, Madisonville, Morganfield, Shelbyville, Tompkinsville and Williamsburg.

Two other cities operate duplicate and separate facilities and exclude Negroes from the "white" pools. In Henderson Negroes are admitted to one city pool in a Negro section but not allowed in two other city pools. The City of Bardstown operates two swimming pools, one for whites and one for Negroes.

In Danville, the city supports a pool for Negroes only, but has no publicly owned facility for whites.

The responding city official of Ashland, which has two separate pools, said he was unable to say whether Negroes would be excluded from the "white" pool because no Negroes have gone there to swim.

In addition Nicholasville operates a wading pool in which Negro children are not allowed.

Of the seventy-three municipalities reporting that they own recreational facilities, only three appear to exclude Negroes completely. They are Harlan, Madisonville and Nicholasville.

In addition to the wading pool, Nicholasville's facilities include a park and a playground to which Negroes are not admitted. While city officials in Madisonville did not respond, a citizen reported that that city has a park, playground, ball park, tennis court golf links, wading pools and swimming pool. Richmond, Kentucky excludes Negroes from the city park, playground, and summer recreation programs, but reported that football and basketball activities at the ball park include Negroes.

In response to the question, "Have you experienced any difficulty as a result of fair treatment policies in (municipal) facilities?", there were fifty-five "no" responses, one "yes" and two who said "very little."

Facilities Not Sold to Avoid Desegregation

The practice of selling public recreational facilities to private interests to avoid desegregation, which has been used in some Southern states, does not appear to have been followed in Kentucky. Fifty-eight cities reported that no facilities had been sold or leased to private operators, while two answered "yes" to this question. One town reported sale of a ball park to a private group 7 or 8 years ago, but a conversation with the Mayor makes it clear this was not to avoid desegregation but to obtain development of the facility which is open to all.

About two-thirds of responding cities reported that they employ Negro recreational directors or supervisors. Twenty-five of the municipalities, representing the larger areas, said they employed Negroes in such positions, while thirty-six said they did not.

The Little League Baseball programs appear to be the most widely desegregated activities, although their connection with city recreation programs varied considerably. Thirty-six communities reported that the Little League program is completely desegregated. The desegregation is limited to "certain leagues" in three areas including: Fort Thomas, Lexington and Fayette County and Shelbyville. In Providence and Tompkinsville, Little League desegregation is limited to "certain teams" and in Flemingsburg, to "all star teams."

TABLE I

Recreation Facility Policies of Kentucky Cities

Facility	City Policies: Admit Negroes __/	Exclude Negroes __/	Total __/
Ball Parks	55	2	57
Community Centers	14	4	18
Golf-Links	10	2	12
Parks	42	3	45
Playgrounds	48	3	51
Summer Recreational Programs	43	3	46
Swimming Pools	15	9	24
Tennis Courts	33	3	36
Wading Pools	15	3	18

__/ These figures represent the numbers of cities with one or more facilities of the type listed, and not the total number of parks etc. affected. A total of eighty-four cities responded to the survey but nineteen had no facilities.

Responses to the survey indicate considerable variation in the use of city recreation facilities by Negroes. The question was, "If the various recreation facilities are 'open' to Negroes, to what extent do they use these facilities?" Those responding were asked to circle the alternatives of, "Seldom," "Infrequently," "In Large Numbers," or "Often." Nineteen communities circled "Often," sixteen designated "Seldom," seven marked "Infrequently," and three indicated, "In Large Numbers." Several others said they never had Negroes appear at the facilities even though they were "open."

Timed with School Desegregation

Survey responses suggest that the timing of school desegregation has had considerable influence on the beginning of desegregation in public recreation facilities. To the question of when were the "open" recreation policies adopted, several city officials indicated the same year as school desegregation. However some lag was indicated in several other cities and the largest group responding to this question gave 1960 as the year the municipal facilities were "opened." Ten cities mentioned 1960-61 and seven gave 1956 as the year of beginning. The Mayors of two cities gave 1962 and one said the schools were just beginning desegregation. One city clerk said the recreation facilities have been desegregated, "Since colored children started going to school with the white children." Some of the facilities reported on by the Mayors were school related.

The changing patterns were reflected in Paducah where separate recreation boards, one for white, and another for Negro facilities, were combined into one board with representation for various segments of the community.

In answering the question, "If 'open' facilities are used seldom or infrequently, please suggest why?" most who replied mentioned the small number of Negroes in their area.

Some indicated that no Negroes lived in their city but said there would be no discrimination. One small town in Eastern Kentucky reported, "The facilities are open to all without discrimination. The manager of the swimming pool stated this was his second year and that no Negroes had ever been in the pool during that time. He stated the pool was open to all and no one had been refused admittance."

Negroes Haven't Asked

In one city where some facilities are not "open" to Negroes, the Mayor said, "Our Negro residents have never asked to use the swimming pool in the city park. The Council has never taken any action one way or the

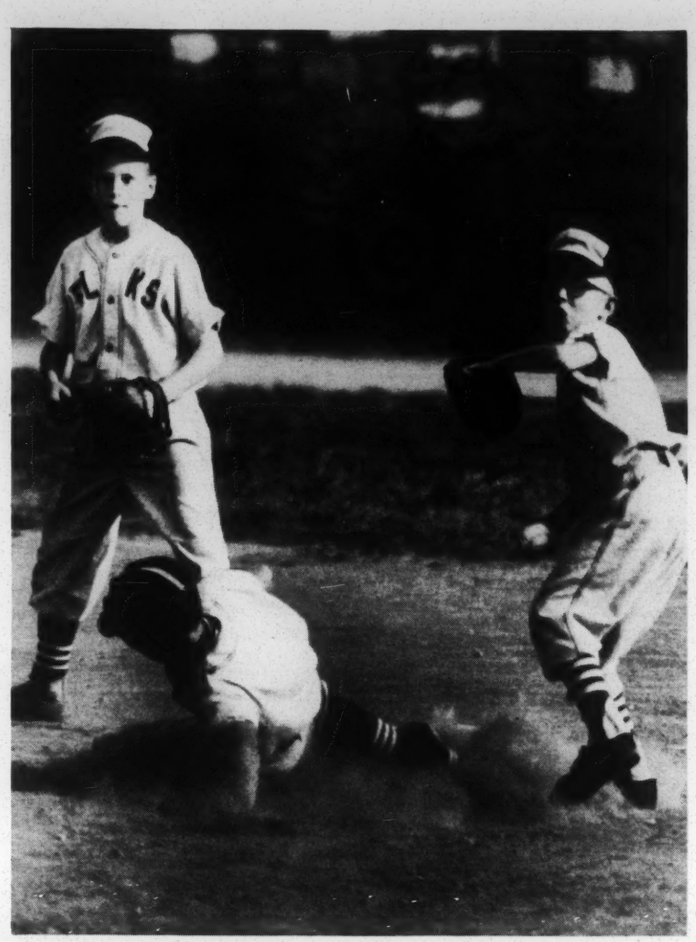
other what to do if they should ask." He added that no legal action has been taken, and said the majority of Negroes would rather "use their own facilities."

One of the most interesting situations is that reported by a mayor of a small town in the Purchase section of Kentucky. There a private corporation owns property which they leased to the City for one dollar a year and the City in turn leases it to a Lions Club. The facilities include a ball park, picnic tables and swings for the children. The Mayor said, "We have never had any trouble with the colored as we have very few and they seem contented to stay among their own color. Since we have never had any problems, it would be difficult to say what action would be taken if they asked to use for example our Community Center."

Classed as "Indian Blacks"

A city clerk in an Eastern Kentucky city reported "There are not more than a dozen colored people in all of . . . county, however, we do have possibly 25 or 30 people who are classed as Indian Black. These people are treated as the whites are and we have no trace of racial problems. Our schools and all facilities are shared with everyone alike."

Few cities responded to the request, "If the City operates some segregated facilities, please indicate whether separate facilities are available for Negroes." However one which has no enforced segregation mentioned the existence of ". . .neighborhood boundaries, (which) play a major role in determining the use of recreation facilities. Negro and white participants do commute to other areas for the sake of playing together in certain sports. These associations are perhaps their school contacts."



Little League Baseball programs represent the most widely desegregated recreational activity in the survey. Thirty-five communities reported their program as desegregated, while five areas indicated some limitations.

TABLE II

CITIES REPORTING RECREATIONAL FACILITIES WITHOUT SEGREGATION

Beaver Dam	Frankfort	Maysville
Brandenburg	Georgetown	Middlesboro
Calhoun	Glasgow	Monticello
Carlisle	Grand Rivers	Morton's Gap
Carrollton	Harrodsburg	Mt. Olivet
Cattletsburg	Hopkinsville	Munfordville
Cave City	Irvine	Murray
Central City	Jackson	Newport
Dawson Springs	Jefferson County	Owensboro
Earlington	Kuttawa	Paintsville
Elizabethtown	Leitchfield	Paducah
Elsmere	Lexington	Pineville
Erlanger	Liberty	Princeton
Falmouth	Louisa	Providence
Fayette County	Louisville	Shepherdsville
Flemingsburg	Manchester	Vanceburg
Florence	Martin	Versailles
Fort Thomas	Mayfield	Vine Grove
		Walton

TABLE III

RECREATION FACILITIES AFFECTED BY EXCLUSION POLICIES 1/

KEY
Yes = Admit
No = Exclude

	Parks	Playgrounds	Summer Recreation Programs	Ball Parks	Community Centers	Tennis Courts	Golf-Links	Wading Pools	Swimming Pools
Bardstown		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes			No
Bowling Green	Yes		Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes		
Cadiz			No						
Cynthiana		Yes	Yes	Yes	No			Yes	Yes
Greenup	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes				No
Harlan			No			No			No
Hazard							No		
Henderson	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		No
Madisonville	No	No		No	No	No	No	No	No
Morganfield	Yes	Yes			No	No			No
Nicholasville	No	No						No	
Richmond	No	No	No	Yes					
Stanford				No					
Shelbyville	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes			No
Tompkinsville			Yes	Yes					No
Williamsburg	Yes	Yes						No	No
Totals that exclude	3	3	3	2	4	3	2	3	9

1/ This list includes only those cities where some facility is not "open" to Negroes. See page 3 for a list of the fifty-five cities where all city recreation facilities admit Negroes.

CONCLUSION - As in other fields examined by the Commission on Human Rights, desegregation of municipal recreation facilities has worked out well where it has been tried, and nearly every city owning such facilities has begun desegregation to some extent. While some cities have not begun swimming pool desegregation, an example has been set for them in seventeen other cities representing all sections of Kentucky.

This situation provides a clear answer to an editorial comment carried in May by a newspaper in southern Kentucky. The paper in commenting on the closing of parks in certain Southern cities said in part: "Recreational areas as regards segregation is causing much concern over the country (South) . . . Louisville, Kentucky, has one of the few integrated public swimming pools in the country. Thus, the problem of mixed races stays with us."

Practical experience in city recreational facilities throughout Kentucky provides no support for continued exclusion of Negroes from city park facilities. Experience in Kentucky's multi-million dollar state park system which has been "open" since about 1957 likewise shows that such policies of services for all will succeed.

In the light of this experience, exclusion policies should be ended by those cities which still have them. No city should evade the question by saying they have no policy because Negroes have never asked the City Council. Such a burden should not be placed on Negro children who want to swim or to ride a see-saw. Nor should their parents need to take legal action to guarantee such a right in the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

NOTE: The Commission has made every effort to insure the accuracy of this report, and has double checked many answers by phone. It is possible that some policies have changed since the survey forms were returned. Please send any corrections, changes or additions to:

Commission on Human Rights
Commonwealth of Kentucky
168 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

ANNOUNCEMENT

Attorney General Robert Kennedy will address a meeting

at 8:00 p.m. Monday March 18, at Freedom Hall of the

State Fairgrounds and Exposition Center in Louisville

In commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of

The Emancipation Proclamation

Governor Bert Combs and Mayor William Cowger will participate

Sponsored jointly by the Louisville Human Relations Commission

and the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights

With the cooperation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights

Everyone is invited

Come and bring a carload

City of Henderson Commission on Human Rights

WHEREAS, the Board of Commissioners and the Mayor of the City of Henderson find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and

WHEREAS, the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership in the community retards the progress of the community, and affects the general well-being of all its citizens,

WHEREAS, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving intergroup and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City.

NOW, THEREFORE,

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF HENDERSON:

SECTION I: That there is hereby established a City of Henderson Commission on Human Rights.

SECTION II: The Commission shall be composed of twenty-five members. The members shall be appointed by the Mayor who shall select persons who are nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic, and racial groups which comprise the population of the City of Henderson. In addition, each member shall be a resident of the Greater Henderson Area.

No elected or appointed official of the City of Henderson may be a member of the Commission.

SECTION III: Initially the members of the Commission shall be appointed to serve for a term of one (1), two (2), and three (3) years, and members appointed after the original appointment shall serve for a term of three (3) years each, except that if a vacancy occurs on the Commission other than as a result of the expiration of the term of an appointment, the Mayor shall appoint a successor for the unexpired term. Members may be eligible for re-appointment for additional terms.

SECTION IV: A quorum shall consist of nine members.

SECTION V: Members shall serve without compensation.

SECTION VI: The Commission shall endeavor to promote and secure mutual understanding and respect among all economic, social, religious, ethnic and racial groups in the City of Henderson, and shall act as conciliator in controversies involving intergroup and inter-racial relations. The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, State, and other City agencies in an effort to develop harmonious intergroup and inter-racial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial, and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of intergroup and inter-racial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices.

SECTION VI-A: The Commission shall receive complaints, conduct investigations, hold hearings, make studies and have such studies made as will enable the Commission to carry out the purpose of this Ordinance.

SECTION VI-B: The Commission shall recommend to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners such legislation as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Ordinance.

SECTION VI-C: The Commission shall submit an annual report on March 1, of each year to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners.

SECTION VI-D: The Commission, on behalf of the City of Henderson, may accept grants and donations from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

SECTION VII: All expenditures shall be authorized by the Commission which shall elect one of its members as treasurer. The treasurer shall approve operational expenditures, and he shall make a semi-annual financial report to the Commission. Copies of such semi-annual financial report shall be sent to the Mayor and the Board of Commissioners.

SECTION VIII: The services of all other departments of the City of Henderson may be made available to the Commission upon its request for such services. Information in the possession of any department, board, or agency of the City of Henderson, may be furnished to the Commission upon its request, and to the extent permitted by law. Upon the refusal of the Director or Head of any department, board or agency of the City to furnish any information which has been requested by the Commission, the matter shall be referred to the Mayor who shall determine whether such information shall be furnished to the Commission, and the decision of the Mayor shall be final.

SECTION IX: The Commission shall have the power to adopt rules to govern its proceedings. The meetings of the Commission shall be opened or closed to the public as it may deem best in its discretion.

SECTION X: The Commission shall meet as often as it deems necessary, but it shall meet not less than once each month.

SECTION XI: The Commission shall elect a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary-treasurer, and such other officers, as it shall deem necessary. The Chairman of the Commission shall appoint such committees as the rules of the Commission shall provide and such other special committees from time to time as the Commission may deem necessary in order to carry out the purposes of this Ordinance.

SECTION XII: The Mayor is authorized to allocate adequate office space and to provide the necessary facilities in the City Hall or the City Hall Annex for said Commission if the office space and facilities are available.

SECTION XIII: If any provisions of this Ordinance or application of such provision or provisions to any person or circumstance shall be held to be invalid, the remainder of the Ordinance or the application of such provision to persons, or circumstances other than those as to which it shall be held to be invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION XIV: This Ordinance shall become effective upon its passage by the Board of Commissioners.

Approved on first reading December 18, 1962.

Enacted on second reading December 26, 1962.

McLean County News

JANUARY 10, 1962

WHOEVER PLEADS FOR JUSTICE HELPS TO KEEP PEACE. —William Allen White

Kentucky's reputation for fairness depends on business people

KENTUCKY'S RECORD of peaceful race relations progress provides examples which some other states might well follow. Our state can be distinguished from some states because our governors have provided leadership to bring about fair treatment in racial matters without trouble.

Governor Combs has now asked the managers of restaurants, hotels, movies and other places of public accommodation to provide equal service for all persons without discrimination based on race, creed or color. Isn't this a logical step? As the Governor said, Kentucky is trying to attract tourists and we ought to make it known that our Kentucky hospitality doesn't carry a racial tag. Certainly this is in the best traditions of a Commonwealth dedicated to the motto of "United We Stand—Divided We Fall."

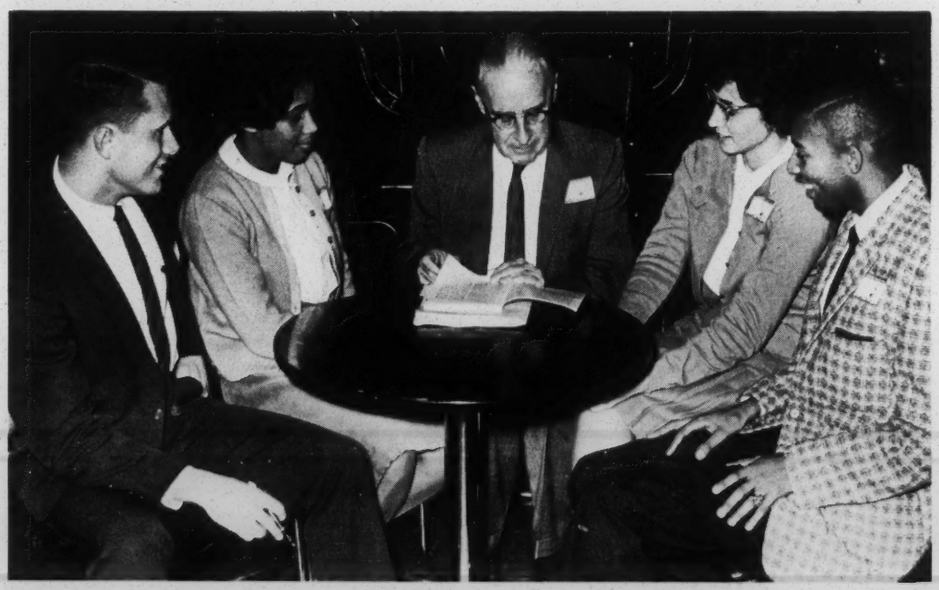
We hope that local businessmen will join others throughout the state in the Governor's voluntary program. McLean countians, most of whom are conscious of Christian teachings, will certainly support such a move which is in keeping with the principles of religion and democracy.

Governor Combs has sent letters to 7,000 places of public accommodation in the Commonwealth urging the adoption of a policy of service to all citizens regardless of race. The Governor's letter is part of a larger program of the Commission on Human Rights to achieve Equal Service For All through the voluntary co-operation of individual establishments. Among the many civic and government leaders endorsing the program are Lt. Gov. Wilson W. Wyatt, Sen. Thruston Morton, Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., Albert B. Chandler and Atty. Gen. John B. Breckinridge.

You may wonder, for instance, why the matter of restaurant service for people of all races should be of great importance in McLean county. The reason is that you never know when an incident in McLean county might have a bearing on the welfare of our nation and the peace of the world. Just a few days ago, a distinguished scholar from Liberia was refused service in two restaurants in Kentucky because he was the "wrong color".

Last week, State Department officers told us that one of the biggest burden they have to carry in building good relations with the emerging nations of Africa and Asia is the report of incidents such as these, which are insulting to free people. Such items are grist for the Communist propaganda mill.

The success of this effort to achieve fair treatment for all our citizens will depend ultimately upon the fair-mindedness and active commitment of individual citizens at the local level. McLean countians have demonstrated such qualities in the matter of public school desegregation. It is not unreasonable to expect a similar response to the Commonwealth's program of Equal Service For All.



Coach Rupp Comments

In the January 21, Courier Journal, sportswriter Larry Boeck reported the following as a part of U. K. Coach Adolph Rupp's explanation for the dismal performance of Kentucky teams this season.

"Other regions are catching up with improved basketball, and Kentucky boys are helping them. George Unseld (Seneca), for instance, is at Kansas. Joe Dan Gold (Benton) is at Mississippi State. Tom Thacker (Covington Grant) is at Cincinnati. Georgia Tech and Vanderbilt have state boys.

"If we in the state had Gold and Thacker and the others, we'd be in pretty good shape."

EDITOR'S NOTE: Thacker and Unseld are Negroes.

YOUR RIGHTS • • • IN KENTUCKY

A pamphlet listing and explaining all Kentucky and Federal legislation and executive orders aimed at barring discrimination has been published by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights.

Copies of the pamphlet, "Your Rights to Housing, Education, Employment, and Public Accommodations in Kentucky," are available on request to the Commission.

Discussing discrimination against Kentucky college students with Dr. Thornton W. Merriam are students from Berea College, Kentucky State College and the University of Kentucky. Dr. Merriam, Secretary for Leadership Development Project, Southern Area YMCA's, was one of the speakers at the College Conference on Human Relations in October.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Intergr Org Price

S.D.S. BULLETIN

NO. 3, 1962-63 JANUARY-FEBRUARY

COUNCIL MEETS IN ANN ARBOR

During the Christmas holidays in Ann Arbor, SDS took a good look at itself and made several steps forward in its two-year old trek toward maturity. The meeting of the National Council, which is composed of NEC members plus representatives of chapters and associated groups, was attended by about 35 people from various points around the na-

(cont. on page 2)

The Bulletin is prepared by National Secretary Jim Monsonis and Assistant National Secretary Don McKelvey, except in the case of signed or quoted articles. Articles about local situations are usually derived from letters and other materials sent to the National Office by local groups and individuals. Any responsibility for inaccuracies, distortions, misstatements, etc., are usually the staff's, for which we apologize.

This issue of the Bulletin is divided into three parts: the Membership Bulletin (MB), containing news of SDS activities and other campus happenings; the Correspondence section (CORR), including primarily (this month) an interchange among a good number of people about the New York City newspaper strike; and the Discussion Bulletin (DB), containing substantive political articles by SDS members.

Needless to say, we urge all members to contribute to all three sections of the Bulletin.

Dues Are Due!!

AN OPEN LETTER TO SDS MEMBERS

Dear SDS Member,

This Membership Bulletin is quite long: eighteen pages not counting the Correspondence and Discussion Bulletin sections. It contains, we believe, much information of interest and importance to socially concerned students and others. But there are too few reports of activity by SDS groups and individuals, and this is the concern of this letter.

SDS members are not organizing. If we are to have a campus base it must consist of local chapters who engage in continual activity inter-relating the theoretical and action aspects of our program. Without such a base of chapters we are nothing more than a collection of like-minded individuals scattered at random through the American college scene.

Too often national officers and national meetings blame lack of financial stability for our inabil ty to organize. Rather, the opposite is true, we suspect: we cannot raise money because we do not have chapters doing things. Chapters can be started with little or no local money and a minimum of resource help from the national office--mostly literature. What is needed is an investment of time and effort on the part of individual SDS members. We must get into our communities--whether these be the student bodies, particular areas of cities, work groups, or whatever--to promulgate ideas and stimulate action.

Until this effort and activity is

(cont. p. 2, right-hand column)

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING cont.

tion, including nine NEC members and five chapter representatives. Four days of intensive meetings on organizational plans, programming, and review of where we stand, left us rather exhausted but feeling more confident about the future.

It is hard to summarize the content of the meeting. How does one capture the sense of direction and purpose that emerged gradually; or the growing frustration attendant upon the realization that we simply do not have the resources to do what we wish to? Nevertheless certain programmatic and directional summaries can be made which can give some indication.

1. The National Council made the formal decision that top priority (with fund-raising) over the coming Spring is to be organizing chapters. We have the skeleton of a structure and some idea of an integrated philosophy of social change embodied in the Port Huron Statement; now we must fill in the skeleton and expand the PHS's constituency--which are essentially the same thing. At present we have only a few functioning chapters, some of which were organized during the Fall. But until there are many more chapters, comprising a co-ordinated body of students and young adults who are agents of social change and who identify themselves as SDS members, we will not be fulfilling our function. In the light of these long-range needs, the following organizational tasks are of primary importance over the Spring:

a. paying expenses for Field Secretary Steve Max, so he can spend most of the Spring on the road and at campuses.
b. a series of regional conferences dealing with the range of SDS views and focusing on student involvement in social change; conferences are planned or hoped for in Ohio, Washington/Baltimore, New York State, possibly Illinois.
c. mailings which go out of the national office: an expanded Bulletin (this is the first); a bi-weekly key list mailing to key people on campuses; other things as they seem relevant. More concentration of national office on local groups and chapter building.

2. In the area of national program, the emphasis is to be on action that will assist local groups. The following were reviewed:
a. a conference on university reform at Brandeis (see p. 5)
b. a pamphlet on voter registration and the student's role, to educate and direct students interested in civil rights (see pp. 8 and 9)
c. a mailing(about to be sent) including "Peace, Power, and the University" and a suggestions for local programming and organizing in the area of peace;
d. a collection of documents to fill in the gap of material on university reform.

Some of the workings of the National Council are discussed elsewhere in this Bulletin, some will come in future Bulletins. In one sense it does not seem to be a very exciting result: the traditional areas of peace, civil rights, and university reform were discussed, along with the need for organization. It is more and more clear, though, that these are the frontiers of social change in America, and that students cannot and will not exercise their proper influence toward social change until they organize themselves into a self-directed, visionary community. It is the communication of this understanding to the people assembled that was most important--and the National Council meeting will be judged a success or failure by the extent to which these urgent tasks are carried forward over the Spring.

OPEN LETTER cont.

forthcoming, chapter reports will continue to be few and fund-raising an insuperable problem. A "movement" means local activity, and only the membership can build a movement.

THE NATIONAL STAFF

"Even to maintain the misery of Asia today at a constant level will require a rate of growth tripling the national income and the aggregate production in Asian countries by the end of the century. For Asians to have the (unacceptable) '50 standard of Europeans, less than $2000 per year for a family, national production must increase 21-fold by the end of the century, and that monstrous feat only to reach a level that Europeans find intolerable." --from the PHS

Nina Folshin reports from the BRANDEIS U. chapter (Waltham, Mass.) a number of activities. Besides the forthcoming University Reform conference being sponsored by the chapter on March 1-3 (see p. 5 story), SDS members are active in local disputes over NDEA and the campus newspaper, and plan to publish a Newsletter.

Though lack of an available mimeo machine thwarted plans to publish the first issue of "University Liberal Thought and Action" in early January, that problem has been solved and the Newsletter's prospects are bright. An all-campus referendum on participation in the revised NDEA is planned for the first post-intersession week. The chapter plans to get out a statement prior to the vote and are considering a debate between the Brandeis debate team and SDS Vice-President Paul Booth. An editorial on NDEA which could not appear in the proposed Newsletter was reprinted in the Justice (the campus paper).

Long-standing hostility between the school administration and the editorial staff of the Justice has resulted in the possibility of the college's withdrawing its support for the Justice, thereby causing its demise. The proposed administration solution--a Publications Board of primarily faculty membership whose function it would be to keep a week-to-week eye on the Justice's operations--is considered unsatisfactory by the students. An SDS-suggested compromise is being discussed now; both administration and Justice staff seem receptive. More news of developments in the next Bulletin.

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At GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE (Atlanta), there are problems of administrative arbitrariness. Dayton Pruitt was told by the Dean of Men that there is a college rule prohibiting a campus group from affiliating with a national organization until one year after its formation on campus. No one else around the school, including the Student Activities Committee members, has heard of this regulation; aside from this, there appears to be no trouble, as Student Council approval seems assured. Plans for the first quarter are to concentrate mostly on the issue of student and faculty freedoms in the college.

From SWARTHMORE C., Paul Booth reports:

"As of now, we plan to set up an extra-curriculum of three seminars for the coming semester. It would include an American Society Seminar, a peace course, and a seminar on Student Affairs in co-operation with the NSA Committee and involving Bryn Mawr and Haverford /sister small Quaker schools/ people." (Last minute word is that SDSers are signing students up for SDS I, SDS II, and SDS III seminars at Spring registration.)

"We are also in the talking stages with County SANE people about peace politics. A joint meeting of all County peace groups will be held in March, at which I will give a presentation on peace politics.

"We are also discussing the possibility of stronger organic connections with the Swarthmore Political Action Club, a large group concentrating its efforts this year in Chester, a neighboring city, with a Negro Tutorial program and some direct action."

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From NORTH TEXAS STATE C. (Denton), Bill Jamison reports that the chapter is having trouble becoming an official school club; "the administration, which completely controls decisions of this nature, is opposed to anything on the left of Goldwater.." SDS members there have been active in the officially recognized Political Economy Club, hoping thereby to introduce controversial subjects and viewpoints. They plan to be active contributors also to A Priori, a small literary journal.

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"The FDR FOUR FREEDOMS CLUB, New York City SDS Associate, is holding a fund-raising drive for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee on the lower east side of Manhattan during the month of February. Participants will invade the housing projects in these areas in groups of four per building, ringing doorbells and collecting money for SNCC. The group is using as its headquarters for the drive a local Reform Democratic clubhouse. Many other groups are participating in the drive including Reform Democratic youth groups, NSA committees, and various independent campus groups. The drive will begin on February 10."

by Danny Millstone

(more chapter news on page 4)

At HUNTER COLLEGE (Bronx Division) in NYC, the SDS chapter expects formal school recognition at the beginning of the semester, reports Mark Scher. Formal programming has been hampered by the lack of such recognition, though recruitment efforts have been quite successful over the Fall semester. Proposed for the coming semester are selective patronage efforts, weekly discussion of the Port Huron Statement, and a newsletter to the student body (the only political publications extant are the campus paper and an occasional YAF sheet). Also, SDS members will be involved in the planning of a proposed right-left debate over HUAC (to be sponsored by YAF and the campus civil liberties group), which will include showings of "Operation Abolition" and "Operation Correction", and a debate between outside speakers.

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NSA REFORM PLAN AIRED

In a draft outline which has considered extensively by the NSA NEC over Christmas, SDS NEC member Al Haber (U. of Michigan) has suggested problems and principles for reform of the National Student Association. The outline is summarized briefly here; copies may be obtained from Al at 510 E. William, Ann Arbor, Mich. In the next Bulletin, we expect a story indicating the reaction of the NSA NEC to the proposals.

The main thrust of the problems and reforms discussed centers around: (1) the relative lack of substantive political discussion of many of the issues dealt with by NSA; (2) the considerable lack of participation on the part of member schools and their delegates to the National Student Congress; and (3) the overabundance of resolutions at the NSC and the resultant diffusion of energies and lack of focus.

The suggested reforms include: (1) the instututionalization of ideologically oriented caucuses (liberal and conservative or radical, liberal, moderate, and conservative) at the NSC and provision that they meet daily to develop partisan arguments on issues and priorities and that candidates for major NSA offices debate before them; (2) the setting up of a Resolutions Committee (to be elected by the NSA NEC) whose specific function would be to gather proposed resolutions and to solicit counter-resolutions and arguments for all sides; members of each caucus would be ex officio on the Resolutions Comm.; (3) the replacement of outside speakers at the NSC by student debates on issues; (4) distribution well in advance of the NSC of a resolutions booklet containing resolutions and counter-resolutions proposed for the NSC and background material prepared by the NSA National Office and by interested schools and individuals; (5) the institutionalization of NSA responsiveness to member schools and their student governments, including encouraging them to prepare materials on resolutions suggested by them and to suggest topics and resource personnel for the NSC; (6) cutting the number of resolutions to be considered by the NSC to ten (2 from each of the five standing committees, which would have the responsibility of holding seminars on the various proposed resolutions and of weeding out all but two), thus pinpointing issues and encouraging individuals and student governments to involve themselves more in issues of concern to them; (7) discontinuation of the referral of policy questions to the post-NSA NEC meeting; that body would be mandated only to consider questions of program and administration; (8) giving to the officers the perogative to speak for the Association within the scope of the Basic Policy Declarations.

While discussing proposed reforms of the NSA, it is interesting to note a CPS release of December 14, 1962, noting a Daily Californian (U of Cal-Berkeley) editorial calling for making the compulsory campus-wide election of all NSC delegates a criterion for membership in NSA. Many schools' delegates are now selected by appointment by the student government. The editorial argued that inasmuch as the NSA was perceived as speaking for "the American student", it should be more directly responsive to its constituents' wishes. (It should be noted that the Haber proposals would facilitate such a procedure by getting the issues out to student governments--and assumedly thereby to the student bodies--as well in advance of the NSC as possible, and through greater responsiveness to students, creating greater involvement in NSA's workings.)

CUBA DEMONSTRATION IN ATLANTA

Although the following story was received from Atlanta prior to the publication of the last Membership Bulletin, it was not included then due to an oversight. Because of the importance of the Atlanta,demonstrations, we are including the story now.

"Demonstrations against Kennedy's position on Cuba were held in Atlanta the Thursday and Friday following his Monday television announcement of the blockade. Because Atlanta's only "peace" organization, the Peace Council, is not action-oriented, the demonstrations were spontaneously planned and publicized by several individuals who shared the same point of view on the crisis. This was an inspiring aspect of the demonstrations, for no one would have predicted such a response in a city which has heard almost nothing about peace issues.

"Numerically the group was quite small--about 30 the first day, 20 the second--not worth mentioning in comparison with Washington, New York, and other places. However, this small number was quite significant from another perspective, in that they were the first demonstration for peace in the Deep South, an area considered more militaristic by nature than the North and without the tempering influence of newspapers with a moderate or liberal position on Cuba.

"The demonstrations received enormous publicity. Representatives from the NY Times (Claude Sitton), UPI, AP, Newsweek, TV stations, radiostations, and the local papers covered the peace picketing, as well as the two separate counter-pickets--one initiated by the National States Rights Party (affiliated with the American Nazi Party) and one started by students from Georgia State C. The demonstrations were also well covered by the city police and plainclothesmen from the FBI and Georgia Bureau of Investigation, who questioned and took pictures of each person in the anti-blockade line, though not the others. This served as a restraining factor upon people who otherwise would have joined the group.

"The angle taken by the local press was that the peace demonstration was composed primarily of members of the civil rights movement. (In fact, it was about 1/3 or 1/2.) Moreover, the papers singled out one girl and tried to associate her with the Communist Party, thereby implicating the demonstration for peace as well as the civil rights groups represented there. An editorial written by Atlanta Constitution Editor Eugene Patterson criticized three professors who took part, two of whom had written a "letter to the editor' which was printed on the handbill used at the demonstration."

UNIVERSITY REFORM CONFERENCE PLANS

Plans are going well for the conference on University Reform announced in the last Membership Bulletin. It will be held the weekend of March 1-3 at Brandeis University, and over 100 students from New England and the Middle Atlantic area are expected to attend.

Aimed at exploring the present nature of the university and the necessary revisions and reforms necessary in order for that institution to play a socially responsible role in the society, the conference key-note address will be given by Paul Goodman, author of Growing Up Absurd, Community of Scholars, and many other works. Other speakers include SDS President Tom Hayden, NEC member Bob Ross, Brandeis U. Dean Milton Sachs, and local faculty members.

For information on the conference before its formal announcement, contact: Ann Cooper, 561 South St., Waltham,Mass.

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THE COLLEGIATE PRESS SERVICE

Membership Bulletin readers will notice a number of stories credited to "CPS". This stands for the Collegiate Press Service, which was set up last Fall as a news service for campus newspapers. Owned and sponsored by the newspapers themselves--at present about 100 papers belong--it came into being under the auspices of the NSA though it is organizationally separate. It gathers news of student interest and activity from around the country and transmits it to member papers and groups. Your campus newspaper should be participating; for more information write: Mark Acuff, CPS, 3457 Chestnut St., Phila. 4, Pa. (Bad writing, by the way, in CPS stories in the Bulletin is due to our editing, not to Mark's original releases; don't blame him.)

BOB ZELLNER HARASSED

Those who know of civil rights activities in the South know that Bob Zellner, SDS NEC member and SNCC staff member, has become rather notorious among the forces for the status quo. As a Southern white person working in the most militant force for change in the South, he has become particularly conspicuous and has undergone regular harassment. The story below, sent to us on January 31 from the South, tells something of the latest troubles--and incidentally something of the South:

A serious situation has arisen in Alabama, and we need your help. Bob Zellner has been harassed to the point where state agents created a state of terror at the funeral of his grandmother last weekend.

His grandmother was Mrs. J.J. Hardy of Mobile, Ala., widow of a Methodist minister who served many churches throughout Alabama. Bob's father is the Rev. James Zellner, who has also pastored a number of Methodist churches in Alabama and Florida.

Bob has been arrested several times because of his activities, once on a charge of criminal anarchy in Louisiana. He was arrested again Jan. 8 as he walked with some students on the campus of his alma mater, Huntingdon College in Montgomery, Ala. This time the charge was vagrancy, for which he was sentenced to 60 days in jail. He was freed under bond pending appeal.

Just before he was arrested, Bob had given a pawnbroker a check for $85 for a camera he wanted to use in his work. He issued the check with the understanding that money to cover it had been deposited in his account in Atlanta. Through a clerical slip, the deposit was not made on schedule.

When the pawnbroker read of Zellner's arrest for vagrancy, he called the bank and was told there was not enough money in Bob's account to cover the check. Police then filed a charge of false pretense against Bob, although money to cover the check was deposited in the Atlanta bank within three hours after the pawnbroker made his complaint. If the pawnbroker had sent the check to the bank in the normal manner, the money would have been there when it reached Atlanta. State authorities plan to present the false pretense charge to the county grand jury in Montgomery on Feb. 12. The charge carries a possible 10-year sentence.

"After Bob was released on bond, five men in automobiles and on foot followed him wherever he went in Montgomery, including to the home of his lawyer. They trailed him when he went to Mobile, where his grandmother was near death.

"Mrs. Hardy died last week and relatives gathered at the home of one of Bob's aunts in Mobile to pay their last respects. The agents trailing Bob set up a watch outside his home. It was learned by checking car licenses and credentials that they were from the office of Al Lingo, the new State Safety Director in Alabama.

"The presence of the agents caused so much distress among Mrs. Hardy's relatives that a state of terror resulted. Bob and his father made a personal appeal to the men to go away. Bob's mother, Mrs. Ruby H. Zellner, wrote a personal note to the agents in which she said:

"'My mother was the widow of a Methodist minister. Both my mother and father were known and loved in many communities throughout Alabama. I am asking that this desecration of their memory be stopped at once.'

"The pleas were ignored. Instead, the agents followed when Mrs. Hardy's body was removed to Loxley, Ala., for the wake. They hung around the funeral home, followed the family to church on Sunday morning, and then trailed the funeral procession on Sunday afternoon, January 27.

"Bob's father made a new appeal to the agents to leave them in peace--but again the plea was ignored. Instead, after the funeral, the agents followed Bob and his father across the state line into Florida. They did not leave until the Zellners reached Panama City, about 100 miles inside Florida.

"Officials of SNCC and the Southern Conference Educational Fund have protested to various public officials about the harassment of Bob Zellner, which obviously results from his work for equal rights for all people. We ask you to add your voice to the protest by wiring, writing, or calling one or all of the following:

"1. Maury Smith, Assistant Circuit Solicitor, Montgomery, Ala., regarding the charges against Bob.

(continued bottom page 7)

(CPS): During the Fall semester, the question of discrimination in fraternities and sororities came up a number of times at various colleges and universities. What follow are brief accounts of some of the cases which have come to our attention.

The Stanford U. chapter of Sigma Nu voted unanimously to go local over the issue of discrimination in the national. President Thomas Grey of the local said the action came because the national convention of Sigma Nu last summer failed to respond to the Stanford chapter's request to eliminate the bias clause against Negroes and Orientals. Grey said the action was a matter of principle, not a result of a desire to pledge a particular individual. University President J.E. Wallace Sterling, citing a resolution passed by the Stanford trustees committing the University to "work actively" with student groups attempting to end discrimination and bias clauses, issued a statement supporting the chapter's decision.

At Brown U. also the Sigma Nu chapter is considering the possibility of withdrawing from the national because of discriminatory clauses in the national constitution. The Brown local attempted to have the constitution changed at last summer's convention.

The Swarthmore chapter of Kappa Sigma was suspended from the national in early November for "attempting to involve other chapters in organizing to defy the national's basic principles, and failure to maintain standards of scholarship" (according to the national). The local attributed the suspension to its recent efforts "to change the unwritten discriminatory policy of the national", which involved soliciting support from other chapters for removal of the "gentlemen's agreement" barring non-whites from membership. At a regional conclave, the national's treasurer is reported to have said t that Jewish members were"frowned upon" and "any chapter which bid a Negro would be expelled". (Another chapter had been expelled previously for pledging an Oriental.) The Swarthmore local has since decided not to attempt to gain readmission to the national.

At the U. of Wisconsin, faculty members passed a resolution requiring that all fraternities and sororities on campus demonstrate autonomy from nationals (in matters of race, national origin, and creed) in selecting members. The resolution grew out of a controversy over discrimination in Greek groups on campus. Specifically, the Delta Gamma sorority has come under fire as a result of the national's alleged policy of discrimination. (Last year the Beloit /Wis/ C. chapter was suspended after pledging a Negro, allegedly for ten different infractions of national rules.) However, the DG local claims autonomy and says it is working to improve the national in this regard; and the faculty has postponed the institution of a measure banning them from the campus. Also coming under scrutiny due to national policy has been the Kappa Sigma local (see preceding paragraph). And at the U. of Minnesota, the Delta Gamma local has also been investigated.

Iowa State U. has asked three unidentified national fraternities to remove discriminatory clauses from the constitutions of the local chapters. The Dean of Student Affairs said that the three were the only ones with such clauses at I.S.U.

The Intrafraternity Council of Union College of Schenectady, N.Y., has adopted a resolution offered by Phi Delta Theta recommending that the school prohibit further initiations by social groups with written discrimination clauses, after December 1964. Phi Delta Theta is the only group on campus with such a clause.

(ZELLNER, cont.)

"2. Richmond Flowers, Attorney General of Alabama, Montgomery, Ala.; Gov. George C. Wallace, Montgomery; and Al Lingo, Director of Public Safety, Montgomery, regarding the charges and the harassments by state agents.

"3. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy and the US Commission of Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., about the arrest and harassment. Stress that state agents followed the Zellners across state lines, putting the case within federal jurisdiction."

BOWDOIN POLITICAL ISSUES COMM: A REPORT

Dick Hathaway, faculty co-ch, SDS member

The Bowdoin Political Issues Committee, whose primary purpose was to inject a political hypodermic needle into a partly comatose campus community, was established in March 1962. Including both faculty and students, it was very much an ad hoc entity which attempted to meet the specific needs of a men's school of 900 students and faculty. The campus had not, during the previous decade, demonstrated any notable sympathy for the peace and social justice concerns which are at least more evident, if not dominant, at such institutions as Oberlin, Swarthmore, Antioch, Earlham, and Reed. The school has prided itself on being a happy amalgam of both "conservative" and "dynamic" ingredients. But the upshot in terms of atmosphere and intellectual climate has sometimes seemed that of genteel apathy and cosmopolitan privatism than that of any vigorous political ideology whatever.

The structure of BPIC, which is formally non-partisan and open-ended in membership and whose budget is drawn from the student activities fee, comprises several levels of personnel and activities. The Executive Comm. has six co-chairmen (3 students, 3 faculty) and two other student officers. Some twenty to thirty participants attend most of the BPIC-sponsored events--notably the bi-weekly seminar/discussions which probe such themes as "The Power Elite Reconsidered" and "Unilateral Initiatives and Disarmament". In addition, there are perhaps 200 students who might attend back-to-back showings of "Operation Abolition" and ACLU's "Operation Correction", or receive literature on the politics of peace. One of BPIC's major projects is the annual BPIC Commentary, a magazine addressed to all who wish to participate in reasoned discussion and debate over the major issues of our decade--the questions of war and peace, the nature and goals of government and its proper relation to the citizens, the problems of revitalizing the democratic ideology and process, etc.--and open to all.

Thus, the focus of BPIC has been to abandon the spectator-oriented activities of traditional campus "political forums", or the intermittent, election-oriented framework of the Young Democrats and Young GOP groups. Instead, the committee has formulated a series of participatory, action-oriented programs which will enable the alert and the concerned to "grab hold" at a point where it makes sense to him.

While scarcely the most numerous or most opulent campus organization, and still dependent upon a tiny group of activists, BPIC has added another dimension to the process of discovery at Bowdoin. It hopes to continue stimulating "perpetual insurrection" against the corruptions and inadequacies of contemporary society. It hopes to mobilize a sense of urgency and to focus upon the vital rather than those ephemeral issues too often dominant in a private, distracted undergraduate world. For if the intellectuals are not the actual agency of change, they are at least a crucial element among the preparators. Groups such as BPIC can confront the inarticulate student feelings of anxiety and discomfort over the status quo, and assist in the transformation of these vague perceptions into a matured and persuasive critique of their imperfect world. Should this emergent critique prove relevant, then the very validity of its message could achieve that momentous response which awaits "an idea whose time has come".

SDS TO PRODUCE VOTER REGISTRATION PAMPHLET

One of the most important "events" taking place in the South is the extensive voter registration activity of the past two years, especially student activity. Yet nothing has been written on this which highlights the students' role and is readily available to students. SDS will attempt to fill this vacuum with the publication, hopefully by the beginning of March, of a pamphlet on Voter Registration and the Student's Role. It will be a series of essays and reports by SDS members and others directed toward stimulating interest and participation in the voter registration drive. About 36 pages in length and photo-offset, the pamphlet will sell for 25¢ per copy, or $20 per 100. On the next page you will find the pamphlet's content outline.

The pamphlet should be distributed as widely as possible this Spring, both for educational purposes and in order to help efforts in the South this summer. Let us hear from you with orders (and advance payments) for single copies or bulk orders to sell on campus.

CONTENT OUTLINE: SDS PAMPHLET

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH: THE STUDENT'S ROLE

Edited by Sandra Hayden

I. INTRODUCTION TO A PROBLEM

Timothy Jenkins places the problem of political change in the South in the context of the international revolution of rising expectations and the pervasiveness of racism in American life.

II. A POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Thomas Hayden discusses the shift of the civil rights movement in the South to voter registration as a method of achieving basic change; the problems faced, the conservative coalition in Congress as a block to social legislation, the possible effects nationally and regionally of increased Negro registration.

III. FACTORS INFLUENCING REGISTRATION

A summary of a study by James Prothro and Donald Mathews of the University of North Carolina on the relative influence of socio-economic and political factors in determining the number of Negroes registered.

IV. CONCLUSIONS OF THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

A summary of the findings of the Commission on problems of registrants in the Deep South states and legal progress to date.

V. TWO SOUTHWIDE EFFORTS

Jack Minnis, Research Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, and Andrew Young, Director of the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference discuss these two projects as stimulants for grass-roots activity.

VI. CASE STUDIES IN STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

L. Raleigh, N.C.: What Can Be Done, by Dorothy Dawson
2. Baltimore, Maryland: Lessons Learned, by Kimberly Moody
3. Mississippi: A Report, by Robert Moses
4. Jackson, Tennessee: A Summary, by Richard Ramsey
5. Albany, Georgia: What Happened Here, by Charles Sherrod

Each of the studies analyses how the group was organized, composition of the group, significant aspects of the project, problems encountered, future needs.

6. The South: Why Act?
A Story About a Lady, by Robert Moses
Letter to a Northern Friend, by Jack Chatfield
Two vignettes on work in the Deep South

VII. IF YOU WANT TO KNOW MORE: A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

An annotated bibliography of periodicals, books, and articles, prepared by Robb Burlage

VIII. IF YOU WANT TO ACT

A list of agencies through which students can work.

IX. STATISTICS

On the South, voting and registration, and the Negro in the U.S.

SOME SUGGESTED READINGS FROM PERIODICALS

Appearing briefly in the last Membership Bulletin and more extensively in this one and in the future is a regular "column" or "feature" containing a synopsis of articles of importance and interest to SDS members. We urge you both to read the suggested articles and to let the National Office know (preferably in a form directly insertable into the Bulletin) about any articles you have come across which you feel other SDSers should know about. If a bias toward international affairs and peace concerns is noticed and an insufficient breadth of reading is criticized, it is because one person did most of the preparation for this month's column. It is thus doubly important that many people write in with suggested readings.

Also, this is a good time to remind SDS members that any Discussion Bulletin articles of less than one page in length go automatically into the Membership Bulletin, and that longer articles either go into a separate Discussion Bulletin or are also included in the Bulletin, depending on the amount of such material available.

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CUBA AND THE CRISIS: Two recent visitors to Cuba, upon returning, report that material conditions are quite good (certainly better than elsewhere in Latin America) and that Fidel Castro still retains very substantial support from the Cuban people. I.F. Stone, in his Weeklys of Jan. 7, 14, and 21, reports on his Christmastime trip to Cuba. Though unhappy about the government's complete control of all sources of information and propaganda, he clearly feels that the Revolution has not ossified and is still free-wheeling and relatively free from bureaucratization (though he does have some caustic things to say about Cuban bureaucrats)--he calls it nearly anarchist. He (assumedly approvingly) quotes a Le Monde reporter who said that "in no country have I seen such intimacy between a leader and his people", and notes approvingly that in the intra-Communist bloc Cold War, Cuba alone stands in the Third Camp. Fidel is, says IFS, clearly in political control of the regime and the Revolution--in fact, the Cuban CP is actually declining in power. Cuba, says Stone, is a "Popular Democracy, a kind of continuous town meeting under a popular dictator".

Dorothy Day's conclusions and style of work are extremely difficult to describe. I urge strongly that Bulletin readers obtain copies of the (monthly) Catholic Worker (175 Christie St., NYC 2; 5¢/issue) for the months of September through December 1962 in order to catch the flavor of her rambling and highly personal and human style. Though a Catholic pacifist, she has consistently supported the Revolution, which has become anti-clerical and which has not always been particularly gentle with its enemies. Her support for the regime clearly is based on her belief that the vast majority of Cubans have been given the opportunity to realize human dignity by the Revolution. Her four-part Pilgrimmage to Cuba presents a viewpoint and perspective found nowhere else.

Many analyses of Cuban, American, and Soviet policies and strategies have been generated by the blockade crisis of October 1962. To this reviewer the most interesting--and very possibly the most valid, especially in the light of recent developments on a test ban treaty --analysis is to be found in the December 1962 issue of Liberation (5 Beekman St, NYC 38; 40¢) in an article by Leslie Dewart entitled "The Prospects for Peace". Dewart's basic thesis is that the U.S. response to the never concealed emplacement of missiles in Cuba was precisely the response which the Kremlin anticipated and desired, and the result of the crisis--which, due to Soviet calculations, never really had us on the brink of war--were those desired by Khrushchev et al. These results included two of especial import: a considerable loosening of American inflexibility on Cuba itself (he quotes Stevenson's Oct. 23 UN statement that the U.S. was unconcerned with Cuba's socialist and dictatorial system as long as it did not present an offensive nuclear threat to the Western Hemisphere--at least, one might add editorially, for the time being), and greater U.S. willingness to negotiate differences in negotiable areas such as a test ban treaty.

A series of nine articles on Cuba and the crisis is to be found in New Politics of Fall 1962 (vol. 2, #1). The

views range from opposition to support of the blockade and of the Cuban regime. The contributors include Norman Thomas, Victor Alba, Hal Draper, Robert H. Alexander, Boris Goldenberg, Dave Dellinger (an especially good article), Roy Finch, Samuel Shapiro, and Antonio de la Carrera. (N.P., 507 5 Ave, NYC 17; 90¢)

PEACE CAMPAIGNS: '62: Council of Correspondence Editor Roger Hagan, in an article entitled "Peace at the Polls: '62 Lessons for '64" in The Nation of Feb. 2, 1963 (333 6 Ave, NYC 14; 25¢), contrasts peace-concerned people working in electoral campaigns in '62 with the "old" peace movement. The former, he says, are mostly liberals alienated from the Kennedy administration only by its unwillingness to stop the drift of militarism. They are quite "moderate", they support the ACDA and studies on the economics of disarmament but feel that a minimum deterrence force is necessary, for now at least. They are not inured to constant defeat and long struggle, as are the "old" peace movement. In this context, the already extremely sticky question of how "radical" to be in opposing the Kennedy administration's foreign and military policies becomes even more difficult. Hagan's article devotes itself primarily to a discussion of this problem and how various peace candidates reacted to it.

Pete Irons, Ed Knappman, and Dawn Lander of the Washington Office of the Student Peace Union, have compiled a factual study of the campaigns of 35 peace candidates, based on experience in some campaigns, campaign literature, and responses to a questionnaire on candidates' stands on some specific issues. The document, which also contains information on organizations working in or created by campaigns, will be enlarged in a future edition. (SPU, Box 3031, Washington 10, D.C.; 25¢)

ILGWU/NAACP DISPUTE: Over the past months there has been debate and friction between two natural allies--the civil rights and labor movements--over the question of discrimination within the labor unions themselves. The debate particularly rages over the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; in the last two issues of New Politics (Fall and Winter; 507 5 Ave, NYC 17; 90¢) readers can peruse the first parts of the dispute over that union. The Fall issue includes testimony to a government investigation committee by NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill; the Winter issue the reply by Gus Tyler of the ILG and some correspondence in response to the Hill article. Coming in the future are further replies by Hill, Tyler, and undoubtedly others.

INDIA/CHINA: As ever, I.F. Stone sheds some light on the Sino-Indian border dispute; his articles in the Dec. 3 and 10 Weeklys provide, in his words, "an antidote to the exaggerations in the American press", as well as some good background material.

In New America (the weekly organ of the Socialist Party) of Jan. 15, 1963, is a debate between Mike Harrington and Hal Draper on the India-China dispute. Harrington favors the extension of all possible aid to India (including military aid), as does a statement of the SP's National Council, on the grounds of helping a democratic (though not socialist) India against a totalitarian China bent upon destroying India, economically and militarily and thereby removing a competitor. Harrington's article, in fact, is a polemic against China. Draper, on the other hand, views the conflict as a border dispute over control of (a) territory and (b) peoples neither Indian nor Chinese ethnically, and advises against sending military aid and thereby exacerbating the conflict. (Room 402, 1182 Broadway, NYC 1; 15¢)

AMERICAN NUCLEAR POLICY: A factual and analytical article of great importance is to be found in the October 1962 issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists --Michael Brower's "Nuclear Strategy of the Kennedy Administration". Relying on primary source materials (speeches and military data), Brower reveals a considerable degree of contradiction between Kennedy Administration statements and what one could logically infer from actual present and proposed military strength levels. This is a must. (935 E. 60, Chicago 37; 75¢)

CIVIL DEFENSE: Not among those who believe that C.D. is pretty much dead is Dawn Lander of the Washington Office of the SPU. After attending Congressional hearings on civil defense last spring, and noting the government-inspired "sec-

ond rise of the shelter fable" during the Cuban crisis, she has written "Civil Defense--Le Grand Illusion" in the Southern Atlantic Region SPU Newsletter of early January 1963 (vol. II, #8). The author notes the relationship of CD to the counterforce military doctrine (McNamara considers it an integral part thereof), discusses many of the illusory aspects of civil defense, notes how the instigation of a really potentially effective fallout shelter would be both expensive (c. $275 billion to protect 120 million) and provocative, and includes a brief bibliography. We have not, she feels, seen the end of civil defense. (SPU, Box 3031, Washington 10, D.C.; 5¢)

A DEBATE ON GENERAL COLD WAR ISSUES:

A very interesting debate will be found in the November 1962 issues of The Minority of One (B ox 544, Passaic, N.J.;35¢) between Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League and TMO Editor M.S. Arnoni. In "Dissenting from Dissenters", McReynolds accuses TMO of seeing the world in blacks and whites rather than in greys (more specifically of being at best pro-Soviet and at worst Soviet-apologist), of advocating too broad a peace movement (i.e. including Communists) while at the same time attacking much of what is considered the "respectable" peace movement (e.g. SANE, TTP, Norman Thomas, et al), and of violating the George Orwell dictum which appears in every TMO ("there was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world you were not mad") by not printing anti-Soviet truths. Arnoni, in his reply, entitled "When Dissenters Conform", answers McReynolds's substantive political points (of which there are quite a few; the debate encompasses a range of Cold War issues) tellingly but at times is too extreme in drawing illogical and tenuous analogies between McReynolds's statements and those of some unusually disagreeable fascist. Arnoni delineates his political viewpoint (that the balance of blame--to use C. Wright Mills's phrase--lies to a very great extent with the U.S.); states why he favors a "broad" peace movement and goes into an extensive criticism of Homer Jack; and indicates his feeling that although he has no desire to let Soviet aberrations go unnoticed and uncommented upon, he has even less desire to give ammunition to Cold Warriors who are unconcerned with the well-being of Soviet citizens but rather desire only to use such statements for prosecuting the Cold War. ("It is one thing to tell or withhold the truth for pragmatic considerations, and another to refuse to to pour truth into a liar's mixing bowl.") This debate is most interesting, to say the least; and it brings up many, and many types of, issues very vital to the peace movement.

KENNEDYS WIELD McCARREN ACT

Recently Attorney-General Robert Kennedy requested that the Subversive Activities Control Board cite Advance Youth Organization of New York City as a Communist Front Organization under the terms of the 1950 Internal Security (McCarren) Act. The Advance hearing before the SACB will come in a couple of months. If found "guilty", it must appeal to a court to prove its innocence.

The reader will find, in the Discussion Bulletin section of this Bulletin, the text of a draft resolution which is to be voted upon by the National Council. In co-sponsorship with the Campus Americans for Democratic Action, SDS plans to circulate this statement to other student organizations for support and further co-sponsorship as a joint statement opposing both the McCarren Act itself and its application in this situation. Through the widespread use of this statement, or one drawn up by local campus activists, it will hopefully be possible to help provide the educational basis which must exist if there is to be an intelligent, articulate, and effective movement against the formal and informal denial of civil liberties.

In addition, SDS members and friends are urged to contribute critiques and additional comments on the statement and the whole civil liberties question much as occurred with the newspaper strike (see Correspondence section). Let us have your comments and send us word of your activities.

PROFESSOR FIRED FOR PRO-CUBA VIEWS

The following is reprinted from I.F. Stone's Weekly of Dec. 17, 1962.

"We urge a maximum effort to protest the action taken by Michigan State University-Oakland in dropping Samuel Shapiro as assistant professor and its senior American historian. Dr. Shapiro made himself "controversial" by articles he wrote for The New Republic and The Nation in the wake of three visits to Castro's Cuba, the first in August, 1960; the second in January, 1961 and the most recent in August 1962. Though critical of certain aspects, particularly the loss of civil liberties, Dr. Shapiro praised the constructive achievements of the revolution and opposed the U.S. policy of strangulation. The article let loose a flood of hostile publicity, and Dr. Shapiro has pending a suit for slander against a Lansing, Mich. TV commentator who called him a Communist.

"A New Yorker who went to City College and took his Ph.D. at Columbia, Dr. Shapiro has taught at Brandeis and Oberlin and was a Fulbright professor in Argentina. He will finish his third year at Michigan State in April. He has been informed that the board of trustees voted not to renew his contract. As usual in such cases, the university sought to create the impression that they were acting only because Dr. Shapiro was not meeting academic standards, that he was getting too interested in journalism, was not producing scholarly work, etc. They also complained that he was spending too much time on Latin American affairs and Cuba, as if these were somehow too distant from U.S. history--though the problem of Cuba only a few weeks ago threatened to write our final chapter.

"On the score of scholarship, Dr. Shapiro seems to be outstanding on his campus. Since Michigan State's establishment at Oakland in 1959, the whole faculty of some 60 teachers has produced only five books. The Michigan State press published Dr. Shapiro's doctoral, a biography of Richard Henry Dana, Jr. A second book of his, "Invisible Latin America", will be published next year [1963] by Beacon Press. Only a few months ago Michigan State granted him $700 to buy microfilms for a third book, on Daniel Webster.

"Dr. Shapiro has been one of the few American scholars courageous enough to deviate from U.S. "party line" and to write sympathetically of Cuba. His dismissal will bring derisive echoes from Latin America. At home it will frighten others into silence or conformity. We urge a strong kick-back."

NEWSPAPER SUES FOR ITS FREEDOM

(CPS): In what could be an historic case, nine students at Flint Community College (Flint, Mich.), including student government officials, editors, and interested students, have filed a brief in U.S. District Court of Flint bringing suit against the Flint Board of Education for the freedom of their campus newspaper, the "College Clamor". The chairman of the Michigan region of NSA has retained the services of two lawyers to assist the students. The object of the suit, according to the students, is to ascertain whether the editorial board of the student paper or the college administration is ultimately responsible for what is printed in the paper. If the court holds with the students--that the students are responsible--the decision would have wide implications, as administrative control over the campus press is currently (formally) based on administrative responsibility for its content. We will do our best to keep up with this story.

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ONE FOURTH OF FACULTY RESIGNS IN PROTEST

(CPS): Of the 26-man faculty at Lincoln College (Lincoln, Ill.), four have already resigned over the dismissal of another professor for his anti-Cuba blockade picketing, and two more have announced pending resignations unless their picketing colleague is reinstated. The professor, Joseph Leston, was informed recently by the trustees of the private college that his contract would not be renewed because he had not exercised "appropriate restraint" in expressing his opinions. "Appropriate restraint" is one of the guidelines for academic freedom subscribed to by the American Association of University Professors. Lester, however, contended that the phrase means "staying within the law", which he did while picketing the Lincoln Post Office.

COLUMBIA U. PRESIDENT HITS REVISED NDEA

(CPS): President Grayson Kirk of Columbia (one of the first major institutions to refuse to participate in the original National Defense Education Act), has expressed disapproval of the new provisions in the revised Act. Of the new provisions, Kirk said, "There are not things we would want to settle down and live with." Though the disclaimer signing provision has been dropped from the Act, the amendments recently signed into law declare it a crime for a member of a Communist organization, as defined by the Subversive Activities Control Board, even to apply for or to use an NDEA scholarship. A number of organizations have been formed at Columbia and other New York City schools to express continued opposition to the revised NDEA.

The Columbia Spectator, student newspaper, has called the provisions "a sinister attempt to clothe reactionary measures in seemingly liberal garb". The Michigan Daily editorialized "the [new] amendments will solve nothing and will only cause further aggrevation". The North Carolina Daily Tar Heel said, "The debate essentially narrows down to the question of whether the government should set political qualifications for its scholarship aid. The eliminating of the disclaimer affidavit does little to end this debate." The Barnard Bulletin termed the revised NDEA a "wolf in sheep's clothing".

We concur.

This controversy takes on important ramifications in the light of the application of the McCarren Act to Advance Youth Organization (see story on page 12).

CLARK KERR AS JANUS

(CPS): President Clark Kerr of the University of California reaffirmed last week that he would not allow outside forces to restrict freedom of speech and inquiry at the University. Speaking to 3000 students at an outdoor meeting, Kerr said, "The right to free inquiry is an integral [illegible] of the American society. The non-conformist, as contrasted with the conspirator, today as in ages past, serves humanity, and the university is one of his havens. When freedom of thought and expression has died on a university campus, it will be dead everywhere."

NSA TO HOLD CONFERENCE ON SERVICE CORPS

The proposed Domestic Peace Corps (formally known as the National Service Corps to avoid confusion with the overseas Peace Corps) will be the subject of a national conference on March 1-3 being sponsored by the National Student Association with Federal government cooperation. (For more information on the conference, contact NSA, 3457 Chestnut St., Phila. 4, Pa.) The NSA, as it did with the foreign Peace Corps, has urged the creation of such a force.

In a letter to Jed Johnson, National Chairman of the Young Adult Council, SDS National Secretary observed: "...we are in favor of the principle of large numbers of volunteers working to alleviate some of the major social ills of our society. The government ought to support these efforts and finance them. However, in reading over the study document (prepared by the government) and judging from the way that the Peace Corps has been used, we have two reservations. The first is that it will be used politically as a support for the Democratic Party or some other local political force, much as the Peace Corps has been used as an instrument of American Foreign Policy rather than for its own sake. And the second is that the document as presented shows total avoidance of facing the real problem, i.e. the conditions that create these major social problems. Attack on the roots of the problem as well as the symptoms is absolutely necessary. Insofar as the National Service Corps treats symptoms in such a way as to avoid treating root problems, we would be opposed to it; insofar as it is supplemental to genuine attempts at other levels, we would support it."

(CPS): Four students at the University of California's Riverside campus have filed for a writ of mandamus against the Regents of the University, President Clark Kerr, and their chancellor at Riverside. The suit is a result of the banning of a Communist speaker by Chancellor Speth last year. The students base their case solely on a freedom of speech basis.

(Noted here should be the famous "Kerr directives" not to permit student governments to speak on any "off-campus" issues.)

A REPORT FROM LOUISVILLE

From Louisville, Ky., comes news of efforts to provide food and clothing for wildcat strikers in southeastern Kentucky, and copies of a new student magazine hoping to fill the "large geographical gap between Oberlin's ACTIVIST and Jackson, Miss.'s MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS."

For a full story of the bitter and violent dispute between 10,000 striking coal miners on the one hand and mine operators and the United Mine Workers on the other, we suggest you read the Jan. 17 issue of the National Guardian (197 E 4, NYC 9; 20¢) and the current issue of Common Sense (out around Feb. 10 or so). Briefly, the situation is this: In the midst of constantly worsening economic conditions in coal mining generally, brought on partly by automation, the mine owners cut back on welfare and benefit payments, undercut union contract wages, and in some cases even halted social security payments for unemployment. The UMW advised that workers continue at their jobs and then opposed the strike when it was called six months ago. The workers are in danger of having the four (UMW-owned) hospitals in the area closed down, as owners have refused to pay the 40¢/ton bonus specified in the contract which was used to keep the hospitals running. In addition, the Union has refused to honor the welfare cards of miners whose bosses have not paid the bonus. The situation has steadily deteriorated; the strikers are well-armed and well-organized, and violence threatens.

In the midst of this situation, efforts have been made at a number of places around the country to collect food and clothing for the miners and their families, and have met with considerable success: by December 24, $15,000 cash and several tons of clothing had been collected from all sources. These efforts, however, have only partially met a continuing need; further contributions are urgently needed. Food, clothing, and/or money should be sent to: Hazard Needy Fund, c/o The Hazard Herald, Hazard, Ky.

At the U. of Louisville (a quite conservative campus), SDS member Jim Williams and others have been very active in gathering material and moral support for the miners. An "Are You Having a Merry Christmas?" leaflet and other intensive efforts have gained support from campus Greek groups, professors, and religious organizations. In addition, Jim has been interviewed on WBAI (the Pacifica network subsidiary in NYC) on the strike, relief efforts, and the long-range economic implications of the affair.

The "New South Review" has published three issues thusfar. The first was devoted almost exclusively to the first of a series (the completion of which has been delayed) on "The Roots of Fascism: A Study of the Origins and Causes of State-Monopoly Capitalism" by co-editor Ed Clark (the other co-editor is Jim Williams). The second issue contained a number of documents and commentary on the Cuban crisis, including the texts of Premier Khrushchev's replies to Lord Russell and President Kennedy; statements by Women Strike for Peace, Turn Toward Peace, Gus Hall of the Communist Party, and the National Steering Committee of the Student Peace Union; and a Yevtushenkp poem, "Cuban Mother". The third issue included stories on the Hazard situation, End the Draft, aid for Mississippi voters who have suffered economic reprisal for attempting to register to vote, sympathetic reviews of Robert F. Williams's Negroes with Guns and William Appleton Williams's The United States, Cuba, and Castro; and laudatory letters (the editors say that critics apparently don't send letters). Subscriptions are $2/year (at least 9 issues); write to NSR, PO Box 8344, Station E, Louisville 8, Ky. Contributions are also solicited, both monetary and literary/political. NSR declares itself open to all opinions from the Left, and hopes that as many viewpoints as possible will contribute.

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international peace/disarmament directory is the title of a 96-page, pocket sized booklet which will be available March 1. This second edition pamphlet contains about 1400 organizational addresses as well as the titles, addresses and subscription data for more than 350 periodicals in nearly 80 countries around the world (Albania to Zanzibar). The cost will be $1.00 per copy. For information contact: Lloyd Wilkie, 327 Dayton St., Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The Activist: Notes and Prospectus

by Jon Eisen (Oberlin College Chapter, ed., The Activist)

The current issue (Winter, 1963), now at the printer, is Vol.3, No. 2, Whole Number 6. The articles, mostly introspective and interpretative, include an anonymous (uncensored) letter from a Soviet citizen, an article by Harold Taylor called "The University in a New World", one by Paul Potter on "Revolution, Dormitories and the Student Movement", and "The Devil Theory of History" by Rev. Paul Rahmeier. Other pieces include McKelvey's "Random Thoughts after Cuba", and "Life and Crisis: Thought of a Young Girl." The latter, written by a highschool student, was censored by her principal and refused publication in the school paper and History Club magazine because "it went against President Kennedy's decision on Cuba." We are printing the article in the cause of a free school press. Books reviewed are Herman Kahn's Thinking about the Unthinkable (Carey McWilliams) and Harrington's The Other America(by Richard Lempert of Oberlin). This issue (the year's second to date) will run to 32 pages and will run us further into debt.

For the Spring Issue (we exude self confidence), in the works are: Students and the Democratic Party in California by Congressman Sisk, hopefully something about the HUAC mess by Congressman Ryan, the State of the Liberal Democrats in Ohio, by David Neuberger, The Church and Social Change by Monsonis, A Critical View of Voter Registration by Gordon Carey of CORE, Comic Books and the Changing American Hero, by Jerry Berman(Berkeley), How to Deal with the FBI: A Learnor's Manual, by Walter South, plus longer stuff like Camus, Existentialism and Political Involvement by Julie Loud, and my piece on A View of Student Government. These, for the most part are indefinite. What is necessary, though, is some greater involvement on the choice and content of the material by SDS people. We invite you to submit manuscripts, critiques of present issues, and money, which leads us to the third paragraph...

Financing is achieved mostly through 1) subscriptions, 2) small donations, and 3) the private resources of the staff. We still owe upwards of $120 to the last printer and will owe more than that to the present one. Rather than fund-raising -- staying in school requires time for study et al -- we have begun to concentrate on increasing subscriptions substantially: the free mailing to SDS members and friends is one example. Lack of capital has precluded advertising in other journals (and has about precluded publishing another issue). Ideally much more could be done in the way of exchange ads, free mailing, advertising, promotional blurbs, but of the present run of 2,000, only about 250 are paid subscribers. Oberlin sales will account for another 200-300, and book stores account for another 150 or so. There will be no more free mailing to SDS people. It is imperative that you subscribe now:

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STATE POLITICS AND THE CAMPUS PRESS: A CASE HISTORY

(CPS): A combination of state and national politics, a number of debunking articles and letters in the Colorado U. student newspaper, and a boisterous reception for Senator Goldwater at the campus last spring have resulted in the firing of the campus newspaper editor and the resignation of the CU President, and may well bring more ramifications throughout the entire southwest.

The immediate crisis (which was reported briefly in last month's Bulletin) arose over the publication of an article of national political commentary by Carl Mitcham derogating, among other politicians, Senator Goldwater, calling him "a montebank, no better than a common criminal". The Senator, hearing about this and undoubtedly remembering the tough time given him last spring at a speech by Young Socialists and liberals (he charged having been insulted by socialists and "other un-American elements" then), demanded apologies from all concerned on the campus--and got them from CU President Quigg Newton and Colorado Daily editor Gary Althen, but not from Mithham, who wrote the Senator demanding that he take the issue up with the writer of the article directly. Unsatisfied with the apologies received, Senator Goldwater wrote Newton demanding Mitcham's expulsion and Althen's firing and questioning Newton's abilities as a college president.

Newton, elected CU President in 1956 by a 4-2 vote of the popularly-elected State Board of Regents and well-known (infamous to some) as a liberal and civil libertarian, answered Goldwater with, "Senator, I shall not silence them", defending students' rights to hold and advocate any non-violent political viewpoint. He was supported by the Denver Post, largest newspaper in the state, and attacked by right-wingers. In separate meetings, the student government, the Board of Student Publications, and the faculty senate all backed up Newton's stand. Mitcham then wrote a letter to the editor explaining his previous article and in it called former President Eisenhower an "old futzer"; understandably, this renewed the furor.

Apparently, it was too much. About a week later, editor Althen was called out of class by Newton and fired, "pursuant to presidential final authority". As a result, students held a spontaneous demonstration in front of the president's official residence and a number of the other members of the Daily staff resigned. The remaining staff members published an editorial (signed "staff") charging that Newton had succombed to political pressure and that it was the staff's duty to remain as "guardians of the public trust" and to carry on the paper's work, especially its critical voice: "The removal of one shall not silence us, senator".

Since then a new editor, Tom Parmeter, has been appointed by the Board of Publications; he has declared that the Daily would continue to take strong editorial stands on controversial issues, but "we will do it in better taste than before".

The issue is closely tied up not only with national politics (Sen. Goldwater needs no introduction) but especially with state politics in Colorado and also in neighboring New Mexico, where similar conditions exist. Both states' legislatures are rural-dominated and susceptible to right-wing pressures to "investigate" and otherwise pressure the respective universities, both of whose campus papers have been under liberal editorship for the past few years. It was undoubtedly such pressures which caused the ultimate outcome of the affair. The situation was exacerbated by the imminent state elections and by the fact that Colorado is one of the few states whose Boards of Regents is elected by popular vote. Thus, the "anti-Goldwater" article precipitated a state-wide political affair, as a Republican regent candidate called for an investigation of the Colorado Daily and other "subversive" elements at the University and pledged himself to work for Newton's removal. As reported above, Newton at first withstood the pressure but finally cracked. Some weeks after the firing of Althen and in the wake of right-wing election victories (including the Republican Regent candidate), Quigg Newton resigned from the presidency of the University. His role in the crisis had succeeded at best only in alienating liberals but not placating or satisfying his right-wing critics of the past six years.

Faculty members generally praised Newton's term of office, in which UC grew greatly in academic stature, but saw his resignation as a "natural consequence" of the Republican election victories.

Two post-scripts seem worth mentioning:

In a regular signed political column in the Daily Illini (the paper at the U. of Illinois), SDS member Roger Ebert had some derogatory things to say about Senator Goldwater, in relation to the UC affair and generally. He questioned whether Goldwater was true to the conservative principle of individual liberty. The Senator fired back, accusing Ebert of incompetence, lack of knowledge, and being anti-civil libertarian. Nothing more seems to be coming of this dispute.

In an interview in the Arizona State C. Lumberjack, Senator Goldwater declared himself in favor of allowing Communist speakers to speak on college campuses; only thus, he maintained, could students obtain the full story of communism.

PROFS BACK STUDENTS DEFYING SPEAKER RULES

(CPS): The Michigan State University chapter of the American Association of University Professors overwhelmingly passed a resolution urging the reinstatement of students disciplined for violation of the MSU speaker rules last month. The students, including the president of the student government and the presidents of six other campus organizations, were disciplined for refusing to co-operate with a university board designated to pass on all speakers for university appearances. The student body president refused to sit on the board, charging that it was necessarily an organ of censorship. He and the presidents of the six groups also invited speakers without clearing them through the board. A number of professors at the AAUP meeting reportedly praised the student leaders concerned for being "far ahead of us in the fight for academic freedom". The AAUP also appointed a committee to investigate the affair.

SECOND SEMESTER DUES ARE DUE! PAY NOW!

Clip and send to: Students for a Democratic Society, 112 E. 19 St., NYC 3, NY

Name .....School & Yr. .....

Mailing Address .....

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__ I wish to join (see below) and enclose ( )$1 initiation + ( )$1/semester dues.
__ I am a member. Enclosed are ( ) last semester's dues,$1 ( ) this semester's dues,$1
__ I wish to contribute to SDS: $__ enclosed; $__ pledged _____ (date).
__ Send me information on SDS and mailings for two months.
__ Send me the Port Huron Statement. (25¢ to cover costs is appreciated.)
__ Send me a literature list.
__ I am a member and need a membership card ( ) and/or a constitution ( )

* *

"Membership /in the SDS/ is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

"SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership.

--SDS Constitution, Article III, Sections 1 and 2

"...neither has our experience in the universities brought us moral enlightenment. Our professors and administrators sacrifice controversy to public relations; their curriculums change more slowly than the living events of the world; their skills and silence are purphased by investors in the arms race; passion is called unscholastic. The questions we might want raised--what is really important? can we live in a different and better way? if we wanted to change society, how would we do it? --are not thought to be questions of a "fruitful, empirical nature", and thus are brushed aside."

--from the Port Huron Statement of the SDS

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE NEWSPAPER STRIKE

This letter is from Kim Moody and Ed Shiller of the Baltimore SDS.

January 10, 1963

Dear Jim,

At this time, when the Labor Movement is undergoing a crisis in relation to its position and direction in the American social structure, it is important that its nature and its need be fully understood and supported. The right to strike under any circumstances whatsoever and against any employer whatsoever is one of the most vital necessities of the Labor Movement. This right has come under attack by some who say that striking against the national or public interest is irresponsible. As long as American society is characterized by social and economic inequity labor's first responsibility is to itself.

The New York City newspaper strike is an important manifestation of the right of labor to continually advance its position in society. Opponents of the strike, such as the Publishers' Association and even many liberals, criticize the Typographers' demands as excessive. It must be recognized, however, that labor, and only labor, has a right to determine the extent of its demands. Those who support labor in principle must support it in actuality.

We therefore urge SDS to actively support the Typographers in their strike. We propose that SDS do the following:

1) Issue a public statement in full support of the strike.
2) Establish extensive and effective liason with the Typographers' Union.
3) Offer any assistance to the strikers that may be needed. This might include picketeers, office workers, canvassers, or leafleters.
4) Encourage the strikers to set up a newspaper.
5) Publicize SDS involvement to all chapters and to whatever other organizations that might be interested.

We would appreciate replies and commentaries from all those who read this.

Kim Moody

Ed Shiller

The following is Jim Monsonis' reply to Kim Moody.

January 13, 1963

Dear Kim,

There are two issues involved in such a decision of support. The first is the right of labor to strike at any time and determine its own demands; the second is whether in this particular instance we feel that the union's demands are justified.

It seems to me that our response to the first must be unequivocal support of the union. To take union's side in a management-union dispute ought to be an automatic reflex for the radical community, quite apart from the issues involved. I myself would take such a stand, I believe that the majority of SDS would take such a stand, and that it would be good for us to do so.

The second issue is more problematic, however. I gather in reading your letter that it deals with the first point almost entirely. Was this deliberate? What is your feeling on the actual issues involved? Before SDS is prepared to make a statement on the matter of the strike we ought to think through whether such a statement should support the right of the unions to make such demands, or the demands themselves.

The member of SDS who is probably most in contact with the whole matter, Jack Newfield, editor of the West Side News, has come out in an editorial opposed to the strike and the demands. We have talked at length with Jack, some of us; and while I am no expert on the strike, the general position I would take would support him mostly.

To summarize the situation, as I see it:

1) The Typographers are asking both for an $18/week increase over two years, on top of their present base pay of $141 for a 36½-hour week; and airtight guarantees against loss of jobs by automation. The total effect of these two demands, if met, would be to put out of business all of the less well-financed papers: The Mirror, The Post, possibly The Herald Tribune, The Journal-American, The Long Island Star-Journal. Or else these would have to boost the price quite a notch. This is not just "crying wolf": these papers actually are in financial difficulty. In view of the potential loss of the Post, the left-wing here will have lost its only major public voice.

2) It seems fairly clear that a good deal of the reason for a strike--if not the major reason--is a matter of union rivalry. The Newspapermen's Guild settled for an $8 increase over two years, not too long ago, and has probably taken the lead away from the Typographers as the more militant union. There are unofficial indications that the decision to strike was made long before there was any effort to negotiate, and that the strike is a prestige one as well as--if not actually in place of--one to benefit the workers. They are sitting quite comfortably with a $4 million strike fund, and the union men are taking home $98/week per family while the strike gets settled.

3) Either of the two demands, by themselves, may be feasible; together, they will lose jobs for union men because of the loss of several newspapers. My own feeling is that they should have made a big issue of automation and left wages alone.

4) On the other hand, the newspaper publishers are no heroes either. Only four papers were struck--the News, Times, World-Telegram, and Long Island Press. The others are lock-out situations; the rationale being to keep one paper from profiting at the expense of another but more importantly by the total news black-out shifting public opinion against the strikers, and using up their striking fund in support of these printers also.

5) Outside of the newspapers themselves, the persons most hurt by the strike are the reporters, copy editors, copy boys, etc. who are in the Guild; while out of work, they are getting some $35/week in support, hardly enough to live on. Yet they have no part in the decision on when the newspapers will resume publishing. By the end of the strike the Guild will be financially in very bad shape.

Jimmy Wechsler summed it up the other day: "there are no heroes on either side." And I understand Murray Kempton, who is not the most conservative guy around, has a long article in the New Republic blasting the union, but I haven't read it.

So I am left personally in the position of supporting totally the right of the union to strike, opposing totally any imposed arbitration or legislation through Congress (which I hear is in the offing), but not supporting the union demands. On the other hand, support of unionism means that I would not want to declare my disagreement publicly.

The involvement of SDS in the strike is primarily a New York affair, of course, and since there is no formal organization here other than the National Administrative Committee, I am going to raise the issue with that body. Frankly, there isn't much else we can do except publish a statement. Token picketing is in progress and no help is needed there; the union is affluent, needs no more volunteer help than it already has; it has a newspaper for its members but has decided that it does not want to take its case to the larger public; and I am not clear on what extended relations would mean or consist of.

Sincerely yours,
Jim

Reply from Kim and Ed.

January 16, 1963

Dear Jim,

We are aware of Jack Newfield's position on the strike. It was, in fact, our knowledge of this that prompted us to send such a letter. That radicals cousd be found in the position of opposing labor was of great concern to us. Like yourself we believe that, "To take the union's side in a management-union dispute ought to be an automatic reflex for the radical community, quite apart from the issues involved." Furthermore, we do not believe that this reflex is irrational but based upon the fact that the progress we desire is dependent upon the labor movement and the direction of its activities. As you are doubtless aware, the NYC newspaper strike is not taking place in a vacuum, but in the midst of a national strike wave of considerable intensity. It is in the context of this national struggle that we view the NYC strike. We see this as the first in a long series of labor crises that will lead to the long awaited liberalization and politicization of the labor movement. Certainly the predicted recession in 1963 will deepen this labor crisis--unless the tax-cut actually alleviates the situation, which we doubt. It is just at such times that labor is most open to help and cooperation from students and radicals in general. Let us not cut ourselves off before that time comes. Though the demonstration by 5,000 workers in Times Square would indicate that the Typographers are not as isolated as we had thought, their isolation is enough to that this would be an excellent time to establish contact.

Before we deal with the five issues that you have outlined, we should like to make a distinction that seems to us important. Opposition and support with criticism are two different things. One criticizes the Trade Union movement for its beaurocratic structure and its conservative leadership; one does not oppose it or suggest its disolution. SDS criticizes the red-baiting of the YPSL, but does not suggest destroying the YPSL as an organization--we are in fact fraternal groups. At the same time, one may say of a union that its demands are mis-oriented, but one does not oppose its strike. If you defend labor's right to strike it is rather contradictory to oppose a strike when it comes--especially because these days this means supporting the right of the government to stop that strike.

1) Granted that $159 a week seems like a lot - $8,168 a year if they work full time. Nevertheless, who are we to say that he can't have the living of a begining advertizing copy writer. Isn't social equality our goal? Once again we would say that "labor, and only labor has the right to determine the extent of its demands." We certainly wouldn't give that right to management. We hardly need to dwell on the necessity and relevance of anti-automation clauses. The fact that labor's demands threaten to put certain to the papers out of business only points up what radicals have always maintained: that the interests of labor and the corporation, whatever form that corporation may take, are basically opposed. If this actually happened, it would further demonstrate the inherent paradoxes of our economy. It might help regain for labor its lost sense of power, which is one of the things that maintains a conservative leadership. As for the Post, we are reminded of the situation that the publisher of the socialist Appeal to Reason (popular in the western states before WWI) found himself in. This "unqualified" defender of labor found that his printers wanted a union. He refused, they struck. He held out for some time until Gene Debs reminded him that he was a socialist; then, of course, he granted the workers the right to organize. Jimmy Wechsler, of course, is not a socialist, nor does he pose as a defender of labor; nonetheless, you will be more likely to find him at the pub-

lishers association than at strike headquarters. Poor Jimmy is on the wrong side, even if his stance is not a heroic one. As for Murray Kempton, we would simply suggest that he is out of touch or to be less kind, that he will miss his column in the Post and the salary connected with it--even though it may have been less than the printers will make. That may sound crass, but it should be realized that these are the times that divide the radicals from the well-wishers.

2) We are sure that at least part of the motivation of the Typographers' strike is competition. It is unfortunate that unions are forced to compete and we would recommend deep reforms in the structure of the American Trade Union movement, but this is not the issue at this time. In this particular case, we see the competition as healthy, since it is well known that the AFL-CIO Printers' Guild in NYC has for a long time been signing "Honeymoon" contracts with the publishers. It is important to keep in mind another of the demands that the strikers are making: to get the publishers' agreement to having both the Guild and Typographers' contracts signed at the same time. This demand is an attempt to eliminate both the "Honeymoon" contracts signed by the Guild and the company, not the Typographers. We believe that it is natural for a more militant union to compete with its weak sister in the interests of the workers.

3) We would agree with your criticism of the union's not placing the issue of automation in the foreground, but we do not see this as grounds for opposing the strike.

4) Of course. Are we to assume from the fact that the Post was not originally struck that it has locked-out its printers, or is it still being printed? If it is anti-labor enough to lock-out its workers, one can hardly admire the depth of its liberalism.

5) We deplore the situation of the reporters, copy-boys, etc., but again we see this as a result of economic and structural paradoxes. Are the printers never to strike because others will be hurt, and visa-versa, are the reporters never to strike because the printers would be hurt? This paradox is quite insoluble and cannot be the criterion for not striking.

Before I go on, I would just like to point out that the newspaper strikers in Cleveland have begun to publish a newspaper for city-wide distribution--40,000 a day, at 10¢ a copy. We view this as a bold and somewhat important step for labor to take.

While we wrote to the NO with the intention of involving them in the strike, and this intention has not changed, there was another reason for so doing. When we heard about Jack Newfield's position we were, as mentioned above, concerned. were not only concerned that Newfield and other liberals took this position, but afraid that the NO might do the same. For us this is not a question of personalities in the NO, but rather of the general atmosphere of NYC radical politics. We feel that a strong labor orientation is the basis of any radical program. In the new left jargon that means that we accept what C. Wright Mills called the "labor metaphysic." We will leave our reasons for accepting this until a later date. We also believe, hence our connection with SDS, that the student has a role in progress. This role is, of course, educational. At this time, our educational role, in relation to labor, is largely one of example. Trade unionists do not read us, but they do read about us. For this reason it is important that they know that the radical movement stands with them. If they do not know this they will hardly be inclined to join with us or follow us in our struggle for a better society. The radical movement of the 30's was able to lead, or mislead depending on how you view it, the labor movement because it gained its trust. It gained the trust of labor by demonstrating its unqualified support of that

movement. Whatever that particular group of radicals did that was wrong, the fact remains that they did build the CIO. If we are to build a new political movement with labor, we too must win their trust. Is there really even a choice between the trust of labor and an occasional editorial in the Post? Labor today, no matter how friendly to LID, does not know what to make of the student movement. The hospital strike was a good first step toward clearing up their impression of us; the newspaper strike could be another such step.

This letter, like the first one, expresses the opinion of only we two. We have had no opportunity to speak to the others as a result of term papers and exams. We really can't say what the reaction to the strike is.

Fraternally,

Kim Moody
Ed Shiller

The following is further comment on the Newspaper Strike in New York as seen by Mike Vozick of Berkeley.

January 21, 1963

Dear Jim,

The Baltimore correspondence seems to point to a revived interest in the class struggle as such, at least in some circles. The YSA is reported to have a new and sweeter personality on that scene, and I wonder whether anyone is arguing with his position.

In general, in holding the radical torch aloft, must we also close our eyes? Is our response to James Hoffa "unequivocal support of the union?" When, if ever, will we learn to be chary of <u>any</u> "automatic reflexes...apart from the issues involved?"

The kind of radicalism which says "Labor, and only Labor has the right to determine the extent of its demands" ignores that we no longer live in the age of proletarian slavery. Such is a sleazy sort of radicalism. Labor has accepted the collective bargaining process, and that would seem to settle the issue: there must be some external limit to its demands. Recognitions of this sort do not solve the problems, but at least they put us in the problems.

I grant the need for fundamentally new approaches to many of the old issues, but I submit that this requires new reflexes on our part. There are people on the other side of our society saying "the military and only the military has the right to determine the extent of its demands." The great bulk of responsibility in this inadequate democracy will reject both views, and for the same reason: they ignore realities.

The sadness is that there are good ideas on both sides of the correspondence, and that in the case of this strike there is not much that we can do. We would increase the relevance of our thinking by admitting that the right to strike is not the right to strike forever, and ceasing to wave dogmas on thirty and fifty year old flags.

The labor movement can be a tremendous force for social change, and we in SDS have a unique opportunity to point the way. But first we must speak to the real issue; what do we want labor to do?

Best personally,

Mike Vozick

corr/6

The following is a letter from Barbara Jacobs of Ann Arbor SDS.

January 21, 1963

Dear Jim,

...On the newspaper strike: I wholeheartedly endorse the position taken by Kim and Ed, and particularly urge that SDS make a public statement of endorsement, and let the union know that we are doing so. We might also make an offer of aid, though I agree with you that there may be little we can do for them concretely.

One point of the Moody-Shiller letter with which I find myself in vehement disagreement (actually they quote it from your letter, so I disagree with you too) is the statement that "To take the union's side in a management-union dispute ought to be an automatic reflex for the radical community, quite apart from the issues involved."

My objections are as follows:

1) The job of thinking people is to stop having automatic reflexes and to consider the issues. True, I consider the issues of a particular strike in the context of my ideological commitments, but that does not mean that anything called a "strike" I should automatically take to be something in the interest of economic and social equality, workers' control of the economy, humanization of employment, and other things which I believe in.

2) On the contrary, because I have these goals I must evaluate the actions and statements of labor in terms of whether they aid or hinder my long range social and political goals. A bad strike, one asking for unjust things, one totally unresponsive to the needs of the community to whom it must turn for support, such a strike I would not support.

Some strikes, as you imply this one is, not only against management, but against another union. In the newspaper strike it is true that there is competition between the Guild and the Typographers. It is also true that, in a larger sense, the competition is between the craft union idea, which is divisive and weakening of the power of unions to bargain, and the industrial union idea, which presents a united front to management, and which increases the potential gains for labor. In the NYC strike, the Typographers have taken a hard stand on this very issue by insisting that the contract expiration dates be made uniform, so that the more militant Typographer's union can participate in the bargaining before the Newspaper Guild signs compromise contracts that affect all the workers in the industry. I maintain that this claim is just, that the publishers have adamantly refused to give in on this point, and that therefore the strike is to be supported.

To quote from the Nation, January 10, "One observer said that there would have been no strike at all, and that even now it would end almost immediately on that single point. Certainly, from almost any viewpoint--except possibly that of the publishers--it would seem to be a happy solution of the present mess, and give the union the much-needed face saver (which they) must be desperately, though silently, praying for."

One other statement in your letter with which I take issue: "Support of unionism means that I would not want to declare my disagreement publicly." I think that support of unionism means that we maintain an attitude of critical support. That means an overall support of labor's aims, help on specific projects when possible (this we have done too little on), setting up a working liaison with the labor movement, and voicing our opinions. This takes place in two ways: In

grpups where we have a part in the decision-making process, we proceed as insiders, making our criticisms first to the group, in hopes of bringing abour change. later we may decide that the issue should be laid before the public, in which case we begin to function as an outsider, reporting on the group to society (the largest group of which we are members, and to which we owe allegiance).

The second way in which we exercise our responsibility to criticise is as a sector of the public. This pertains to criticisms of groups in which we do not have a direct voice within our political community as well as of the Kennedy Administration. In terms of the labor movement, as in terms of all other groups (including civil rights groups) with which we have sympathies, we retain the duty to be open in our criticism of them, as we ought to be open in our support of them. It is not to the organization but to the idea, that I at least hold by allegiance. The organizations are deserving of support in so far as they work toward the worthwhile goals, and are deserving of criticism when their actions work against their purported goals.

That is all for now. If I have other thoughts relevant to SDS I will send them along in equally disorganized form....

Drop a line.

Barbara (Jacobs)

And MORE news and views about the newspaper strike...this time from Brewster Kneen, student secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

January 23, 1963

Dear Jim:

There are a number of points which I would like to discuss with you that are brought up in your January 17 Bulletin...The real instigation of this letter, however, is the correspondence about the New York newspaper strike.

To put it bluntly, I was startled by some of the premises and discussion in both your letter and that from Kim Moody and Ed Shiller. I guess my major point of disagreement centers on the conception of The Divine Right of Labor, i.e., "The right to strike over any circumstances whatever and against any employer whatever is one of the most vital necessities of the labor movement," "labor's chief responsibility is to itself," "labor and only labor has the right to determine the extent of its demands." This sort of talk utterly amazes me in this latter half of the 20th century! The theory that is here being advanced is that Labor, which curiously enough is nowhere defined, has an inherent right to determine the values and policies of the total society. What is really being said, I think, in the statement "the right of labor to continually advance its position in society" is that Labor by definition exists over against society and is not to by regarded as one element of society. It seems to me that this sort of thinking leads inevitably to a totalitarian conclusion and I think there are enough examples of this that I need not elaborate.

I am surprised at your statement, Jim, that "to take union's side in a management-union dispute ought to be an automatic reflex for the radical community, quite apart from the issues involved." What this seems to be saying is that when the subject of this undefined "Labor" comes up, the intellect must perforce be laid aside and an emotional reaction, totally uncritical, be relied upon. Needless to say as a professed intellectual, I find this idea both inconsistent and disturbing.

In reference to the second letter of Moody and Shiller, I certainly hope that the radical community in this country is not dependent upon Labor and I hope that we can leave behind the mystique of "Labor" which belongs to the last century.

I am certainly not an anti-Marxist, but to force the sort of dialectic between labor and management that the writers do seems false indeed and in addition, a manifestation of utter contempt of public responsibility or service. I might describe this sort of thinking as that of a closed circuit with no room for the increasing number of people such as ourselves who cannot identify with either "management" or "labor".

Of course I have my own theories about the newspaper strike and perhaps with tongue-in-cheek I could say that this whole business is being perpetrated by the Establishment to put an end to Freedom of the Press and the Press itself as one more step towards the development of the Corporate State.

I am grateful for the work that went into the newsletter and look forward to more of these. As always, your friend,

Brewster Kneen

Response to Kneen's letter, written by Steve Max of the National Office of SDS

First to provide the definition of Labor which is called for. I would suppose that in the Moody-Shiller letter "Labor" refers to organized labor in general and to the AFL-CIO in particular. For the sake of the argument which Kneen raises, though, "Labor" might just as will refer to any who work for others and are engaged in production or service for a market.

The problem, it seems to me, is not to pose the question: should labor be thought of as something which exists over and against society, or should it be regarded as one element in society. The problem rather is to examine the position which labor actually opcupies in society and from there, on the basis of values, determine whether a particular action of labor is "justified" or "not justified".

A discussion of labor as one element of society puts me in mind of the high school civics book in which there inevitably appears a drawing of the personifications of "labor," "management," and "the consumer" all sitting around a table working things out to everyone's mutual satisfaction.

We may at the start eliminate the consumer, as he is either labor or management under a different hat, unless he is one of that small group known as professional people. This leaves management and labor, or to put it in other terms, labor and capital. That is to say labor and capital comprise the two elements in the sphere of basic production. It is of course true that the number of pe people who are "professionals" and service industry workers is rapidly increasing in America. However, political and economic power remain polarized at the labor and capital ends of the spectrum, and the fundamental relationship between the two (labor and Capital) is the basic determining factor in shaping the rest of society. I would submit, although I will not argue it here, that the interests of the "middle sector" i.e., white collar and service workers, coincide with those of labor and with the labor movement when that movement acts in the true long-range interest of labor (as opposed to those times when the labor movement supports measures such as arms spending as a stop-gap measure to prevent unemployment).

Now it is no secret that there are some people in our society who own or manage the means of production, and that there are others who own little or nothing

but their ability to work. From this perspective, of course, labor is one element in society and not something over against society.

It is also true, however, that those who sell their labor power never receive in return the full value of what they produce. While a lengthy discussion may be embarked to illustrate this point, it is sufficient to say that if labor did receive the full value of what it produced then there would be no profit. Indeed, it is precisely the portion of unpaid labor time which constitutes profit. Therefore, to the extent that unpaid labor can be increased either by lowering wages or by automation, to that extent profit increases. To the extent that wages are increased, to that extent profits decrease.

Viewed from this perspective, in a society where profit rather than need is the basic motive for production, then labor indeed exists over and against society, in that the basis of social production is the exploitation of labor.

In addition it should be pointed out that throughout American history all attempts to raise wages have met with bitter resistance not only from capital, but with the exception of a brief period during the New Deal, from the federal government as well, not to mention local and state governments. A list of particulars starting with the Hay Market Riot and ending with Hazard, Kentucky, in 1963, could be given to illustrate this point, but this information should be readily available to anyone interested in matters concerning the labor movement. Suffice it to say that however one cares to characterize the role of labor vis a vis "society," the fact remains that labor was placed in this role by economic and political conditions which existed before the start of the labor movement and continue to this day. Organized labor did not create these conditions, they created organized labor.

It is true of course that the Labor movement is itself a major political and economic factor in America today. But it is also true that Labor is a responsive movement rather than an aggressive one and has been thus since the organization of the mass production industries in the 30's. I would consider this to be precisely the weakness of the labor movement, but the point here is that labor primarily reacts to the pressures applied to it by "society" as an agent --"over and against society," if you will; and secondarily it shapes "society" as one element of it.

If this is true, it ill behooves us to criticize an action of the labor movement without making mention of the socio-economic conditions which inspired that action.

I will grant that the above makes somewhat of an over-simplification of a much more extensive viewpoint; but if it does not convince, it should at least indicate why I support the statement that "to take union's side in a management-union dispute ought to be an automatic reflex for the radical community, quite apart from the issues involved."

This is not to say that the Trade Union Movement should not be criticized by the radical movement from a fraternal point of view, or criticized strongly when labor fails to act in the best interest of those it represents. But if one accepts as a value proposition that exploitation is wrong, and if one accepts that the basis of profit is exploitation, then one cannot escape taking labor's side in a union-management dispute as an automatic reflex.

Kneen says "I am certainly not an anti-Marxist, but to force this sort of dialectic between labor and management that the writers seem to do seems false and, in addition, a manifestation of utter contempt of public responsibility or service."

Now neither Moody nor Shiller--nor Marx, for that matter--have any need to "force" such a dialectic. It was brought into being historically at the point where an economic surplus was first expropriated by an individual instead of being distributed socially.

In the current newspaper strike the ITU hit only those four papers which were in the best financial position to survive the strike; whereupon the rest of the daily papers promptly locked out their employees, indicating that the "dialectic" exists as much today as ever. In view of this, the question of who is concerned with "public responsibility" and "service" might well be re-examined.

I would commend to the attention of all concerned with the ITU strike the article appearing in the current issue of Common Sense by Paul DuBrul, the educational director of the United Furniture Workers' AFL-CIO.

Steve Max

The following is from Mary Varela, Field Secretary of the Young Christian Students, in response to the original three letters:

...I don't intend to discuss the New York Strike in specifics--but more the problem of labor-mahagement. Please see these remarks in the framework of a student's questioning (even though they sound quite definitive--that's just my way of expressing myself).

What prompts the response, "To take union's side in a management-union dispute ought to be an automatic reflex for the radical community, quite apart from the issues involved"? Is it because this is the tact necessary to gain strength for unionism and then to secure industrial harmony? I can't see giving unequivocal support of anyt ing "quite apart from the issues involved"--in any type of struggle--labor-management, student-university, black-white, US-USSR if you will. Perhaps the basic question to consider is how do we want to reconstruct society? Democratically, of course--where the decisions are initiated, controlled and resolved by those who are affected by those decisions. But from what vantage point: from the vantage point of force or from the point of community (this may be a poor term but the only one I can think of at the moment). A dialectic of force may achieve bit by bit substantial material concessions but I can hardly see this procedure as bringing union and management/industry into societal harmony. I can only forsee industry/business being brought around to serve society, instead of vice versa, by a co-o erative venture of all involved--even the consumer and I can't see this kind of a possibility without community. (By this I mean groupings of men bonded in trust towards common ends.) Perhaps it's possible to have a society organize and progress without community--but I wouldn't want to live in it. That notwithstanding--I question the ability of the human values we give credence to, to exist, much less flourish, without community.

All this by way of saying that ~~xxxx~~ in working for harmony in any stratum--university, politics, or economic life--the reforms, the changes, the new contracts would seem to have to be in terms of organizing the university or corporation into a democratic community. This seems to me where labor is operating with no vision--much like what Fidel once remarked to striking workers--"All you want is your plate of beans". We support entirely labor's right to strike, but this does not require our taking labor's side in the strike. I think we must speak out when the issues involved in the strike--the demands of management and/or the demands of labor--are a strictly profiteering venture not mindful of the welfare of the whole industry and those in society who depend on this industry.

You say that "labor and only labor has the right to determine the extent of its demands". Does this mean labor can act unilaterally--against the Commonweal and we still uniquivocally support it? I think it's time we understand that the profit motive is not restricted to management. I think we can see the utter dependence/relatedness of one sector in economic life to all other strata in society. Are all other strata to be helpless without recourse while one sector goes on unilaterally for its own profit? What's good for G.E. is good for the country!; what's good for labor is good for the country? Kind of reminds me of Orwell's Animal Farm.

It seems to me that just as we defend the right of free speech for all men of any political leanings--left or right-wing, if we want industrial/big business control and harmony we must support those efforts which bring it about--whether they be from management or labor; and likewise we must speak out against those efforts which bring about discord--again whether they be from management or labor.

And finally--I can't see where the automation problem will be affected in the least constructively by contracting for airtight guarantees against loss of jobs. If this doesn't show a self-interested lack of vision I don't know what would.

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vard, Brandeis, Boston U., Wheaton, Emmanuel, Simmons, MIT, etc.) and should have some seminal impact on the group leaders represented. But how do we translate this into "SDS local activity"? I think the problem I face in Boston is similar to the problem the other graduate students on the NEC face at other schools. Since I am not "down in the context" of the schools, I must depend on the present outcroppings in a symbiotic way. We are most effective when we have people like Ann Cooper and Nina Felshin with a prior orientation to SDS cropping up in the ranks on campuses and organizing from withinkthe undergraduate student bodies. At Harvard SDS lives in varying shades of friendly relations with the three most visible liberal action groups: Tocsin, Harvard-Radcliffe Liberal Union, and the Harvard civil rights group (NSM). The first and third have taken most of the leadership of the HRLU and it is not clear just where, if anywhere, it is going as a result. I cannot find the freshmen and sophomores at Harvard except through these organizations, especially Tocsin. It may be that Tocsin and, less likely, HRLU, will affiliate wit SDS in the future but meanwhile we work with these groups in a friendly way and have gotten some of their individuals to join SDS. I am unclear about what else we could do here at present. I also suspect that the problem here is as everywhere else: we do not have as many people as we think we have--that is, people really committed to giving hours a week for SDS. Ann is doing a magnificent job at Brandeis. Todd, of course, has his duties with Tocsin itself. Richard Rothstein is active ~~ix~~ with the civil rights group, HRLU, and his thesis. Ann Cook will be leaving Fletcher in January. So most of the basic organizing of anything SDS-like I must do. And, alas, there are general exams.

Let us view a couple more "case studies" of campuses and what SDS might do in and around them. We are getting some of the top leadership from the Boston U. peace group coming to our study group (Lee Webb, Nick Norris--president and veep--and others) and they also came to our organizing conference. We might be able to get an SDS study group going at BU but this is a commuter campus par excellence and it would be hard to do more than wastefully duplicate the peace group's orbit there now--perhaps we could get them to affiliate but this has not been explored too much yet because they are primarily locally-oriented. There has also been talk with some BU people and Ben Page of Turn Toward Peace about organizing a "socialist study club" built around Harvard and BU radicals and emphasizing foreign students of radical persuasion in the area who are at present not communicating with American students very much.

Wheaton College has an excellent cluster of girls who want to break out of their school's provincialism and apoliticalness--but they wonder if starting with SDS is the wisest move--whether they should be a liberal local group unaffiliated at first.

Thanks particularly to the work of Mary Varela for YCS at Emmanuel College, there are a number of little peace and civil rights clusters of people--some of whom attend our study group and attended the conference--but they mainly want to concentrate on local activities and are cautious about identifying with something big to swallow politically on the nationalllevel.

Perhaps some of the problems of "local organization" begin to become clear: we don't have the "sold" people to start with at the persuasive undergraduate level; it is not clear what SDS offers the locally oriented group orwhether it would be wise for SDS to "compete" to any extent with current peace and civil rights groups on these campuses; we are still learning in what ways our "education" can be most effective...and mainly we are learning that we have a helluva lot to learn.

The following letter to Tom Hayden comes from Joe Love, Special Assistant in Latin American Affairs in the International Affairs Section of NSA

Dear Tom,

During the past few months I have established contact with several groups in Latin America--specifically, the Arevalista Youth (Juventud Arevalista) in Guatemala; the Christian Socialist Party (Parti Chretien-Socialiste) in Haiti; and the Democratic Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Democratico) in Argentina. The three groups have quite different orientations ideologically, and I did not feel that ideology was the criterion for establishing contact with a given group; program seemed to me a more critical aspect of an organization's political posture.

The Arevalistas are followers of Juan Jose Arevalo, whose book The Shark and the Sardines you are probably familiar with. Since Arevalo has been in exile during the whole period since the Arbenz crisis, his party (which was dominant in Guatemala during Arevalo's presidency) has disintegrated into several factions. However, during the last few months Arevalo's major rivals for control of what formerly was the (Arevalista) Revolutionary Party have suffered major defeats at the polls, and Arevalo's star is rapidly rising. My contacts in Guatemala say that he could now be elected president of Guatemala, despite total opposition from the right. The ideology of the Arevalistas is a Marxist one, although Arevalo has in the last couple of years taken a very strong stand against any form of collaboration with the Communists. This posture may change, however, with the development of events in Guatemala. In any case contact with the Arevalista Youth is important, for in my opinion this group has the strongest appeal among youth sections of national political parties to Guatemalan students. The Juventud Arevalista should play an important role in the presidential elections in Guatemala in 1963. Currently Ernesto Ramirez is president of the organization; perhaps you remember his speech at the last NSC, when he was also president of the Guatemalan NUS.

The Christian Socialists, like all political parties in Haiti, is mall. Its membership seems to be mostly students and young intellectuals, though they have apparently made some inroads into the labor movement--such as exists in the country. This group is still pretty fuzzy in their ideology, in that they don't know whether they are closer to the Christian Democrats or the "popular" (APRA-type) parties. In any case they are to the left of the Christian Democratic parties of Central America; their orientation is similar to that of the Chilean CDs, which forsees a Latin American revolution and some sort of Christian socialist form of economic organization.

The Democratic Socialist Party of Argentina is probably the most conservative of the three groups so far contacted; at least it is the group most opposed to popular frontism. As you may know, the Argentine Socialist Party in Argentina has suffered internal divisions, like almost every other party in that country; and the PSD (or DSP) was formed as a distinct entity in 1958, when questions of personal rivalries and the issue of the united front split the old Socialist Party. The PSD is largely urban based, having its greatest strength in Buenos Aires. Its ideology is eclectic, accepting some ideas of Marx, with modifications by Lenin (theory of imperialism), Haya de la Torre, and Americo Ghioldi (the party's president).

The initial response of these groups to my initiatives has been good. I would like to have a number of copies of the Port Huron Statement made available for distribution to political groups abroad. A distribution of the PHS to certain groups would be effective even where the rank and file cannot get past the language barrier.

THE NATURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

by Brewster Kneen

There may have been times when many of us thought we knew what was going on in the realm of a student peace movement, but I think this is not one of those times. The phenomena which one encounters on the campus are puzzling indeed, at least superficially, But if one goes deeper, I think there are clues that can be found.

A year or two ago it appeared as if there would really be a national student peace movement, and that it was just a matter of time and organization. Succeeding months have, however, shattered this expectation, I think. In fact, one could say that there is today less of a student peace movement nationally than there was a year ago--certainly less of a national student peace organization--even apart from the Washington Action Project of last February and the continuing growth of membership in the Student Peace Union.

But rather than despair and hand-wringing, however, I am led to think that this lack of a student peace movement is a good thing, or a healthy sign, at this time. It may well be an indication that students understand our society and its ills better than many of us suspect or hope. My point is that the apparent, and I hope real, rejection of organization--at this time--is a manifestation of the realization that a peace movement which is established on the premises of our society and patterns itself after the fashion of a protest movement within society is doomed to the role of functionary in the society. By this I mean that the forces of the status quo, at their most intelligent, should be well aware that some outlet of protest is essential if they are to remain in control of the Machine. Therefore they can and will make a place for a reformist or liberal peace movement safe in the knowledge that such a movement will not be radical enough to threaten the Establishment but will soften criticism and pull the fangs of the potential revolutionaries, if they can be sucked into the movement and then have their energies expended fighting such monstrosities as the HUAC, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the draft which are not at the core of society but peripheral manifestations of its basic nature and malaise. A peace movement, in this context, is then just another functionary of the Establishment, of the War Machine.

Students, then, reject all this, probably un- or sub-consciously, and this is a healthy sign that they have understood. And I am one who tends to think that there is considerable truth in this analysis.

What does this mean, then, if there is only a dying student peace movement, at least on a national scale, and if it is dying for the reason outlined above, coupled with a deep sense of frustration, resignation and despair? It means that we do not try to keep any such movement alive, nor attempt to revive the corpse, but rather seek to develop the ground for a truly radical and significant revolutionary movement, operating on the premise suggested by A. J. Muste: any revolution that is truly revolutionary today must be nonviolent, and only nonviolence is truly revolutionary.

I think that there are still many people who sincerely feel that the real question is one of the right kind of organization sufficiently developed, and that peace lies essentially in the proper organization. This is analogous to the liberal concept that the answer to every problem lies in "Power" as an abstraction undefined but usually meaning the power to destroy, without any consideration of the uses or aims of " Power". In other words, the question of "What for?" is left largely unanswered, and even avoided, perhaps because it is difficult to answer and purveyors of violence are inclined to take the short cut every time, even if it does not solve the problem or address the situation. But I would say here that such a concept of peace and the peace movement will never bring about peace because the concept rests on precisely those attitudes and structures which have gotten us where we are today. Therefore I can be glad when such a "movement" is rejected by

all those who are tired of being used, manipulated, regarded as potential converts, and who simply want to live a legitimate life but don't know where to begin. This rejection means that the ground is fertile for the right word. (To illustrate: A few weeks ago I was having dinner at a university conference. I got into conversation with a student who did not know who I was. I asked a number of questions and got a lot of conformist, impersonal and non-committal answers. The conversation continued and about a half an hour later I again asked the same questions. This time I got answers in almost total disagreement with the first ones, and this time they were personal, troubled and honest answers. I could have drawn my conclusions about that girl on the basis of the first set of answers, or the second. I am afraid that we usually base our judgements and actions on the first set of answers.)

If this analysis contains any truth, then it should be clear where the answer to our concern lies. It does not lie in a matter of organization, though this must certainly come in time as the logical expression of a corporate concern. It does not lie in manipulation or fear. There is too much of both already. This then leaves Community, Personalism, Integrity, Universalism, Nonviolence, Faith, Hope, and Joy.

Let me now try to incarnate some of these words.

Community. A world-wide phenomenon today is the increasing tendency towards centralism. Community is the converse of this, based as it is not on Power or Authority, but on persons and their natural associations which strengthen them as persons and at the same time draw them into an organic phenomenon which they can serve and which they can exercise responsibility for and control over. In community there are no middle-men. Persons live for the community and the community exists solely for the persons, and not for any exclusive or external individual or groups of individuals. Community is the natural expression of the corporate life of persons living together. Community cannot be imposed.

Personalism. With centralism, a major characteristic of the modern world is the drive towards impersonalism. A counterpart to this is individualism, that is, the concept of the person existing over against everybody else. This is a key concept in "free enterprise". In such an impersonal society we regard people as functionaries, i.e., students, owners, soldiers, workers, but seldom as persons. We regard people mainly as statistics (war-games, advertising) to be manipulated to serve our private purposes or potential converts to be won over to our religion or ideology. This must be said of the peace movement when it is trying only to win people over rather than working for reconciliation and a human society. Personalism, then, is inherent in community, in regarding the person as a member of the community and a being in his own right whom we may challenge and love, but whom we must respect and serve. It is not individualism, but the regarding of personhood as the state of living with others and on their behalf. It means upholding human or personal values as supreme, people as persons and not things.

Universalism. This follows naturally, since the community we participate in is the human community from which no one can be excluded, but from which man may exclude himself. Universalism calls for the constant task of constructing and extending the community because in fact, as human beings all men are already in it potentially. The task is to break down the walls that divide.

Integrity. In a centralist impersonal society integrity and the determination to maintain it must be paramount in any creative movement. Persons must refuse to prostitute themselves and the community must give every assistance to enable persons to maintain integrity personally and the community itself must maintain its integrity. Like community, integrity cannot be imposed, but must be carved out by persons.

Nonviolence. If the task is to break down the dividing walls and to build community, then nonviolence is perhaps the single most important element. There can be no peace movement which does not adhere fully to the concept of nonviolence as a way of life and as the way of life alone capable of achieving a peaceful society. This means that each person has to struggle with his understanding of himself and the way of love. This is not a position to be taken but a life to be lived. It involves gentleness and strength, the acceptance of abuse and courage. It means accepting suffering rather than inflicting it, compromise and not conquest. It means the overcoming of evil with good.

Faith. The trials are and will be severe. The temporal order cannot be counted as sufficient and an awareness and intimacy with the eternal, the truth, the transcendent, is the only reason for continuing for those of us who cannot believe in "progress" or man's goodness, but who can believe in man's possibility and who must believe in the possibility of history.

Hope. This is the consequence of faith, that which moves when reason says it is impossible, there is not time.

Joy. Leon Bloy has said, "Joy is the most infallible sign of the presence of God." Joy is essential and without it there is not life. Beware of one who is without joy. To be able to see the good, to be able to laugh and rejoice because there is one other, because there is one friend, there are others who can see what we see and see us as we like not to see ourselves but who can make us laugh...Joy is the sign of humanity.

These are some of the elements of a peace movement. A community of friends who share a vision and trust one another...nay, love one another--not to be confused with liking. So we begin by becoming acquainted and ever widening the circle, establishing the community of trust and affection, non-violence and joy, which can sorely tempt those who fear and would hate. The movement shows another way, it wins the hearts and lives of men because it becomes a way of life and not another manipulator. It cannot threaten because it has nothing with which to threaten. It cannot be violent because it knows itself in every other. It frees those caught in the machine. It is radical because it establishes its own terms and does not live on the suffrance of the Establishment. It seeks to overthrow the Establishment, to undermine it and overcome it with personalism community, nonviolence. It is the greate t threat to the present society which will not tolerate it but cannot kill it and which must be won over if only we can grow and love and perservere through the upholding and criticism and affection of one another.

RANDOM THOUGHTS AFTER CUBA
by Donald McKelvey

What follows are mostly just thoughts which have come to mind during and since Deterrence Week, Oct. 22-28. It is not particularly well-organized and is not meant to encompass any definitive analysis of Cuba or the Cuban crisis; i do think, however, that it brings up important questions for people working for peace.

When i originally decided to write these "random thoughts", i was most impressed by the implication of the Cuban crisis for analysis of Soviet military strength. For, if one was to believe Administration statements and press accounts, the emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba resulted in a significant and strategic increase in Soviet military power. (This was the basic reason given by the Administration for getting the Soviet missiles out of Cuba.) If this was true, then Soviet military power must be extremely limited, and nowhere near American military power. Clearly this would have extraordinary implications for the respective nuclear strategies of the respective countries. Then the government, through Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric (on TV show "Issues and Answers" , quoted in I.F. Stone's Weekly of November 19), declared that in fact "there was (not) any major change in the over-all military equation as a result of this particular deployment (of missiles in Cuba)." All that had happened was that "an element of flexibility (for us) introduced into the power equation that the Soviets had not heretofor possessed." The above brings up two questions: first, what is the actual state of Soviet (and American) military strength?; second, why did the Administration feel it had to tell such a blatant lie?, and what implications does this hold for the future?

The government's original position on Soviet military strength and Cuban bases prompted Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the New York Times, to do an analysis of comparative Soviet and American power and of the function of overseas bases (Times, Nov. 7, 1962, p.6). The figures are most revealing, for they show clearly that the Soviet Union does not have the power necessary both to carry out a first strike on military targets and to have enough weapons in reserve to carry out a second strike on cities. (Clearly, it would be suicidal to carry out a first strike on cities, for the automatic response would be retaliation on one's own cities.) This policy of minimum deterrence on the part of the Soviet Union (i.e. retaining only enough nuclear weapons and delivery systems to destroy U.S. cities after an American first strike, and keeping those weapons either sufficiently secret, sufficiently mobile, or sufficiently rapid-firing to save them from an American first strike) and the contrasting policy of counterforce held by the U.S. (i.e. retaining enough weapons to launch a "pre-emptive" first strike on Soviet military targets and to hold in abeyance enough weapons to threaten bombing of Soviet cities--holding them in "hostage"--and even devistation of a third power--China) are most clearly spelled out in an article by Prof. P.M.S. Blackett in The New Statesman of March 2, 1962 (reprinted by Marzani and Munsell, 100 W 23 St., NYC 11; 25¢) entitled "The Military Background to Disarmament". This anaysis by Prof. Blackett, a British military strategist of considerable stature, is most important and should be read, i believe, by every peace-concerned individual--as should an article in the October 1962 "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" (935 E 60 St.,

Chicago 37) by Michael Brower entitled "Nuclear Strategy of the Kennedy Administration" dealing also with the comparative nuclear policies and strengths of the two countries. Perhaps it is fortunate that the Cuban crisis threw into clear relief this whole question of nuclear strength and policy, for the tendency of much of the "peace movement" to equate Soviet and American military policy and threat is clearly erroneous; much more sophisticated analysis and understanding is needed.

Second, what were the Administration's additional reasons for its extreme reaction to Soviet missiles in Cuba, in addition to the stated one of the enhancement (though only tactical, not strategic) of Soviet military power? I suspect at least two such reasons--first, a paranoia about having missiles 90 miles away (especially if potentially available to "that crazy bearded beatnik"); second, a desire to deprive the Castro regime of all possible means of defending itself (note the insistence, since then, that the outmoded--see I.F.Stone's Weekly, Nov. 19, 1962--IL-28 bombers are "offensive" and the further insistence that all Soviet troops leave Cuba, as well as the insistence that the "no-invasion" pledge will not be issued until inspection is accepted by Cuba--though not with counter-inspection of U.S.-sponsored counter-revolutionary plotters throughout the Caribbean). Also, this particular episode reminds us that our government is willing to deceive us in order to justify its aggressive policies; and we should, henceforth, be considerably less than trustful of the government's statements in a future Cuban "crisis" (e.g. the undoubtedly forthcoming invasion).

Without contributing to Cold War-oriented debate, it is relevant to examine "who won". According to the U.S. press, the U.S. won, making Khrushchev back down in the face of our superior might (and right?) and making Castro look ridiculous and insignificant. Furthermore, there was virtually unamimous agreement throughout the world--including Latin America--that the U.S. had acted justly, and U.S. actions had the support of most regimes and peoples. This general analysis must be dealt with on two levels:

First, is it true that the U.S. had the support of the peoples (never mind the reactionary regimes in U.S.-tied underdeveloped countries, especially Latin America) of the world? I really have inadequate information on this, but i do know that even in London there was grave doubt about U.S. actions (see I.F. Stone's Weekly, Oct. 24, 1962); and i suspect that those actions had very little support indeed from peoples--or even from most governments--in the underdeveloped world. In the atmosphere of national support for Kennedy and psychological self-censorship of the press (as well as the usually poor or non-existent reporting of underdeveloped nations' peoples' reactions), it was--and remains--very difficult to tell just how the world's peoples felt during that week. It is important to note, by the way, the condemnatory-of-the-Soviet-Union-and-disappointed-with-Castro statement of important leftist Brasilian leader Leonel Brizola.

If the administration actually believes that it had the support of the world's peoples in this act of power/deterrence, it makes the Administration even more dangerous (it is perhaps even worse if that evaluation is incorrect, for it will show the U.S. government to be out of touch with reality.

Second, did the U.S. "win"? Before the emplacement of missiles in Cuba, it appeared that an invasion was, if not iminent, soon to come. (Why else, for instance, would the government reverse its policy--this was in summer 1962--and accept into the U.S. Army refugees who did not know any English, train them in Spanish-speaking outfits, and hold the option to release them after five months if they still didn't know English?) Now the Castro regime has been given what may very well prove to be a vital breathing spell in which to consolidate its defenses and, more important, build its economy in preparation for the undoubtedly forthcoming invasion. Rather than give its no-invasion pledge (as i naively believed it would as a result of its deal with the Soviets during the crisis), the U.S. has found every way to squirm out of doing so (and successfully), from calling outmoded bombers "offensive" weapons to insisting that eveb Soviet troops leave Cuba to insisting on "inspection" in Cuba despite the U.S. government's own admission that all the "offensive" weapons have left or will soon leave the island. Although the U.S. has not carried out its end of the bargain, nonetheless the emplacement of the missiles did serve the purpose of giving the Cuban regime valuable time. (In any case, the U.S. will have to be even more careful about its invasion, now that it has made an implicit no-invasion pledge.) Also, it should be noted that the official government objective is the overthrow of the Castro regime.

An analysis of "who won" must delve into the question of why the crisis came about. What motives did the Soviets have in placing missiles in Cuba? (Clearly this started the immediate crisis, though it must be recognized that in the total situation of U.S.-Cuba relations from which the specific crisis arose, the U.S. should be almost completely blamed for its still-continuing policy of "unremitting hostility" which put Cuba in a situation in which it had to ask for the missiles or die; thus the Soviet implacement must be seen as a response to U.S. actions, not as an independent action.) Accepting the idea hat the missiles did not strategically enhance the Soviet military position, and recognizing that the existence of a Socialist/Communist Cuba (which could be cultivated and turned into a "socialist showcase" with little trouble, as well as used for the spread of revolutionary and anti-American propaganda) is highly isgnificant in terms of North American hegemony in Latin America, i think there are two other reasons of more or less relevance. One was the hope for a softer American position on Berlin, or perhaps simply an attempt to precipitate negotiations on Berlin; i suspect that this probably failed, though we may never know (cf. James Reston's analysis that the outcome of the Cuban crisis did not necessarily mean that the U.S. would be "tough" and belligerent in future crises--N.Y. Times, 10-29-62, p. 1). Also, the Soviets wanted to bring up the matter of foreign bases. Not only would the Soviets like to get rid of the encircling U.S. bases (it is very instructive to look at a map of the Soviet Union ringed with American missile and bomber bases, and then to remeber American counterforce strategy) and specifically in the case of Turkey to neutralize the only country with a warm water port potentially available to the Soviet Union, but the Soviets would like also to bring pressure upon the U.S. on the question of (soon to be--or already--militarily obsolete) overseas bases. As Hanson Baldwin also points out (Times, 11-11-62, p. 6), increasingly the overseas bases serve the main function of proving that the U.S. is sincere in its commitments to its alliance allies (especially in NATO); removal of this American "pres-

ence" would mean potential--and in some cases actual--neutralization if many of these allies. (By this analysis, then, the Turkish bases will not--as i have flet--be removed within a year on part of an unreported agreement between Kennedy and Khrushchev--though much depends on the stability of the Turkish regime and Turkish-American relations.)

I would like especially to challenge the notion t hat the Soviet Union has "lost face" in international opinion by backing down before U.S. might; rather, i suspect t hat many people and peoples share Bertrand Russell's appreciation of Soviet calmness in the face of incredible U.S. belligerence.

On the balance of "victory", then, Cuba "won" most, having been given at least a lease on life; the Soviets "won" next most; and the U.S. came out least ahead, if at all (except in the reinforcement of a whole host of prevailing attitudes on the part of the American people and governments friendly to the U.S.--which is scarcely much of a victory).

Perhaps most of all i wonder about the responses and actions of the "peace movement". Almost exclusively, the method of confrontation with the public was the traditional "public witness" one--demonstrations, walks, rallies, etc. (None of us thought we could do the first thing about the Government's crisis actions, though I.F. Stone's articulation of this feeling drew cries of indignation and "No!" from some of the participants at the Washington rally on Saturday.) To the extent that we were noticed by the public, i think that we concerbated the general crisis effect of polarization of "public opinion"--or rather we narrowed, rather than widening, the portion of individual citizens' minds that doubted the correctness of the Administration's actions. I think this was due, in good part, to the psychological effect on individuals of seeing "those unpatriotic crackpots" from a physical distance and being able easily and satisfyingly to categorize indirect confronters as a group rather than dealing with us as individuals. (In part, this is the old problem of not articulating our position clearly enough so that a passer-by can understand at a relatively short glance what it's all about and not be alienated from it; only rarely has this been done. But this is not the central problem.) It should be noted that the public demonstrations served the very important purpose of keeping open the channels of dissent and making it clear that there were those who opposed brinkmanship policies.

Second, some of the signs we used called for the parties to the conflict to do things which the other party had asked; thus, we were asking them to take "unilateral initiatives" which would look like appeasement of the aggressors.

Taking the second problem first, one must remember the general theory of unilateral initiatives, which says that it is possible to take initiatives when tempers are collest--i.e. between crises, not during crises. Thus crisis situations are not the time for unilateral initiatives; rather, i feel, crises should be used to explain the background of the conflict and to call for actions which cannot be interpreted as a sking for "giving in" to the opponent--e.g. negotiations or going to the U.N.

In general, i believe, the method of confrontation of the public--at all times, whether or not during a crisis--should be as direct and educational as possible, while retaining the features of dissent-channel unclogging and whatever mass media publicity value mass demonstrations have. A couple of possible ways of achieving this triple aim come to mind. One, used by the General Strike for Peace in New York City for months prior to the week of the General Strike itself, would be to send relatively small contingents through a city's streets talking with individuals, passing out multilanguage leaflets if appropriate, in general, decentralizing control and execution of the protest. A second way would be for individuals to go, in tandem, door-to-door talkingto other individuals (imagine the impact if each of the 10,000 of so who showed up at the Sunday walk/rally in New York City had spent that time talking with friends , acquaintances, or just anyone who mught listen--or even if half of them, or a third, had done so). I use the word "demonstrative" here most advisedly; for such people would be involved in a highly important, effective, and significant form of demonstrating their beliefs. And i should like strongly to emphasize the revolutionary and educational effect on peace workers of such a mode of action, which would re uire their learning and knowing about issues and then articulating their positions.

I fully recognize, first, that participation in such demonstration would require a number of things the "peace movement" does not have: highly skilled mass media liaison people, who could make such demonstrations sufficiently imaginative-sounding (afterall, they would be imaginative; we would only have to tell the truth, which is not always the case now) to catch the interest of the general public; second, "peace movement" leaders willing strongly to urge their followers to take a psychologically and intellectually very difficult course of action and able to turn those followers out for such demonstrations; third, a willingness to be highly permissive and non-insistent on a particular political "line" for a demonstration (this follows naturally from decentralisation); and fourth, a group of intelligent, articulate, educated, confident peace-niks who would be willing and able to walk up to a door or a person on the street and start talking about peace effectively (of course, the best and only way of learning how to do this is to do it.) These are problems; but it is there any alternative?

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"Many pacifists and socialists argue that it is intolerable for the government to police the peace movement but that the peace movement does have an obligation to police itself, carefully screening its membership so as to eliminate Communists. In some organizations this is attempted directly by purges and loyalty oaths, and in others it is approached indirectly by what Paul Goodman calls the "Byzantine symmetry" with which they strain never to criticize the United States without being sure to lambaste the Soviet Union. I should like to offer three comments [only one is quoted here] on this preoccupation with purging Communists from the peace movement.

"Strange as it may seem, those most concerned to keep Communists out of peace organizations are often those who, in one respect, are most like them--leaders who are more interested in selling a line to the public than stimulating individuals to develop their own independent thoughts and actions in the interests of peace. Communist infiltration is chiefly a threat to those who are themselves trying to develop and control a rather pliable membership..."

--Dave Dellinger, editorial in January 1963 Liberation

the least dishonorable failure
by Lynn Pfuhl

The creation of a new Left, such as is proppsed in the Port Huron Statement of the SDS, is both imperative and impossible; imperative in terms of need and impossible in terms of success.

Unassertainable Values

That absolute values are impossible of attainment and that as a consequence relative values are arbitrary is a fact. Humanistic values, conceptions of human beings, ofhuman relationships, and of social systems are most directly in accord with the subjective nature of any system of values, but even Humanism assigns a value to an object which is ultimately devoid of any such characteristic. Such a Humanism further fails by assuming that man may change independently of his environment and by declaring that majority participation in decision making is desirable or even feasable, a declaration easily invalidated by the facility --- with which the ruling class inculcated in the American public a frenzied desire to obliterate themselves and the rest of the world in a war over Berlin or Cuba.

Any new Left therefore fails, though unavoidably, in the postulation of values upon which the philosophical foundation of such a Left may be laid.

Neglected Facts

But however valid may be the contentions of Humanism, the realization of these contentions is unattainable. That this is true is easily proved by acknowledging a few easily demonstrable facts, facts admitted by the Port Huron Statement itself.

The Statement says, "Economic minorities not responsible to the public in any democratic fashion make decisions of a more profound importance than even those made by Congress." To change this situation, it would be necessary for any new Left to become more powerful than these economic minorities. To believe that this will occur is unjustifiably optomistic. The Left must accept the unpleasant fact of Charles E. Wilson's "permanent war economy".

It is also a fact that the United States defense budget alone is over $160 billion, and that this is only a small part of the total financial aspect of the whole military industrial alliance.

Perhaps it is the very desperation created by these facts which causes a question such as, "Howlong will it take to establish a relation of trust between America and the newly developing societies?" The mentality of any leader of a "newly developed society" which trusts the United States is not newly developed; it is under developed.

Capitalism in short is stagnant, but the motivating assumption of the Port Huron Statement is that it can be reformed.

Unattainable Expectations

Neglected facts are conducive to unattainable expectations. Consideration of the expectations& the goals of the new Left xxx is in this context relevant.

First, the means of attaining these goals. The various conditions of the civil rights movement, the peace movement, labor, and liberalism are in themselves justification for despair.

Consideration of two facts in pertinent to a discussion. Repression and violence

increase in direct proportion to the amount of dedication and courage shown by the few actual activists, and the number of half-committed and pseudo-committed is legion. The number of incompetents and status seekers who inject themselves into positions of leadership, particularly in such totally ineffective organizations as the NAACP, is staggering, and accelerated movement through the courts an impossibility. Aside from the fact that the tremendous energy now being directed toward voter registration is being wasted because of the continued impossibility of working within the system which is the agent of oppression, the final end of the integration movement is, with the significant exception of organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, entrance into bourgeois society.

The peace movement is similarly confused and disoriented. The war mongers are successful in engendering intra-group and inter-group conflict by red-baiting, and the groups themselves have evolved no really effective technique of combatting war or the warfare state. Rather they persist in hopeless competition with that state with inadequate attempts to educate a public already thoroughly inculcated with the virtues, pleasures, and profits, of war.

The labor movement is in an even more hopeless situation. Increasingly restricted by big business government, it is nevertheless viewed, and to a great extent views itself, as another division of the Cold War Complex. The unions also aid management by maintaining segregation in their southern and in many of their norther locals.

Finally the liberal segment of leftwing opinion, represented by organizations and publications such as Americans for Democratic Action, the New Republic, the NationalAssociation for the Advancement of Colored People, and rather unbelievably Senator Eastland's Democratic Party, is in reality the segment of the apologists for the status quo and as such is fundamentally opposed to basic, radical change in the American economic structure.

In essence, despair is admirably justified.

Second, the goals themselves. Some are undesireable and unattainable, others merely unattainable.

"Concern with the challenge to the American economic system" indicates a basic misunderstanding of the necessary goals of a radical left and is a phrase which might as easily come from Goldwater's Conscience of a Conservative as from the Port Huron Statement. One wonders at such concern when it is precisely the American economic system which is the cause of war, hunger, and segregation.

Or again, such a question as, "How long will it take to create a relationship of trust between America and the newly developed societies?" is indicative of a basic flaw in the purposes of any Left which would pose it. When it is manifestly obvious that America's only interest in any of these societies is annexation for military purposes in the Cold War and thus a domination possibly more terrible than that from which they have freed themselves.

The previous points have fallen into the undesirable and unattainable category. The rest are merely unattainable.

For instance, such a question as, "How may democracy be achieved in America?" is indicative either of a complete lack of information concerning American social and economic reality or of complete idiocy on the part of the questioner, and thecontention that "universal controlled disarmament must replace deterrence

and arms control as the national defense goal" gives strong evidence of an inability to distinguish between desirability and reality.

This inability is evident throughout. A statement sudh as, "The United States' principal goal should be the creation of a world where hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance, and exploitation are replaced as central features by abundance, reason, love, and international cooperation." or a recommendation for a fifty-year program of industrialization of the underdeveloped countries are only further retreats from reality.

And the proposition that America should show its commitment to democratic institutions not by withdrawing support from undemocratic regimes but by making domestic democracy exemplary is not only unrealistic in that this proposition incorrectly assumes that America has such a commitment, but evil in that it advocates continued support of undemocratic institutions.

It is this underlying illusion of the existence of American democracy which will prove fatal to all radical action. Rather any action of whatever nature must be grounded on the unpleasant realization that America is not a democracy but a military industrial complex existing for the temporary benefit of the few and the eventual destruction of all. Thus recommendations that corporations be made publicly responsible, aside from ignoring the fact fact that "corporation" and "publicly responsible" are mutually exclusive terms, ignores the basic nature of corporations and of capitalism itself.

The foregoing considerations must not, however, be interpreted as an excuse for inaction; for to remain silent is to give consent in an era which demands dissent. Rather they are a call to action motivated by a new courage founded on the realization that such action will not succeed. The radical of a new Left must not realize that the least dishonorable failure is the only honorable goal.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITY

by Mark Scher

One of the main points of discussion involving world peace today is the so-called threat of a China with nuclear capability. China's economy, it has been asserted, is being sapped to finance an aggressive nuclear arms development program. Those who make these allegations should inspect the facts more closely.

It seems unlikely that China has made a concerted effort toward the construction of a nuclear device; and it is not already an accomplished fact. On the contrary, in all probability the manufacture of such a weapon will in any event be distilled out of China's scientific progress in related areas. Such a device in all likelihood would employ plutonium as the fissionable material, plutonium being quite easily manufactured in a breeder reactor, as compared with the costly uranium isotope separation process necessary for the manufacture of a uranium fission bomb.

Although it would be speculative to fix a date, it appears that China will not be able to produce any sort of nuclear capability reaching even a token amount of the present nuclear powers as far as tactical ability and sophistication within ten years.

In view of China's forbearance in her foreign policy, it is highly unlikely that she will assume the form of an all-devouring Ogre once it achieves nuclear capability. The record shows considerable thought and deliberation about self-protective moves on her part and action only after provocation. Examples include: (1) The Korean War, which she entered five months after its inception, when the U.S. had advanced upon her borders, when MacArthur threatened to bomb Manchuria; carried on private talks with Chiang Kai-shek planning an invasion of the mainland. Only then did China act to repulse these forces with only a mild defense in a limited area at first. Then followed three weeks of non-intercourse. Only MacArthur's "Home by Christmas" offensive brought full involvement of Chinese power. (2) The recent Sino-Indian border conflict, where Indian troops had infiltrated areas of Chinese territory through the subtrafuge of occupying territory which colonialist Britain had attempted to occupy through economic expansionism in the beginning of the century. (3) Other restraints such as the Quemoy-Matsu harassments, and the buildup of military forces on Taiwan.

The Western countries and the Soviet Union have tried to foster ill will between China and her neighbors, by sending outstanding amounts of military supplies and aircraft to India and SEATO countries, and have made concerted efforts to wreck a peaceful solution to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute--which involved less serious complications than has been true between countries where amicable solutions have been found in the past. By using the remaining elements of colonialist thought still extant in some countries, they have made attempts to sabotage China's efforts to implement the Five Points agreement of Bandung and to block negotiations aimed at resolving conflict in the Far East.

The following is a draft National Council resolution on the McCarren Act, on the occasion of its application to Advance Youth Organization:

> It /the McCarren Act/ would put the government of the United States in the thought-control business. It would give government officials vast powers to harass all of our citizens in the exercise of their right of free speech... /these provisions/ represent a clear and present danger to our institutions ...the application of the registration requirements to so-called "Communist Front" organizations can be the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press, and assembly since the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798.
>
> --President Truman, from his 1950 message vetoing the McCarran Act

Attorney-General Robert Kennedy has petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to order ADVANCE, a small youth organization in New York City, to register as a "Communist Front Organization" under the requirements of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950.

We condemn the McCarran Act on principle as obnoxious to the entire American tradition expressed in the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution, the right to trial by jury, the principle of innocence until proven guilty, and the illegality of bills of attainder. We condemn the continued use of the McCarran Act by the Administration on the grounds that its use--and even its very existence--only strengthens those who threaten democracy and peace in the United States: the Ultra-Right and the conservative forces who stand in the forefront of the military-industrial complex and their representatives in Congress and in the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition.

Our concern in this statement is not primarily with ADVANCE. Despite our constant opposition on political grounds to that organization, we feel that defense of their right to hold whatever political ideas they choose is the duty of every democrat. Our concern is with the McCarran Act itself, with the right of all people to organize and to advocate political ideas, and with the record of the Kennedy Administration with respect to civil liberties.

In citing ADVANCE as a Communist Front organization, Attorney-General Kennedy noted that ADVANCE took several positions which were "parallel" to those of the Communist Party; advocacy of a four-power ban on nuclear testing; non-intervention in Cuban affairs, restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba, and protesting the blockade in October of 1962; negotiations for a peaceful settlement to the Berlin question and withdrawal of foreign troops from the city.

Since every peace and civil rights organization in the country takes some positions more or less similar or "parallel" to those of the Communists, all are more or less vulnerable to inclusion under the provisions of the McCarran Act. Even the 35-hour work week, advocated by George Meany, is a position which the Communists hold.

The Internal Security Act was passed over President Truman's veto in 1950. It provides that organizations which the Subversive Activities Control Board--appointed by the President--finds to be "Communist Action", "Communist Front", or "Communist Infiltrated", shall register with the Attorney-General's Office. It defines the three in the following manner:

> Communist Action Organization: "one substantially directed, dominated or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization, controlling the world Communist movement..."
>
> Communist Front Organization: "Any organization in the United States which is substantially directed, dominated or controlled by a Communist Action Organ-

ization and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist Action Organization.../and/or/ the extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those of any Communist Action Organization, Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement."

Communist Infiltrated Organization: "one substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within three years have been actively engaged in giving aid or support to a Communist action organization, a Communist foreign government or the world Communist movement."

In 1961 the Supreme Court upheld by a five-to-four decision the requirement for a Communist Action Organization to register. To date the other provisions have not been tested; however, the Attorney-General has moved to enforce registration orders against eleven "Communist Front Organizations". ADVANCE is the twelfth organization to be cited.

The order to register as a Communist Action Organization is more than a formality. Such registration subjects the organization to certain appalling consequences: (1) the organization is branded as a treasonous conspiracy loyal to a single foreign power bent upon destroyi g the United States; (2) notice of this political character must be labelled on all mailings and publications to any persons or other organizations; (3) it becomes a criminal offense for members of such an organization, or officers of a "Communist Front Organization", to apply for certain government jobs, or to apply for or use a passport, or to apply for a National Defense Education Act scholarship; (4) officers and members may be subject to criminal prosecution under the "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government" section of the Smith Act, as well as under the "membership clause" of the Smith Act which makes it a crime to be a member of the Communist Party, thus subjecting registrars to double jeopardy and forcing them to bear witness against themselves; (5) in states of national emergency, members of such an organization may be subject to imprisonment in detention camps without trial; (6) failure to register entails enormous jail sentences and fines ($5,000 and five years in jail for each day of failure to register); (7) the McCarran Act makes it illegal for a member of a registered organization to work in a "defense establishment". It also provides for the registration of all printing and mailing euqipment in possession of the organization, as well as the registration of membership and mailing lists, if the group has been ordered to register as a "Communist Action Organization".

To determine whether a group is due to register under the McCarran Act, a hearing is held by the Subversive Activities Control Board. The function of prosecutor, judge and jury are all combined in the same body. Once a decision is made, the organization has recourse to the courts to defend itself. The legal assumption is that it is already proven guilty and is appealing.

We support the views of Justice Black in his dissent to the 1961 ruling that (1) the registration procedure violates the Fifth Amendment, which guarantees protection against self-incrimination; (2) the Act is a Bill of Attainder since it inflicts punishment without judicial trial; (3) the Act violates the First Amendment by in fact outlawing the Communist Party and destroying other organizations ordered to register. "When the practice of outlawing parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end."—Justice Black. And we agree with President Truman's veto message given at the betinning of this statement. It is on these grounds that we stand in opposition to the McCarran Act.

Beyond that, we particularly object to its application against a youth organization, whatever its nature. Thought control laws such as the McCarran and Smith

Acts are especially injurious to youth. Hundreds of thousands of young people will think twice before they study any writings of the past and present which are partial to Communism, if they feel that this may be construed in such a way as to brand them in the public eye. With that system holding sway in one-third of the world, and a major force elsewhere, it is the sheerest folly for a nation to try to outlaw ideas and the study of ideas.

Let us not forget that in several states in the South, the NAACP and CORE are already labeled "Communist organizations" by legislative means. Let us also bear in mind that those who staff the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee, the Dodds, Judds, Eastlands and Walters, would like to label all active liberal and progressive groups as "Communist", "Communist Front", or "Communist infiltrated". As long as such men and their protectors, such as Senator Goldwater, remain a real force in our country, the loss of one or another constitutional liberty is not just a question of the loss of rights for Communists and their immediate friends. With such Right Wing political forces waiting in the wings all liberals are potential victims of the fear machine. Those who could accuse the National Council of Churches of being Communist infiltrated can stop at no rational boundaries.

Men must be free to organize around their ideas. This freedom does not exist if, in fact, the state intervenes to label, punish or attempt to destroy political organizations. Such state intervention is a characteristic of totalitarianism, as is an attempt to justify such actions by arguments which "balance" state security against human rights. If the organization being prosecuted under the McCarran Act constitutes a clear and present danger, there are democratic methods of dealing with them. The government has full power to prosecute acts of violence, espionage, or treason, but "dangerous ideas" can only be defeated by the participation of all contending views in a free political process.

This is particularly important with regard to the development of young people. The problems of all mankind must be included in the curriculum of all youth. It is equally important that ideas of all kinds be tested in action against other ideas. A nation must trust its youth as they experiment and develop, or the youth will have no trust in their nationa.

We fear that the Administration believes that the Cold War can be waged effectively only if political life is shaped bureaucratically from above. The enforcement of the McCarren Act is thus consistent with attempts to impose "self-censorship" on the press, to channel and blunt the activities of the civil rights movement, and to intervene in the process of collective bargaining and the internal life of the trade union movement.

What is the strategy of the Administration in using the McCarran Act? So far the Administration has been careful to use the Act only against plainly Communist or Communist-controlled organizations, or those which are organizationally useful to the Communist Party. Thus it becomes difficult for some liberals to protest such undemocratic acts, since their fear of the "Red Smear" hinders their freedom to act in support of their belief in the principles of the Constitution.

The pattern of persecution of the Communist movement indicates that the Administration is attempting to outlaw, step-by-step, the public functions of the Communist Party. However, the history of such persecution here and abroad indicates that this will not destroy the Communist Party but merely drive it underground. Nonetheless, the removal of the "visible Communist Party" will allow the Administration to claim victory on the home front and thus placate the ultra-right. That the Ultra-right would in fact be placated is dubious, to say the least.

With the Communist Party in existence, fire is drawn to it like unto a lightning rod; but with the Communist Party out of public ken, any group which makes a radical or left analysis of society and which becomes a thorn in the side of the powers-that-be becomes the prime target of the Red-baiters. This state of affairs would in turn give the Administration more control over the very diverse forces which make up the left-liberal wing of the Democratic coalition, including groups from the labor movement to the civil rights movement to some parts of the peace movement. The administration would be in a position where it could at will agree or not agree with the Ultra-right that any segment of the coalition has "gone too far" and with the use of "secret information" from the FBI, CIA, Army or Navy intelligence, T-men, etc., drive it out of existence.

A liberal administration ought to urge Congress to repeal the McCarran Act and other undemocratic laws which give the foes of full civil liberties room in which to act, rather than attempting to outflank the right-wing by persecuting allegedly un-American political organizations. This Administration should trust the creativity and intelligence of its citizens more, and its unconstitutional devices less, in the development of democracy.

We would suggest that if the administration is to accomplish the goals of the Kennedy program, it would be wiser to take another course. The Kennedy Administration is not itself a monolith, but a complex series of alliances and regional interests which clothes itself under a cover of "liberalism". In fact, parts of the Administration do come from the liberal community (Schlessinger, Stevenson, Bowles); other parts are more to the right and represent clearly reactionary interests (Allan Dulles, J. Edgar Hoover, Earl Russell). The ultra-right has always used the issue of anti-communism to discredit the proponents of liberal and welfare legislation. This tactic was first made an institution by Nixon in the 1946 election, and by McCarthy beginning in 1949. Since the Right need not be troubled by facts and is not encumbered by the responsibilities of political power, it can usually outmaneuver the Administration on its chosen field of battle: anti-Communism and super-patriotism. The hunt for Reds, especially when the Communist Party is not, in fact, a danger to anyone but other equally insignificant sects, can only sidetrack the American people from the fight for peace, the fight for New Frontiers legislation, for social welfare and civil rights. The first two years of the New Frontier indicates that more, not less, of such legislation is needed if the American people are to move dynamically to solve the ills of our challenged democracy. If the Administration is to be successful in accomplishing its stated goals, it needs to bloc with the liberal forces against the Right, not to appease the Right at the expense of the liberals. The attacks of the civil liberties of the Communist Party create a situation which seriously endangers the rights and ultimately the existence of the very liberal forces whose strength must be interposed between the Administration and the Right. Let the Administration worry less about Communists, and more about the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition which cripples every piece of liberal legislation. The American enemy at home is prejudice and egotism, inertia and vested interest. Let us move quickly before we find avenues of change closed.

DB/17

A BRIEF RESPONSE TO THE McCARREN ACT DRAFT
by Donald McKelvey

I have two main criticisms of the draft document on Advance and the McCarran Act. First, i am opposed to the disclaimer which says, in effect, that we recognize what Advance is (even if we don't say what Advance is) and we're not like that. In relation to the civil liberties issue, with which the document purports to deal, there is no question of Advance's political beliefs; it seems to me that that question is irrelevant, as we are supporting the right of <u>any</u> group to hold any political beliefs and to organize to promulgate them.

We should, i think, specifically eschew any disclaimer, saying that the use of such devices only intensifies the anti-communist paranoia which is so rife. To go out of our way to say that we are not communists (or sympathetic to communists or fellow travellers or whatever) only serves to focus attention further on communism as a special Thing to be wary of and exacerbates the tendency to see so many questions of communist/anti-communist.

Secondly, i am more concerned with the very existence of the McCarren Act and, more important, of the societal atmosphere which lies behind and beyond it than i am with the use of the Act in this specific situation or its ostensible potential use against organizations to the "right" of the CP (i don't think formal sanctions will be used against organizations without definite CP connections). This aspect of the whole affair (and, incidentally, of the Women Strike/HUAC set-to) should be emphasized much more than it is in the document (which is meant to perform primarily an educational function). Namely--that the dominant societal atmosphere in this country is such as to make an individual unlikely or wary even of considering "unorthodox" ideas; and if he considers them, wary of believing them--not because they're wrong but because they're unorthodox--; and if he believes them, wary of espousing them to others even privately and of following them to their conclusions; and if they are logically followed and privately espoused, wary of taking a public stand and of attempting to promulgate them. The informal sanctions and tools which the society wields are much more powerful than the formal ones, and much more efficacious in deadeni g individuals' ability to think; thus, the informal societal phenomena should be highlighted, not just mentioned. The running of this societal gambit is something rarely done indeed; too many go through life "conforming" out of a psychological inability to do otherwise.

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NEWS FROM:

SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
524 - 1378

FOR RELEASE AFTER 6:00 P.M., MARCH 27, 1963

Text of telegram to the Justice Department

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

I have asserted before that a reign of terror exists in the state of Mississippi. It is corroborated by the bizarre events in Greenwood, Mississippi today. Loosing dogs on people who only wish to register and vote cannot be explained away in any democratic society. It is apparent that law and order have broken down in LeFlore County, and police power is being used to intimidate and threaten rather than to protect and keep the peace.

We earnestly urge you,as Attorney General, to take whatever steps that are necessary to safeguard the lives and property of the voter registration workers and those who apply. There is an absolute need for them to be protected from the violence of police power as well as that of the hoodlum element.

I will continue to urge our people in LeFlore to remain nonviolent but it is difficult to predict how much longer the Negro in Mississippi can endure this repeated mayhem and attempted murder.

Very truly yours,
Martin Luther King, Jr.

being trained by the thousands in the arts of counter-insurgency, i.e., putting down Castro-type insurrections. U. S. corporation money is going into "civic action" programs to persuade the Latin Americans that Uncle Sam knows what is best for them. Lest the Latin American police become too complaisant, they are taught how to handle their own populations by strong-armed Americans. Someone is scared, and it isn't only Castro.

The Patent Giveaway

When the hired scientific brains of a corporation come up with an invention, the title, patent and any ensuing profits belong to the employer. All very natural and right, isn't it? After all, the scientist is working on company time in a laboratory and with materials furnished by the company. But suppose the invention is made in pursuance of a company contract with the Department of Defense, in a laboratory and with materials underwritten by tax money? To whom, then, does the patent belong? Alas, not to the government—the taxpayer, that is—but again to the company. This is standard procedure with Defense when it awards research-and-development (R & D) contracts, the idea being that private initiative simply won't operate unless it is promised the icing along with the cake.

Defense's R & D contracts total $11 billion for fiscal 1964, 60 per cent of which go to ten giant corporations. The dollar value of the patent potentials that lie in those $11 billion is anybody's guess. "Never," Richard J. Barber, Southern Methodist University law professor, recently told a Senate Small Business subcommittee, "has so much money been spent by the government with so little consideration for its ultimate social and economic consequences." Now it is proposed that the government spend even more money with even less consideration; NASA, with a $4 billion R & D budget, wants to abandon its former policy of retaining patents in favor of exercising the same giveaway privilege enjoyed by Defense. But the Senate Small Business subcommittee disagrees, and so does the small handful of Senators and Congressmen who can always be relied upon to fight for the public interest against private non-enterprise. "Let's not have any more giveaways," Sen. Ernest Gruening (D., Alaska), warned. He called NASA's proposal "contrary to Congressional policy and to the best interests of our country." Sen. Wayne Morse, (D., Ore.), charged that NASA was planning to give away "basic, substantive" public rights in government-financed research. Representative Edith Green (D., Ore.) summarized the matter succinctly on the floor of the House:

. . . Where NASA sponsors and pays for research and development . . . the ensuing inventions and discoveries should be the property of the federal government for the benefit of the general public and not for the benefit of only a particular contractor involved.

These are the decent voices of dissent. But a Congress which is ready to give away all future generations of Telstars to A. T. and T. is not likely to stifle NASA's equally generous impulses when it comes to public property.

LWD ✓
PA ✓
ML ✓
WB ✓
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The NATION 3/30/63

~~Integration Org. Misc.~~ ~~Civil~~ Tel

BOLD DESIGN FOR A NEW SOUTH . . . . . Martin Luther King, Jr.

This is the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s third annual report to the readers of *The Nation* on the battle for civil rights (see: "Equality Now," Feb. 4, 1961; "Fumbling on the New Frontier," March 3, 1962). — ED.

An arresting paradox emerged in 1962. History will doubtless judge the year as marking a favorable turning point in the struggle for equality, yet it was also the year that civil rights was displaced as the dominant issue in domestic politics. Although thundering events in Oxford, Miss., and Albany, Ga., captured public attention, there was a perceptible diminishing in the concern of the nation to achieve a just solution of the problem.

Part of the blame must be laid to the Administration's cautious tactics. Early in the year, the President backed away from the Senate fight to amend Rule 22, the so-called filibuster rule; had he entered the fray, the amendment would probably have passed and the greatest obstacle to the passage of civil-rights legislation would have been smashed. (Despite this experience, the President again remained aloof, under similar circumstances, in January of this year, and again the amendment failed to carry.) True, 1962 was the year of the Cuban crisis, which understandably tended to dwarf all other issues. Yet even in the shadow of Cuba, such issues as trade legislation and tax reform took the play away from civil rights in editorial columns, public debate and headlines.

The Administration's circumscribed actions in the civil-rights field was generally accepted by the public; even liberal forces proved watchful rather than anxious, hopeful rather than insistent. The demand for progress was somehow drained of its moral imperative, and the issue no longer commanded the conscience of the nation as it had in previous years.

The decline of civil rights as the Number One domestic issue was a direct consequence, I believe, of the rise and public acceptance of "tokenism." The American people have not abandoned the quest for equal rights; rather, they have been persuaded to accept token victories as indicative of genuine and satisfactory progress.

An impressive list of government

actions took place in 1962 affecting job opportunities, voting rights, desegregation of public facilities, the appointment of Negroes to official posts, housing discrimination, etc. In fairness, it must be said that this Administration has outstripped all previous ones in the breadth of its civil-rights activities. Yet the movement, instead of breaking out into the open plains of progress, remains constricted and confined. A sweeping revolutionary force is pressed into a narrow tunnel.

This is inevitable when sharply limited goals are set as objectives in place of substantial accomplishments. While merely 7 per cent of Negro children in the South attend integrated schools, the major battle of the year was over one Negro in a Mississippi university. Two thousand school districts remain segregated after nearly a decade of litigation based upon Supreme Court decisions.

Hundreds of Southern communities continue to segregate public facilities, yet even after the immense efforts and sacrifices of the weary Negro citizens of Albany, Ga., the government enters the fray only at the periphery, filing an *amicus curiae* brief in a law suit.

Negro unemployment has mounted to double the proportion of white unemployment, and government action produces a handful of jobs in industries possessing government contracts.

Housing discrimination confines Negroes to slums, North and South, and an Executive Order forbidding it affects the smallest possible area.

If tokenism were our goal, this Administration has adroitly moved us towards its accomplishment. But tokenism can now be seen not only as a useless goal, but as a genuine menace. It is a palliative which relieves emotional distress, but leaves the disease and its ravages unaffected. It tends to demobilize and relax the militant spirit which alone drives us forward to real change.

Tokenism was the inevitable outgrowth of the Administration's design for dealing with discrimination. The Administration sought to demonstrate to Negroes that it has concern for them, while at the same time it has striven to avoid inflaming the opposition. The most cynical view holds that it wants the vote of both and is paralyzed by the conflicting needs of each. I am not ready to make a judgment condemning the motives of the Administration as hypocritical. I believe that it sincerely wishes to achieve change, but that it has misunderstood the forces at play. Its motives may better be judged when and if it fails to correct mistakes as they are revealed by experience.

The day for assessing that experience is at hand. Token gains may well halt our progress, rather than further it. The time has come when the government must commit its immense resources squarely on the side of the quest for freedom. This is not a struggle in which government is a mere mediator. Its laws are being violated.

In a dispute between capital and labor, the government may assume the role of mediator when the simple determination of wages is the issue. But it did not assume this role in the '30s, when the issue was a basic right—the freedom of labor to organize and be represented. Then a law of stern and sweeping power put the government wholly on labor's side. A National Labor Relations Board legislated and enforced labor rights in every nook and cranny of the nation, bending the most powerful corporations into compliance.

Negro rights have no comparable government bastion. Negroes are isolated in communities which daily violate their constitutional privileges with total impunity. The government cannot merely mediate, because basic legal rights are involved. The scale on which violations exist is so vast that limited approaches will never reach the evil; only enforcement machinery of vast proportions will be equal to the task.

Government has not accepted the philosophy of tokenism in defense of economic planning. We have created scientific and industrial miracles: computers solve in minutes problems humans would require hundreds of years to calculate; man-made instruments guide missiles millions of miles into space, measuring and analyzing the components of other worlds. Yet in a luncheonette in a Southern town, the government cannot make the Constitution function for human rights.

The government cannot merely mediate because the national interest is deeply involved. The widespread, blatant and persistent denial of human rights in huge regions of our nation constitutes our gravest weakness before world tribunals and world opinion. Our national interest compels us to do more than seek tokens of justice.

I stated at the outset that while 1962 was the year in which civil rights receded as the primary domestic issue, it was also a year that marked a favorable turning point in this area. In what sense can 1962 be considered "favorable"?

The Kennedy Administration may have embraced tokenism as a least common denominator, acceptable to the whole South. But the fact is that this approach is tactically and strategically unsound; the South is not, today, one whole. It is already split, fissured into two parts; one is ready for extensive change, the other adamantly opposed to any but the most trivial alterations. The Administration should not seek to fashion policies for the latter; it should place its weight behind the *dynamic* South, encouraging and facilitating its progressive development.

The simple and arresting truth that became clear in 1962 is that significant elements of the South have come to see that segregation has placed the whole region socially, educationally, and economically behind the rest of the nation. What is the evidence for this? The following are quotations from the leading white newspaper of the South, the *Atlanta Constitution*:

> *We have stopped justifying and begun rectifying racial wrongs. We have traded self-deception for self-respect. . . .*
>
> *This is the South we are proud of — a land of gentlemen, plain-spoken, manly and respectful of their people . . .* not a swampland of the deceitful where weaselers dodge and cavil and speak half-truths to the unknowing. . . .
>
> *As a Negro is freed from force, the white man is freed from guilt; as narrow political systems pass, our people broaden; as schooling improves, factory payrolls will multiply and as America grows, the South will more than match her. The South is going to pass her. For here on the final frontier, greatness is setting in. . . .*

In the same week these challenging words were written as a Declaration of Independence of a new

South, the Governor of North Carolina declared in plain-spoken terms that discrimination in employment in his state must go.

This is the moment for government to drive a wedge into the splitting South, spreading it open. Negroes and enlightened whites have already built alliances which are registering momentous gains in the electoral arena. In 1962, Georgia, on the basis of a Negro-white *de facto* alliance, elected a moderate Governor, a moderate Mayor in Atlanta, a moderate Congressman from the most populous county, and sent a Negro to the State Senate for the first time in nearly a hundred years.

The South is fissuring along a seam which divides the industrializing regions from the stagnating, backward, agricultural areas. This is significant because the new social and political attitudes are rooted in economic necessity. New industry will not come where dying customs create social tensions, second-rate education and cities without the cultural institutions required for the technical personnel of modern industry.

In short, communities have learned that they cannot live in the past and enjoy the fruits of the present. More and more Southerners are speaking out, telling plain truths to the bitter and the blind. Enlightened self-interest makes them accept the Negro's drive for freedom as an ally rather than an enemy.

There will still be differences of opinion in the South. Yet the present direction is forward and the areas in which blind conflict rages are narrowing. We will continue to know jails at first hand because change will not come easily in many places. Nevertheless, we will negotiate desegregation into oblivion in one community as we batter its stubborn walls in another.

The crystallizing of this new social revolution confronts the Administration with the responsibility to pattern programs in bold designs. In place of timorous steps suitable for the Old South, the government should turn to the New South, giving it the aid it needs.

The Administration is at a historic crossroad. It has at stake its moral commitment, and with it its political fortunes. It will not weaken its international posture, but strengthen it, if it takes the road to democratization of the South in active unity with the enlightened South—white and Negro. It will not suffer domestically, because its fate in the large Northern cities will turn on the Negro electorate and these cities will determine who occupies the White House.

The President has called for civil-rights legislation in the present session of Congress in the face of earlier counsels of despair—the hostility of Congress, he was told, made any such proposals futile. The President's specific program includes some constructive measures. Regarding voting and registration, he has again introduced the proposal that completion of six grades of school should be accepted as evidence of literacy, qualifying the applicant for registration. Thousands of potential voters can be benefited by such a law. He has further proposed a mechanism for by-passing obstructive local registrars by specifying objective standards under which Federal Registrars may be appointed to qualify voters.

A legislative struggle this year need not be a quixotic exercise in futility. The obstructive coalition of Southern Democrats and Conservative Republicans can be split on this issue. The Republicans cannot afford to block civil-rights legislation which the President earnestly sponsors, and Southern Democrats cannot defeat it if they are isolated;

A "NEW SOUTH" VIEW OF GOVERNOR BARNETT

Sanders in Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News

"Do not usurp our right to usurp the rights of our citizens!"

if, however, the President is lethargic, the Republicans can be tranquil. They can content themselves merely with criticizing the President in the absence of real challenge. If civil rights is elevated to the urgency that trade, tax and military legislation enjoys, 1963 can be a year of achievement and not another annual experience with frustration.

These are practical political considerations all dictating one road. Yet above it all, a greater imperative demands fulfillment. Throughout our history, the moral decision has always been the correct decision. From our determination to be free in 1776, to our shedding of the evil of chattel slavery in 1863, to our decision to stand against the wave of fascism in the 1930s, we grew and became stronger in our commitment to the democratic tradition. The correct decision in 1963 will make it a genuine turning point in human rights. One hundred years ago a President, tortured by doubts, finally ended slavery and a new American society took shape. Lincoln had hoped the slavery issue could be relegated to secondary place, but life thrust it into the center of history. There segregation, the evil heritage of slavery, still remains.

America's Jobless and Russia's Markets

Sir John Lomax

London

There is not the smallest sign that Americans, though businessmen par excellence, realize the central truth that the line of total hostility toward Russia impales them upon a dilemma which has beset the United States economy since the end of the Kaiser's War.

This idea rests upon an assumption which — in round figures — may be stated as United States dependence, for full employment, upon its ability to export a surplus capacity of 20 per cent of its total productive potential. For every 1 per cent of the surplus not so disposed of, so the assumption goes, there will be one million unemployed. The present degree of idle capacity in the United States is indicated by about six million workless. This is not an alarming figure by American standards, but if events are allowed to drift—in the Coolidge manner, for example — unemployment could reach a calamity level of 20 million, as it did in the early thirties. Since one consequence of that situation was the banishment to the wilderness for twenty years of the political party responsible, it may be supposed that the Administration in Washington would do almost anything to prevent a repetition. But what could it do?

For the problem there is no ordinary solution, nor has there ever been. The "classic" solution is for the surplus to pass into ordinary foreign trade, but the limitation on this outlet is the volume of *valuta* that other countries possess for spending on dollar imports. For the last three decades, this amount has never been enough. In fact, U.S. fiscal methods have tended always to deprive of dollars the very countries — e.g., the underdeveloped — whose need for U.S. commodities, via the trade media, is greatest.

Hence, the surplus has had to be absorbed by some extra-commercial means. This phenomenon is observable as far back as 1915, when the Allies, already ordering madly for their war needs, ran out of dollars and began to borrow. Until the war ended, and even afterwards, U.S. shipments went on and absorbed the surplus. In consequence, there was no unemployment in the United States; instead, vast debts accumulated, and most of them have never been paid to this day. It was America's first exercise — at that time, quite unwitting — in giving away merchandise on a national scale.

There followed a period — 1923-29 — of hectic finance-house lending. This, too, provided borrowers with funds to buy U.S. goods, and the American surplus was duly absorbed. But again a high percentage of the loans defaulted, with the end result that a corresponding proportion of the goods was also given away. Proof is that when, after 1929, the loans ceased, and there were none but commercial exports, the surplus remained unsold—in fact, mostly unmanufactured—and soon after America had 20 million unemployed.

Throughout America's economic story to date the same theme runs. To keep anything like full employment, the United States has had to give away its unsold surplus by a succession of devices: lend-lease, Marshall aid, Point Four allocations, and contributions to defense for practically every country that would accept it. During many years of this period, of course, the surplus was absorbed — and indeed exceeded — by armaments manufacture for the national and Allied armies, and even after World War II by the rearmament provoked by Russia under Stalin.

Incidentally, it was by this giveaway process, in one form and another, that the United States brought about the economic revival of many nations, especially Japan and the countries of Western Europe. But now these countries are restored; they are standing on their own feet, and some act like competitors.

Thus the situation has changed radically. The American surplus problem can no longer be solved by lavish gifts. For one thing, it is coming to light in ominous fashion that the process would soon lead to a currency problem of serious dimensions. Already the drain of benevolence and the cost of keeping small armies all over the world is wasting the U.S. gold reserves. If goods, food and services were given away to the limit of capacity — as during lend-lease, for instance — the gold reserve would have to be expanded fast to redress the payments deficits. No government could tolerate that; gold is a prime defense stockpile.

In this field, the United States is the more vulnerable because its posi-

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Intergroup Org. Misc.

NOT FOR PUBLIC OR
PRESS QUOTATION

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Birmingham City Jail
April 16, 1963

Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter
Bishop Joseph A. Durick
Rabbi Milton L. Grafman
Bishop Paul Hardin
Bishop Nolan B. Harmon
The Rev. George M. Murray
The Rev. Edward V. Ramage
The Rev. Earl Stallings

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that cross my desk my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the south -- one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a non-violent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town; and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the

conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any non-violent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) Collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive, (2) Negotiation, (3) Self-purification and (4) Direct Action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and Churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants -- such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. Like so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on non-violence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?" We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our non-violent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has

consistently refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the non-violent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive non-violent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having non-violent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So the purpose of direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved southland been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My Friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and non-violent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of

inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored." When your first name becomes "nigger" your middle name becomes "boy" (However old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are haggard by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"; -- then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, Sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break law. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are <u>just</u> laws and there are <u>unjust</u> laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness. So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is <u>difference</u> made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is <u>sameness</u> made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the legislature of Alabama which

set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of convening methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on a charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the first amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that if I had lived in Germany during that time I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council-er or the Klu Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they

become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in non-violent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to his will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and, on the other hand, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a

degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness, and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism," of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channelized through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being categorized.

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice -- "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ -- "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist -- "Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist -- "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make mockery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist -- "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist -- "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice -- or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime, the crime of

extremism. Two were extremist for immorality, and thusly fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed and still forever have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith and James Dobbs have marched down nameless streets of the South. They have sat in with us at lunch counters and have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms, and rode in with us on Freedom Rides. They have learned to sing the haunting soul songs of the freedom movement. They have languished in filthy roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a nonsegregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cords of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and Rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some few have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious, and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause, and with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and

the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues which the Gospel has nothing to do with," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between bodies and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail light behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading me to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here? Who is their God? Where were the voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformist.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven" and had to obey God rather than men. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "atronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now. The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young

people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again, I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true ecclesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson scratched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence we were here. For more than two centuries our fore-parents labored here without wages; they made cotton king; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation -- and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, non-violent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young Negro boys; if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly "non-violent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Prichett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Elliot has said that there is

no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of the elders courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down in reality they were standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, and thusly, carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the foundation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long (or should I say a book?). I'm afraid that it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an over-statement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood

Martin Luther King, Jr.

MLK:wm

Intergroup Org. Misc.

SBV

Agenda Item No 9 (c)
4-30-63

ORDINANCE NO. _____

ORDINANCE CREATING METROPOLITAN DADE COUNTY COMMUNITY RELATIONS BOARD; PROVIDING FOR MEMBERSHIP, QUALIFICATIONS AND TERMS; PROVIDING FOR STAFF PERSONNEL; SPECIFYING DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BOARD; PROVIDING LIMITATION OF POWERS; PROVIDING REPEAL CLAUSE; PROVIDING FOR INCLUSION IN CODE; AND PROVIDING EFFECTIVE DATE

WHEREAS, Dade County is a growing cosmopolitan center whose population is composed of numerous and differing social, racial, religious, linguistic, cultural, and economic groups; and

WHEREAS, misunderstandings, tensions and frictions sometimes arise among and between these groups and individuals composing these groups, which misunderstandings, tensions and frictions may and can lead to deep-rooted suspicion, intolerance, and hatred by and between these groups and the individuals composing them; and

WHEREAS, the Board of County Commissioners wishes to discourage community discord because of its realization that the community will be a happier and more prosperous one if the aforesaid groups and individuals will live and work together in harmony and friendship; and

WHEREAS, the Board of County Commissioners realizes that such community harmony and friendship can best be achieved by encouraging the aforesaid groups and individuals to regard each other with respect, understanding, and tolerance rather than with intolerance, suspicion, and hatred; and

WHEREAS, the Board of County Commissioners, in the realization that respect, understanding, and tolerance cannot be forced upon unwilling groups and persons, wishes to encourage genuine respect, understanding and tolerance among the aforesaid groups and persons solely by voluntary and persuasive methods; and

WHEREAS, the Board of County Commissioners wishes to establish an agency to encourage mutual respect and understanding among the aforesaid groups and persons by voluntary and persuasive methods alone,

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA:

Section 1. CREATION OF BOARD. There is hereby created and established in Dade County an advisory board to be known as the Metropolitan Dade County Community Relations Board.

Section 2. MEMBERSHIP, QUALIFICATIONS AND TERMS. This Board shall consist of fifteen (15) members appointed by the Board of County Commissioners, The membership of the Board shall be broadly representative of the various social, racial, religious, linguistic, cultural, and economic groups comprising the population of this County. Each member shall be a citizen and qualified elector of Dade County with an outstanding reputation for community pride, interest, integrity, responsibility, and business or professional ability. Initially, five members shall be appointed for terms of one year, five members shall be appointed for terms of two years, and five members shall be appointed for terms of three years. After the initial appointments, appointments shall be for terms of three years, except

that appointments to fill any vacancy shall be for the remainder of the unexpired term. Members shall serve without compensation, but shall be reimbursed for necessary expenses incurred in official duties, as may be determined and approved by the County Commission.

Section 3. ORGANIZATION. The members of the Board shall select and designate from its members a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and such other officers as may be deemed necessary, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. Eight members of the Board shall constitute a quorum. No action shall be taken except by a majority vote of the entire membership. The Board may adopt rules of procedure governing its meetings and actions on matters within its jurisdiction, not inconsistent with the provisions of this ordinance, which rules of procedure shall be filed with the Clerk of the County Commission. Copies of the minutes of all board meetings shall be furnished to the chairman of the County Commission and the County Manager.

Section 4. STAFF. Subject to budget limitations, the County Manager may appoint an Executive Director, qualified by educational and professional experience in the field of community relations, to direct and coordinate the activities of the Board, and such additional personnel as he may deem necessary. The County Manager shall fix the compensation of all such personnel within the limits of funds provided in the County budget for such purpose.

Section 5. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS. The functions of the Board shall be:

1. To foster mutual understanding, tolerance, and respect among all economic, social, religious and ethnic groups in the County.

(2) To make studies in the field of human relations.

The Board is vested with the power and authority and charged with the duty and responsibility:

(1) To attempt to act as conciliator in controversies involving community relations.

(2) To cooperate with Federal, state and city agencies in developing harmonious community relations.

(3) To cooperate in the development of educational programs dedicated to the improvement of community relations with, and to enlist the support of, civic leaders; civic, religious, veterans, labor, industrial, commercial and eleemosynary groups; and private agencies engaged in the inculcation of ideals of tolerance, mutual respect and understanding.

(4) To make studies, and to have studies made, in the field of community relations, and to prepare and disseminate reports of such studies.

(5) To recommend to the Manager and the Board of County Commissioners such ordinances as will aid in carrying out the purposes of this ordinance.

(6) To submit an annual report to the Manager and the Board of County Commissioners.

(7) To accept grants and donations on behalf of the County from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out the above listed functions, subject to approval by the County Commission.

Section 6. LIMITATION OF POWERS. The powers and jurisdiction of the Board shall be purely advisory, voluntary and persuasive. The Board shall not have any power or authority to subpoena or compel the attendance of witnesses.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Section 7. REPEAL. All County ordinances and resolutions, special laws applying to Dade County only and any general law which the County Commission is specifically authorized by the Constitution to supersede, nullify or amend, and any parts of any such ordinance, resolution or law, in conflict with any provision contained in this ordinance, are hereby repealed.

Section 8. INCLUSION IN CODE. The provisions of this ordinance shall be included and incorporated in the Code of Metropolitan Dade County, Florida, as an addition thereto.

Section 9. EFFECTIVE DATE. The provisions of this ordinance shall become effective ten (10) days after the date of its enactment.

PASSED AND ADOPTED:

Liberation
4/63 Intergroup Org Mem
NNRRR

Will Commitment to Nonviolence Last?

CARLETON MABEE

NOW THAT victories for the nonviolent integration movement are coming more slowly, those who participate in it have more reason to question their commitment to the nonviolent direct action method.

As individuals Negroes have been somewhat prepared to use nonviolence by the centuries of slavery and second-class citizenship which have taught them to accept suffering without retaliating. Both blacks and whites have been somewhat prepared, too, by centuries of church teaching about loving enemies, taking up crosses, and turning cheeks.

Yet it is difficult for the nonviolent philosophy to penetrate the lives of Southern Negroes because there has been little specific preparation for nonviolent social action in their milieu. The Negroes have grown up in a white tradition of militarism and personal violence to defend "honor." White police have sometimes tolerated weekend razor slashings so long as they have been confined to Negro slums. Neither Quakerism nor the Fellowship of Reconciliation has been a noticeable force among Negroes; Martin Luther King's influence has been the major one in support of deliberate nonviolent direct action—that is, the patterned social technique involving, first, testing for discrimination, then confrontation of the person responsible for discrimination, and finally, peaceful non-cooperation with it—but King's influence began only with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and is limited.

It is also difficult for the nonviolent method to win complete acceptance by youth, North or South, because at the close of the nonviolent movement's third year of accelerated action, other methods of improving Negro status are still being persuasively advocated. Successful Negroes sometimes say that Negro self-improvement is more effective than nonviolence. Leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are likely to urge the advantages of court action. Negroes under threat of violence sometimes argue, as did Robert Williams (late of Monroe, North Carolina, now of Cuba) that when police protection is lacking, everyone has a right to defend himself physically, and that no one can earn respect unless he does. The Black Muslims, as well as academic sophisticates like the late Professor E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University, have told students that Negroes are making no significant advances in the United States, and that nonviolence is a method for slaves.

When nothing dramatic is happening, enthusiasm for nonviolence is likely to flag. Sometimes defeatism prevails, as in Talladega and Birmingham, Alabama, where students allowed local or state legal action to stop their demonstrations; or as in the advice of an experienced student to a novice who was planning to go to Mississippi: carry a razor with you, so that if you are jailed you can protect yourself from other inmates. Backbiting sometimes occurs within the movement because of racial bias or sensitivity that racial bias might exist. Charges and countercharges are made about the desire to manipulate people, about organizations competing for power, about extravagant praise for certain leaders. Some students criticize King because he doesn't let himself be arrested often enough, but on the other hand when he first let himself be arrested in Albany, Georgia, they interpreted his doing so as an attempt to steal the show from others. All of this represents very human weakness, but nevertheless weakness which makes it more difficult for the movement to gather the momentum to root out segregation.

Perhaps the movement would be stronger if it had more saints among its student participants, but most of them are not saints, any more than most of Gandhi's followers were, and they resent being labelled so. They want to horseplay, dance, love, and laugh, like other youth. They know that many of them came into the movement not only because of commitment to freedom

but also because of such other motives as desire for excitement and a sense of personal significance, and a chance to develop their leadership capacities. They believe that such mixed motives continue to operate in themselves and others who stay within the movement. Nor are most participants in the movement purists in following nonviolent discipline. Quite naturally, when violence does not threaten they sometimes release their hostility, as the following incidents from the upper South suggest.

Releasing Hostility

After picketers had succeeded in keeping all customers out of a segregated restaurant except one man, each time the picketers walked past the window behind which he was sitting, some of them glared at him. (Says Martin Luther King, nonviolence does not seek to humiliate opponents but to earn their friendship.) During sit-ins, when waitresses stumbled in reading the complicated language of the Maryland trespass law, which they must read aloud as part of the legal process of requesting a sitter to leave a restaurant, some of the sitters unnecessarily corrected the waitresses' English. To do so "makes you feel good," one of the Negro student leaders explained to me.

When a policeman asked a group of picketers to walk outside a certain line on the concrete sidewalk so as not to block a door, two of the picketers taunted the policeman by placing their feet as close to the line as possible, watching their feet with exaggerated care, and occasionally grinning at him.

Interracial couples going to and from sit-ins necked, flaunting their intimacy in the face of passers-by and police. (They could get away with this in Washington or Atlanta, one student told me, but to try it in Mississippi might mean their lives.) Such questionable behavior, say two girls expelled from college in Baton Rouge for participating in demonstrations, would not occur in Louisiana. "Down there," they say, "the night before demonstrations we have prayer services. Up here, near the Mason-Dixon line, they have drinking parties."

Demonstrations in the North are sometimes well disciplined, as at Ann Arbor or Jersey City, just as they are likely to be in Jackson or Memphis. Differences in local leadership as well as in police and public attitudes are likely to result in different degrees of discipline. Relaxation of discipline is more likely among those who accept nonviolence as a tactic rather than a way of life. In any case, for demonstrators to lapse into physical violence is rare.

Even when apparently disciplined, however, the demonstrators may be ruthless in their use of nonviolence. As a National Council of Churches observer, who is sympathetic to the movement, tells the story, he once saw a Negro demonstrator hand a leaflet to a white man, who tore it up. The Negro smiled at him, and the white, startled, moved away. The Negro followed the white, laughing at him, until the white psychologically collapsed. It might have been more nonviolent to have hit the white man in the first place.

Moreover, when not actually in a demonstration, some participants in the movement do not feel bound to nonviolence. Says a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.), "When not in a demonstration, I don't usually get into fights, but I will defend myself."

In Maryland, when hoods broke a car window on the street near a home where a student interracial party was in progress, some of the Negro nonviolent leaders attending the party chased the hoods down the street and stopped only when the hoods drew knives on them. Later, when the police seemed to be blaming these students for the confusion that followed, one policeman asked a student leader what the button he was wearing meant by the words: "We shall overcome." The student replied, to his later regret: "We shall overcome whites and cops." (Students usually interpret the words to mean: we shall overcome *segregation.*)

After a trial in Kentucky in which nonviolent demonstrators unsuccessfully sued police for knocking them down, in the courthouse corridor one of the demonstrators, a robust youngster, walked up to one of the police concerned, and asked belligerently, "Why don't you hit me now?"

Such stumbling on the nonviolent path, whether in demonstrations or not, concerns national leaders of the movement.

There is a violent spirit in much nonviolence, admits Norman Hill of the staff of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); and it will not be easy to reduce it, he believes, because for some time to come, as the decline of segregation frees Negroes increasingly from their inhibitions, they will release more of their hostility.

Martin Luther King is sensitive to violence which is even indirectly related to the movement. In Albany, Georgia, some Negroes, in a crowd protesting the arrest of nonviolent demonstrators, threw rocks and bottles at police. Though it was not clear that the throwers were identified with the movement, King insisted that it share responsibility for their violence. He joined other leaders of the movement in calling off demonstrations during a twenty-four-hour "penance."

We need to give more training in nonviolence, says CORE's national director, James Farmer. For instance, CORE and other nonviolent groups did not give enough training to the 1961 Freedom Riders for their experience in jail, he believes. As a result, under the tensions of long jail terms some riders broke into fist-fights, some made pledges to undertake hunger strikes which they later found themselves unable to carry out, and some in solitary confinement broke down and screamed to be let out. Studies are now being made under the direction of Allan Knight Chalmers, of the Boston University Theological School, of methods of improving discipline in jail.

On the other hand, many of those who become involved in the movement grow gradually more nonviolent.

• Said a sixteen-year-old leader of demonstrations in Cairo, Illinois: "When I was fifteen, I was arrested for being in a fight. Now that I am in the movement, I would know how to calm a person down. Quite a number of boys in our movement were known for quick temper, but through the movement have changed."

• Said a high-school participant in Louisville, aged seventeen: "Lately I realize that I am nonviolent even when not in a demonstration."

• Said a Freedom Rider from Nashville, aged twenty: "Before I was in the movement I was real mean. I would fight any time anyone came up to me. Now those feelings are all gone."

Tactic or Way of Life?

According to Charles McDew, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, S.N.C.C. leadership—including twenty field secretaries—is about evenly divided between those who accept nonviolence as a way of life and those who regard it as a tactic. This division of opinion, widespread in the nonviolent movement, is suggested by an exchange of views at a recent S.N.C.C.-CORE conference between two colored students, both Freedom Riders.

"We can change hearts by redemptive love," said Jerome Smith, a CORE staff member from New Orleans.

"We can't change hearts," argued Stokely Carmichael, a Howard University student. "The people we deal with don't have consciences."

"Everyone has a conscience," answered Smith, "but some people have not awakened theirs yet."

Carmichael persisted. "Again and again I have seen whites beat little Dion Diamond, though he weighs less than one hundred pounds, and did not resist, but cried, 'I love you, I love you.' "

Smith replied: "After I was polite to my Mississippi jailer for three months, he was able to say good morning to me; finally he even admitted that he was sorry for what the state had done to Freedom Riders." And he added: "Perhaps you can force desegregation without reaching hearts, but you can't redeem the nation for integration until you do reach hearts."

"We are not the redeemers of the nation," Carmichael protested; "all we want is our civil rights."

Reflecting a similar division within himself, one of the non-Negro S.N.C.C. staffers, Robert Zellner, the son of an Alabama minister, is troubled by the question of how nonviolent he should be. "I don't know," he says, "whether to take the Niebuhrian view of the necessity of compromise and the imperfection of life, and thus not to expect to use absolute nonviolence all the time, or take the eschatological view that I must be absolutely pure no matter what. If I took the latter view I would be in jail now, instead of allowing myself to be bailed out."

Some students, including Zellner, believe that nonviolence has proved itself in their experience as valid not only for race relations but for international relations as well. Some of these new pacifists think of the nonviolent movement for integration as a preparation for an international nonviolent army.

On the other hand, a law student active in demonstrations says, "In San Francisco we don't talk about nonviolence. We don't talk about changing minds. We talk about changing policies, and just hope minds will change afterwards."

A college student who has been arrested for demonstrating in Kentucky explains with nonchalance: "My motivation for being in the movement is hate. I am an existentialist like Sartre. I just believe in *engagement*."

A S.N.C.C. staffer says defiantly: "Slitting the throats of ten Mississippi legislators would be worth more than having ten thousand put in jail for nonviolent action." He is cavalier about nonviolence, but is committed to using it as long as it works.

While there are many shades of opinion in the nonviolent movement, the chief bond holding it together is a marriage between those who are means-oriented and those who are ends-oriented. In India Gandhi held a similar marriage together, but in America it is uncertain if the marriage will last. Already a few pragmatists have withdrawn from the movement, to dub nonviolence effeminate and toy with black nationalism.

Voter Registration

CORE and S.N.C.C., like King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Urban League, are now engaged in Southern voter-registration drives with the aid of funds from private foundations and of occasional legal action from the United States Department of Justice. (Students comment knowingly that by this aid the Kennedy Administration, like Republican Administrations after the Civil War, hopes to gain votes from new registrants in the South and at the same time insure itself of Northern liberal support.)

Some participants in the nonviolent movement do not regard voter registration as strictly nonviolent direct action, and therefore opposed the nonviolent organizations' getting involved in it. But in practice many local nonviolent movements—as in Petersburg, Virginia, Nashville, and Atlanta—have been working at voter registration for several years without disturbing their nonviolent character; sometimes nonviolent training is useful in dealing with officials who use force to prevent registration—as it was in restraining John Hardy, a voter-registration instructor, when he was cursed and struck over the head with a pistol by a voting registrar in Walthall County, Mississippi; and sometimes when a voter-registration project, begun where there was no local nonviolent movement, runs into opposition, it leads through protest demonstrations to the creation of one, as in Pike County, Mississippi.

At recent conferences, North and South, some student leaders have been calling for moves still farther away from strictly nonviolent action toward bringing about a national political realignment, especially by pushing the Dixiecrats out of the Democratic Party. Methods for doing so would include, besides Negro voter-registration campaigns, building ties between the nonviolent movement and labor, and promoting local candidates favorable to civil rights and other liberal causes.

"We can sit-in and stand-in for the next fifty years," S.N.C.C. chairman McDew told a conference in Atlanta. But that's too slow. "We must address ourselves to the political problem. If not, the Talmadges, Russells, and Longs will perpetuate themselves."

"Students must push voter registration in a radical direction," Howard University student Tom Kahn told a student conference in Chapel Hill. "It's not just Negro votes, but the candidates who are important."

Said a Johns Hopkins student at a Students for a Democratic Society convention: "Political action will be less dramatic than sit-ins, but those who have been in the integration movement for some time are ready for it."

The Negro Church

While fascination with the possibilities of greater involvement in politics is common among leaders of S.N.C.C., the most militant Southern civil-rights organization, among others the mood is different.

From the point of view of Methodist minister James Lawson, a former missionary in India who has been one of the most capable Negro leaders in training for nonviolence, the best way to achieve integration is through concentrating on nonviolence. While S.N.C.C. seems to be more and more disillusioned about the possibility of working through the church—which in the view of some student leaders largely cares about power for itself on earth now and pie in the sky for its members later—Lawson insists, along with King and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, that the most enduring kind of nonviolent movement will be built through the Negro church.

In a cafe near the Fisk campus in Nashville, I sat with Lawson and a group of students who were proposing a joint S.N.C.C.-S.C.L.C.-CORE conference in Mississippi to train leaders in nonviolence. The group was suggesting leaders for the conference who would speak about nonviolence in the Biblical terms that would be meaningful to Mississippians. Somebody proposed a member of the F.O.R. staff, and he was accepted. Somebody else proposed a Negro college chaplain who would come only for a fat fee. A student quipped, "Then he is not committed." They ruled out one S.N.C.C. leader as a "black nationalist." In a tone of high seriousness, one student said he hoped to work for the movement as a minister in Mississippi all his life; another insisted that nonviolence could even be used to reconcile S.N.C.C. and S.C.L.C., which are haggling over funds exchanged between them and about who gets credit for what achievements; and still another—the much-jailed Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel—said, "No one can stop us. Threats of violence and jail mean nothing to us any more."

Living Nonviolently

Both North and South there are students, like these, who are more inclined to live nonviolence than many idealists who prate of Thoreau, Tolstoy, and Gandhi. One group of student activists who occupy an apartment together have no phone, no timepiece (they lean out of a window to look at a clock in the street) and yet are generous in sharing what they have with others. By their own decision, most of the S.N.C.C. staff work for forty dollars a week, and sometimes for lack of funds S.N.C.C. is unable to pay even that. One S.N.C.C. staffer can get by with sleeping in a car, eating one meal a day, and wearing a shirt for a week at a time. Students who spend the summer helping the movement wherever they are needed often receive nothing in return except the lodging and meals which local people care to give them.

In the deep South—which Black Muslim Malcolm X calls "the land of the tree and the home of the grave" —some students are expelled from school, estranged from their families, followed in the streets, or beaten and jailed, but they often learn to accept their suffering without bitterness.

Bob Zellner was shown off to visitors in his prison in Louisiana as "that nigger-loving anarchist," yet was able to say: "If some of us have to spend ten years at hard labor, we'll come out stronger, both physically and spiritually."

Bertha Gober tried to buy a bus ticket at a white ticket window, and for doing so was suspended from State College, Albany, Georgia, and jailed. But afterwards she said: "I have gained a feeling of decency and self-respect, a feeling of cleanliness, that neither the dirtiest walls of Albany's jail nor the actions of any institution can take away from me."

Such youth can be powerful agents of social change, because they combine sincere appeals to the accepted traditions of democracy and Christianity with little fear for what anyone can do to their bodies, possessions, or careers. Whether in jail or not, they are among the freest people in America.

That participants in the nonviolent movement are chiefly youths, and that youths are naturally less disciplined than adults, makes their continued commitment to nonviolence, though in various degrees, more impressive.

Their commitment, however, will not necessarily continue. If they accept nonviolence merely as a tactic, as probably over ninety per cent of them do, their commitment is likely to continue (whether the movement turns increasingly to political activity or not) only if they receive a rigorous training in nonviolence and achieve a fair number of victories over segregation.

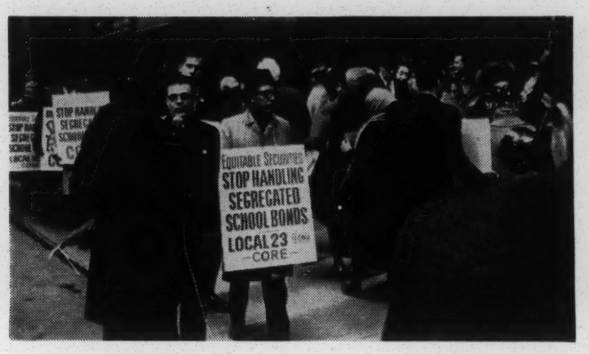
Liberation 4/63 Intergroup org Misc

Integration: The Coming Victory

There is a "New Mood" developing in the New Negro. Practically everyone was caught by surprise a few years ago when the New Negro first emerged—the Negro who carried through the nonviolent Montgomery bus boycott and then went on to "sit in" in thousands of Southern restaurants, take part, again by thousands, in Freedom Rides and innumerable other actions, personal and collective, legal and illegal, to assert their inalienable rights to dignity and decency. Unbelievable sacrifices have been made and incredible courage displayed that has made reflective white people wonder if they dare consider themselves worthy of equality with Negroes (though not a few whites have acted with dignity and courage, too).

There have also been defections, failures and detours—the entrenched power of the reactionary white community is immense; the hypocrisy of the Federal government staggering. The unrecognized racist assumptions of the ordinary "pro-Negro" white, North and South, are sometimes even more difficult to grapple with because they are so subtle and all-pervasive, woven as they are into the social fabric. In addition, the lures of prestige—lecture tours, teas at the White House, public acclaim—have captivated some of the Negro leadership. But the pressure from the ranks is unrelenting and, like the thrust of spring, not to be denied.

LIBERATION *looks this month at three relatively unpublicized recent events—and a call to future action—to try to probe the unmistakeable New Mood that is developing among Negroes and will have a lot to do with determining the timing and nature of the coming victory.*



NORTHERN PICKETS URGE BOYCOTT OF SOUTHERN BONDS

Pickets from CORE have been appearing in New York's financial district this spring, urging Northerners to stop financing segregated schools. The picket line shown above is in front of Equitable Securities Corporation, 2 Wall Street. Equitable had announced a $1,850,000 bond issue for the Gulfport, Mississippi, school system. Gulfport schools are completely segregated.

The Federal government, Wall Street, and individual investors (most of them from the North) all have a hand in keeping Negro children segregated in the South. Money to build and expand the segregated schools is usually raised by selling school bonds. The Federal government subsidizes the bonds by making the income from them tax free. Concerns like Equitable underwrite the issues and then sell the bonds to individuals, insurance companies, banks, and other investors. CORE is asking everyone involved in this unholy alliance to cease and desist, at once.

You may not be in the market for bonds yourself, but the chances are that your bank or insurance company is. Do you know whether or not they are using your money to perpetuate segregation?

INTEGRATION LEADERS REVEAL NEW EMPHASES

"This is our fight; you white people can go home any time you wish." With these words, a student raised the topical question of black leadership at a recent conference of integration leaders. Gathered in closed session at Midway, Georgia, March 11th through 13th, were fifty front-line fighters for integration from the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They included James Farmer, national director of CORE, Diane Nash Bevel, in charge of Mississippi work for S.N.C.C., and James Lawson, Wyatt Tee Walker, and Martin Luther King from S.C.L.C. Present as resource leaders were Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Bayard Rustin and A. J. Muste. Veterans of jail and violence, familiar with race-baiting and hero-worship, all these activists felt the need to come together to grapple with the lessons of the last few years in order to take stock of where they are and where they are going. In the course of their explorations, fundamental questions were aired and some tentative answers began to emerge.

Black Leadership: Negroes are tired of being told by whites what to do—by white integrationists as well as white segregationists. Men like Adam Clayton Powell and the black nationalists may be exploiting this reaction for their own ends, but there is a genuine need for Negroes to assert their own selfhood. At Midway, there was agreement that in the long run they can accomplish this best not by emphasizing ties of "blackness," but by developing ties of brotherhood in the struggle itself (as happened for a time in Montgomery). As Glenn Smiley and James Lawson pointed out, a man's real ancestors are his spiritual ancestors, those of whatever race or color who have struggled throughout the ages for the advancement of man rather than for selfish dominance. Precisely because there are white people who can abandon the struggle but don't, new dignity is added to all who participate. But whites are in no position to counsel patience or moderation. When they do so, they may be abandoning the real struggle without realizing it.

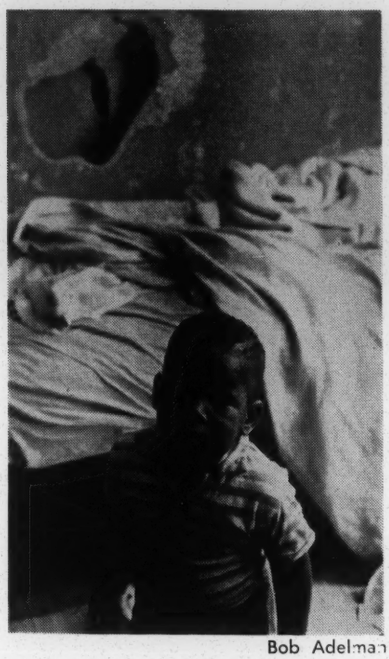
Violence and "Self-defense": Nobody can say that individuals do not have the right to defend themselves from attack. But the leadership cannot have guns, not even for self-defense. If they do, they automatically inject this factor into the social struggle, and cause an intensification of the violence, the hatred, and blind self-justification on both sides. For those deeply involved in the struggle in the South, the question of collective armed self-defense that came to a head in Monroe, N.C., a few years ago is no longer an issue. For the most part, such advocacy is now limited to Northern Negroes (and some of their supporters), who are removed

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SPREADS TO THE NORTH

There is one point on which Negroes and white Southerners are agreed: the Negro is far from being "free and equal" in the North, where integration continues to be more "token" than real. Speaking in Long Beach, L.I., recently, Robert Brookings Gore, Assistant Director of Community Relations for CORE, said: "The same conditions which exist in Mississippi are here in our own backyards, and we must begin to fight them here, by civil disobedience if necessary."

In Long Beach, Negroes have been fighting not only for open occupancy (which the law grants them and custom denies them) but against rent gouging and slum conditions. A series of sit-ins during March, in the offices of slum landlords and in a white-only apartment house, led to 36 arrests within a ten day period. An injunction has been issued to put a halt to such activities but integration leaders indicate that they may feel called upon to defy it.

Meanwhile, in New York City, 6 members of CORE have been found guilty of disorderly conduct for "sitting in" in a real estate office of a landlord who had refused to rent an apartment to a Negro. After the arrest of these 6, 13 additional CORE members repeated the action and were also arrested.



Bob Adelman

36 persons were arrested in Long Beach, Long Island, in March, for protesting housing conditions like this.

from the realities of the developing struggle in the South and who fail to understand that in the South, unlike the North, the most violent defenders of segregaton are the police. In this situation, armed "self-defense" becomes an illusion. At Midway, one man said: "The white mobs are not nearly so dangerous these days as the police, who would like nothing better than an excuse to wipe out the militant Negroes. In this situation, nonviolence utterly confounds them."

Perplexing questions remain about the uses of violence and nonviolence, but they revolve mainly about the defense of other persons who are being attacked. What does a male picketer do, for example, when he sees a female picketer being beaten? No one professed to have a completely satisfactory answer. At most there was agreement that nonviolence must not be used as an excuse to evade one's moral responsibility, but that to resort to violence in such situations was, in most cases, to fall into a trap. Several persons reported that after their first nonviolent encounters with violence, they lost their initial fears and were then able to intervene more creatively.

Goals of the Movement: Until recently, integrationists feared that "their struggle" might be turned aside or confused in the public mind by the injection of "side" issues. Experience on the front lines has now convinced them that integration cannot be isolated from the economic and social framework in which it takes place. At one time demonstrators were told to take off their nuclear-disarmament buttons. Now they wear them proudly. As one participant expressed it: "When we ask our young people to vote, many of them say, 'Why should we bother, when we're all going to be blown up tomorrow anyway?' Or, 'Negroes can vote in Harlem and Chicago, but what kind of leadership have they produced, and where has it gotten them?'" Another Negro commented: "It's a lot more discouraging to picket for jobs at a factory that is laying off workers because of automation." And, "It doesn't do a lot of good to have the 'right' to eat in a restaurant if you don't have the money to pay for a meal. The key question is no longer, how many restaurants can we integrate, but what kind of society do we want?"

As yet there is no answer to this question—and there probably never will be a single viewpoint. But one thing is clear. The student movement, which in the past has been characterized as the revolt of middle-class kids with money to spend and nowhere to spend it, has come almost full circle. And in the South, the struggle for integration is coming to be seen as inseparable from the struggle for peace, jobs, and civil liberties.

Self-Reliance vs. Government Intervention: Perhaps the most surprising change in direction mirrored at Midway was that revealed by the emphasis on "self-help" economic cooperation. The most militant Negroes have always been suspicious of pleas to wait for the Federal government to help them. Robert Kennedy's plea to call off the Freedom Rides disillusioned many others. At Midway, the theme was: "We have to do the job ourselves." This spirit embraced not only local nonviolent protests, but self-help economic projects. In one community, Negroes are taking all their fat to a church basement and making soap for their own use—soap being a luxury they cannot normally afford. In another town, they are collecting rags and manufacturing rugs; in a third they are cutting up the rags to make clothes. Others are organizing building cooperatives in which the men work together to rebuild their shacks, in rotation.

Projects like these will not solve the long-run problem of remunerative work in an economy whose capital and jobs are controlled by white men. But they reveal a new emphasis on comprehensive cooperation, mutual aid, and self-reliance. Five years ago these same people would have said: "The hell with junk like that, let's get out and fight the white folks." Now they are searching for a variety of practical ways to express their newly found sense of dignity.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH CALLS FOR MARCH ON WASHINGTON

For the third time in his career, A. Phillip Randolph has called for a March on Washington. The dates have been tentatively set for June 14th and 15th, and the proposed action has already received the endorsement of the Negro American Labor Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, S.N.C.C., CORE and, according to as yet unconfirmed rumor, the N.A.A.C.P.

Earlier Marches were called by Randolph in 1940 and 1945. Both times the mere threat of a mass invasion of Washington by disgruntled Negroes was sufficient to achieve spectacular results, even though the Marches themselves never took place. Organization of the first MOW led to Franklin D. Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices proclamation and subsequent F.E.P.C. legislation. The second proposed March was called off when President Truman issued an executive order calling for integration in the armed forces.

This time, the Negroes are appealing to all labor to join them in a mass protest against devastating unemployment. The Call points out that "Negroes have been disproportionately victimized," but it goes on to say:

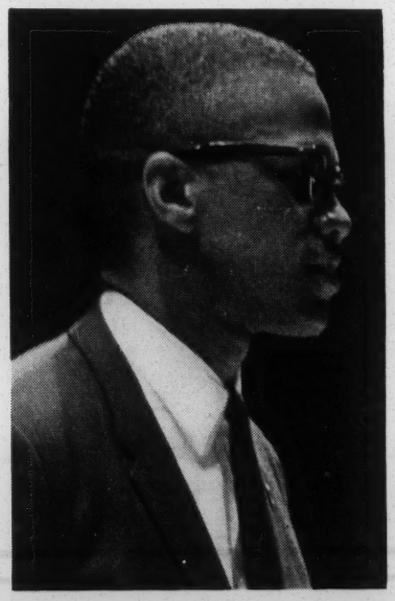
The condition of Negro labor is inseparable from that of white labor. . . . Negroes do not seek to displace white workers, as both are being displaced by machines. Negroes seek, instead, as an integral part of their own struggle as a people, the creation of more jobs for all Americans.

Once again the Call is issued at a time of widespread Negro dissatisfaction—and some apprehension in governmental circles. Unlike Eisenhower, who refused to receive the Negro leaders, Kennedy has succeeded to a certain extent in palliating the established leadership by inviting them to the White House. He hasn't given them anything except the debilitating illusion that, since they can sit down and eat with the ruling class, they are somehow part of it. But the time is long past when the ordinary Negro is satisfied to bask in the reflected glory of his leaders' prestige, while suffering the tangible indignities of unemployment, poverty and daily discrimination. Hence the continual outbreaks of new aggressive actions.

At this stage, the proposed March on Washington presents a fascinating drama in which it is too early to tell whether the leaders of labor and the conservative Negro organizations will lead it in a safe and relatively unprofitable direction (as happened to the Negro Youth Marches in 1958 and 1959), or the impatience of the rank and file will push it into greater militancy.

For the first time, this March has a reservoir of Negroes with a background of organized Civil Disobedience. The conservative leaders must be nervous at the thought of opposing the March—and almost equally nervous at the thought of endorsing it. How can they be sure that aroused and independent members of Detroit's Trade Union Labor Committee or the South's S.N.C.C. will limit themselves to legal lobbying and mass rallies? And what of President Kennedy and the New Frontiersmen? What can they come up with to parallel F.D.R.'s Fair Employment Practices proclamation or Truman's order to abolish segregation in the Armed Forces? Something which will promise the Negroes enough to get them out of Washington, or even keep them from coming there in the first place.

It is just possible that the words of the preliminary Call may be prophetic: *The dynamic that has motivated Negroes to withstand with courage and dignity the intimidation and violence they have endured in their own struggle against racism . . . may now be the catalyst which mobilizes all workers behind demands for a broad and fundamental program of economic justice.*



Malcolm X, keynote speaker

BLACK MUSLIMS URGE SUPPORT OF N.A.A.C.P.

In a surprising development, the Black Muslims, at their annual "Saviors Day Convention" in Chicago, called for "all-out support of the programs of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Committee on Racial Equality and other organizations engaged in a sincere struggle for the rights of black people in America." Previously, the Muslims have been scornful of the N.A.A.C.P. and CORE, for their integrated memberships. Significantly, the same issue of *Muhammed Speaks* (March 18th) which reports this development also carries a favorable account of A. Phillip Randolph's call for a March on Washington. The story is filled with statistics on the disaster of Negro unemployment, which is "more than twice as high as among whites."

In line with the new approach, *Muhammad Speaks* gives prominent coverage to a speech by Rabbi Kurt Flascher at a recent conference on Negro-Jewish relations. After identifying Flascher as one of 10 rabbis jailed for assisting Negroes in the freedom fight in Albany, Georgia, they quote him as indicating that "in his opinion Muslim leaders are changing some of their ideas, including what he considered the anti-Semitic ones."

The Chicago convention also reversed previous Black Muslim policy by calling for a drive by "so-called Negroes" to "secure adequate political representation . . . for America's more than 20 million black people." "Elect your own candidates," the directive urged.

Research
Interest

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 April 1963

TO: CORE Contacts
FROM: Program Department

During the summer of 1963 CORE plans two challenging new programs for the Task Force. One will be a voter registration campaign in several Louisiana parishes. The other will be aimed at mobilizing community action against segregation and ghetto conditions in one of the vast eastern urban slums. These projects will run concurrently from July 14 to August 25. Applications must be received immediately and will be acted on very shortly.

* * * * * TASK FORCE * NORTH

We are in danger of losing the civil rights battle in the North. Integration gains in housing and education are at best token. Fundamental economic racial inequality spreads, and urban centers develop more and more black ghettos. Too often, slum conditions dominate these all-Negro areas. The problem is two-fold: 1) we must attack the discrimination in housing, schools and employment which cause the ghettos, and 2) we must attack the conditions within the ghettos which destroy the will and motivation to participate in an integrated and democratic society.

TASK FORCE * SOUTH * * * * *

Racial discrimination practiced by individuals and firms is destructive and degrading. When this discrimination becomes institutionalized as a part of governmental policy it is even more dangerous. The denial of the right to register and vote is supported and condoned by state and local governments to deprive Negroes the basic rights of democratic government. CORE's voter registration campaigns not only strike at the heart of the denial of political democracy -- these campaigns also give thousands of people the chance to emancipate themselves by their own actions. In rural areas of the deep South voter registration is the most likely way of involving masses of people in a movement to wipe out every kind of racial discrimination.

* * * * *

The Summer Task Force - North and South - will concentrate on stimulating community involvement. Neither of the projects can be done without substantial involvement of local residents. Volunteers on these projects must be dedicated to interracial nonviolent action and must be able to work well with others. Much of the work will involve knocking on doors and motivating people to take the destinies of their communities into their own hands. This is more difficult than sitting-in at a lunch counter.

Those interested in applying should do so immediately. Cost for the projects including room and board will be paid by CORE. Participants will need to supply their own personal pocket money. Participants will also be required to get to the project (probably either New Orleans or New York) at their own expense. CORE hopes to pay your bus fare home. Additional application blanks and other information is available from: Program Department, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 1963

APPLICATION FOR SUMMER FIELD WORKER IN CORE TASK FORCE
(Please print. Answer all questions fully.)

1) Name_____ Telephone_____

2) Address_____ City_____ State_____

3) Age_____ Sex_____ Marital Status_____ Race_____

4) High School Attended_____ Graduated_____

5) Colleges_____ Degree_____

_____ _____

6) Employer_____ Dates_____ Position_____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

7) What Civil Rights groups do you belong to?

_____ How long?_____

_____ _____

8) If accepted, I prefer to work with the Task Force in the ___North or___South.

9) I believe in CORE's program of nonviolent direct action against racism and hereby apply for participation in the Summer Task Force from July 14, 1963 to August 25, 1963. I understand that arrest or injury to me might result, and that by signing this application I waive all rights to damages against CORE - the Congress of Racial Equality, its directors, officers and all others in any way connected with the Task Force.

Signed_____
(Applicant)

Signed_____
(Parent or legal guardian if applicant is under 21 years of age)

Date_____

10) On another sheet please state why you want to join the Summer Task Force; give your previous experience with nonviolent action; and your experience in working with people and community organization.

11) Do you have a car you can use on the project?_____

12) List 4 references with full names, addresses and telephone numbers:
(List 2 personal and 2 professional - employers or teachers)

_____

_____

_____

_____

13) Return to: Gordon R. Carey, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

WALDORF-ASTORIA PRACTICES DISCRIMINATION AND TOKENISM

An investigation by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) shows that out of more than 400 Food and Beverage Service workers, there are only 4 Negro waiters and NO Negro waitresses.

REGISTER YOUR PROTEST AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

BY WRITING TO: Charles Chiusano
Director of Personnel
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
301 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

For further information contact:

New York CORE
239 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
MO 6 0400

JOIN THE LINE

★ ★

SOCIAL ACTION SECRETARIAT

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART
PURCHASE, NEW YORK

SOCIAL ACTION SUMMARY

Volume III, No. 2 | Editor: K. Blase | April 1963
Chairman: D. Cassens

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A CHAIRMAN'S COMMENT

There is a wonderful mythical law of nature that the things we crave most in life---happiness, freedom, and peace of mind---are always attained by giving them to somebody else. Freedom, especially, is a blessing to be shared, for the precious fruits of freedom depend upon the inter-action of the thoughts, ideas and ideals of all men free to be their unique selves, to make mistakes, to fail and, with faith, to try again. Freedom is a wide horizon gleaming with promise, the key to an inspiring future or the finest dream or the highest goal, and no man must be deprived of it by another. Give yourself, therefore, a loftier ambition than merely to stand high in the world: stoop down and lift mankind a little higher, allowing each man in himself to give to his age the gift of a constructive and creative life. Infinitely more enduring than skyscrapers, bridges, cathedrals, and other material symbols of man's achievement are the invisible monuments of wisdom, inspiration and example erected in the hearts and minds of men.....

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

So nigh is grandeur to our dust
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
The youth replies, "I can."

Ralph Waldo Emerson

National Conference on Religion and Race: A Beginning

As an effort "to impress the entire American people with the urgent necessity of translating into daily practice the noble concepts of human equality" proclaimed by religion, the first National Conference on Religion and Race was convened in Chicago on January 14-17 by Cardinal Meyers, Archbishop of Chicago, Rabbi Julius Mark, President of the Synagogue Council of America, and Dr. J. Irwin Miller, President of the National Council of Churches.

Much has since been written about this task to implement the moral principles handed down to both Jews and Christians for the brotherhood of man: America sums up the majority of reactions when it refers to the Conference as " a turning point in our nation's history" (February 2, 1963); but Time's observation on the Conference is that the "churches have never summoned enough resolution, originality or unity to help the country significantly in dealing with racial discrimination....and in Chicago proved themselves still unable to offer much wisdom" (January 25, 1963).

By and large, the religious institutions of America have really had little initiative in racial change. In the main, it has come from government, from national, community and voluntary organizations, through the direct action movements, and by political, legal and economic pressures. Therefore, whether the weight of united action by religious leadership will make much difference (which Time seems to doubt) is a question which can only be answered in terms of action.

As Father John LaFarge remarked, "This national conference inspired its participants to a definite commitment of conscience.....Furthermore, it adopted plans for continuance, together with a concrete plan of action for specified regions and situations." The future and success of the Conference idea---the hope and the affirmation that God will move through His people to effect a change---thus lies with the delegates to the Conference and the religious bodies they represented. Chicago was just a beginning, a milestone in inter-religious cooperation, a new openness which cut across the lines of separation doctrinally and institutionally.

NFCCS has already begun to make its contribution to this potential of corporate action: a National Youth Conference on Religion and Race, convened by such youth organizations as NF, National Newman Clubs Federation, the United Christian Youth Movement, and the National Student Christian Federation, is currently under serious consideration; a Human Relations Conference sponsored by the North Central regions of NF, NNCF, USNSA and Hillell will be held in Chicago on March 23rd; and the New York-New Jersey region of NF has already held its regional congress in conjunction with the Third Order of Saint Francis at Manhattanville College on February 17th on the theme, "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

The last-named congress was opened by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, National Director of the Department of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, who read the account of the meeting of Moses and Jethro, his dark-skinned father-in-law, from Exodus 18:1, as an illustration of an early encounter between Jew and Gentile, between dark-skinned and light-skinned. Following Rabbi Tanenbaum was author Frank Sheed, who stated that the recognition that other men are our equals is not enough----love is absolutely essential. "The impetus to action," he said, "is precisely that Christ died for us and for all men." The final address of the day was given by Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, who spoke on "The Outlook for the Sixties." Some of Mr. Wilkins predictions for the future include more integrated housing, increased job opportunities and desegregation of the schools. He indicated a belief that increased voter registration will help to resolve the situation on the local level, and he expressed a hope for an inward look by the Negroes themselves, that they will adhere to

standards for standards' sake, and not merely for the sake of competition.

The National Conference on Religion and Race was merely a beginning. As Cardinal Meyers stated, "Our whole future as a nation and as a religious people may be determined by what we do about the race problems in the next few years." When that spirit forthrightly and unitedly confronts the social and moral chaos of the churches and of the nation, Time's doubts will be answered.

Diane Cassens

WHO GAINS BY THE STRIKES?

The power to strike is one of the privileges allotted to the workingman. The International Typographical Union, Local No.6, has used its power to trigger the 93-day newspaper strike, thus cutting off the eyes, ears and voice of our nation's largest city.

Escaping Federal restriction, the typesetters held firmly to the demands which had initially caused the strike. They not only asked for a higher wage, but a higher salary for the night shift, a 35-hour week, mor vacation time, and sick leave. Their demands and subsequent refusals affected not only the rest of the newspaper industry (a total of 19,000 people), but almost every facet of city life from state legislation to shoe-shining.

Political "trial balloons were grounded", since the first test of popularity is through press editorials, columns, and letters from the readers. As a result, much legislation was swept under the rug. Ralph Camden, a Fifth Ave. bus driver, complained,"My missus and I read the newspapers every day and night, and after all these weeks we haven't gotten us used to being without them. She's lost, doesn't know where to go, what to buy." Dan Maonti, a boot-black in Grand Central, had this to say: "To me it's all shoes. No pay for no shines for me." And what of the group whose only source of income is from selling newspapers? One blind man said with tart humor, "I suppose I could start selling pencils or playing an accordian."

These are just a few examples; others are advertizing and the theatres. And, ironically, the strikers themselves suffer; they can't go job-hunting because they have cut themselves off from the source of classified ads.

In causing such a tie-up, what did the strikers actually gain? Prior to the dispute, typesetters were receiving a basic salary of $141 a week. At opening settlement talks, the publishers offered an increase to $149 a week over a two year period. However, the printers demanded an increase to $160. For the first year, the publishers offered an increase of $4.25 per week; again the printers refused, demanding an increase to $10. Even if the strikers had won their $10 demand, it would take them twenty-five weeks, or almost half a year of work, to make up for every week lost during the strike. That would mean six years before even beginning to benefit from their present victory!

During this 93-day period, the workers were able to draw some income. The 2,900 idled printers received compensation of $70 to $100 each week. However, these and other workers affected by the union dispute were unable to receive N.Y. State unemployment insurance for the first eight weeks. Although many wives worked in place of striking husbands, the Christmas holidays and first-of-the-year expenses found most of the strikers unprepared, and with no sign of relief in the near future. In general, strikers gain from such an action only under very special and ideal conditions. This was not the case in New York.

As we go to press, a settlement has been made. New York will see newspaper stands overflowing once more. Publishers and striking printers on Friday, March 8th, accepted new contract terms suggested by Mayor Robert F. Wagner, bringing in sight the end of the city's $364,000,000 newspaper blackout. Bert Powers, president of the union's New York local, called it a victory, although he is not fully satisfied. Strikers did get the 35-hour week and an increased sick leave (in the second year). The salary increase still falls short of union demands, however, and is almost equal to the offer made by the publishers at the beginning of this harmful strike. Was it worth all this trouble?

The question remains: are these powerful unions justified in benefitting themselves at such a great expense, not only to all those directly involved, but also to the common man who indirectly must suffer as a result?

Kathy O'Connor

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

The attached material is a compilation of varied and sundry bits of information, assembled by the Human Relations Special Project Staff Interns of the National Student YWCA, Southern Region -- Miss Mary E. King and Miss Roberta Yancy.

News Notes:

* Harvey Gantt of Charleston, South Carolina, second-year architecture transfer from Iowa State, walked easily into the administration building of Clemson College. Easily, that is, but for the barrage of newsmen who seemed at the moment to be doing more blocking of South Carolina's"progress" than anyone else.

* Token integration is now a reality in four Georgia schools: the University of Georgia, Georgia Institute of Technology, Georgia State College, and Emory University.

* Although a federal ruling acknowledged the right of a private school to remain segregated, Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, admitted 11 Negro students for the spring semester.

* The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with headquarters at 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, has launched a direct action program in Pine Bluff, Arkansas and is working in protest areas in Alabama. The Nashville Nonviolent Movement continues its attack on segregation in down-town Nashville. Although Albany, Georgia, is no longer in the national spotlight, the SNCC continues to work at registering Negroes in the counties surrounding Albany in the same manner with which they began a year ago. Not long ago, a white SNCC worker was charged with "accosting young Negro girls" after talking with demonstrators wearing T-shirts with the words, "Don't Buy Downtown or Midtown", printed on them.

* The Southern Region of the National Student YWCA will have a Work Conference in Atlanta, June 2-8, centering on urban problems---an encounter with the city. The areas of housing, education and politics will receive emphasis, and the conference will be broken down into small interracial teams which will work and study together.

* Two students from Michigan State University were arrested during Christmas in Clarksdale, Mississippi, on charges of possessing narcotics, when they brought food, clothing and medicine for Negroes being harassed for trying to vote. They were first held under $15,000 bond which was reduced to $1,500; they were freed after 11 days in jail. Three doctors in Louisville, Kentucky, where the shipment originated, are reported as having made sworn statements that there were no narcotics or sedatives, but such supplies as aspirin and vitamins. The goods were intended for the Delta area where many Negroes have lost jobs, been put off the land, or have been unable to receive surplus foods since voter registration drives increased. Sharecroppers average $300-$400 each year, and day laborers receive $150-$160 yearly. At Thanksgiving, 22,000 Negroes in LeFlore County were taken off welfare because of voting drives.

* Voter registration efforts in Mississippi are being conducted by the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, directed by Bob Moses of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Carry on the work of the Michigan students by organizing a collection of food, money and clothing in your area. Ship to Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

* Clyde Kennard, a young Negro, left the University of Chicago in 1955 after completing three years, to support his mother and disabled step-father on a small farm in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. In 1958 Kennard applied for admission to Mississippi Southern University. At the request of Governor Coleman he withheld his application until after the approaching elections. In 1959 Kennard reapplied to MSU and was rejected because of undisclosed "deficiencies and irregularities" in his application.

On September 25, 1960, five sacks of chicken feed, valued at $5.00 each, were taken from the Forrest County Cooperative Warehouse. A 19-year old illiterate Negro confessed to the theft. As a state's witness, the youth testified that Kennard had initiated and planned the burglary. He received a five-year probation sentence; Kennard was sentenced to seven years in Parchman Penitentiary. Kennard has served two years of his sentence.

It has recently been disclosed that Clyde Kennard is dying of cancer. The University Hospital gives the 34 year old veteran a one in five chance of living another 5 years. Last week Ross Barnett suspended Kennard's sentence indefinitely since he had been such a good prisoner and was near death. And now the nation recognizes the case of Clyde Kennard, although the Justice Department never did.

* We hear that the "Atlanta Wall" has shocked the nation. We ask why? The fact is that many such walls exist in every Northern city. There is nothing new about this one except that as former Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield said in criticizing the current mayor, Ivan Allen, "He shouldn't make a mistake that can be photographed."

* In Atlanta, a Negro, Leroy Johnson, was elected to the State Senate for the first time in 50 years (Democratic ticket). Negroes were elected for the first time to statewide office in Massachusetts (Republican) and Connecticut (Democrat). A Los Angeles Negro was the first of his race to win a House seat west of the Mississippi.

* Dr. Donald Matthews, a University of North Carolina political science professor, has recently completed a study of racial attitudes in 11 Southern states. By scientific sampling of 694 whites and 618 Negroes, the study showed that only 22% of the whites realized that Negroes really wanted desegregation, while a startling 53% of the Negroes did not believe the majority of Southern whites favored strict segregation. "Contrary to popular opinion," Dr. Matthews said, "the

Negro down here isn't very happy." His findings will be published in 1964.

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT

Representatives from more than sixty campus groups in the Northeast, extending from Lewiston, Maine to Ann Arbor, Michigan, attended a planning conference at Yale University in October to make decisions on program priorities for the coming year. The conference, while dealing with all campus and community discrimination problems, centered on three areas: educational projects, fund-raising for student voter registration projects in the South, and campaigns to end discriminatory hiring policies by Northern employers. Speakers included Peter Countryman, Carl Anthony and Cliff Henry of the NSM staff, and Timothy Jenkins, Charles Sherrod, Ralph Allen, and Cathy Conwell, field secretaries for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Representatives from each of nine areas met during the conference to elect a representative to the Executive Committee which was to become the decision-making body for NSM during the year.

As of the first of January, approximately 1800 college students were tutoring 2500 high school students throughout the East in NSM projects. A number of groups have indicated that tutorials are in preparation for the second term. Moreover, the concept of tutorial has spread since the summer to other parts of the country: the University of Michigan, several schools in Chicago, Reed and several schools in the Far West.

An experimental program in College Recruitment was set up and run during the Christmas vacation. One hundred students from twelve colleges participated in this project. They attempted to establish close personal relationships with small groups of Negro high school students, providing these students with information on what it means to go to college, how to apply, etc.

If you live in Baltimore, Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, or Washington, and would like to take part in NSM Summer Tutorial Projects, volunteer your services to:

Peter J. Countryman
Executive Director
Northern Student Movement
404-A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut
UN 5-2927

MIGRANT WORKERS AND PUBLIC LAW 78

In a statement prepared for floor deliver in the U.S. Senate, Senator Harrison A. Williams, in appraising the prospects for legislative improvements for migratory farm citizens and their families in the 88th Congress, said: "It's often asserted that a prosperous society tends to forget its poor and that Congress will not concern itself with a group lacking a political voice, especially the migrant citizen whose very mobility costs him his vote. This myth has been exploded.

People from all walks of life---farm and city folk alike---have expressed their concern for the migrant citizen and his family. The Congress has responded, and its work is having an effect. A first firm step has been taken. We must take many steps more, however, if social justice is to become a reality for the many millions who go through life with the burdens of second class citizenship. I am optimistic, however, that this Congress will make a major contribution toward the eventual alleviation of the over-all migratory labor problem."

Public Law 78: How It Works:

Each year several hundred thousand Mexican farm workers are brought into the U.S. under contract to meet an ostensible shortage of domestic farm labor. About the same number of American farm workers leave their homes annually in search of work, many of them coming from the very areas where the majority of Mexican workers, or braceros, are employed.

The Mexican importation program (Public Law 78) takes advantage of extreme poverty and unemployment in Mexico to supply low-cost labor for a comparatively few American farms. In doing so, it increases poverty and unemployment among domestic farm workers for it creates a surplus of farm labor which depresses farm wages. Those farm employers who hire braceros do not have to offer attractive wages and conditions to find workers and they can silence any complaints from imported workers by sending them back to Mexico.

Domestic farm workers in these areas have the choice of staying home and accepting wages geared to the braceros' poverty or of joining the migrant stream to seek work in areas where imported workers are not employed and where farm wages are significantly higher.

Over two million Americans work for wages on farms. Their average annual farm income in 1959 was $829, plus $209 for nonfarm work. The average farm worker in 1959 found only 138 days of farm employment. Farm workers are denied unemployment insurance, minimum wage coverage, protection of the right to bargain. Unprotected, underpaid, underemployed as they are, U.S. farm workers must compete for jobs with Mexican contract workers in many areas.

Write to your congressmen now and ask them to abolish Public Law 78!

SUMMER JOBS

The Secretariat urges that the possibilities of socially useful summer jobs be explored. If you are interested in this, write to:

Linda Sammataro
Social Action Secretariat, NFCCS
Manhattanville College
Purchase, N. Y.

Linda will send you information about opportunities in your area.

YOUR SENIOR DELEGATE HAS JUST RECEIVED FROM THE SECRETARIAT A LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS WHERE YOU CAN WRITE IF YOU WISH TO ASSIST THE MIGRANT WORKERS' FAMILIES THIS SUMMER. A Bibliography about the Migrant Worker Situation is also now in the hands of your Senior Delegate.

Representatives from the Social Action Secretariat attended the three-day Student Conference on the proposed National Service Act to set up a domestic peace corps in some of America's problem-areas. A future mailing to Senior Delegates will acquaint your campus with the Report to the President made by the special Study group set up by the Justice Department.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner's Committee in Job Advancement

Have you a committee like this in your Community?

The Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement was established in New York City last year as a community-wide effort seeking to open jobs in executive, administrative, professional and skilled classifications to New York City Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minority workers. Since its formation, the Committee has undertaken a massive program to improve the educational facilities, upgrade the skills, and open up more and better jobs for citizens of minority groups.

Through its deliberations, the Committee concluded that one of the major problems impeding progress in this area was actually a problem of nation-wide scope and concern. This problem evolves around the image of America as portrayed in advertisements, television, mass circulation magazines and other media. The image as presently portrayed is a distorted one -- an image which excludes Negroes, Latin Americans and other identifiable minority groups.

This situation is an impediment to job advancement as well as to better race relations. It is quite evident and understandable, for example, that a Negro who never sees himself portrayed as a member of the "American Community" will lose the incentive to become an active and leading member of that community.

Concurrent with the lack of motivation in minority groups caused by present advertising practices, companies themselves, though possible not guilty of overt discrimination, do not accept members of minority groups as potential high-level employees. A never-ending circle of bad race relations, lack of ambition, and poor job opportunities is thus perpetuated.

Our Committee can study the problem, investigate advertising practices and attempt to convince the larger companies and agencies that the situation must be corrected. But, in the final analysis, success will be due to community-wide -- nation-wide --support. Companies and agencies will review and change their practices only if they realize that the public desires and supports such a change.

In short, this is a program where success almost completely depends on public awareness and support -- support which we can exhibit in our consultations and which, in itself, will contribute to progress, not only in the area of advertising practices, but in the entire complex of job advancement and human relations.

If you would like a copy of the Study conducted by this Committee, write to:

Department of Labor
City of New York
93 Worth Street
New York 13, new York

LD/NYC/tb/3-63

INTERRACIAL JUSTICE WEEK: SURVEY OF CAMPUS PARTICIPATION

DUNBARTON COLLEGE, Washington -

"Used materials sent by Secretariat to make a display for Interracial Justice Week. Organized 70 students to tutor at Maple Glen (institution of Negro delinquents)."

FONTBONNE COLLEGE, Saint Louis -

"We are cooperating with the National Conference of Christian and Jews and six other colleges in the Saint Louis area to present a six-week program centered on prejudice."

HOLY FAMILY COLLEGE, Philadelphia -

"A large display has been set up showing all of the kit materials; also many issues of the Interracial Relations Journal and all the publications of the Social Action Secretariat are on display."

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY, South Orange, New Jersey -

"Participated to a great extent in Interracial Justice Week. Group discussions were held concerning current domestic race relations and many students participated in these discussions. The Student Council also sponsored a Mass for the intentions of Interracial Justice Week at which the President of the University, Most Reverend Bishop John J. Dougherty officiated."

MOUNT MERCY COLLEGE, Cedar Rapids, Iowa -

"A resolution was passed by Student Council endorsing Interracial Justice Week activities and encouraging student participation.

"A display was set up in the college library, utilizing the materials received from the Social Action Secretariat.

"Four students and one faculty member attended a meeting of the Council on Human Relations.

"In cooperation with the Council on Human Relations, we have inaugurated our our contemporary issues program which consists in visiting workshops. Up to the present, two negro homes have been visited and arrangements have been made for three more homes. In response to a recent poll of the student body, 76 students have indicated interest in participating in the workshops.

"Father Edgar Kurt, college chaplain and NFCCS moderator for the Iowa region, served as co-chairman with Rabbi Isaac Neumann on the Committee for Brotherhood Week in Cedar Rapids."

OUR LADY OF THE LAKE COLLEGE, San Antonio -

"Coloring Book: The idea seemed to have such good possibilities that, instead of using it as an editorial in our campus newspaper, as suggested, the Secretariat actually made copies of the coloring book. Copies were placed at several strategic spots on campus....

"Resolution: The resolution included in the Interracial Justice Week Kit was re-typed, run off, and distributed to the student body at the Student Union assembly, on February, 18, 1963 (this resolution pertains to illiteracy test for voters).

"Musical Presentation: The choirs of Temple Beth-El, Alamo Heights Methodist Church, St. Luke's Catholic Church, St. Mary's University, and Our Lady of the Lake College joined voices in a "Fellowship Concert" to promote better relations between the various faiths."

ALVERNO COLLEGE, Milwaukee

"Under the auspices of NFCCS, a visiting workshop project has been started on a regional and campus level."

SAINT MARY COLLEGE, XAVIER, KANSAS -

"The NF Council on campus set up a panel given by a group of lay women. It is formally called "The Panel of Americans". Originating in Kansas City, it has spread across the U.S. The panel members represent Jewish, Negro, Catholic and Protestant groups; however, the members speak only as individuals which is the approach, the purpose---integration through personal, individual friendship and understanding."

COLLEGE OF ST. FRANCIS, Joliet, Illinois -

"Our program consists of a Civil Rights Day to be held on April 21 here at our college. We are going to have four speakers from the Friendship House in Chicago, and some discussion. We have also put to use the kit that was sent to us."

REGIS COLLEGE, Weston, Mass. -

"We have prepared a symposium on the "Negro in American Culture", to be presented next week (week of March 3rd) by our four social science clubs. The History Club will give a brief survey of Negroes in the American historical tradition. This will be followed by talks from the Economic, Government and Sociology Clubs on specific areas of the Negro problems, especially in the North.

"Congratulations on your excellent work! The article you reprinted from Interracial Review was sent to us in the fall from our Regional officers and was very helpful in arousing discussion groups."

SAINT MARY-OF-WOODS COLLEGE, Indiana -

"We are making use of the material for bulletin boards and student reading."

RIVIER COLLEGE, Nashua, New Hampshire -

"At a Student Assembly, several members of the International Relations Club, at the request of the Student Council, presented a short programme on voting discrimination.

"The editorial contained in the kit mentioned an Interracial Justice Week coloring book. The coloring book was drawn on large poster paper and was placed on the main bulletin board which students must check daily."

MERCYHURST COLLEGE, Erie, Pa. -

"A display of the materials contained in the kit was put outside of the cafeteria. Included in this display were books such as Peaceable Lane, On Being Negro in America, Black Like Me, A Dove Flies South, and others. The purpose of the display was to make materials and books known and available to the student body.

"Previous to this Interracial Justice Week, Mercyhurst students wore armbands during the violent action in Mississippi.....Last year, SNCC buttons (from Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) were sold on campus and Mercyhurst joined other colleges in supporting this movement. We are now planning a home visit program."

"Manhattanville's Interracial Justice Week, began with Mass and a Race and Religion Seminar on Sunday, continued Tuesday evening (February 19, 1963) with a program of Negro spirituals, beautifully and artistically done by a Negro religious. On Thursday evening (February 21) we were honored with a concert by Allen Brown, a talented young Negro pianist (who will also appear at Town Hall on March 24, 1963).

"On campus, "work week" was officially proclaimed; Manhattanville students performed services for other students (typing, ironing, cleaning rooms, etc.) and money earned in this manner was turned over to the Father LaFarge Scholarship Fund for Negro students. In addition, we set up a display on the contributions of Negroes in American history. Our campus newspaper devoted several columns to complete coverage of all events."

NFCCS
Social Action Secretariat
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Purchase, New York

Non-Profit Organization
Postage Paid
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Permit No.8

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Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

Interpp - Misc

Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Immediate Release

PRESIDENT KENNEDY URGED TO CALL WHITE HOUSE PARLEY 'TO MOBILIZE NATION IN SUPPORT OF EQUALITY'

- - - - -

'Truce in Birmingham Will Not End Demands for Racial Equality,' Dr. Prinz of American Jewish Congress Writes President

NEW YORK, May 10 -- The American Jewish Congress called on President Kennedy today to summon a White House conference of religious, educational and social welfare leaders "to mobilize the nation in support of the great principle of equality."

Dr. Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, proposed in a letter to President Kennedy that such a conference be called for Independence Day, July 4.

Out of this conference, Dr. Prinz declared, "should come a Proclamation of Equality in which the full authority and prestige of your office would be placed in support of the great national task before us: to make real for millions of Americans the promise of equality first uttered in our Declaration of Independence."

The American Jewish Congress leader said the Kennedy Administration's role in arranging peace talks in Birmingham between white and Negro representatives there has been a "laudable" one.

"But the struggle in that Alabama city," he said, "is only a symptom of the continued denial of constitutional rights to the Negroes of the South, and of the Negro community's determination to secure these rights now." He continued:

"There will, hopefully, be peace in Birmingham soon. But a truce in Birmingham will not end demands for racial equality in America. It is to this over-all problem that we urge you to address yourself now."

MORE

Dr. Prinz, a rabbi and spiritual leader of Temple B'nai Abraham in Newark, N.J., urged the President "to address the nation and make clear for every American and all the world to understand that you stand firmly with those citizens seeking the simple justice and equality that has too long been denied them.

"Such a statement," he continued, "would articulate the sense of moral outrage that the overwhelming majority of Americans feel toward those at the head of state and local governments who continue to defy the Constitution and the mandates of our courts.

"It would, at the same time, serve notice that the South's last desperate stand for segregation is doomed to failure because the American people will no longer permit the basic rights and freedoms to which every citizen is entitled to be trampled under the heels of bigotry."

Dr. Prinz concluded his message to the President:

"This is a great moment in the history of our nation, and in the never-ending struggle for human dignity. Let it not be said that at this moment our leaders were unequal to it, or that the conscience of America was silent in the face of it.

"The times call for moral courage and moral leadership. Your effort to provide that leadership and to mobilize the nation in support of the great principle of equality will command the support of the overwhelming majority of Americans."

-30-

RCrk-5/10/63
DM:NP:CP:Off:Reg:Aff.

Intergroup org. CORE
Misc. LWDV
PA
SA
BB ML

CORE
The Church of the Redeemer
105 N. Beech Street
Greensboro, N. C.
BR 5-0033

URGENT

INFORMATION SHEET

Greensboro, North Carolina

May 19, 1963

Over 700 students have been incarcerated in a county farm and an abandoned polio hospital for seeking service at resturants and entrance into theatres in Greensboro, N. C., on May 17 and 18. We firmly believe that present conditions are extremely dangerous to their health and safety. Some have been hospitalized as a result of inadequate provisions and treatment.

A few observations in regard to the Above:

1. A committee headed by the lawyer representing the students, Atty. Major High, and composed of Fr. Richard Hicks, Dr. Glenn Rankin, Dr. Louis Dowdy, Dr. J. A. Tarpley, Dr. W. L. T. Miller, DDS, Dr. George Evans, MD, Dr. A. V. Bount, Jr., MD, was not permitted to investigate the conditions of the youths.

2. The over-whelming majority has not been provided with beds. This was confirmed by officals.

3. In a room approximately 50' by 30' there are seven beds and 75 students. Most have been without beds for two nights.

4. On Sunday, May 19, we were not permitted to deliver food and what they were provided with is inadequate.

5. Even parents have not been allowed to visit their sons and daughters even though promises had been made that they could do so.

6. The Mayor has left town and cannot be reached.

<u>Please register your protests immediately with the following:</u>

1. David Schenck
   Mayor
   Greensboro, N. C. BR 4-2048

2. W. T. Jackson, Police Captain
   Greensboro Police Department BR 2-4141

3. Clayton Jones, Sheriff Guilford County
   High Point, N. C. 88-2-8311 and 88-86433

4. Terry Sanford, Governor
   Governor's Mansion
   Raleigh, N. C.

5. Berl I. Bernhard
   Civil Rights Commission
   Washington, D. C.

6. Robert Kennedy, Attorney General
   The Justice Department
   Washington, D. C.

7. John F. Kennedy, President
   White House
   Washington, D. C.

Intergroup Org. Misc

News from Fayette Co. Workcamps Project
c/o Virgie Hortenstine
5541 Hanley Road
Cincinnati 39, Ohio May 25, 1963

Through the efforts of thirty-four workcampers from thirteen colleges working with local Negro citizens, a community center is well under way in Fayette County, Tennessee. A baseball park where Negro teams can play has been completed in neighboring Haywood County. In both these counties the problem of unemployment is rapidly increasing as the result of mechanization of the farms following the voter registration drive which began three years ago and resulted in 700 Negro sharecropper families receiving eviction notices.

The community center is being built by the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, they look after the welfare of registered Negroes and put up the Tent City three years ago for evicted Negroes. The building will provide a meeting place for the League and space for doctor's and dentist's office for people boycotted from medical services, adult education classes, recreation, and a kindergarten.

Both counties Civic and welfare Leagues recognized that the recent reprisals, such as evictions, boycotts against the purchase of food, gasoline, crop loans, etc., false arrests and jailings, and even more the current "silent" evictions on grounds of mechanization, were allowed to take place because of efforts to prevent publicity. So they invited students to come and live with them and see for themselves. These students bring firsthand reports back to their colleges.

The students have found that this year, after the Federal Civil Rights case against 160 white citizens in both counties was settled out of court, evictions are continuing by the hundreds of families. These evictions arenot of the spectacular nature of the out-and-out evictions of two years ago. The tenant is simply told he may remain in the house but he will have no land to farm. Registering to vote is carefully kept out of the conversation. Later the rent is raised on the house. The

exsharecropper often is not even aware that he is on his way out.

Workcampers in Haywood County interviewed a government official, who told them that 8000 people, mainly Negroes, have been put out of work since the evictions began three years ago. The entire population of Haywood County, including children, is 23,393. The official also stated that there were 17 cotton pickers in Haywood County 3 years ago, 178 today. Cotton farmers have begun to use pre-emergent spray on the cotton fields to prevent the weeds from growing, thus eliminating the need for cotton chopping by hand, the principle occupation of Negroes there during early summer.

Workcampers represented colleges from Massachusettes to Colorado: Smith College, Mass.; Sarah Lawrence College, N.Y.; Haverford College, Pa.; Swarthmore College, Pa.; Oberlin College, Ohio; ooster College, Ohio; Western College, Ohio; Colorado State Teachers College, Florence State College, Alabama and University's of--Michigan; Chicago; Illinois; and Southern Illinois. They lived in the homes of local Negroes, where white people have not visited socially before.

Workcampers are coordinated through the Fayette County Workcamps Project, sponsored by: Baptist Ministers Conference of Cincinnati, Race Relations Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers), Cincinnati Chapter of Operation Freedom, International Voluntary Service and Miami (Ohio) Quarterly Meeting of Friends. Other workcamps will be held periodically in the summer.

Work was brought to a halt on the Fayette County Community Center because the workers ran out of funds for building materials. The cente now stands ceiling high, and $2000 is needed for materials to take it to the completion of the roof. Funds are being collected by Fayette County Workcamps Project, c/o Virgie Hortenstine, 5541 Hanley Road, Cincinnati 39, Ohio.

Research

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 Harry Fleischman, Director

May 27, 1963

Dear Friend:

A dangerous attempt to change the basic constitutional structure of the United States has been undertaken by a group of state legislators. This attempt received tremendous support, with one or more of the three amendments in the package quietly adopted by state legislatures in 20 states.

Fortunately, these amendments have now been brought into the open light of day. Chief Justice Earl Warren, President Kennedy, the American Jewish Committee, the AFL-CIO and the American Civil Liberties Union have attacked all three amendments. The American Bar Association last week came out in opposition to two of the three states' rights amendments being pushed by conservative groups. The two amendments would: a) permit state legislatures alone to amend the Constitution without recourse to or approval by Congress or a national convention; and the other would b) create a "Court of the Union," composed of all chief justices of the fifty states, to review decisions of the Supreme Court. The Bar Association will consider the third amendment, which would eliminate constitutional restrictions of the apportionment of seats in the state legislatures, at its annual meeting in Chicago next August.

As a result of the public spotlight, the New Jersey Senate recalled two amendments it had supported and in Ohio, where the proposals were expected to pass easily, the amendments are facing tough sledding.

Enclosed, for your information, is a copy of the statement adopted by the American Jewish Committee on the states' rights amendments.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Director
National Labor Service
American Jewish Committee

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LPKE, MMCCD

Pol. Stand.
Intergroup Org. Misc.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

56TH ANNUAL MEETING

May 16-19, 1963

STATEMENT ON STATES' RIGHTS AMENDMENTS

The attempt of a number of state legislatures quietly to endorse three proposed constitutional amendments in the name of "states' rights" must be exposed to the light of publicity. With virtually no national attention, a dozen or more legislatures have approved dangerous proposals to destroy our system of checks and balances, to weaken our national government, and transform it into a confederacy.

One proposal would change the process of amending the United States Constitution to eliminate the historic role of Congress. It would provide that an amendment must be submitted to the states for ratification if identical language is approved by the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. Because of the malapportionment now tolerated by many state legislatures, this would permit legislators representing as few as 15 per cent of our nation's population to amend the Constitution for all of us. Currently, constitutional amendments must be proposed either by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress or by a national convention called by Congress at the request of two-thirds of the states. Then final adoption of an amendment requires ratification by three-fourths of the states.

The second resolution would set up a Court of the Union, composed of the 50 state chief justices (mostly elected and lacking the independence of life tenure), with power to overrule

U. S. Supreme Court decisions in all cases affecting federal-state relations. It would destroy the power of the Supreme Court in almost all controversial areas involving states' rights -- including desegregation of public schools, prayer in public schools and state criminal procedures. It would be a long step backward to an impotent confederacy.

A third proposal would oust the Supreme Court from jurisdiction over state reapportionment cases. It would, for example, permit Southern legislatures to disfranchise Negroes by gerrymandering and other devices, and it would permit rural voters to hold a disproportionate share of power in elections.

The American Jewish Committee opposes these three proposals and calls upon its members and other citizens, bar associations, civic groups, religious bodies and the mass media to join in an effort to inform the nation about these proposals and to urge state legislatures to defeat them.

Adopted Sunday, May 19, 1963
Hotel Commodore
New York, N. Y.

Intergroup Orig. Misc.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD
130 SIXTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA
TR 5-9211

FROM: RUDOLPH PATE

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY A.M., JUNE 2, 1963

ATLANTA, GA., May 31.---The Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) has been awarded a contract of $159,351 by the U. S. Office of Education to establish a regional administrative and consultative office to assist the states in the South to develop and use recorded instructional material for educational television.

In making the announcement today (Saturday, May 31), Dr. Winfred L. Godwin, director of the SREB, said the contract was awarded to the Board under the provisions of Title VII, National Defense Education Act, and will enable the SREB to assist seven sub-regional "clusters" of states in the South with the mutual production and utilization of educational TV materials.

Dr. Godwin hailed the development as a means through which the South's colleges and universities can "share and exchange distinguished teaching and high quality instructional materials" in a broadly-based program of interstate cooperation.

Each "cluster" of states grouped together under the new program will involve two to four states, their educational TV stations, university-based closed-circuit systems, and the major universities where film and videotape facilities and personnel exist.

Dr. Godwin also announced the appointment of Duff Browne of Austin, Texas, associate director of radio and television at the University of Texas, as the project director. Browne will assume his duties on June 3.

The SREB director said Browne and the Board's new TV project will offer assistance to the Southern states through three major activities:

(more)

√ SREB was established in 1949 under interstate compact, now ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

√ SREB aids in the social and economic advancement of the South by assisting states to improve the quality of higher education . . . provide the widest opportunity possible in higher education . . . build educational programs which meet the social and economic needs of the region

√ SREB is devoted to helping Southern colleges build high quality research and educational programs . . . by providing regional support and utilization of advanced programs . . . and avoiding unnecesssary duplication of facilities among the compact states.

1. Helping the state clusters to develop their own vital patterns of inter-institutional cooperation in the planning, production, use and revision of ETV recorded materials.

2. Helping disciplines within the colleges and universities to plan, produce, use and revise recorded materials of unquestioned excellence which they will identify as critically needed and which they will use extensively in all or most of the seven sub-regional clusters of states.

3. Gathering information about the status and use of new instructional media.

In explaining further details of the project, Dr. William L. Bowden, associate director for regional programs of the SREB, envisioned greatly expanded use of educational TV in the Southern states during this decade. He added:

"The picture of television development in the South, as in the nation, is one of robust growth..."

A year ago, there were 63 educational television stations on the air in the nation, with 23 stations located in the South. Today there are 78 ETV stations in the nation, and 28 of these are in the South.

Among the 28 stations in the region there are eight university owned, eight operated by non-profit community organizations, nine operated by state-wide departments of education or area school systems, and three operated by autonomous state-wide ETV authorities.

In addition, an estimated 75 higher institutions in 15 states use closed-circuit television. The facilities range from modest installations to the massive state-wide cable network in South Carolina leased from the telephone company and to the 11-campus closed-circuit microwave network in central Texas.

Within this decade, Dr. Bowden predicted that approximately 100 open-circuit broadcast stations will be on the air in the Southern region, and the number likely will be larger. In addition, he said "large concurrent growth" of campus and urban school system closed-circuit TV facilities will occur. He added:

(more)

"Because of the sizable investments of time and money represented in the production of televised college courses and supporting programs, cooperative arrangements will proliferate between institutions to plan, produce and use televised instruction together. The use of film and videotape for recording, storing and revising courses will be widespread, with or without microwave or other types of interconnections between facilities..."

During 1963-64, the SREB project proposes to bring together inter-institutional groups representing several university disciplines from the several sub-regional "clusters" in the 16 states served by SREB. These groups will plan and carry out cooperative projects to develop instructional materials designed to achieve improvement of instruction through educational television.

Duff Browne, the newly-appointed project director, has a wide range of experience and training in educational television and broadcasting.

Prior to assuming his present position at the University of Texas in 1962, Browne held a number of posts with broad responsibility in the radio and television field.

He was television production supervisor, General Electric Company, Television Station WRGB, Schenectady, N. Y., 1946-50; assistant professor of radio and television and television director, University of Miami, 1950-51, and was a television consultant specializing in the preparation of applications for Television Broadcast Licenses, including the preparation of management and program exhibits required by the Federal Communications Commission, 1951-54.

In addition, he was director of television, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1954-56; general manager, Education Television Station WYES-TV, New Orleans, La., 1956-61; and consultant-representative in Washington, D. C., for the National Education Television and Radio Center, New York, N. Y., and special projects development, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Washington, D. C., 1961-62.

(more)

In his new work, Browne will seek to develop regional cooperation in the mutual production and utilization of recorded materials for the South's expanding network of educational TV stations through close association and work with university administrators, faculty members, educational TV personnel, university governing boards, and state legislative committees. He will operate from the SREB office in Atlanta.

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news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

Intergroup Org Misc.

Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

LWD ✓
VJ ✓
PA ✓

For Release
Monday, June 10

JT ✓

'GRADUALISM' HELD A FAILURE IN ACHIEVING RACIAL EQUALITY; BOLD LEADERSHIP BY JFK URGED

American Jewish Congress Urges Strong Action by President to Close 'Civil Rights Gap' -- 8-Point Legislative Program Proposed

NEW YORK, June 9 -- The American Jewish Congress charged today that gradualism as a means of achieving racial equality had proved "a folly and a failure."

The Jewish group called on President Kennedy to move "boldly" in meeting what it called "the crucial domestic issue of our time -- closing the civil rights gap between what the Constitution promises and the way millions of Americans live."

In a statement adopted at a meeting of its national Governing Council today in Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 East 84 St., the Congress' policy-making body declared:

"For ninety years after the Emancipation Proclamation, it was assumed that the principles of emancipation could be put into effect only in part. In 1954, that assumption was rejected by the Supreme Court, which ruled that the Constitution demanded nothing less than complete equality.

"Since 1954, another assumption has been made -- that equality could be approached slowly, gently, with 'deliberate speed' and above all without disturbing anyone too much.

"Events of the last few years have revealed the failure and the folly of that assumption. Events of the last few months compel its abandonment."

The American Jewish Congress statement continued:

"We now know that 'deliberate speed' means no movement at all.

MORE

"We know that token integration means continuing segregation.

"We know that gradualism means sacrificing the constitutional rights and the potential for human development of a whole generation of American Negroes.

"Perhaps most important of all, we know that the generation which was to be sacrificed is not in a sacrificial mood. These citizens want equality now; and they are ready to fight for it."

Moderates Held Ready for Strong Leadership

The American Jewish Congress statement said that recent events in the South had shown "there is a large group of law-abiding white Southerners, moderate in their approach to race relations but long silent on the issue, who are now willing to respond to strong national leadership aimed at granting every American his right to equality.

"That leadership is the responsibility of the President. We respectfully urge him to abandon past policies of caution that have proved too little and too late to meet the rising demands for racial equality now.

"The role of the President is not merely to mediate or to negotiate between opposing white and Negro forces. It is, rather, to stand up with the Negroes of the North and South in their demand for equal rights, and to exercise every ounce of leadership and influence of which he is capable in winning support for a comprehensive civil rights program that will assure every citizen in every part of our country equal opportunity and equal justice."

8-Point Legislative Program Proposed

The statement contained an eight-point "basic legislative program" which it urged President Kennedy to include in submitting his civil rights message to Congress this week. The Jewish group called for enactment of measures that would:

1) Give the Department of Justice power to institute court actic to enjoin any denial of equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

2) Require all public school districts still maintaining racial segregation -- including those that have achieved only token integration -- to prepare and promptly implement plans for full integration at the beginning of the next school year.

MORE

3) Provide Federal financial assistance, technical aid and advice to school districts that need such help in integrating their schools.

4) Prohibit discrimination based on race, religion or national origin in all places of public accommodation that affect interstate commerce or are licensed by state or local officials.

5) Establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission along the lines of state anti-discrimination commissions that have operated successfully since 1945.

6) Effectively protect the right to vote, including a provision making a sixth grade education conclusive proof of literacy.

7) Require all present and future legislation providing for Federal benefits to include effective provisions prohibiting discrimination in the distribution of such benefits.

8) Make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent body and give it authority to investigate not only denial of voting rights but every aspect of racial or religious discrimination.

Shad Polier, Chairman of the Governing Council, presided at the meeting, which was attended by leaders of the American Jewish Congress from all sections of the country.

Theodore Bikel, actor and folksinger who is a member of the Council, gave a first-hand report on Negro demonstrations in Albany, Ga. and Birmingham, Ala. in which he had participated.

Seth Glickenhaus, a Council member who serves on the New Rochelle Board of Education, reported on plans to end "de facto" school segregation in that city.

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RCrk-6/7/63
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Intergroup Org Misc

Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Immediate Release

NEW YORK -- Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., said this week she was "deeply encouraged" by progress in race relations "all over the South and throughout the nation."

The wife of the Southern integrationist leader spoke here in accepting the first Louise Waterman Wise Award presented by the national women's division of the American Jewish Congress.

"The Negro in America has long since earned his right to sit at the Freedom Table and enjoy the fruits of equality and human dignity," Mrs. King said. "We are not asking for any special concessions, but simply for all the rights and privileges all Americans are entitled to.

Mrs. King flew to New York from her home in Atlanta, Ga., to accept the award from New York State Family Court JudgeJustine Wise Polier, honorary president of the American Jewish Congress women's division and daughter of the late Louise Waterman Wise, founder and first president of the organization.

Mrs. King told the Jewish women's group:

"You, too, have a heritage of bondage, and just as you were delivered from the Pharoahs of ancient Egypt, so will we be delivered from the modern PHaroahs of the Southland in the persons of a Governor Wallace of Alabama and a Gov. Barnett of Mississippi."

Other award recipients were:

Mrs. Itzhak Ben-Zvi, widow of the late President of Israel -- "for service to Israel and Jewish life."

Mrs. Gertrude Berg -- "for service to the arts."

Mrs. Will Korn -- "for service to the community."

The awards were established to honor the memory of Mrs. Wise, "by giving recognition to women liviing today who have made outstanding contributions to the advancement of the causes and concerns with which Mrs. Wise was identified."

The text of the citation to Mrs. King reads:

"Countless American women join in this tribute to your strength of character and purpose in the cause of universal human freedom and world peace. We express as well our appreciation of the dedicated men and women of all races and religions who lead the continuing struggle for full equality in a free society for all Americans."

-30-

RCrk-6/7/63
NP:Off:Reg:Aff.

The Christian Century
6/12/63

Letter from Birmingham Jail

Intergroup Org. Mus.

A vigorous, eloquent reply to criticism expressed by a group of eight clergymen.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

MY DEAR FELLOW CLERGYMEN:

✦ WHILE CONFINED here in the Birmingham city jail I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some 85 affiliate organizations across the south, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here. I am here because I have organizational ties here.

I

But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice exists here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far afield and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

II

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist, negotiation, self-purification and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is widely known. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

Then last September came the opportunity to talk with leaders of Birmingham's economic community. In the course of the negotiations certain promises were made by the merchants—for example, the promise to remove the stores' humiliating racial signs. On the basis of these promises the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to a moratorium on all demonstrations. As the weeks and months went by we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained.

As in so many past experiences, our hopes had

been blasted, and our disappointment was keenly felt. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community. Mindful of the difficulties involved, we decided to undertake a process of self-purification. We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" We decided to schedule our direct action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas this is the main shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants.

But Birmingham's mayoral election was coming up in March, and when we discovered that Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene "Bull" Connor was to be in the run-off, we decided to postpone our demonstrations until the day after the run-off so that they could not be used to cloud the issues. It is evident, then, that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. Like many others, we wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated, and to this end we endured postponement after postponement. Having aided in this community need, we felt that our direct action program could be delayed no longer.

III

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent resister may sound rather shocking. But I readily acknowledge that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could shake off the bondage of myths and half-truths and rise to the realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

The purpose of our direct action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boutwell as mayor will bring the millenium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is a much more gentle person than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to maintenance of the status quo. I have hope that Mr. Boutwell will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is a historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but, as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct action campaign that was "well timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." As one of our distinguished jurists once said, "Justice too long delayed is justice denied."

IV

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your 20 million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted as you

seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking, "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

V

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I-it" relationship for an "I-thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus it is that I can urge men to disobey segregation ordinances, for such ordinances are morally wrong.

Let us consider some of the ways in which a law can be unjust. A law is unjust, for example, if the majority group compels a minority group to obey the statute but does not make it binding on itself. By the same token a law in all probability is just if the majority is itself willing to obey it. Also, a law is unjust if it is inflicted on a minority that, as a result of being denied the right to vote, had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up that state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population, not a single Negro is registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured?

Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First-amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so *openly, lovingly,* and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was evidenced sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that a higher moral law was at stake. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions rather than submit to certain unjust laws of the Roman empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. We should never forget that

everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. Even so, I am sure that had I lived in Germany at the time I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers. If today I lived in a communist country where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I would openly advocate disobeying that country's antireligious laws.

VI

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Counciler or the Klu Klux Klanner but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods"; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and that when they fail in this purpose they block social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the south is a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, in which the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substantive and positive peace, in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you assert that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But is this a logical assertion? Isn't this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated an act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical inquiries precipitated the act by the misguided populace in which they made him drink hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see that, as the federal courts have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth concerning time in relation to the struggle for freedom. I have just received a letter from a white brother in Texas. He writes: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost 2,000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." Such an attitude stems from a tragic misconception of time, from the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people. Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be coworkers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

VII

You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and of a few middle class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it

comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best-known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro's frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle.

If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the south would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble-rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies—a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

VIII

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the *Zeitgeist,* and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the U.S. Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, he should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides—and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist.

But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I can do no other so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? Perhaps the south, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this need. Perhaps I was too optimistic; perhaps I expected too much. I suppose I should have realized that few members of the oppressor race can understand the deep groans and passionate yearnings of the oppressed race, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too few in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some —such as Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden and James McBride Dabbs—have written about our struggle in eloquent and prophetic terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the south. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of policemen who view them as "dirty nigger lovers." Unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, they have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

IX

Let me take note of my other major disappointment. Though there are some notable exceptions, I have also been disappointed with the white church and its leadership. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say this as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a

few years ago I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the south would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent and secure behind stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and with deep moral concern would serve as the channel through which our just grievances could reach the power structure. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshipers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the *law,* but I have longed to hear white ministers declare, "Follow this decree because integration is morally *right* and because the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro I have watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice I have heard many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the gospel has no real concern," and I have watched many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which makes a strange, unbiblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular.

We are moving toward the close of the 20th century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo—a taillight behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading men to higher levels of justice.

X

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at the south's beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward, and at her impressive religious education buildings. Over and over I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave a clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and through fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the church was very powerful—in the time when the early Christians rejoiced at being deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Whenever the early Christians entered a town the power structure immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But the Christians pressed on, in the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven," called to obey God rather than man. Small in number, they were big in commitment. By their effort and example they brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

XI

Things are different now. So often the contemporary church is a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. So often it is an archdefender of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent—and often even vocal—sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If today's church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the 20th century. Every day I meet young people whose disappointment with the church has turned into outright disgust.

Perhaps I have once again been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Perhaps I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true *ecclesia* and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone down the highways of the south on torturous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, have lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have acted in the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved

the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are at present misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the mighty words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

XII

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry dogs sinking their teeth into six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department.

It is true that the police have exercised discipline in handling the demonstrators. In this sense they have conducted themselves rather "nonviolently" in public. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the past few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Perhaps Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather nonviolent in public, as was Chief Pritchett in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of racial injustice. As T. S. Eliot has said, there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

XIII

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the south will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with a noble sense of purpose facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a 72-year-old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her: "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the south will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written so long a letter. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else can one do when he is alone for days in a narrow jail cell, other than write long letters, think long thoughts and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that *under*states the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
FOUNDED BY Benj. Franklin

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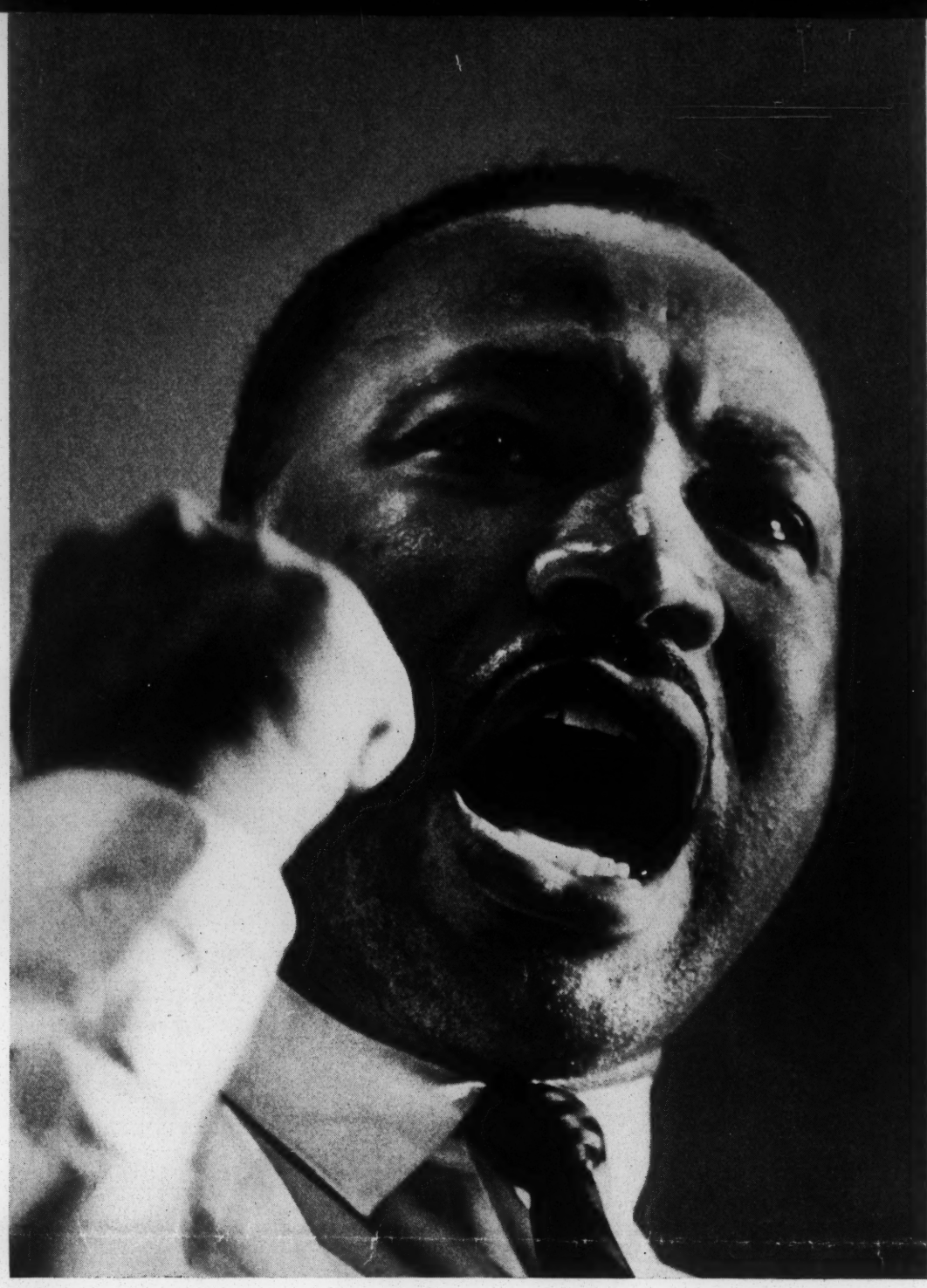


Martin Luther King Jr. APOSTLE OF CRISIS

Critics accuse him of arrogance and opportunism, but his talent for inspiring "mass violation of immoral laws" has made him the most powerful Negro leader in America.

Since early April, temperatures had been rising inside the racial pressure cooker called Birmingham, Alabama. One muggy afternoon last month the lid blew off.

City Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, deploying police forces to contain demonstration marches, had watched with growing impatience as a noisy Negro crowd filled Kelly Ingram Park, a square block of tall elms, walkways and green turf in the main Negro business section. Bellowing, laughing and jeering, the crowd—mostly students—taunted Connor's blue-clad policemen and the firemen sweating in dun-colored, knee-length slickers. Whining shepherd dogs strained at chains held by the cops, while the firemen manhandled big monitor nozzles combining two hoses for high pressure.

"Freedom!" shouted a Negro boy, flailing his arms. "Get white dogs!"

"Let 'em have it," said the Bull.

The firemen moved, and water shot from the nozzles. With a sound like automatic gunfire, a powerful stream rattled rapid-fire over elm trees, whacking off strips of thick, black bark. Then it slammed into a slim, white-clad Negro girl in the distance. She braced against it for a moment, then was knocked over into the dirt.

A group of unruly, drunken Negroes swung their arms and rocks began to fly. One crashed near the police. A bottle fell and shattered. Shouts of defiance came from the milling crowd. Rocks continued to clatter. The dogs whined eagerly. And over the cacophony of other sounds lay the crashing of the big hoses. The only still figures were about 200 whites watching somberly from across the street. Finally, with the Negroes pushed back, the water was shut off. "God bless America," a reporter mumbled in disgust.

Thus did racial violence come this spring to the most rigidly segregated major city in America. It marked a collision of two power systems, the first represented by Bull Connor, vigorously enforcing laws that preserve the status quo of racial discrimination, the second by Dr. Martin Luther

By REESE CLEGHORN

Negro girls, arrested for taking part in the Birmingham protests, huddle in 4-H building used to handle overflow from the jail.

King Jr., making a carefully planned assault on those laws and that discrimination.

For the crisis in Birmingham did not just happen. The Negro leader lighted a fire under the pressure cooker, well knowing that the "peaceful demonstrations" he organized would bring, at the very least, tough repressive measures by the police. And although he hoped his followers would not respond with violence—he has always stressed a nonviolent philosophy—that was a risk he was prepared to take. Two months earlier his No. 1 staff assistant, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, had explained, "We've got to have a crisis to bargain with. To take a moderate approach, hoping to get white help, doesn't work. They nail you to the cross, and it saps the enthusiasm of the followers. You've got to have a crisis."

King got his crisis in a hymn-singing, rock-throwing crescendo of peaceful marches and violent strife that sent more than 2,400 Negroes to jail, most of them for such offenses as parading without a permit. It was the largest number ever arrested in an American racial protest. And even after he seemed to have won his fight for an agreement easing discrimination, 2,500 Negroes angrily responded to night riders' bombings by three hours of midnight rioting. Scores of cars were crumpled, torches were put to ramshackle stores and two apartment houses, a policeman and a cab driver were stabbed, and about 50 other people were injured. Later that black Sunday, President Kennedy ordered riot-trained combat troops to nearby bases.

In the days that followed, the tension eased, and integration leaders in Birmingham and around the nation tried to assess the results of King's invasion of this Deep South bastion. If the city's white business and political leaders stand by the agreement worked out in unofficial negotiations between white and Negro spokesmen, King will have won significant victories for the city's Negro population. This agreement calls for desegregation within 90 days of some lunch counters and other facilities in a number of downtown department and variety stores, for upgrading of Negro employment and hiring on a nondiscriminatory basis, and for the formation of a biracial committee.

On the other hand, coworkers in the civil-rights movement, which today teems with dissent and self-criticism, argue that these gains might have been won even without King. After decades of iron-fisted white supremacy, a series of elections in the past year had brought rejection of the old-line leadership, and white-Negro negotiations had established unprecedented rapport. (Speaking of a local Negro leader and head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a white merchant who a year ago grumbled, "I never thought I'd be sitting down with Fred Shuttlesworth," recently volunteered in obvious sincerity, "I'm delighted to know you, Reverend Shuttlesworth.")

Now, however, Birmingham's Negroes face a backwash of troublesome problems. White hoodlums have been aroused. Negro demonstrators may be faced with heavy fines. School authorities suspended or expelled 1,100 children who left classes to march in the protests. And both the outgoing commission-type administration of Mayor Art Hanes and Commissioners Bull Connor and J.T. Waggoner, and the incoming mayor-council form of government headed by Mayor Albert Boutwell have publicly stated that they were not bound by the white-Negro negotiations. It will be months before anyone knows how much the Negroes won, or whether the battle of Birmingham is over.

For these and other reasons, some integrationist leaders felt that King had blundered in bringing crisis to Birmingham. It was not the right place, they maintained; this was not the right time; and mass marches to fill the jails—a tactic that bears King's personal brand—was not the right tactic. Furthermore, King had gone into Birmingham not only against the advice of these leaders but without even informing them. "That's just arrogant," one said in exasperation.

Other detractors within the desegregation movement have bitterly accused King of tackling Birmingham primarily to raise money and to keep his name and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), out in front on the teeming civil-rights scene.

But despite such criticism, King's magic touch with the masses of Negroes remains. They do not understand the intricacies of his tactics. What they see is a powerful crusader for equality who does something instead of just talking, who sticks lighted matches to the status quo and who is impatient with talk of waiting. Given the increasing unrest among Negroes, King's flare seems likely to spread a trail of little Birminghams through the nation during the next few months.

For King endows this American struggle with qualities of messianic mission. A short man whose thick neck and heavy shoulders convey an impression of height and power, he can fill New York's cavernous Riverside Church with eloquence about "the battering rams of historical necessity," or set rural Negro Baptists in Georgia to clapping and shouting rhythmic responses when he says, "The cloud is dark, but the sun is shining on the other side."

This oratorical blend of intellectual content with the imagery of an old Southern preacher is natural. King, 34, holds a theological degree from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, and a doctor-of-philosophy degree from Boston University. But some think his family heritage and home community explain much more about him than his education.

His father, usually known as "M. L. Sr.," was a strong figure in Atlanta for many years before young Martin became famous. The son of a hard-drinking part-Negro, part-Irish Georgia sharecropper, M. L. Sr. came to Atlanta as a largely unlettered young working man. He went to college, became a preacher, married a daughter of a man who had founded Ebenezer Baptist Church, and later became pastor of this politically influential church, as he still is today.

"In the North, discrimination is even more agonizing than in the South."

Young Martin grew up as the son of a man of prestige in the community. Except that he was a Negro in a segregated Southern city, it was almost a typical middle-class American setting.

People who knew young Martin noted one characteristic early: He played rough games, but he didn't like a fight. Once the school bully knocked him down a flight of stairs and beat him, but he didn't fight back.

He was sensitive, and twice as a young boy he seemed to lose control of himself in heartbreak. Once A.D., his younger brother, sliding down a banister, knocked their grandmother unconscious. Thinking she was dead, Martin ran to a second-floor window and jumped out, but the fall was only 10 or 12 feet and he was not injured. Later, when he was 11, he learned that his grandmother really had died and took the same jump out the window—again escaping injury.

King's sensitivity and reluctance to fight back physically remain two of his outstanding characteristics. When a 200-pound self-styled American Nazi attacked him during a speech in Birmingham, King took the man's blows and never tried to retaliate. But his courage is not seriously questioned, even by those who find other characteristics to criticize. Although he does get tense and even tighten up in his speech when faced with arrest—possibly because of arm-twisting mistreatment he has received from police in the past—he does not let that deter him from following his chosen path.

Ordinarily he can match Perry Como in languid laziness of appearance. His broad face has an Oriental aspect, with a down-curving moustache and oval eyes, and he never seems to hurry.

His most frequent response is "Oh, yeeees." The word stretches out like a baritone's last four full notes. When he laughs at someone's trivial humor, the laugh seems just a moment too late, as if he has been contemplating even this.

King can clown in private

Many people think he has no sense of humor; yet he can clown in private, parodying a swinging gospel singer's radio routine, for instance. But few people ever see such a performance or realize that, behind a public dignity of ecclesiastical proportions, he is an avid sports fan. Swimming, tennis and fishing have been among his own pursuits, but he has little time for them these days.

His limited time, in fact, is largely spent with his family—his wife Coretta, a pretty former Alabaman who sometimes sings soprano in concerts; Yolanda (Yoki), 7; Martin III, 5; Dexter, 2; and Bernice Albertine, born March 28. They live in a large, two-story brick house in one of Atlanta's less fashionable Negro neighborhoods. He is at home about 10 days a month on the average.

More often he is traveling. A recent schedule took him to Chicago for four speeches on a Sunday, to the University of Minnesota Monday, back to his Atlanta S.C.L.C. office Tuesday with a church meeting at home that night; Wednesday through Friday there were meetings with the S.C.L.C. staff; Saturday, counseling at his church and visits to hospitalized members; Sunday morning, preaching. And then on the road for New York, Connecticut and Tennessee.

Despite the pace, he almost always appears fresh. His dress leans to brown, gray and sometimes dark blue; and his suits, which Mrs. King helps choose, usually look more respectable than stylish. He once bought some suits in the $150-$200 price range, with a preference for high-sheen dressy ones, but his taste seems to be more modest now.

Price, however, is not the problem. Testimony from state investigators in an unsuccessful Alabama tax case against King revealed substantial income. For 1958, for example, he reported $25,348—and the state charged him with having made almost twice that much. He attributed the tax case to persecution, and was acquitted of fraud, but he had by then paid some additional tax which the state claimed was due.

King receives one dollar a year from S.C.L.C. and $6,000 from Ebenezer Baptist Church, which lists him as co-pastor. Most of his income comes from speaking fees, gifts and books, of which his third, titled *Strength to Love*, has recently been published by Harper & Row.

For these latter sources of income, King naturally must thank his national prominence as a Negro leader; and it is a curious fact that, between crises, his place in the civil-rights struggle seems to slip. After his first ascent to fame during the 1956 bus boycott campaign in Montgomery, Alabama, he passed through a period of limbo. "The rest of my life will be anticlimactic," he told a good friend.

But the next year he reestablished himself on the national scene when he proposed a "prayer pilgrimage" to Washington, won out against N.A.A.C.P. opposition and, on May 17, spoke from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to 25,000 Negroes. "Give us the ballot" was his theme, rolling out like the refrain of an old hymn. "Give us the ballot, and we will transform the salient misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs into the abiding good deeds of orderly citizens. Give us the ballot. . . ." The crowd boomed its approval, and editor James L. Hicks of New York City's *Amsterdam News* wrote that King "emerged from the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington as the No. 1 leader of 16 million Negroes. . . . At this point in his career, they will follow him anywhere."

Still, King, who in those days wore a floppy, broad-brimmed hat, unfashionable wide-lapel suits and floral-design ties, was often out of the limelight. In the fall of that same year, 1957, the Little Rock explosion thrust other leaders into the headlines; Daisy Bates of the N.A.A.C.P. was the Negro of the hour then.

King slipped further from view after he narrowly escaped death on September 20, 1958, when a mentally deranged Negro woman named Izola Curry plunged a letter opener into his chest as he autographed his first book, *Stride Toward Freedom*, in a Harlem department store. "I've been after you for six years," she exclaimed. The blade narrowly missed his aorta, and King probably would have died if he had pulled the blade out, a doctor said later. Instead, he waited calmly for medical attention, with the stoical bravery he has shown on other occasions. His recovery was delayed by pneumonia, and for two years he remained largely out of public view except for a trip to India to talk to Nehru.

He did not emerge until 1960, with the advent of more crises. That year he set up offices in Atlanta for S.C.L.C.—"Slick," in the jargon of the movement—which had been largely dormant since he and his supporters had founded it three years earlier. But it was the lunch-counter sit-ins in the Carolinas and the rising restlessness of the Negro students which brought him to the fore again. Not leadership but agility put him there.

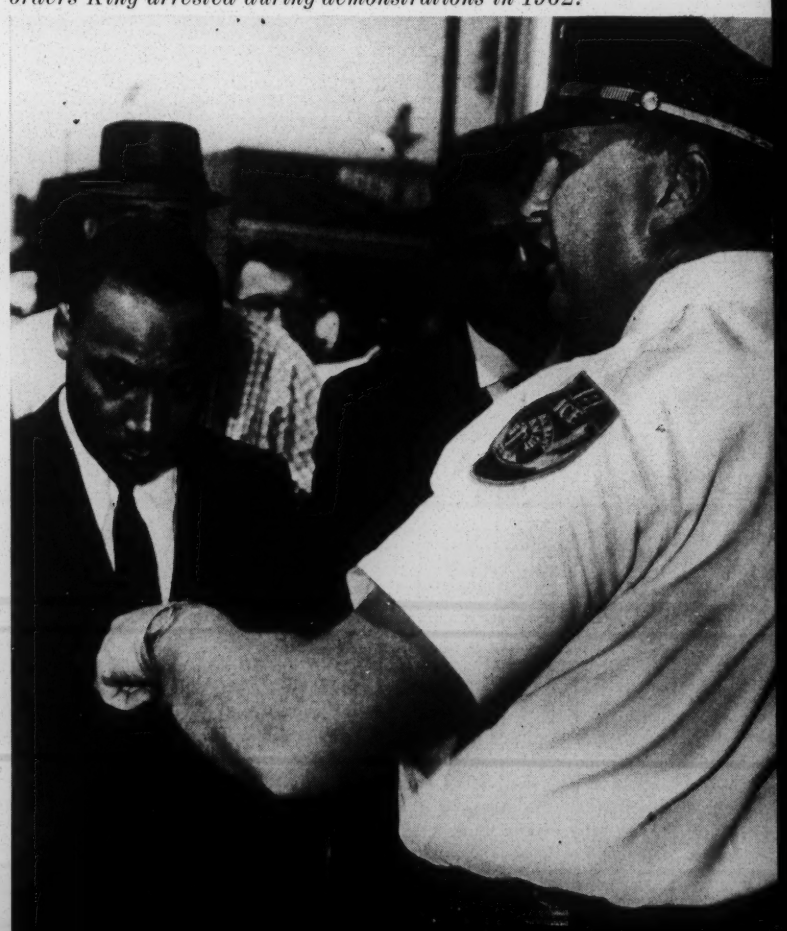
Students from about 40 communities where there had been sit-ins met in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, to organize; and because King was, to them, the great symbol of the movement, they asked him to help. Though they had moved ahead of him in pressing "selective buying" programs—boycotts—he had quickly adopted this as his own cause. ("He had to run to catch up with them," a friend remembers.) And now, when they organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.), he became its patron saint. S.N.C.C.—usually called "Snick"—has since become a grass-roots organization carrying the dangerous burden of direct action in the tough black-belt areas of the South.

The revolutionary new youth tide that flowed from Raleigh had the effect of thrusting King into the front of a civil-disobedience movement now identified with his name, although in actual practice it was a young people's tactic at that time. Mass violation of the law by sit-ins and jail-ins was the banner that impatient students thrust into his hands for the 1960's. It was a sort of "black man's burden," and he was carrying it when he went to jail in Atlanta's sit-ins of 1960.

The Atlanta showdown exemplifies an essential fact about King: Here, as has often been the case, he was the Negroes' symbol and public spokesman; but actually the sit-in campaign was run by the students, and the command of Negro forces dealing with the Atlanta city administration was exercised by the established Negro power structure of Atlanta. On the operating level, King was a major factor only once, when the power of his oratory was needed to persuade a rally of rebellious students to accept the desegregation timetable which the local Negro leaders had negotiated.

Partly because his method is to move about in evangelical fashion, with local people remaining to reap whatever harvest may come, King has

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett of Albany, Georgia, orders King arrested during demonstrations in 1962.



Martin Luther King

Get on your walking shoes and don'tcha get weary

Blast of fire hose hit this Birmingham demonstrator.

been called the Billy Graham of the civil-rights movement. Unlike Billy Graham, however, King bears heavy organizational responsibilities, and it is in this realm that he is most criticized.

"I really don't have a great interest in administration," King said one day recently, semi-reclining in a swivel chair in his simple, cheaply furnished Atlanta office. He tapped a wooden letter opener rapidly in his palm as he thought. "But I have come to see the necessity of that emphasis. I've never thought I couldn't do it. But I have thought my function was creative leadership, without doing the day-to-day detail. In recent months I have tried to strengthen my administrative ability."

Though King and the N.A.A.C.P.—of which he is a member—periodically deny any rivalry, it is obvious that "the N-double-A" is warily watching one plan he mulls over. It is twofold: First, S.C.L.C. would become a membership organization, composed primarily of individual members rather than affiliate organizations, as at present. Second, it would become truly national. In sum, this move would put S.C.L.C. into full competition with the N.A.A.C.P. for members, dues, contributions and general support.

"I will have to face the decision soon on whether I should be limiting myself to the South," King said. "In the North there are brothers and sisters who are suffering discrimination that is even more agonizing, in a sense, than in the South. . . . In the South, at least the Negro can see progress, whereas in the North all he sees is retrogression."

At present, S.C.L.C.'s most far-reaching and, many civil-rights workers think, most useful activity is its citizenship-training program. In an attractive brick building called the Dorchester Center in rural McIntosh, Georgia, S.C.L.C. trains people it calls "the noncommissioned officers of the civil-rights movement." Most are leaders from small communities, learning how to teach basic literacy, voter-registration processes and procedures for obtaining government benefits. So far, about 600 Negroes from all over the South have gone through Dorchester. In Georgia alone, these graduates recently were conducting 50 local classes.

For these and other operations conducted by its staff of 40, S.C.L.C. has a 1963 budget of about $450,000, up from $60,000 in 1960, when the staff numbered three. Fees from its affiliates amount to only about $15,000 of this. Doctor King himself raises about $100,000 with rallies, dinners and other personal appearances. A surprising $150,000 or so comes through the mail, some spontaneously but most in response to appeals from Doctor King to a mailing list of 35,000 people. When a crisis such as Birmingham's comes, an "emergency appeal" may be sent out, and sometimes it adds substantially to the year's budget. For example, the National Maritime Union alone sent King more than $32,000 in the midst of the Birmingham crisis.

About $100,000 of the S.C.L.C. budget is a grant by the Field Foundation to the home mission board of the United Church of Christ, which finances the citizenship school that S.C.L.C. administers. The remainder of the S.C.L.C. budget comes from periodic benefits, concerts and assorted entertainment.

King's financial reporting worries some people. In contrast to the N.A.A.C.P., which reports its money handling extensively and likes to emphasize that it must be "as above suspicion as Caesar's wife," S.C.L.C. reports little. Its only known published financial statement is a one-page, carbon-copied sheet with a very general listing of income and disbursements in round figures.

Partly because of its laxity in providing reports even to those with whom it deals on a professional level, S.C.L.C. seems to have suffered badly as a participant in the foundation-financed Voter Education Project, set up last year to manage voter-registration programs through five participating organizations. S.C.L.C., which had enthusiastically disclosed that it would receive about $90,000 from the fund last year, actually wound up getting less than $25,000. And when the project drew up its tentative 1963 allocations this April, S.C.L.C. was down for none.

Others in the civil-rights movement are also taking a tough, critical look at S.C.L.C.'s work in voter registration. And, despite King's statement in an April fund-raising letter that "We are making the main thrust of our work in the area of voter registration," the "specialty of the house" with S.C.L.C. remains the mass protest. The ultimate outcome in Birmingham will be a judgment of this tactic, just as Albany was.

The name of Albany has come to have a special meaning in the rights movement. In that busy little city of 58,000 in the old plantation country of southwestern Georgia, a total of more than 1,100 Negroes marched to jail with King in December, 1961, and the spring of 1962, demanding desegregation. Thundering applause had nearly drowned out King's rising, falling oratory when he told a meeting of Albany Negroes: "Get on your walking shoes; walk together, children, and don'tcha get weary!"

King himself had been trapped in the kind of emotion that builds up at these meetings. When he went to Albany he did not intend to go to jail or, apparently, to allow his entire prestige to be committed. But by the time he reached the church, earlier speakers had already fired up the crowd. A local Negro leader, Dr. W. G. Anderson, whirled in the midst of an oration about marching to certain arrest and exclaimed, "Reverend King will lead us, won't you, Reverend King?" The answer had to be yes. "I don't think King leads the movement," said a former associate. "It leads him."

Looking back, an executive of another rights group has commented, "As a professional, I was appalled by the lack of planning in the Albany campaign. They just charged off."

Almost everybody outside King's immediate camp thinks the Albany protest was a failure. "Albany can never be the same again," King had said at the time. But the walls of segregation did not come tumbling down anywhere there, and the Negro's lot today is little different except for some new hardships. Slater King, an Albany Negro leader and businessman, thinks the campaign was worth-while on the whole, but he estimates that 20 percent of the work force of Negro maids and cooks lost jobs permanently because of white hostility aroused by the marches.

"Albany is just as segregated as ever," says Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, who is credited with giving King his first major defeat. And Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern regional director of the N.A.A.C.P., says, "Albany was successful only if the goal was to go to jail."

A difference in objectives

Doctor King himself, though he admits he might do things differently now, believes the marches did achieve something. "Negroes have straightened their backs in Albany," he says, "and once a man straightens his back you can't ride him anymore." It is a view that sheds light on the cause of many of his differences with leaders of other rights groups. As one such executive said, "We [various rights organizations] meet and decide on tactics for bringing about desegregation. I have the feeling S.C.L.C. does not regard this as the primary objective. For them it's to increase the self-esteem of the Negro. That calls for different tactics."

Doctor King, having established himself as the foremost practitioner of the "fill the jails" tactic, now has set up a legal wing that may be useful when and if thousands more of his followers go to jail. Contributions to this new Gandhi Society will be tax-exempt—unlike those to S.C.L.C., a political-action group. Doctor King, honorary chairman of the Gandhi Society, acknowledges that it may enjoy foundation support—some, hopefully, from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The relationship between King and New York Governor Rockefeller has aroused a good deal of curiosity, especially since an S.C.L.C. official resigned with charges that Rockefeller was a heavy contributor to King for political reasons. The two men met at a Harlem rally in 1957 but had little contact until 1960. That year, when King was to speak at a fund-raising dinner in Albany, New York, the governor greeted him in New York City and then flew him to Albany in his personal plane. They had long talks. "I was very much impressed by him and the strength of his commitment," King recalls. They have talked since then, King says, but not frequently. "I must say he has shown a strong concern for civil

rights. I do not think it is wholly political." But King is hard to corner on the question of whether President Kennedy or Governor Rockefeller has more appeal as a civil-rights advocate.

"I don't endorse candidates and will continue to follow this policy," King said, but he added, "I will go to the extent of telling people who ask my advice what I think the candidates stand for."

Even that could be an important endorsement. During the 1960 campaign his father, the Rev. M. L. King Sr., publicly endorsed John F. Kennedy for President because of the candidate's "call of concern" to young Doctor King's wife Coretta, while her husband was confined at Georgia's Reidsville State Penitentiary. That call, and another by Bob Kennedy to a Georgia judge handling a traffic case against King, are credited by many political observers with swinging enough Negro votes to elect Kennedy.

King's position in the rights movement unquestionably is enhanced by the fact that he has the ear of the President and, for that matter, of figures around the world. He knows African premiers better than he does the influential whites in his own hometown—recently he could not recall the names of two of the most important churchmen in Atlanta, both of whom had lunched with him to talk race relations. Not only is he on speaking terms with many African leaders; to an extent few white Americans appreciate, his name is known and revered throughout much of the world.

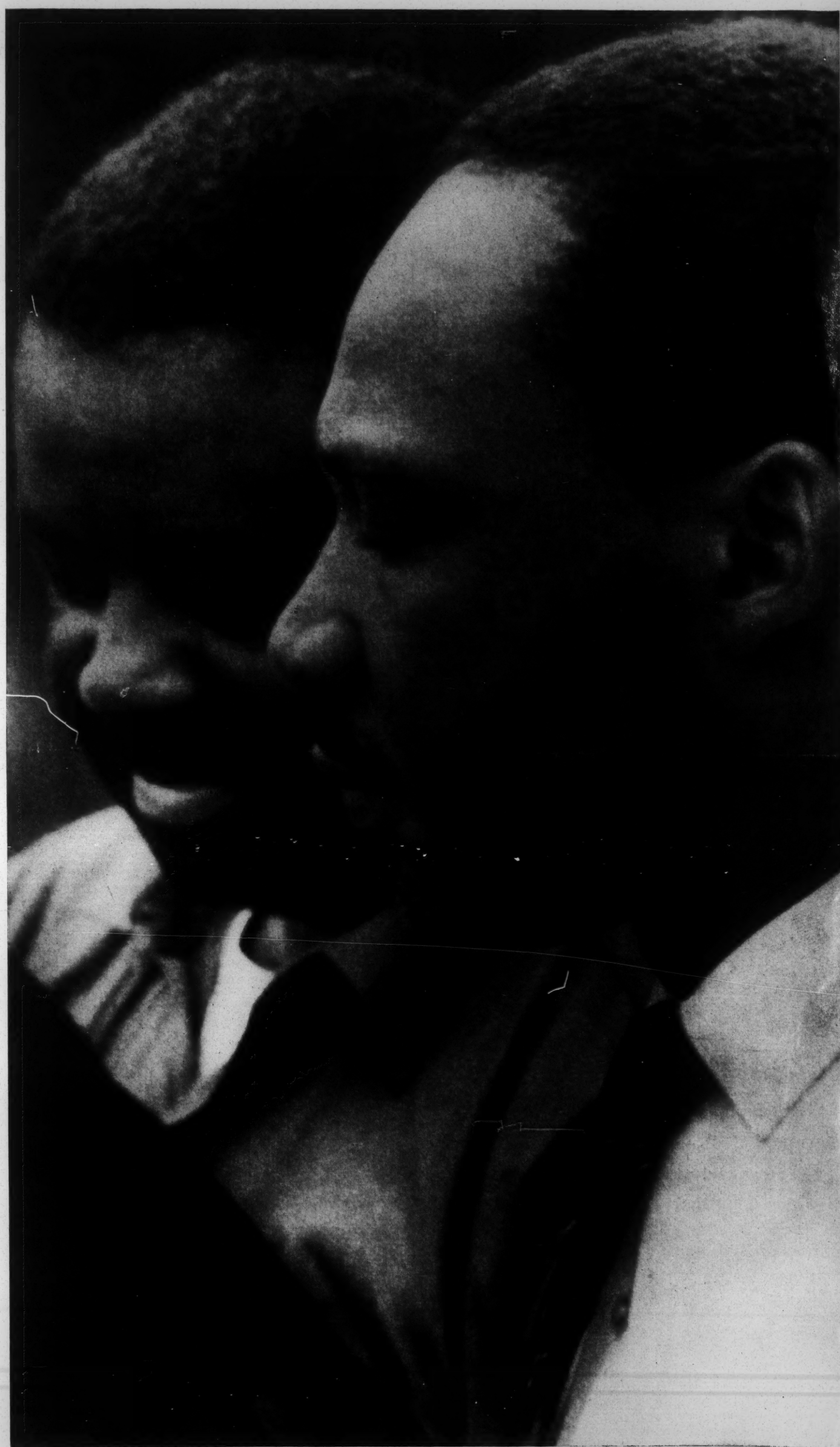
During the Birmingham push, for example, a Peace Corps official visiting in Senegal was plied with questions about why America had put Martin Luther King in jail. And by now most of the world knows that he has been jailed 14 times—as this is written.

Jail usually is the place where King catches up on his reading, but in the Birmingham jail a few weeks ago he caught up on some writing. Seven leading Alabama churchmen, some of whom had staked their prestige and positions upon a moderate solution in Birmingham, had openly criticized his actions there. He answered them with a publicly released 9,000-word letter which his staff later dubbed *Birmingham Jail Treatise of Martin Luther King Jr.* It was a telling document. More than ever it split him from the white moderates of the South and suggested that Negroes would plot their own course in the future.

The moderates, he wrote, had "gravely disappointed" him: "I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens Council-er or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action'; who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom. . . ."

As for his own course, he said, he was the man in the middle in the Negro community. He stood between "a force of complacency" and "one of bitterness and hatred" exemplified by the Black Muslims, and he realized that he should have known that "few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those who have been oppressed. . . ."

More than a "treatise" it sounded like a declaration of black independence in the civil-rights crises of the future. THE END



Unshaven after stretch in Birmingham jail, King (right) and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy pray silently.

Intergroup Org. Misc.
The New Leader 6/24/63

Letter to Dr. King

Following is the text of the public statement on Negro demonstrations directed to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. by eight Alabama clergymen.

APRIL 12, 1963

We the undersigned clergymen are among those who, in January, issued "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," in dealing with racial problems in Alabama. We expressed understanding that honest convictions in racial matters could properly be pursued in the courts, but urged that decisions of those courts should in the meantime be peacefully obeyed.

Since that time there had been some evidence of increased forbearance and a willingness to face facts. Responsible citizens have undertaken to work on various problems which cause racial friction and unrest. In Birmingham, recent public events have given indication that we all have opportunity for a new constructive and realistic approach to racial problems.

However, we are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens, directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

We agree rather with certain local Negro leadership which has called for honest and open negotiation of racial issues in our area. And we believe this kind of facing of issues can best be accomplished by citizens of our own metropolitan area, white and Negro, meeting with their knowledge and experience of the local situation. All of us need to face that responsibility and find proper channels for its accomplishment.

Just as we formerly pointed out that "hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions," we also point out that such actions as incite to hatred and violence, however technically peaceful those actions may be, have not contributed to the resolution of our local problems. We do not believe that these days of new hope are days when extreme measures are justified in Birmingham.

We commend the community as a whole, and the local news media and law enforcement officials in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations have been handled. We urge the public to continue to show restraint should the demonstrations continue, and the law enforcement officials to remain calm and continue to protect our city from violence.

We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham. When rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and in negotiations among local leaders, and not in the streets. We appeal to both our white and Negro citizenry to observe the principles of law and order and common sense.

Signed by:

C. C. J. CARPENTER, D.D., LL.D., *Bishop of Alabama.*

JOSEPH A. DURICK, D.D., *Auxiliary Bishop, Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham*

Rabbi MILTON L. GRAFMAN, *Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Alabama*

Bishop PAUL HARDIN, *Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church*

Bishop NOLAN B. HARMON, *Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church*

GEORGE M. MURRAY, D.D., LL.D., *Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama*

EDWARD V. RAMAGE, *Moderator, Synod of the Alabama Presbyterian Church in the United States*

EARL STALLINGS, *Pastor, First Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama*

Intergroup Org.-Misc.

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
JUNE 25, 1963

PETITION

TO: United States Junior Chamber of Commerce
Annual Convention
Louisville, Kentucky

FROM: Your Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1962

We were greatly honored when you selected us as America's Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1962. You urged us to continue to work for the betterment of America and to take this responsibility seriously. It is in this vein, and for this reason, that we feel impelled to make the following statement. What we say, we say with the JAYCEES Creed in mind:

> That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations; ....That earth's great treasure lies in human personality; And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

The JAYCEES have risen to meet many challenges, have contributed immeasurably to the improvement of our communities, and have never turned away from a task because of its difficulty.

The current crisis in race relations in America is only the latest in a series of challenges to our Nation's basic principles. It is one to which the President and other high government officials of both parties have frequently and urgently addressed themselves in recent weeks. It is a crisis which is neither sectional nor partisan.

As in the past, the challenge spells opportunity as well as danger. The danger lies in the certainty that our ideals will wither if we apply them sporadically or selectively. We pride ourselves that the American society holds individual dignity inviolate and that it imposes no restraints on the lawful ambitions of any citizens. This conviction is the heart of our vaunted liberty, and the secret of the success of our free enterprise system. America is what it is because our ancestors fled from societies in which men were judged by birth and not by ability. Yet, in 1963, there is within our society a group of persons to whom, in large measure, we deny equal opportunity because of the color of their skin. The President has pointed out that no Negro baby born in America today can hope to have an even chance unless we awaken to the violation of our most sacred principles.

The challenge we now face presents an opportunity to demonstrate anew that social problems are best solved within the framework of a free and democratic society. We who like to teach by example cannot hope to convince the world's overwhelming non-Caucasian majority of the validity of our political and economic system until we can prove that it assures to all persons, regardless of race or color, equality of opportunity. Moreover, the economy of our country, as well as its spirit, is bound to benefit from the entry of 20 million citizens into the mainstream of American life.

Recognizing these facts, and recognizing the need for dynamic business leadership in this as in all other challenges to our society, we call upon the officers and members of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce to take the following steps:

1. Remind the business community that racial discrimination is incompatible with a free enterprise system founded on the premise that both persons and products should compete on their merits.

2. Urge employers in their hiring, training and promotion policies affirmatively to seek out persons with talent and potential regardless of race or color.

3. Impress on businessmen who serve the public that refusal to serve persons because of race is a slur on America as well as on the individual victim and perpetuates the exclusion of Negro Americans from the American way of life.

4. Stimulate businessmen to make a long range commitment of time and energy to work on biracial committees, and other agencies, to find ways to alleviate current racial tensions and make Negroes full participants in the life of our communities.

5. Encourage businessmen to assure Negroes a free choice in the housing market as part of a community-wide effort to build stable and prosperous neighborhoods.

We offer you our assistance to advance these objectives in any manner which you deem appropriate.

Curtiss M. Anderson
Former Editor of Ladies' Home Journal;
Contributing Editor McCalls' Magazine; Writer
New York City, N.Y.

James T. Beatty
President, Los Angeles Track Club
Los Angeles, California

Jules Bergman
Science Editor, American Broadcasting Company
New York City, N.Y.

Hon. Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Congressman John Brademas
U.S. Representative
South Bend, Indiana

Guido Calabresi
Professor of Law
Yale University Law School
New Haven, Connecticut

Rev. Robert W. Castle, Jr.
Rector, St. John's Episcopal Church
Jersey City, New Jersey

Hugh S. Haynie
Editorial Cartoonist
Louisville Courier - Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

James R. Jude, M.D.
Assistant Professor of Surgery
John Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

James Wesley Turpin, M.D.
Director, Project Concern
Kowloon, Hong Kong

PRESS RELEASE

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
June 25, 1963

The U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce national convention in Louisville has been asked by its group of Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1962 to take five steps aimed at resolving the current crisis in race relations in America.

The TOYM awards are presented annually by the JayCees as proof of their dedication to the belief that the American way of life presents unlimited opportunities to all young men of faith, vision and courage...and to reaffirm that part of the JayCee Creed which says, "service to humanity is the best work of life."

For perhaps the first time since the awards came into being a quarter of a century ago, the ten 1962 recipients have taken a public stand on a controversial issue. In a three-page petition presented to the National JayCee President, Doug Blankenship, the group notes that the JayCees have risen to meet many challenges in the past. The challenge posed now by the controversy over civil rights, the petition states, spells opportunity as well as danger.

The danger lies in the certainty that our ideals will wither if we apply them sporadically or selectively. The opportunity presented is to demonstrate anew that social problems are best solved within the framework of a free and democratic society.

In recognizing these facts, and in recognizing the need for dynamic business leadership in this as in all other challenges to our society, the TOYM call upon the officers and members of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce to take the following five steps:

1. Remind the business community that racial discrimination is incompatible with a free enterprise system;

2. Urge employers to hire, train and promote regardless of race or color;

3. Impress businessmen serving the public that racial discrimination is a slur on America;

4. Stimulate businessmen to actively participate on biracial committees to alleviate current racial tensions;

5. Encourage businessmen to assure Negroes free choice in the housing market as part of a community-wide effort to build stable and prosperous neighborhoods.

The TOYM of 1962 also offer their assistance to advance the stated objectives in any manner which the JayCees deem appropriate.

SDS

mat. - Detergp. - Misc.

SDS, 405
112 E. 19 St.
New York 3, N.Y.
July 3, 1963

Dear SDS Member or Friend,

Enclosed is a report on the Convention held from 14-17 June at Pine Hill, N.Y. Until the American Scene document, around which much of the Convention focussed, is finished and sent out, this report will not, of course, be complete; but I hope that what is enclosed will serve to give you some "feel" of what happened. We welcome, and strongly solicit, comments from SDS members, whether or not they attended the Convention, on the Convention and/or the "state of the SDS" (such as are contained in National Secretary Lee Webb's enclosed "introduction"); all such comments received will be printed in the first Discussion Bulletin in the Fall. (We plan to have more--and shorter--Bulletins over the next school year.)

We have in the office stocks of Convention and post-Convention materials; if you want any of the following, indicate so on the form at the bottom of this letter.

1. The draft by Tom Hayden and Dick Flacks of the American Scene document (plus a draft/outline of suggested revisions by Ass't Nat'l Sec'y Don McKelvey)
2. Constitutional amendments
3. The new constitution, as amended
4. A list of Convention registrants, with summer addresses
5. Copies of some New Left Day speeches (available in September or so)

* * *

The Convention's Saturday night was marked by a truly inspiring demonstration of sacrifice and solidarity by SDS members. In the space of an hour, over $525 in contributions and another $550 in pledges was raised. Because of this, our financial situation is only serious, rather than catastrophic--but it is serious. Those who were at the Convention can dig down a little deeper over the summer; those who were not there can match those who were. There are many ways to help--payment of last year's unpaid dues, prepayment of next year's, or contributions either now (one suggestion is the contribution of a day's or a week's salary) or for the next year in the form of post-dated checks or pledges. (And--little things help--if you request any of the above-mentioned items, enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope--10¢ postage is needed for the Hayden/Flacks draft.)

* * *

We would greatly appreciate your sending us the information on your fall address requested below; this will sa ve us money then and will mean your receiving material seoner. Many thanks. And last: If you're in NYC over the summer, be sure to drop by the office and say hello--or call GR32181.

Clip & send to: SDS, 405, 112 E. 19, NYC 3 Lee Webb, Nat'l Sec'y

***

REPORT ON NEW LEFT DAY

The first day of the convention, Friday, June 14, was primarily an educational day for the delegates attending. The theme of the day was the discussion of the New Left in America, and the concerns it should have. The first of the four panels met after the president's report and was entitled "The Student Community and The New Left"; the speakers were Peter Countryman, Executive Director of the Northern Student Movement; Arthur Gorsen, Chairman of Campus ADA; Betty Garman, SDS NEC member from Berkely; and James Wienstein, of the Editorial Board of Students on the Left.

The second panel delt with the problem of formulating a radical approach to the foreign Policy Issues. The speakers in this panel were Robert Gilmore, Executive Director of Turn Toward Peace; Byron Johnson, former Congressman from Colorado and currently with the Agency for International Development; Arthur Waskow, author of The Limits of Defense and on the staff of the Peace Research and Educational Project in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The third panel was concerned with a discussion of the failure of various institutions as agents of social change. Paul Potter, SDS member from the University of Michigan spoke on Students and Intellectuals; Sumner Rosen, Executive Committee of Massachusettes Political Action for Peace, spoke on the Peace movement; Al Blumenthal, Democratic State Assemblyman, spoke on the Democratic Party; Noel Day of the Boston Action Group, spoke on Civil Rights.

The evening panel discussed the many problems of the American economy. The speakers were Robb Burlage, SDS member from Harvard Graduate School; Bob Hiefits, an unemployed city planner; Bob Engler, a professor at Sarah Lawrence; Ray Brown, a teacher of Economics at the New School for Social Research; Stanley Aronowitz, of the Amalgamated Garment Workers and John McDermett, former Executive Director of New York State ADA.

Many of these speeches will be available from the SDS office on request later in the summer, and a comprehensive summary of what was said will appear in the first Discussion Bulletin in the Autumn.

An Introduction:
CONVENTION REPORT

The 1963 convention signalled a new era in the development of SDS. 150 students attended the four day event at Pine Hill, New York, representing over 32 campuses. The 150 figure is twice that of the attendance of the 1962 convention at Port Huron, Michigan. The geographic distribution was also greater than at Port Huron with large delegations coming from Michigan, Illinois, New York, Massachusettes. Texas and California were also represented as were many other middle Atlantic states.

The Convention was evidance of SDS becoming an organization as it enters the last part of its second year. The organization is developing a substantial campus base which identifies with it, and is no longer based soley on personell relationships.

Most encouraging is the development of new leadership which now goes far beyond the original Port Huron group.

The Convention indicated that the SDS constituency is expanding beyond the base of graduate students who originally drafted the Port Huron Statement into the undergraduate community on the one hand and into the young adult radical community on the other.

The opening day of the convention, designated as New Left Day took the form of a panel discussion in areas of importance to the New Left and was an attempt to unite the Young adult, graduate and undergraduate groupings in a common educational experience.

The content of the convention indicated that a new style of thinking is emerging within the organization. The questions of personal and social values and general critique of American society which were the major points of concern at Port Huron were surpassed at Pine Hill as the convention settled into the work of formulating a specific political analysis and programs.

A new tone was established in the strong critism leveled at the "Kennedy-corporate-liberal" solutions to domestic and foreign problems although the orientation of activity within and without the political structure will be maintained over the coming year.

After the convention, the new National Council met and began the difficult task of implementing the program drafted and accepted by the convention. It agreed to expand the national staff, to enlarge the role of the National Office in national programming, and to increase fund raising for national projects and general operating expenses. The various SDS projects; Students and Labor, University Reform, the Southern Project and the continuation of PREP(Peace Research and Education Project) will expand SDS activity and effectiveness on the national level and will also serve as an effective reference point for local chapter activity.

Lee Webb
National Secretary

CONVENTION REPORT

For the benefit of those unable to attend the Pine Hill Convention, and to review for those who did, a description follows of the original draft of the American Scene document and of the process by which it was given a political shape from which the Styles Committee can come up with a final document.

The draft was prepared by Tom Hayden and Dick Flacks of Ann Arbor, at the direction of the National Executive Committee. The NEC's members felt that SDS, which had articulated its values and general political outlook during last year's Convention at Port Huron, should concentrate specifically on conditions in the U.S. in 1963 and SDS's relation to those conditions and to relevant political forces in the country. The draft statement therefore contained an analysis of current problems, a philosophy of organizational activity, and a set of fairly specific programmatic demands. (In the following summary, it should be noted that the specific demands are omitted; suffice to say that they follow relatively logically and clearly from the critical analysis.)

The draft broke down roughly into the following sections:

1) The Post War Period: In the period from the end of the second World War to the close of the Eisenhower Administration, Europe remained a debtor of the U.S.; while there was some motion in the colonial world, the colonial revolution had not yet become a major phenomenon; pent-up consumer demands and war spending maintained a relatively high degree of prosperity. In short, the period was relatively static and stacked in favor of the U.S.

2) The New Period: The revolutionary developments which started during or before the post-war period became acute at about the time when Kennedy took office. A qualitatively new world situation caused new problems for America.

a. The colonial revolution became the dominant feature of the underdeveloped world (the "third World") bringing the threat of loss of markets, loss of raw materials, and the development of anti-imperialist, socialist, and/or pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese governments.

b. The Soviet Union was coming to equivalence to the U.S. in terms of military strength.

c. Europe became a competitor and started to encroach on American markets.

d. Automation brought about a new crisis in American Production: no longer did production increase mean increase in jobs. For young people just entering the job market, for "old" (45 or older) people automated out of work, for underprivileged, undereducated and therefore unretrainable or even unemployable minority group and poor people, jobs were often unattainable. The arms race ceased being a source of economic stimulus; as weaponry became more sophisticated and required continually smaller numbers of more highly trained workers, defense spending became economically dysfunctional.

e. The civil rights movement became a major political phenomenon, with Negroes demanding not only equality in education and use of public facilities and housing, but also equality in a relatively shrinking job market characterized by Negroes' being "last-hired, first-fired."

3) The Response of the Kennedy Administration: While having reasserted an active managerial and planning role, the New Frontier still views its problems in administrative and technical terms rather than in terms of critical conflict, and thus it arrives at the following positions:

a. The new Frontier still regards the Soviet Union as its chief menace, but seeks a detente in terms of a test bann and possibly a disarmament treaty with a view toward freezing some areas of colonial conflict and making possible the use of limited conventional weapons for the maintanence of threatened American interests in the underdeveloped world.

b. Viewing China as the major long range threat, the administration is willing to promote modest change in the colonial world wherever faced with extreme right or left governments.

c. An interdependent European-American economic community is sought to aide the American economy.

d. The Administration had developed a policy of intervention in labor management disputes in the "national interest". It has attempted to offer tax relief for business and opposed attempts to raise wages particularly by use of strikes.

e. High level of unemployment seems to be accepted with grossly insufficient fringe solutions being used to put people to work.

f. no significant program for the alleviation of poverty has been adopted.

g. The administration has trailed behind the civil rights movement belatedly supporting those demands which have mass pressure behind them in an attempt to alleviate defacto and legal segregation and to keep Negroes loyal to the democratic party.

h. The New Frontier favors limited realignment so that its supporters can control Congress.

4. Critique of the Administration: The Administration wishes to maintain a business-oriented status quo, but realizes that major reforms may be necessary in the economy, foreign policy, and civil rights. To the degree that these reforms coincide with progressive interests, the Administration should be supported against the Right; but we must remember that while the Administration poses as liberal in order (successfully) to get liberal support, it is essentially illiberal and concerned with retaining power and allowing only limited and gradual change.

Two basic criticisms of the Administration are offered:

(1) Its approach to problems is tokenistic, in a time of great human crisis here and throughout the world;

(2) Its "style" is manipulative in the extreme; this can only mean a further crippling of human beings' ability to participate in their own lives and in the decisions which shape their lives.

The New Frontier program cannot meet the three greatest pressing needs of this society:

(1) A foreign policy with disarmament as a central goal; the Administration offers only a world safe for limited, counter-insurgency wars (and increasingly potential escalation to nuclear war);

(2) Its economic policy might, at best, slightly redistribute wealth and create a few more jobs, but such tokenism cannot deal with the conservative nature of the social structure or with automation's radical pace; especially, it cannot--and does not try to--create dignified work;

(3) Its racial policy is also tokenistic, and inadequate in a radically segregated society; while many Kennedy policies in civil rights should be supported, it should be recognized that the Administration is trying, first, to muzzle the energy of the mass movement without satisfying its needs, and, second, that it is not feasible within the present policy framework for the government to meet even the minimal Negro demand for relief from economic distress.

Without change in these particular policies, America may pass into a time of even greater social disaster than the present. As the Third World, and the Chinese in particular, increases in turbulence and power, the probability of a terrible nuclear war becomes more difficult to avert. If it rejects the energy-releasing alternative of disarmament, the Administration can manage internal and world conflict only by an obscene and perhaps finally destructive mixture of dole and coercion.

5. Program for Action: The essence of the draft's philosophy of organization is found in the following direct quote:

"Toward local centers of insurgency: At the present time, we are convinced that debate about the shape and direction of mass left organization in America is a fruitless exercise. The prior task is to bring policitically conscious people into connection with ordinary people and their problems, to build the base and gather the resources for constructing a viable left, and the create the programs and analyses around which such a left could organize.

"Such tasks can best be accomplished through work by activists where they are. The primary strategic goal of the moment, we submit, is the development of locally autonomous insurgent political organization and action. Examples of such action presently on-going in communities across the country include:

--direct action movements and voter registration campaigns in the South;
--protest movements against school, housing, and job segregation in Northern communities;
--political reform movements in larger cities directed against entrenched Democratic machines and organized around liberal domestic and foreign policy proposals;
--political action for peace--including independent pressure groups, caucuses within political parties, community peace centers, etc.;
--tutorials, workshops, and other service and action projects among underprivileged youth;
--discussion groups, newspapers, research projects aimed at analysis and exposure of local political, economic and social conditions."

* * *

After a brief presentation of the draft to the Convention plenary, the body broke up into small workshops for a general discussion and criticism of the draft. This was followed by a meeting of the workshop discussion leaders who correlated the various points raised in their sessions. It was found(as it had been at Port Huron) that the content of the discussions correlated highly from workshop to workshop. On the basis of this correlation a recommendation was made from the workshop leaders to the plenary for a series of specific workshops to perfect various sections of the draft. The workshops included: economics, peace and foreign policy, civil rights, the New Frontier, political insurgency, labor, and theoretical themes and organization of the document. The reports of this second round of workshops were made directly to the plenary in the form of major concepts and forumlations to be dealt with parliamentarily on the floor and sent to a styles committee for incorporation into the final document.

Although there was extensive revision of the original draft, the overall political outlook of theconvention remained generally within the overview presented in the original.

* * *

Three major amendments to the constitution were passed:

1. The National Executive Committee was abolished as a separate body, though there will continue to be 17 national officers on the National Council elected directly by the Convention. The National Council, which meets between Conventions to set direction for the organization and to oversee its administration, consists of these 17 officers and representatives from chapters. Chapters with 25 or more members will elect two representatives (this is an amendment), while other chapters will continue to elect one each.

2. In order to keep major decision-making power within the chapter structure, and at the same time to encourage as many individual members as possible to participate in the Convention, a new system for convention representation was developed: (a) As before, all SDS members have the right to attend the Convention with the right to cast their own vote--though no proxies are to be allowed. Chapters shall have the right to elect one delegate for each five members, and such elected chapter delegates shall have two votes.

3. Amendments to the constitution shall henceforth be by 2/3 vote of the convention or of a membership referendum.

* * *

Elections: The following officers were elected:

Todd Gitlin, President
Paul Booth, Vice-President
Tom Hayden (elected by acclamation)
Robb Burlage
Rennie Davis
Dick Flacks
Betty Garman
Sharon Jeffrey
Steve Johnson
Steve Max
Jim Monsonis
Kim Moody
Sarah Murphy
Paul Potter
Mary Varela
Monte Wasch
Lee Webb

SUMMARY OF NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING, JUNE 17-18

After the Convention, the new N.C. met for a day in Nyack at the Home of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The following is a summary of the disdussions at the meeting (full minutes will be available from the office sometime over the summer):

1. Functioning of the Office; Staff: Some of the issues raised about the office and staff included: (1) the difficulty of administrators' getting out from under a plethora of relatively petty details to obtain an overview of what the office is and isn't doing and to sort out and act upon priorities; (2) the need for NYC organizing (both for chapter development and to help the office's functioning) and, at the same time, to assure that the staff doesn't become constantly involved in NYC politicking; (3) field secretaries' difficulty in keeping up with what's happening in the organization after having been away from the office for a good while; (4) the need for more organizing material; over the summer the staff will work on chapter and organizing materials, including an Organizing Manual and a basic brief handout based on the Open Letter, the Port Huron Statement, and the American Scene document; (5) the need to get chapter news to members frequently while also (perhaps monthly or bi-monthly) sending out non-chapter on-campus news and substantive articles and correspondence. Lee Webb, recent Boston U. graduate, was elected New National Secretary; Field Secretary Steve Max was designated Membership Secretary, with duties to be defined by the staff over the summer; Joe Chabot, Chairman of VOICE at the U. of Michigan, will be on staff over the summer and very possibly in the Fall doing organizing work, including aiding in prepration of organizing materials; Ass't National Secretary Don McKelvey remains over the summer; his plans for the Fall are uncertain.

2. Iran Resolution: A resolution supporting Iranian students against the Shah's repression was presented (in absentia) by Ben Page of the Boston area SDS. While the resolution itself was generally agreed with, a couple of questions were brought up: (1) How much time should SDS spend on resolutions on international questions, given our limited influence in such spheres? Also, the question arose of whether to take stands as an organization on potentially divisive specific foreign policy issues. (2) How should we use situations such as the Iranian one and resolutions about them? One suggestion was to send such statements to chapters prior to NC meetings, so as to heighten interest in the situation, educate about it, and assure more democratic control in the passage of resolutions. One result of the discussion was the setting up of an International Organizational Affairs Subcommittee of the NC, comprised of Chairman-in-Exile Bob Ross, Harlan Joye, Paul Potter, Steve Johnson, and Betty Garman.

3. Liberal Study Group: The LSG, a caucus at the NSA's Congress (8-18 to 8-29), involves the generation of a set of "liberal study papers" on various issues to be distributed to Congress delegates, and--at the Congress--the publishing of a daily newspaper and the conducting of daily seminars. Richard Rothstein is Co-ordinator of the LSG this year; SDS and Campus ADA are sponsors as of now; NSM, SNCC, andother organizations will also be invited. The problem was raised of how policy is to be determined. The only real focus for policy is in the newspaper's editorials; otherwise, the LSG serves a service function (it was suggested that this general concept be incorporated into an LSG Statement of Purpose). In past years, there have been problems of assuring both fast-moving effectiveness and democratic control by sponsoring organizations, due to some substantial political differences among sponsors.

4. From a challenge of the actual existence of the Hunter C. (Bronx) chapter, the general question was discussed of how to determine whether or not chapters are real. On the one hand, NC chapter representatives should represent someone; on the other, the Dec. NC decision was recalled, to encourage members to form chapters where possible, even if minimally active, in order to foster at least some activity and to involve them in the national organization's decision-making. It was recognized that better contact is needed between the N.O. and chapters; this will be essayed next year.

5. The question arose of whether administrative and political functions shouldn't be s separated (i.e. that national staff not be on the NC). Those favoring such separation felt that the administrators should be viewed as civil servants and should not have the power over their own hiring. Those opposing separation said (1) "administrative" jobs are political anyway; (2) it is necessary for administrators to feel part of the decision-making process if they are to be effective and not to feel somewhat alienated. On the question of staff members' occupying NC seats which would otherwise go to younger

members from chapters, it was suggested that some "old hands" on the NC should resign (since their interest and participation are assured); an alternative proposal was to have permanent staff be automatic NC members. The whole question of NC membership being a constitutional one, it will be dealt with by the membership.

6. Proposed projects: A. Southern Project: Dorothy Dawson proposed a project to tap and develop the growing radical political interest in the South by sending field secretaries to a ctivate multi-issue groups on white and Negro campuses. Robb Burlage's proposed interracial "SDS Southern Office" house in Nashville (where he will be next year) is one possible center for the project; Atlanta was also discussed. Personnel is uncertain--Dorothy is being urged to take this job on.

B. Students and Labor: SDS is proposing to labor unions that two or more special student field secretaries be hired to raise eco nomic issues (including student unionization) on campuses. This is motivated in part by the feeling that the natural community of interests and concerns which should unite students and labor is not perceived, that much misunderstanding exists, and that mutual benefit would ensue.

C. University Reform: Several people's developing views on U.R. resulted in different viewpoints on the potential efficacy of this form of action. Some felt that the University, so interrelated with society, could not be basically democratized until society is; UR thus is often a psychological cul-de-sac and results in disillusionment. Further, students interested in UR often do not take a broader view of society. Others felt that basic dissatisfaction with the University exists among many students, these students are potentially reachable, and some short-range, limited results--through traditional methods or civil disobedience--are obtainable. The UR Service, yet to find a central location, was discussed in terms of stimulating students--through papers, biblios, news, muckraking journalism, etc.--to act on their campuses. Hopefully, the NC's stimulating discussion can be carried on and widened and deepened in membership mailings, as this is such a basic question in SDS's orientation.

D. Peace Research and Education Project: PREP, the only functioning project of the past year, will continue next year from Ann Arbor. The possible expansion and regularization of the PREP Bulletin were suggested and discussed; final decision at Fall NC meeting.

E. March on Washington: Proposed for Spring 1964 is a massive march on Washington around the general theme "Youth Deserve a Better World" and uniting the peace and civil rights movements in a common action and common demands, and also bringing in economics, civil liberties, and other issues. Some questioned whether (a) the mutuality of interests and outlook really exists between the peace and civil rights movements and/or (b) they would be willing to put optimum effort into such a project. The project was suggested by Steve Johnson, who is taking a year off from Harvard and the Tocsin chairmanship to work on it; Steve was asked to explore further the reactions of various organizations to the idea.

7. Informal discussion of the Convention: This took place after formal adjournment and before leaving Nyack; none of the following ideas necessarily represent any particular consensus:

- Concern over a dichotomy between "old" and "new" members and a tendency toward clannishness;
- Lack of time for dealing with legislation; possibility of less formal legislation next year, more time for workshops and informal discussions;
- Lack of participation of individual SDS members in the American Scene document (before and at the Convention) and in the educational proceedings at the Convention;
- The Convention swung to the left, bordering on sectarianness;
- Possible expansion of New Left Day next year;
- More direction, structuring, pre-drafting needed;
- Possibility of focussing next year's Convention on The Ideal Society.

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* *

FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH

Among 25 or so SNCC field secretaries jailed in Albany, Georgia, are a number of SDS members, including Pete Rothstein of Brandeis U. and Martha Prescod of the U of Mich. Reports are that conditions in Albany jails are among the worst in the South; PROTEST!! Telegram or write to: President Kennedy, your Senators and Representatives (no matter where you live), and the Governor of Georgia. ACT NOW!

* *

Look
7/16/63
Intergroup Org. Misc.

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

Small discussion groups are cauldrons of bubbling ideas and opinions when run by skilled leaders like David Singer (second from left).

A dynamic program awakens young citizens to democratic responsibility

"THE SOUTH WILL END segregation long before the North does," the young Negro girl declared, "because they're more honest about their feelings."

The other panelists were stunned, and the small audience stared up at the stage. When one white boy disagreed, another Negro girl told him, "You can't understand us, understand our problems. You can't without being one."

"It looks as if Brotherhood Week is finally over," murmured an observer, as the planned program went out the window and more than 100 campers plunged into a free-swinging, brutally honest hassle over hyprocrisy and race relations.

It had taken six weeks of intense discussion and probing questions to get through to what these young people really thought. The result may have looked like anarchy, but wasn't. It was the Encampment for Citizenship at its best, forcing campers to deal with the kind of harsh truths and hard-core problems that always challenge democracy.

"The Encampment is an overwhelming psychological and emotional experience," said one camper. "Gut-wrenching," a more basic type called it.

To many, the stated aims of the Encampment for Citizenship sound like clichés: "To create a more informed, responsible and effective citizenship among youth; to clarify the history, meaning and dynamics of democracy and the democratic method." But no aims could have greater relevance today.

Men like Algernon D. Black, who founded the organization in 1946, and is its education director, and Saal D. Lesser, the executive director, believe the greatest threat to democracy in

continued

PRODUCED BY IRA MOTHNER

"There are no *right* answers at the Encampment. We want you to think for yourself."

America is apathy. "The more people who are uninvolved, the fewer people who make the decisions," says Lesser, "the more apathy, the less democracy." The danger is real. With the obvious exception of young Negro integrationists, the great bulk of American youth is hardly stirring. An overemphasis on "team play" and "getting along well with others" makes most young people's organizations look as if they are preparing their members more for "followership" than for leadership.

Black first saw the need for the Encampment program in the mid-30's, when he found many young Americans unsure of democratic values in the face of the totalitarian philosophies that had come to dominate much of the world. The problem remains with us. American students have appeared uninformed and tongue-tied on the rare occasions that they've encountered sophisticated young Communists. In Korea, captured GI's were handicapped by a lack of intellectual armament. Many didn't really understand the democratic process, the system they were defending.

The Encampment alone cannot solve the problem. What it seeks, through its modest program, is to awaken a few young people to an awareness of what democracy is. Hopefully, they will later be able to carry out the responsibilities of democratic leadership in their own communities.

Every year, a total of 250 campers, mostly 18 or 19 but ranging up to 23, attend one of the three encampments held in New York City's Riverdale section, Berkeley, Calif., and near San Juan, Puerto Rico. Most of those whose applications are accepted receive either a full or partial scholarship to help cover the $350 tuition. The selection committee balances each group to include as much racial and regional variety as possible.

The "living-together experience," which Encampment officials stress, is a basic part of the program. While the most dramatic confrontations are probably between Negro campers and their Southern white roommates, there are other significant encounters. Farm youths, on 4-H or Farmers Union scholarships, may bunk next to city-bred youngsters recommended by welfare agencies. Small-town girls from the West mix with Eastern suburban sophisticates, and foreign students meet their first American Indians.

The program includes lectures, field trips, discussion groups and workshops. These are just devices, levers designed to open the campers' minds, to get them to think critically, to question, argue, make their own decisions and commitments. "They've got to become involved," say staff members. "There are no *right* answers here," newcomers are told. "There are no exams, no one flunks. We want you to think for yourself."

Many find the going rough. "College never prepared me for this," complained one young man. He wasn't the only one to discover that there are no simple solutions to complex problems, and that making critical judgments is a lot tougher than trying to second-guess the professor.

Some campers were shocked by their own ignorance. "I didn't know a thing about Marxist thought," another college student admitted, "but I don't think anyone else in my group did either."

Field trips and lectures provide raw material for the discussion groups and workshops. Economists, political scientists and social workers come to speak. Last year, New York campers were shocked by the realities of the migrant-worker problem during a tour of migrant camps on Long Island. One lecturer provoked hours of angry debate when he pointed out the difficulties involved in disarming America without wrecking an economy that has grown dependent upon defense spending.

Discussion groups are open forums. The aim of group leaders is to draw out individual campers. They often play devil's advocate to force participants to defend their beliefs. As the weeks pass, there is less and less tolerance of fuzzy thinking.

Workshops are group efforts. Members study current problems, like juvenile delinquency, segregation or disarmament, or consider more philosophical ideas. One workshop in Berkeley was busy last summer designing "Myopia," their own Utopian society. "They finally ran into trouble," a staffer reports, "when they got down to the old puzzler of who is going to control the controllers in a controlled society."

Greeting campers in July, at the start of the six-week session, Algernon Black tells them, "The less the staff has to ask or tell you, the more free you'll be and the more successful." However, there is some inevitable conflict between the intellectual freedom the Encampment tries to foster and the discipline needed to keep dozens of high-spirited young people in line.

One of the first projects of each Encampment

continued

In the next issue of

LOOK

The revolt against fancy hairdos... The end of the era of over-teased hair

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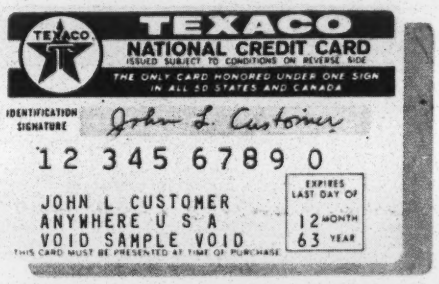

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"It was like coming to grips with myself for the first time."

is the formation of a camp government. Both the form and composition of the government are left to the campers, who usually pick a representative democracy. One year, however, a small group seriously campaigned for a dictatorship on the ground that it would be more efficient. Their fellow campers voted them down.

The camp government runs the camp with the advice of the staff. Some campers grumble that the staff is too free with this advice. Looking back, some of last year's New York group decided that perhaps a revolution would have solved the problem. "After all," they explained, "it would have been in the democratic tradition."

The Encampment is nonprofit, nonpartisan and nonsectarian. It gets aid from around 100 national and local organizations, and has close ties with the New York Society for Ethical Culture, of which Black has long been a leader.

At the end of the session, in mid-August, campers attempt to assess the program and the changes in themselves. "It was like really coming to grips with myself for the first time, discovering what I was and seeing my own limitations," said one. "I guess I reacted pretty compulsively before," admitted another, "always looking at things with the same point of view." "I didn't do a damn thing before," a girl confessed, "but I will now, and I'll make my opinions felt too."

The success of the Encampment program depends upon what happens to these young people after they leave. Many alumni, like William Haddad, associate director of the Peace Corps, date their commitment to public service and public affairs from their Encampment experience.

"What we want," says Lesser, "is to get more people on the cutting edge of the decision-making process. This is what makes democracy work."

END

BUTCH

LOOK 7-16-63 LARRY REYNOLDS

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Cooper he notes that the "common ground between the two men is an inheritance from the eighteenth-century ideas of order . . . which came down to Poe mainly in their aesthetic application, but which possessed Cooper's political being." But his dependence on dated historical studies (such as the Beards' *Rise of American Civilization* and Bowers' *Hamilton and Jefferson*) weakens the argument that the major American novelists urged their readers "to rest content with the compromises which are all man can be expected to make of his ideals."

Fortunately, A. N. Kaul—with much less fanfare — has done what Maxwell seemed about to do. Kaul's study of "the actual and ideal society in nineteenth-century fiction" is a happy marriage of art and politics. Like Maxwell, Kaul questions the accepted view of American literature as radically individualistic, but Kaul emphasizes the desire for Utopian community rather than the acceptance of compromise and the *status quo*. Where Maxwell quotes Aquinas on the need for a hierarchical society, Kaul quotes Henry James, the elder, on *democratic* society as the "redeemed form of man."

Socialists rather than Liberals or Conservatives will draw inspiration from Kaul's interpretation of Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville and Mark Twain, authors who confronted the society of their times, evaluated it, turned from it, and projected "the image of an ideal community or an ideal social order." Faced with the atomization of society in an age of commercialized individualism, the classic American writers withdrew from "actual" society — in order to delineate an ideal community. In their visionary art they retold the American epic of flight from the evils of the Old World to the Edenic community of the New. Not only are Cooper's "Littlepage Manuscripts" a "re-visionary" history of society in colonial and early national New York; his Leatherstocking goes forth *from* white society *to* a better community of Uncas and Chingachgook, of Mohicans and Pawnees. And even Hawthorne's allegedly anti-Utopian *Blithedale Romance* is for "the principle of human brotherhood as against the predatory competitiveness of the established system." "Even if it fails to create a potential matrix for radical ideas and rational schemes of action," writes Kaul in a last word on our fiction, "by arousing and redistributing our sympathies it builds a reservoir of moral energy to support such ideas and actions."

I trust that all men dissatisfied with the present literary and political Establishments will applaud Kaul's book, and Maxwell's, as signs of a return to relevance.

The Nation 7/27/63
Intergroup Org. ~~Soc~~ Misc.

FREEDOM SONGS

Robert Shelton

Rarely in time of peace has music played such a strong role in mobilizing people as it is doing every day in the integration movement.

At the funeral of Medgar Evers they sang. In the jails of Danville they sang. Facing the fire hoses of Birmingham they sang. The Negroes of the South are marching to their battles to the tune of what have become generally known as "freedom songs."

One must really hear this use of spirituals, gospel songs, hymns and militant new topical tunes in the actual setting to understand the galvanizing power of this functional music. Few mass meetings in the South could be held without music. Few demonstrations could be held without the morale-building of melody.

But short of witnessing this curious phenomenon, it is possible to get an idea of the songs, old and new, and their impact by hearing the Freedom Singers, a quartet of young field secretaries of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Members of the Freedom Singers are Bernice Johnson, twenty years old; Rutha Harris, twenty-two; Cordell Hull Reagon, nineteen, and Charles Neblett, twenty-one. All have served time in jail for civil-rights activities. All are first-rate singers, and Miss Johnson has stunned listeners especially with the power, intensity and range of her voice.

Coming from the front lines of the integration battles, the Freedom Singers make ideal stage interpreters of the Negroes' battle hymns. They have traveled some 35,000 miles since December, when they were formed in Albany, Georgia, and have presented more than 100 concerts in the North and West to raise money for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The Freedom Singers' concert at

Robert Shelton is on the news staff of The New York Times. *He reviews folk music regularly for that paper.*

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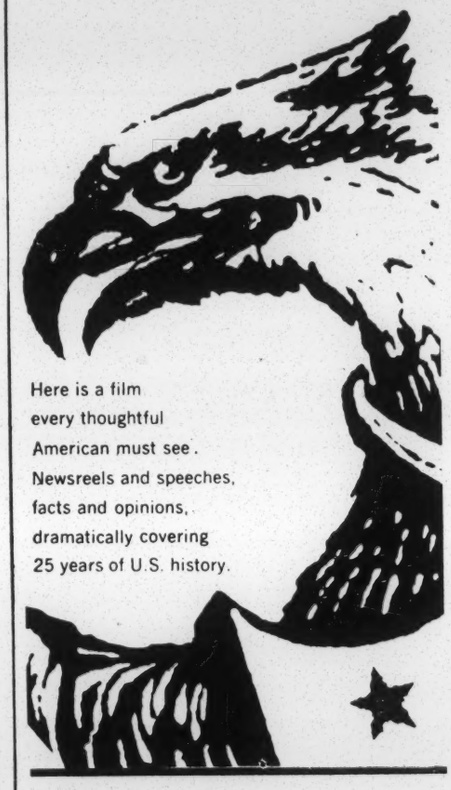

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elections for public office held each year. I am proud of the citizens of Orangeburg for having expressed themselves, and I would have been disappointed had they done otherwise. The Times and Democrat of Orangeburg and the citizens of that city were exercising their constitutional rights under the first amendment. I hope that no Federal agency will ever attempt to abridge the free exercise of the rights of freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

The report sent to you by Mr. Johnson is unfair, for it cites only the union's side of the argument. It did not tell of the visits made by the union organizers to the homes of Utica employees. Nor did it mention the union sponsored parties and the letters mailed by the machinists to the potential voters. Does the region 11 office propose that only the unions be allowed to express their point of view?

I have been forced by the evidence to conclude that politics has in this and other cases entered a supposedly impartial process. (Another case in point concerns a trial examiner's recommendation that the results be set aside in the labor election involving Daniel Construction Co. of Greenville, S.C.) Administrative adjudication can only be permitted in our society if imbued with a judicial air of impartiality. How far have we fallen from this standard?

It would be highly unfortunate if we were to blur the distinctions between South Carolina and the highly industralized sections of our country. South Carolina has experienced great industrial growth in recent years largely because of a favorable labor market. If the employees at the Utica plant voted down the machinists union, it was not because of a "reign of terror" but, rather, because 60 percent of the employees personally and individually opposed unionization.

It is my opinion that this election was fair and free. Both sides presented their views, and the vote was taken in a peaceful atmosphere according to R.F. Dukes, sheriff of Orangeburg County. The International Association of Machinists lost, and I urge you to uphold this vote and to restore to the citizens of Orangeburg their rightful dignity.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Yours very truly,

ALBERT WATSON,
Member of Congress.

Interesting

COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS WITH NEGRO DEMONSTRATIONS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on August 2, 1963, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, beginning at page 13180 and concluding on page 13187, a number of newspaper articles and other materials bearing on the question of whether the Communists have any connection with the Negro demonstrations which have been turning into race riots in various cities across the country. I have additional articles to call to the attention of the Senate today and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks. The material I have today consists of the following:

First. Articles from the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., dated July 21–25, 1958, entitled: "Forced Integration Fails To Promote Harmony," "Communists' Basic Goal: To Incite Racial Strife," "Daily Worker Led the Cry for Federal Intervention," "Reds Goad NAACP To End Moderation," and "Senate Group Says South Red's Target."

Second. An Associated Press article printed in the Sunday Oklahoman on December 11, 1959, entitled "Reds of U.S. Advocate New Negro Policy."

Third. A column from the Milwaukee Sentinel dated March 19, 1960, entitled "Red 'Newsmen' Go South, Aim To Add to Unrest," by Jack Lotto.

Fourth. A column from the Cincinnati Enquirer dated June 9, 1963, entitled "Cincinnati Pastor Named as Head of Red Front," by Jack Lotto.

Fifth. A column from the New York Mirror dated July 4, 1963, entitled "A Rededication to Spiritual Beginnings," by Victor Riesel.

Sixth. An article from the Brooklyn Tablet dated August 1, 1963, entitled "Protest Against Indecency or Riot of Racists?"

Seventh. An editorial from the Daily Advance of Lynchburg, Va., dated August 2, 1963, entitled "Who's Lying?"

Eighth. An excerpt from the testimony of former Communist, Benjamin Gitlow, entitled "World Communist Movement, 1928," and his most recent publication "The Negro Question—Communist Civil War Policy."

Ninth. An editorial from the Evening Star of Washington, D.C., dated Monday, August 5, 1963, and entitled "Communist Righters?"

Tenth. An editorial from the Nashville Banner of July 22, 1963, entitled "Highlander Desegregation: With That Joie De Vivre and Tax Exemption Too."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, July 27, 1963]

FORCED INTEGRATION FAILS TO PROMOTE HARMONY

WASHINGTON.—The luster is wearing thin at Little Rock, Ark., where bayonets were used last fall to enforce integration in a public school. Some of the trailblazers appear to have washed their hands of the cause of Negro rights. Others have been seen in roles considerably less flattering than those they played last fall.

Ernest Green's observation "I'm glad that's all over," is perhaps not untypical. Ernest, 18, was one of the nine Negro youths admitted to Little Rock's Central High School under the guns of federalized National Guardsmen and U.S. paratroopers.

Last month Ernest was graduated. One of the nine was expelled; the other seven may never return to Central.

If the experiment continues at Central, it will have to do so without the assistance of many persons who were instrumental in launching it.

Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann, of Little Rock, who made the daily telephone calls to the White House that led to Federal intervention, has left town.

He is now a resident of Denver, Colo., working in an investment banking firm.

Max Rabb, the Presidential assistant who was at the White House end of the Mayor Mann calls and was a keyman in the decision to send Federal troops, has left Washington.

He is now a partner in a big New York law firm.

Despite apparent success in its part in obtaining the Little Rock test, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has experienced a "sharp drop" in membership.

Federal Judge Ronald Davies, whose ruling that integration must begin "forthwith" in Little Rock was the foundation for what followed, has long since left Little Rock.

He is now back in his court in North Dakota, where there are but 257 Negroes in the entire State. Arkansas has 462,000.

Harry Ashmore, the Little Rock editor whose editorials in behalf of integration stirred the controversy and brought him a Pulitzer Prize, has conceded he will not employ a Negro on his newspaper.

Mrs. Grace Lorch, the Little Rock "housewife" who attracted national attention by "befriending" one of the nine students, has since refused to declare whether she is a Communist.

Herbert Brownell, whose U.S. Justice Department gave the orders for dispatch of troops, is no longer Attorney General.

He has taken up the more lucrative private practice of law.

The Justice Department, itself, has had a change of heart. Under its new chief, William P. Rogers, the word is "never again" on the use of Federal troops to enforce integration.

The Little Rock School Board, which had worked out a gradual integration program that Judge Davies' ruling nullified, has thrown in the sponge on any integration in the near future.

Central High School has claimed that the educational program for its 2,000 students was so badly dislocated by the 1-year experiment the school could not survive another year without complete disintegration of morale.

This was a major consideration in Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley's approval of a 2½-year stay of integration for the Little Rock high school, a decision that may have made the best of a very unfortunate situation.

MAJORITY NEEDS CONSIDERATION

Judge Lemley, while acknowledging the interest of Negroes in obtaining equal rights, said the "public interest" of the majority rated consideration, too. The burden placed on other Central High students and the "racial tension and unrest" created in Little Rock itself demanded a delay in integration, he said.

The ruling led to another example of apparent change in viewpoint among those who had been insistent on an immediate end of segregation.

When Judge Lemley's decision was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court, whose 1954 "sociological" and subsequent decrees had started the ferment in the South, that body declined to break up its summer vacation for a special sitting.

The Court, in effect, passed the buck to a lower court with an admonition to act fast.

Little Rock, the morning after, appears to have been a venture that has not served racial harmony or promoted integration. As such, its origin, its leaders and its original objectives invited inquiry.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times]

COMMUNISTS' BASIC GOAL: TO INCITE RACIAL STRIFE

WASHINGTON, July 22.—To incite racial strife is one of the oldest objectives in the Communist program for getting world domination. "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension," states a Communist Party handbook of 1912, well before a few hundred Bolsheviks seized control of Russia.

"By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party," the handbook continues.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. Thus will begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

COINCIDENCE OR STRATEGY

Is it coincidence or the result of strategy that, some 45 years later, racial unrest in an outstanding Southern city, Little Rock, Ark., has increased so sharply that the Federal judge called for a 2½-year delay in any integration?

Again, is it coincidence or the result of Communist strategy that one of the most influential of all Southern Negro leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, exhorts his followers with these words:

"It (the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

When Mr. King draws a parallel between the situation of the American Negro and "oppressed peoples" rising against "colonialism" and "imperialism," he is following exactly, to the word, the Communist line.

DIRECT APPROACH FAILED

At first, the Communist drive for creation of racial strife called for a direct approach to Negroes, using labor unions and Communist fronts like the American Negro Labor Congress and the League for Struggle for Negro Rights.

This approach was brazenly direct, and it failed. Former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, one of the party founders in the United States and its first director of Southern operations, has described what happened:

"The South to the Commmunists was always one of the most vexing problems," Kornfelder told a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana in March 1957. "Moscow could never understand it * * *. According to Marx' theory, the South should be leading the United States in Communist development.

"It just didn't work out that way.

"It was just to the contrary. The South proved to be a hard nut and it didn't conform to the doctrine."

BLOCKED BY RELIGION

"They decided that the big block against penetration of the South is religion. The Negroes believed in religion; the hillbillies believed in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The South is more religious than the North.

"Therefore, they decided maybe they should get at them under the auspices of the cross."

Kornfelder and two Negro former Communist leaders, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, told the Louisiana committee that the new tactics included, besides use of the church, penetration of reputable Negro organizations and the founding, but not obvious control, of others.

World War II, with its migrations and general dislocation of living habits, produced what Kornfelder described as a "sort of honeymoon situation" between the Communist organizers and Negro organizations.

FOUR AGENCIES INFILTRATED

"It seems the intellectuals during that time had shown a remarkable weakness," he testified. "They were bigger suckers for the Communist propaganda than many others were, apparently because they sort of led a life apart from the daily troubles and toil of the population.

"They were the ivory tower boys who picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South dealing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.

They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

An almost incredible maze of interlocking officials, ideas and publications linked the three first-named agencies with the Communist Party.

COUNCIL GOT FORD GRANT

The Regional Council and the educational fund were both offshoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party.

Former directors and officers of the Conference for Human Welfare became directors and officers of the Regional Council and the Educational Fund and of the Highlander School. The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a cofounder of the Regional Council.

Although the Regional Council is not widely known in the North, its influence in the South is attested by its receiving a $497,000 grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Republic.

Likewise, the Highlander School plays an important role in southern civil rights developments, although it is scarcely known in the North. The school, according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was cofounded by a Communist and by a man who refused to testify on his beliefs.

NAACP INFILTRATED

During these organizing years by the Communist Party, the NAACP was extensively infiltrated, although not dominated, by Communist sympathizers. Many of its leading officials were members of Communist fronts.

In fact, by 1954 and the crucial Supreme Court decision, the Communist Party was so confident it had set the stage for developments in its favor that the party's national convention in the winter of 1953 declared, "The next period ahead will witness momentous struggles of the Negroes * * * given the vanguard leadership of the Communist Party, we may be confident that the Negro liberation movement will ally itself more fully with the camp of peace and democracy."

The Communist Party was in a position to follow its long-proved doctrine:

To get a "sociological" or pro-Communist book on the reading list of influential persons, like a Supreme Court Justice.

To persuade a Negro to violate a civil rights statute, in the cause of civil disobedience.

To inject a fellow traveler in the forefront of a civil rights dispute.

To support the program of the NAACP.

These objectives were attained in the year to come.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times]

REDS GOAD NAACP TO END MODERATION

WASHINGTON, July 23.—The success of Communist efforts to exploit the southern Negro under the guise of "democratization" became fully evident in 1954 and the 3 subsequent years. The Supreme Court's historic 1954 ruling on school segregation was in judgment on four cases brought before it by the National Association of Advancement for Colored People, which for years had been a priority objective of Communist infiltration.

The NAACP charged that Negro children in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina, and Virginia were being denied their rights under the 14th amendment.

The Court did not rule on this aspect. Instead, Chief Justice Earl Warren in the written opinion declared that the Court found for the NAACP because segregated schools induced a feeling of inferiority among Negro children.

SIX BOOKS CITED

This sociological view, the Justice stated, is "amply supported by modern authority." He cited six books by such "modern authority."

Two of the six authorities were Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier. Between them, they have been members of or identified with 28 organizations listed as Communist, Communist-fronts, or Communist-dominated.

A third "authority" was K. B. Clark. While arguments were being heard by the Court on the four cases; Clark was on the payroll of the NAACP as a "social science expert."

A fourth authority cited by Justice Warren was the book, "An American Dilemma," edited by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist. The Chief Justice emphasized the importance of this book in the Court's deliberations by saying it was depended on "generally," that is from cover to cover.

RECORDS NOTED

Sixteen of the contributors to Myrdal's book have long records of pro-Communist affiliation and activity. One, W. E. B. Dubois, identified by the Communist Party as the "honorary chairman" of the NAACP, had a hand in 82 parts of the book. Dubois has been identified with 80 Communist fronts, reportedly more than any other American citizen.

Dubois intervened in behalf of executed Communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and sent the Kremlin a message of condolence on the death of Stalin.

Myrdal, himself, has written that the U.S. Constitution is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions." Its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people," said this foreign authority on American Negro problems.

The Court's decision gave new influence to the NAACP. Its officers hailed the decision but indicated that it would not change the organization's plan for calm and orderly progress in race relations.

"We accept the decision quietly, unless there is deliberately-fomented trouble," said the late Walter White, then executive secretary of NAACP.

WANTED STRUGGLES

Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, who had argued the school cases before the Court, said, "The people will get together and work this thing out."

The Communist Party, however, wanted no part of moderation. It wanted the "big sharp struggles" its leaders had forecast, and racial unrest. Communist publications and officials shrilled for "immediate implementation of the Supreme Court decision, immediate abolition of segregation and discrimination from every facet of American life, immediate enforcement" * * * etc.

The record from the Supreme Court decision until the climax at Little Rock makes it plain which philosophy was the dominant one.

Moderation was forgotten.

The next 3 years brought unprecedented civil disobedience and violence in the South's racial affairs. There were all-out "incidents" of long duration in Tuskegee, Ala., Charleston, S.C., Tallahassee, Fla., Montgomery, Ala., Americus, Ga., and Clinton, Tenn., to name only the major ones.

COMMUNISTS BLAMED

The NAACP played a prominent role in each, but the atmosphere was not the moderate one ostensibly espoused by the NAACP.

"In my opinion, every major racial disturbance in the South since 1954 has been incited and directed by the Communist Party," Mrs. Paul Crouch, widow of a former Communist leader, told the Standard-Times. Her husband was a top Communist

functionary in the South for 13 years, and she was his aid throughout the period.

Communist exploitation of the Negro through the NAACP is attested by the proceedings of the 1957 national convention of the Communist Party. That convention adopted as its main resolution, "the question of Negro freedom * * * the crucial domestic issue of the day * * * requiring support of the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Communist penetration of the NAACP in these important years is conceded by the NAACP itself.

ALL CHAPTERS WARNED

On February 14, 1956, Leroy Watkins, who succeeded White as NAACP executive secretary, warned all chapters to guard against the "intensive efforts" of Communists to infiltrate.

At that very time, however, the NAACP's official publication, "The Crisis," was recommending as must background reading for Negroes, books by Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, and Doxey E. Wilkerson, member of the party's National Committee. Both have written extensively in behalf of racial unrest.

Communists dominance of Negro civil rights developments after the Supreme Court decision is illustrated, also, in the activities of the Highlander School, influential "sociological" workshop in the South Highlander, according to testimony before a congressional committee, was founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to state his beliefs.

IS PROGRAM SINCERE?

Since 1954, Highlander has held a series of "workshops to develop plans for an orderly transition from segregated to integrated schools." At the last workshop, held over the Labor Day weekend just before the trouble at Little Rock, the leaders of every important racial strife incident in the South since 1954 were present.

How sincere is the Highlander program for "orderly transition" in desegregation?

The actual curriculum at Highlander, its pamphlet statement in behalf of "orderly transition" notwithstanding, preached that "desegregation is more effectively accomplished in a single step than in a series of steps with delays in between."

This is fellow-traveler vernacular for the straight-out Communist program of "immediate desegregation."

Among those attending the important Highlander workshop was the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. King was to be at Little Rock, and, in 1958, at the White House, protesting integration delay.

By the time Central High School in Little Rock was to open for its 1957–58 school year, the Communist Party was marching step by step with the NAACP, whether the good element in the NAACP liked it or not.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times]

DAILY WORKER LED THE CRY FOR FEDERAL INTERVENTION

WASHINGTON, July 24—"The honor of our country requires Federal intervention now, to end the organized defiance of decency and justice in the South." These words were not spoken by Mayor Mann of Little Rock. Nor by Maxwell Rabb, White House assistant to whom the mayor talked daily by telephone in the hectic days preceding intervention by the National Guard and paratroopers.

They were not spoken by an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the dominant U.S. Negro organization.

The words were an official pronouncement of the Communist Party of the United States, issued 2 years before Little Rock, and printed in the party's official political guide, Political Affairs, issue of October 1955.

UTTERED BY COMMUNIST

"The Federal Government has the power and the duty to use troops and whatever other constitutional means are available to enforce the law of the land."

Use of the word "constitutional" in the above might lead someone to think a good American had said those words.

They were uttered 18 months before Little Rock's Federal troop intervention by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the U.S. Communist Party.

"The Federal Government hasn't hesitated to use the force of jail and seizures in trying to destroy the Communists and other foes of Jim Crow," said Davis, who, like other Communists, has been able to predict the future in civil rights matters.

PRESSED FOR TROOPS

"It should not hesitate to use whatever force—troops if necessary—to put down violent defiance of the law of the land, and murderous terror against peaceful citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights."

From the very beginning of the Little Rock incident, the Communists pressed for "dispatch of Federal troops to keep order in the South."

The Communist Daily Worker shrilled a demand for "action," on Sept. 5, the day after Governor Faubus stationed National Guardsmen around Central High School.

"The insurrection in Arkansas" must be put down, strummed the Worker the next day.

"G-men must be sent," said another edition, blasting FBI Director Hoover for refusing to do so.

OTHER PHRASES

"Every prerogative" must be used by the President, was another phrase in the daily demands for use of the military.

"Threats of blood running in the streets" were cited by the Worker, without identifying the source.

Southern whites were charged with being "immune to education, cajolery, and pleas of moderation," so that troops were the only recourse.

"Why wait?" asked one Worker editorial.

"Patience!" scoffed another.

"Nothing is to be gained by handling Faubus with kid gloves," stated another diatribe.

"Shilly-shallying" was laid to the President.

And so it came to pass. On September 24, paratroopers were airborne to Little Rock. Exactly the methods advocated by the Communist ace agitators—speed and force—were used in a civil rights dispute.

"A tremendous victory for the American people," rejoined the next day's Daily Worker.

Use of armed troops climaxed years of incitement by violence and distortion of truth by the Communists and their sympathizers. Again a helping hand came from the Supreme Court that had "opened the way to Negro freedom," as the Communist Party observed, and from the misled NAACP.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas Conference of NAACP branches, had a key role at Little Rock.

MRS. BATES LAUDED

In an adulatory interview with Mrs. Bates, the New York Post's reporter Ted Poston stated, "both sides in this embattled southern town agreed on one thing: If there had been no Daisy Bates, there would have been no 101st Airborne Division patrolling the halls of Central High School.

"And no nine Negro children in the once all-white high school."

Mrs. Bates' husband, Lucius C. Bates, is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which former Communists have indicted as a "Communist transmission" agency for inculcating and carrying out Communist doctrine.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund took over many of the officers and all of the publications of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, twice listed as a Communist front, "doing the work of the Communist Party," by the U.S. Government.

Mrs. Bates is listed as a "sponsor" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

ANOTHER WOMAN INFLUENTIAL

Mr. Bates was a member of the organization known as Negroes for Wallace, a Communist rallying point. He was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Congress, a Communist Party front.

Also influential at Little Rock was Mrs. Grace Lorch, white woman who "befriended" one of the Negro students refused admission to Central High.

Widely published press dispatches described Mrs. Lorch as a white housewife who protected a Negro girl before a jeering mob, and as having defied an angry crowd of whites to offer sympathy.

It was not reported, however, that Mrs. Lorch, according to Senate Internal Security Subcommittee records, has a thorough Communist Party background.

HUSBAND INDICTED

She has been identified as a one-time Communist Party organizer in Boston, as having attended a Communist Party convention, as a member of the New England District of the Communist Party, as former vice president of the Teachers Union, and as a director of the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, both Communist fronts.

At the time Mrs. Lorch was active in Little Rock, her husband, Lee Lorch, was under Federal indictment on eight counts of refusing to answer questions on his alleged Communist background put to him by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Here, too, the Supreme Court rendered an assist. The charges against Lorch later were dismissed by a Federal judge on the basis of the Supreme Court's freeing of John T. Watkins, United Auto Workers official who refused to name Communists he knew while he was one himself.

Little Rock found the U.S. Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Communist Party teammates.

It was a dazzling demonstration of what can happen, to quote former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, when "the ivory tower boys picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times]

SENATE GROUP SAYS SOUTH RED'S TARGET

WASHINGTON, July 25.—What lies ahead for race relations in the South and, indirectly, for the Nation? If the pattern of the last 3 years is followed in the future, the outlook is not favorable. Some may want to ignore the record, but they cannot hide it. Racial disturbances since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, culminating in the use of armed force at Little Rock, have made two areas of opinion where there were three.

The middle-ground on southern civil rights issues, the ground on which progress had been steady if slow, is virtually deserted. Sides have been chosen, of necessity.

TWO EXTREMIST CAMPS

Without this conciliatory middle area, there are two extremist camps.

One is headed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Communist Party officially has planted its standard in this camp, its purpose to promote racial tension behind the NAACP program.

The other camp includes various white citizen organizations, established authorities of many Southern municipalities and States and, as time passes, more and more of the moderates.

The no man's land between these two camps is widened in an election year, like the present, and with the 1960 presidential campaign drawing closer. Neither major political party, nor, apparently, the Federal Government, wishes to intervene.

A HANDSOFF ATTITUDE

The handsoff attitude in Washington was evident during Senate Judiciary Committee examination of incoming U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers. The prospective head of the Federal agency that sent troops to Little Rock was not asked about his views on civil rights, not even by Southern Senators.

Absence of leadership from Washington has increased the importance of the role played by the NAACP. Its leaders apparently plan no change in policy.

Reviewing events through Little Rock, Dr. Channing Tobias, board chairman of the NAACP, declared:

"But this record of advance is only a beginning. Unjust practices are still commonplace in many parts of the Nation. The people have a continuing responsibility to take the lead, to assure the winning of equality in all communities, large and small, North and South.

GOOD OBJECTIVE

"The pattern is set; it's up to us to fill in the details of the picture. Only then will we have achieved our goal of a democratic America living up to its ideals."

These words from an influential Negro leader describe an objective which the majority of Americans would be happy to work toward.

But there is little reason to suppose that the good intentions of the NAACP will not capitulate, as they have before, to the driving, inflammatory race-tension strategy of the Communist Party.

After the 1954 court decision, the leadership of the NAACP promised moderation, a "quiet" "talking over" of issues among all segments.

EXACTLY AS FORECAST

Instead what transpired was a series of big, sharp struggles in civil disobedience and violence, exactly as forecast by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party.

Today, Davis and his coworker, James E. Jackson, Communist chief for southern affairs, are using phraseology much like Dr. Tobias in predicting the future.

"The people must take the lead," says Davis. "Negro liberation is now the property of the whole American people."

Jackson's view: "The response to Little Rock has signalized that ours is the time ripe with opportunity to secure major victories in the cause of Negro freedom."

These words have a ring like Dr. Tobias, but an utterly different intent.

AIMS NEFARIOUS

"You are aware, of course," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented for the Standard-Times, "the Communists have no sincere interest in promoting racial harmony, but are ever alert to exploit any issue to further their nefarious aims."

This observation may be obvious to many Americans.

But is it obvious to Dr. Tobias, who has been associated with 40 Communist fronts, board chairman of NAACP, or to W. E. B. DuBois, honorary chairman of NAACP, who has been identified with 82 Communist fronts, more than any other American citizen?

Apparently it is not.

As recently as March 1958, the NAACP leadership brought a court action in Florida seeking to halt an investigation by the Florida Legislature of Communist activity in that State.

Besides the NAACP, leadership in the integrationist camp will come from the Reverend Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Mr. King also seems hazy in distinguishing between the Communist way and the American way.

A COMMUNIST EXPLANATION

At its 1957 national convention, the U.S. Communist Party selected a man identified by the Communist Daily Worker as Mr. King's "secretary," Bayard Rustin, to be an official "observer." Rustin praised the "democratic proceedings of the convention in a report later denounced by FBI Director Hoover.

Mr. King was quoted as telling a Chicago assembly last year, "It (the Montgomery boycott, in which there was much violence) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

This explanation is exactly that of the Communist Party, the depiction of the American Negro as a kicked-around colonial, oppressed by imperialists.

Yet the same Rev. Martin Luther King was one of four Negro "leaders" who called upon President Eisenhower in June 1958 to try and set the pattern for racial progress.

A LOOK TO FUTURE

A former Negro Communist official, who later worked for the U.S. Department of Justice, sees the future in these words:

In my opinion the Negro leadership should realize that they have responsibility," a Louisiana legislative committee was told by Manning Johnson, "a responsibility to guide and spirit their people along the right paths, help to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, and to work together as a group for cooperation, mutual cooperation between races, to the end result that they can keep what they have, strengthen their economic and political position, and move on to higher things.

"Men of King's type will not give that kind of leadership. The only thing they know is the threat and a sword.

"I know the NAACP can't do that. They have called the leaders of Southern life every conceivable type of name. They have labeled them everything they can, and there is no basis for them to negotiate with them because they have already built up a wall that cannot be gotten over, gotten under, or gone around."

Former Communist Johnson's judgment may be harsh. But the future will make him an accurate prophet unless there is wider understanding of the Communist background to "immediate" integration, to be accomplished by "force" if necessary.

In a little-publicized report of last November, the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared: "There is a present-day pattern of Communist activity in the mid-South area. The Communist participants * * * make up the basic framework of a Communist operation that is directed against all generations of people in the South."

To that could be added, "and in the Nation."

[From the Sunday Oklahoman, Dec. 11, 1959]

REDS OF UNITED STATES ADVOCATE NEW NEGRO POLICY

NEW YORK.—The American Communist Party announced Saturday an about-face on a long-established Negro policy. The party no longer advocates the formation of a Negro nation within the United States, party leaders said.

Instead, the objective now "is to secure to the Negro people with all speed the complete realization of genuinely equal economic, political, and social status with all other American citizens."

The action, taken in a resolution adopted at the party's 17th national convention in a Harlem hotel, marks a fundamental change in the line of the American Communist Party dating back to 1930, a party spokesman said.

ACTION EXPLAINED

He said the former policy is being abandoned because it smacks of segregation.

The convention, said to be attended by 222 delegates from 40 States, is a closed affair but newsmen are briefed regularly by party officers.

The turnabout on Negro policy was announced by James Jackson of Richmond, Va., party secretary for southern and Negro affairs. He told newsmen the resolution was introduced by Claude Lightfoot of Chicago, chairman of the Illinois State Committee of the Communist Party.

POLICY MISCONSTRUED

Jackson said the old policy had been based on the premise that Negroes in the Deep South, where in places they outnumber the white population, were entitled to Negro representation and the right to form a separate political entity.

This policy, he said, has been determined to be incorrect because "it has been misconstrued as a form of segregation."

Jackson asserted the effect of the new resolution was that "the Negro people are not a nation, they are an oppressed people within the Nation. They are full members of the American Nation but are deprived of many rights within the Nation."

In another resolution, the convention urged the United States to stay out of Cuba.

[From Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel, Mar. 19, 1960]

RED "NEWSMEN" GO SOUTH, AIM TO ADD TO UNREST

(By Jack Lotto)

Two top Kremlin agents have moved into the southern lunch counter demonstrations in an attempt to provoke bloody racial strife.

The pair, ostensibly newspapermen, are a Russian-born spy recruiter-agitator, and the Red boss of all Negro and southern trouble-making activities.

Simultaneously, Communists and their supporters were told by the Red press to "express your solidarity" with the striking students by joining in the picket line demonstrations."

One of the "agit-prop" men on the scene in the South is Joseph North, 56, the "foreign editor" of The Worker, official mouthpiece of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The other is James E. Jackson, 45, the newly named propaganda czar of the party, and editor of the Red newspaper. Jackson won't say whether he would side with the United States in a war with Russia.

North has, in the past, shown up at trouble spots. He was in Cuba, meeting with all the Communist brass, setting up the "line" to be followed, a few days after Castro took over.

He served with the Communists during the Spanish Civil War, and was one of the chief agitators in the Scottsboro rape case in the thirties. According to sworn congressional testimony, North helped recruit agents for the international Red espionage apparatus.

Soon after the arrival of North and Jackson in the South, Communist newspapers began blossoming with such headlines as "front line dispatch" and "written directly from the battlefront."

These veteran Communists will try to cash in on the civil rights issue and problems for Moscow's benefit. They can be expected to stir Negro-white animosity in the hope of creating big incidents.

The underlying theme to be pushed in pamphlets, leaflets, and newspapers: The true champions of the Negro people are the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

The movement of the two agents into the South also showed up another Red lie. It came at a time when the Communist newspaper claimed it was having trouble collecting enough money to keep its presses rolling.

It should be remembered that no member of The Worker goes anywhere merely to write news stories. Also not to be forgotten is the fact the Communists, adroit at exploiting issues of genuine concern to all Americans, have betrayed the Negro's cause whenever it was expedient.

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer, June 9, 1963]

CINCINNATI PASTOR NAMED AS HEAD OF RED FRONT

(By Jack Lotto)

One of the top leaders of the integration movement in the South has been named head of a big pro-Communist front.

He is the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, 965 Dana Avenue, pastor of the Revelation Baptist Church, 1556 John Street.

The post he was elected to is president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, with headquarters in New Orleans, and active in 17 Southern States.

Both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to promote communism throughout the South.

This group has a long history of activity in the South. It originally was known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. One of its founders was a veteran Communist, the late Louis E. Burnham.

When the SCHW was cited as a Communist front in 1947 by the House committee, it ostensibly went out of business.

It quickly reopened at the same New Orleans address, under the new name and with the same telephone number.

According to the Senate subcommittee, the Southern Conference Educational Fund was operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes of its predecessor.

Said the House report on the SCHW:

"It seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South. Its professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

The field secretary for the SCEF, and editor of its publication, the Southern Patriot, is Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky. Braden, identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party, recently finished serving a 1 year prison term for contempt of Congress.

New additions to the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund included the Rev. James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama City, Fla. He is the father of Bob Zellner, the "freedom-walker" active in the "student nonviolence committee," and now serving a jail term in Alabama.

Another board member is Mrs. Diane Bevel, of Cleveland, Miss., active in Nashville student demonstrations, and currently working in Alabama and Mississippi.

She is jailed in Gadsden, Ala., for taking part with Zellner in a prointegration march, following in the steps of William Moore, the postman shot and killed during a one-man protest march.

Communist and pro-Communists are moving into the South to provoke friction between whites and Negroes. On the scene is James E. Jackson, a member of the four-man ruling secretariat of the U.S. Communist Party.

Jackson, who is propaganda boss in the United States for the Reds, is also the party's secretary for southern and Negro affairs—a polite term for chief racial troublemaker.

This Moscow-trained Negro has been in the forefront of Communist organizational and agitational work in the South for years.

In 1959, he went to Russia as the representative of the U.S. Communist Party at the 21st World Congress of Communist Parties. There he hailed the Soviet Union and denounced the United States.

[From the New York (N.Y) Mirror, July 4, 1963]

A REDEDICATION TO SPIRITUAL BEGINNINGS

(By Victor Riesel)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Before Victor Riesel left on a newsgathering tour of South America, he asked FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for his comments on Independence Day—a holiday often observed by a gaiety which real security makes possible, and a cynicism which could undo both gaiety and security. Here is Mr. Hoover's reply.)

WASHINGTON, July 3.—On July 4, as bells ring out in celebration across the United States, some of us will be reminded that the bell which pealed the first jubilant notes announcing the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 reached all of the way back into Old Testament days for its message: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Leviticus, XXV, 10).

That statement, engraved on the bell ordered for the State House at Philadelphia in 1751, is a living reminder that our origins as a nation are spiritual and idealistic. The Founding Fathers believed that man, with God's help, is capable of self-rule, and the blueprint of government which they gave us remains a continuing challenge.

For though the men who projected that magnificent experiment in government gained for us the liberty we currently enjoy, they cannot preserve it for us. They gave us the guidelines for continuance of our freedom in a brief document which has safeguarded that freedom for 174 years.

But we can continue to reap the benefits of the Founding Fathers' knowledge and vision only if we in turn are willing to expend similar effort and to act with intelligence and foresight.

For today, the premise that governments are instituted to secure certain natural rights and that such governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed" is under vicious attack. Totaliarian communism is increasing its challenging thrust in many areas.

With mounting intensity, domestic Communists seek to spread their influence among our youth and to exploit racial unrest in the United States. They are unceasing in their efforts to infiltrate and secure a foothold in American labor unions.

Late in 1962, the Communist Party distributed within Party circles a document entitled "To Reestablish the Priority of Working Class Emphasis in the Work of the Communist Party." This document is important. It is a statement on labor policy, and from a careful reading of it we may anticipate forthcoming Communist action in the labor field.

No area of American life is safe from Communist attempts to infiltrate and exploit, and communism thrives best in a world in which faith is in retreat. Therefore, in this week of celebrating the anniversary of a Declaration which holds "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights," the words of the man whose active leadership made that Declaration live are pertinent. The first President of these United States said:

"It is impossible to govern the world without God. He must be worse than in infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligation."

This year, as freedom bells ring out in celebration of the birth of this greatest of all Republics, may the living reminder of our spiritual beginnings renew in us the dynamic faith which motivated the Founding Fathers. May we rededicate ourselves to the task of preserving the immortal dream which we inherited.

[From the Tablet, Aug. 1, 1963]

THAT NORTH CAROLINA CAMP INCIDENT: PROTEST VERSUS INDECENCY OR RIOT OF RACISTS?

A citizens' protest against indecency was twisted in news stories to make it appear as an action of racists, according to the editor of a national anti-Communist biweekly published in Staten Island.

Frank A. Capell, editor of the Herald of Freedom and Metropolitan Review and former chief of the Subversive Activities Control Board of Westchester County, reported on the results of a special edition of his publication dealing with Summerlane School and Camp of Manhattan and Rosman, N.C.

NO CENSORSHIP

The special July 3 issue reproduced promotional literature for the camp, widely advertised as integrated, stating that there is no censorship of any kind and no regulation of private behavior of the teenager campers, and that teachers and counselors "are not expected to hide their weaknesses from the children."

The issue also contained information on George von Hilsheimer, camp director, whom it described as "a former minister who admittedly has engaged in acts of sexual degeneracy, who is a radical and a nihilist." A brochure was quoted saying many of Summerlane's teachers had worked in the Highlander Folk School, cited as a Communist enterprise by the State of Georgia.

Copies of this issue were supplied to the Rosman Chamber of Commerce for distribution to State legislators, judges, prosecuting officers and civic groups. This was done, Mr. Capell said, to provide documentation on which to base a demand for action by the proper authorities.

Mr. Capell reported that protests were made to the camp operators after complaints of gross immorality at the camp in the form of nude mixed bathing (to which a local Baptist minister was reportedly an eyewitness) and a camp newspaper containing a sexual promiscuity theme (not fit for gentlemen to read, according to the local sheriff).

"The conduct at the camp so incensed the local citizens," Mr. Capell continued, "that residents of the camp were warned not to come into town and to stay in the camp to avoid trouble. The campers disregarded the warning and after several incidents the local citizenry took matters into their own hands. Several hundred people marched on the camp, destroyed the main building and told the campers to get out."

"Then," Mr. Capell said, "came the newspaper stories which distorted the protest into a mob action prompted by racism."

MOVE TO RED PICNIC SPOT

A check of the local records, Mr. Capell stated, reveals that reports of injuries were grossly exaggerated in news stories. A stabbing turned out to have been the taking of a knife away from one of the camp counsellors who was then relieved of the seat of his trousers with it, with no personal injury.

He said the campers have found refuge in a New Jersey camp "well known for the num-

ber of Communist activities which have taken place there. Camp Midvale is located at Ringwood, N.J., and has long been a favorite vacation and picnic resort of Communist and Communist-front groups. The Communist paper, the Worker, holds its annual picnics there."

The article concerning Summerlane in the Herald of Freedom recommended action by the proper authorities and "bringing such activities to an end by lawful methods," Mr. Capell pointed out. "However," he concluded, "the invaders of the South goad the normally peaceful and religious people into acts of violence by refusing to obey the law and to cooperate with local authorities for their own protection. Their agitation creates violence."

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) Daily Advance, Aug. 2, 1963]

WHO'S LYING?

During the past several weeks Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States, testified before the Senate Commerce Committee and stated repeatedly that the Federal Government has no evidence that any of the major civil rights groups are influenced by Communists. In addition, he stated on several occasions that the Communists have been remarkably unsuccessful in efforts to exploit the racial situation.

Contrast these statements with testimony given by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on the same subject matter. On January 24, 1962, Hoover testified before the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, as follows:

"Since its inception the Communist Party, U.S.A., has been alert to capitalize on every possible issue or event which could be used to exploit the American Negro in furtherance of party aims. In its efforts to influence the American Negro, the party attempts to infiltrate the legitimate Negro organizations for the purpose of stirring up racial prejudice and hatred. In this way, the party strikes a blow at our democratic form of government by attempting to influence public opinion throughout the world against the United States."

On two earlier occasions, Hoover testified before the same committee along the same line. On January 16, 1958, he said:

"The Negro situation is also being exploited fully and continuously by Communists on a national scale. Current programs include intensified attempts to infiltrate Negro mass organizations. The party's objectives are not to aid the Negroes—but are designed to take advantage of all controversial issues on the race question in the minds of the American people."

On March 3, 1961, Hoover told the same committee:

"The sit-in demonstrations in the South were a made-to-order issue which the party fully exploited to further its ends."

The Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives and the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate have published voluminous documentary evidence supporting fully the testimony of Hoover. This newspaper has just received the latest publication of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated July 31, 1963, and containing the testimony before the committee of how the Communist Party in California has successfully extended its influence into additional Negro civil liberties units.

For the information of those who might feel that the Attorney General is simply misinformed, we point out that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is a part of the Department of Justice, which is headed by the Attorney General, and the Attorney General has access to the same information as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Our readers have a choice. They can believe Kennedy, one of the most cynical politicians and inept Attorney Generals in the history of the United States, or they can believe Hoover, one of the finest law enforcement officers in the history of this or any other country, and a man of the greatest integrity.

As for this newspaper, we made the obvious choice a long time ago.

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT—SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY 1818–1957

(Prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress)

YEAR 1928

During the Communist Party presidential campaign, American Communists advanced the Comintern policy on Negro self-determination. In pursuance of Comintern instruction the party made every effort to attract the Negro masses. * * * The campaign for a Negro republic in the South was tied up with a campaign in the party ranks against white chauvinism. Party members who failed to carry out the Negro policy or disagreed with it were accused of white chauvinism. * * * The Negro question was injected into every situation, in every campaign. The Negroes were looked upon as the chosen people who were to be the vanguard of the Communist revolution. Party members were urged to make every effort to establish personal as well as social relations with the Negroes. Negroes were brought into the party, not on the basis of their Communist convictions, but on the promise that in the party they could enjoy a sociable evening together with whites on a basis of equality. Negroes who had recently joined the party were pushed into places of leadership simply because they were Negroes and as a demonstration that the Negroes enjoyed preferred treatment in the party. This was done not out of sympathy or consideration for the Negro masses, but for purely political reasons.

Behind the Negro agitation and the stress laid on exploiting the Negro issue was the desire to comply with the orders from Moscow. It was hoped through Negro minorities movement in the United States to give leadership to a colored Nationalist movement of world proportions in the countries of South and Central America, Africa, Asia, and the Antipodes. The American Nationalist Negro movement, Moscow believed, would provide the leadership for such a world movement. Besides, the Communist Party could dominate the American Negro movement, because it was believed possible for a small handful of American Communists to organize and control the 2 million Negro workers in American industry, which force could be the most decisive in the broader worldwide Negro movement * * *. Said the Comintern resolution:

"To the extent to which the party succeeds in developing a strong revolutionary Negro movement in the United States, it will also be able to exert a decisive influence upon the revolutionary movement of the Negroes in all parts of the world."

It was hoped by the development of this Negro Nationalist movement on a world scale to bring millions of new supporters in defense of the Soviet Union, ardent supporters, who could actually fight against Russia's enemies over a farflung territory. The Negro Nationalist movement was thus part and parcel of Russian political imperialism. (G: 480–483.)

(Above excerpt was from testimony of former Commie, Benjamin Gitlow.

THE NEGRO QUESTION—COMMUNIST CIVIL WAR POLICY

(By Benjamin Gitlow)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—What is behind the Negro civil rights bill? Does it mean the beginning of U.S. revolution? Does it put an end to the U.S. Constitution?

(The Communist International in Moscow, in 1921, instructed the American Communists to organize and head the Negro masses. They have fanned the flame of impoverishment and exploitation ever since. The Communists are, therefore, championing the cause of the Negroes in America, not as part of a democratic movement, but as an important part of their drive to mobilize both colored and white for proletarian revolution and the overthrow of our Government. The Communists have no intention of conducting a constitutional battle for Negro rights and justice. To them the Constitution is a scrap of paper to use when it serves their purpose, to disregard it and violate it whenever it suits them. Since the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights provides a clear and equitable civil rights program for all citizens of the United States, after reading the enclosure it will become clear that the Kennedy civil rights bill can serve only one purpose: The Communist conspiracy.

(Concerning the author: For 11 years Benjamin Gitlow was a Communist—the first in the United States to be convicted and imprisoned for such membership. He held the highest position in the Communist Party in the United States—that of general secretary of the party. Mr. Gitlow holds another distinction—that of being one of the few persons to split with Josef Stalin and live to tell it. In 1929 Stalin summoned Mr. Gitlow to Moscow. In the ensuing meeting, Gitlow refused to accept orders from the Red leader—hence the split. It was in 1939 that Mr. Gitlow wrote his first book—"I Confess," which told of his personal background as a Communist, and gave the public the first real insight of the workings of the Reds in this country. In 1940 he gave the House Un-American Activities Committee the complete story of the Communist Party in the United States and their plans to rule America.)

The Negro question is a most distressing problem for the American people. For the country it is a problem of great magnitude. Its political consequences in the affairs of our Government and in the arena of world politics cannot be ignored. We in the United States will have to deal with the Negro problem boldy and realistically. To exploit the Negro question, like a politician for expediency only and as an opportunistic leverage for vote getting as is too often the practice of our major political parties, will solve nothing and will eventually lead to a greatly aggravated crisis in race relations and in our relations with many nations. The immediate result of the continuance of such crass opportunistic policies will be the inflamming of our population and the dividing our people, at a time when a united, patriotic citizenry is badly needed to defend and preserve our liberties.

In this article I propose to deal with aspects of the Negro question that receive top priority from the Communists. I do so, fully conscious of the fact that to treat certain phases of the Negro question analytically and critically, especially as it affects our country's security and our posture in the cold war, is to arouse the ire of many individuals and organizations today in the forefront of the civil rights movement, the term by which the Negro question is erroneously called. Many of these civil rights forces who are recklessly spreading dissension among our people, and who are pushing their campaigns in utter

disregard for the defense and security needs of the country, will, I am sure, attempt to distort any objective presentation and critical analysis of the Negro problem, on my part, into a smear campaign, charging that the writer is a racist, a white chauvinist, an ultra rightist opposed to integration and civil right.

Against such a ridiculous, premediated smear a defense on my part is absolutely unnecessary. Let it be here noted—the examples are too numerous to cite—that to libel genuine anti-Communists in the vilest language is welcomed by the liberal intellectuals, who are proficient in this practice, and the press which favorably publicizes their calumnies.

On the other hand, in the world of the liberal traumatic miasma, to tell the truth about Communist, Communazi liberals and the host of fellow travelers who idealize Communist and totalitarian manifestations at home and abroad, is scandalous, McCartyism at its worst, a repudiation of American ideals and traditions, character assassination and libelous.

Fully aware of attacks upon me personally that will follow the publication of this article, I have decided, nevertheless, to write it because the Communists and their supporters with the full backing of Khrushchev have emarked upon a campaign to exploit the Negro problem as a vehicle for national liberation. They intend to arouse to a fever heat the nationalist and chauvinist sentiments now finding expression in segments of the Negro population into a drive for the separation of the Negroes from the whites through the establishment of an independent Negro republic in the United States. They are hopeful that an intensified nationalist drive among the American Negroes will accelerate the build-up in Latin America and in Africa of the anti-American campaign to such an extent that it will aid the Communist imperialist efforts on these two continents. But what is much more important is the fact that the Communists are deliberately maneuvering among the American Negroes to create a situation for the outbreak of racial violence, to such an extent that it can be turned into a civil war—a civil war on a racial basis involved with profound political and revolutionary consequences. In such a civil war, should they succeed in fomenting it, the Communists hope to so undermine the American Government and our social structure that they can take over power. In the racial civil war they envisage, they are sure Negroes will be in the front ranks, the shock troops of the Communist revolution.

This Communist diabolic policy is a calculated and deliberate policy. In the final analysis it will not bring justice and political equality to the Negro. It is bound to bring on bloody strife in which the Negroes will be the main losers, and should the Communists win, enslavement of the Negroes and whites alike will take place and all Americans will live without rights, under a Communist dictatorship.

A historical outline, at this time, of the Communist role in the Negro question will, I am sure, help the reader to a better understanding of the Communist position.

The Communist International in Moscow in 1921, instructed the American Communists to organize and lead the Negro masses. For that special purpose money was liberally provided by the Comintern. The Communists took the position that the Negroes, constituting the most impoverished and exploited section of our population—a section with special problems and grievances because of racial discrimination—would constitute, once properly organized and led, the front rank fighters in a revolution to overthrow the United States Government and replace it with a Soviet form of dictatorship. To carry out the Comintern's instructions, the American Communist Party created a Negro department, organized special Negro organizations, published Negro papers and periodicals and conducted a drive for Negroes to join the party, giving them, if they did so, jobs and all kinds of special inducements. Every Negro member brought into the party was hailed as an achievement.

The Communist policy in the early years up to 1928 on the Negro question was that the Negroes should be accorded full racial, social, and political equality with the whites.

At the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow during the late summer of 1928, a special commission was set up to study the American Negro question. Joseph Stalin was a member of the commission on which the American Communist Party was well represented.

I was not in Moscow at that time because I was touring the country as the vice presidential candidate of the Communist Party. While I was campaigning in the South, I received a telegram from the national office of the Communist Party that to our regular Negro demands for equality, etc., I should add the right of the Negroes to national self-determination, the ultimate objective of which was, naturally, the establishment of a Negro government in the Black Belt of the South. The policy, though it originated in Moscow, did not appeal to me. I considered the demand for a Negro republic dynamite, dynamite that would be so explosive in the South, once a considerable number of the Negroes accepted it, that it would do the Negroes more harm than good.

At the close of the vice presidential campaign I was conducting, I returned to New York and went into a huddle on the Negro question with the leaders of the American Communist Party. I asked: "What do you seek to accomplish with this policy? Create a situation in the South where you will bring about a civil war between the whites and the blacks? Do you realize where that will lead to? Do you not realize that such a policy will lead to the butchery and massacre of thousands of Negroes?"

John Pepper, whose real name was Joseph Pogany, a leader of the terrorists in the first Red Hungarian revolution under Bela Kuhn, was attached by the Comintern to the leadership of the American Communist Party. He was a member of the Negro commission, as was Stalin—the commission that handed down the decision. I already had learned that the decision for the establishment of a Negro republic in the United States was formulated by Stalin and that he forced its adoption. So Pepper answered me calmly in these words:

"Comrade Gitlow, there is much truth in what you say but we could not help ourselves in Moscow."

In addition, the 1928 Stalin resolution laying down binding instructions upon the American Communist Party contained the following:

"To the extent to which the party succeeds in developing a strong revolutionary movement in the United States, it will also be able to exert a decisive influence upon the revolutionary movement of the Negroes in all parts of the world."

Stalin hoped by utilizing Negro nationalism in the United States to develop revolutionary Negro nationalist movements on a world scale and through such movements to mobilize millions of ardent supporters for the Soviet Union. The revolutionary Negro nationalist movement which the Communists began in earnest to organize in the United States, in South America, in Africa, and wherever Negroes lived, became a most important arm of Soviet political imperialism.

I have put down in very brief outline the historical facts that constitute the background of the basic, the unchangeable position on the American Negro question of the American Communists and their comrades throughout the world, including, of course, their Soviet masters.

Until recently, the Communist policy in the United States has been to soft-pedal their demand for the establishment of a Negro, nationalist, separationist movement, a movement determined to oust the whites from the South, expropriate their lands and property and establish a Negro republic under Communist hegemony.

It appears that now the time has come for the American Communists to accent the loud pedal on Negro nationhood.

Claude Lightfoot, one of the top leaders of the American Communist Party and a guiding spirit in its Negro department, a Negro himself, states the present position of the Communists on the Negro question in this manner in an article in the July 1962 issue of "Political Affairs," the theoretical and outstanding political monthly of the Communist Party.

"Back in the early 1930's the Communist Party of the United States projected the idea that the Negro constituted an oppressed nation within a nation. The homeland of this nation was seen as embracing what was commonly called the black area of the South. The black belt at that time consisted of over 200 counties, crossing several States. It was an area of Negro majority. The Communist Party adopted this position in 1930." (This is an error on Lightfoot's part. The American Communist Party never originated this decision. It was handed down as binding instructions to the American Communist Party by Moscow in 1928, as I have already stated.)

He further explains that during the period of World War II the demand for a Negro republic was dropped. What Lightfoot deliberately forgets to state is that the demand was put in cold storage after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union became one of our allies. Then Lightfoot adds: "In 1946 the Communist Party reexamined its position on this question (that is after the war was over) and reaffirmed its previous position. Although the question of nationhood was reaffirmed this time certain modifications were made. * * * The Communist Party now declared that what we are witnessing was a young nation in its earliest stage of development and because of this consciousness lagged behind objective developments. Notwithstanding these new observations the party continued to place the slogan of self-determination in the forefront of its general program."

That statement by Lightfoot is not an equivocal statement. It states categorically that the slogan of self-determination for the Negro, that is, for the establishment of a Negro republic in the black belt of the South, is in the forefront of the American Communist Party's general program. In other words in the forefront of the general Communist program for the communizing of the United States is the demand for the establishment of a Negro republic in the South. Why does the program of self-determination for the American Negroes hold such high priority for the Communists? Because that objective cannot under any circumstances be achieved without bloodshed and civil war, and civil war to achieve Communist power is a basic major policy for the American Communist Party and so recognized in its program.

One must know how to read the Communist language. I believe I know how to read Communist language, how to digest it and get at its real meaning. Few persons do. And the sad part of the story is that those who make policy for our Government, who are responsible for guiding our ship of state through the perilous storms of the cold war, have not yet learned how to read and understand Communist language, a language unique in its logic, subtle in the use and meaning of words, in which every "i" dotted, every

comma, every punctuation mark has a meaning all its own.

Lightfoot continues in this vein and I quote:

"And so in 1959 the Communists adopted a position which discarded the slogan of self-determination."

Particularly note that the slogan, not the policy, was discarded. The slogan, to tell the truth, was actually not discarded but filed away for future uses when the time would be more propitious for its exploitation. That time was not long in coming. It has already arrived because the slogan for a Negro republic has been removed from moth balls and is once again being proclaimed loudly from the Communist housetops. Why?

For the answer let us return to Lightfoot who writes:

"One must now take into account a powerful nationalist current which is becoming increasingly significant.

"The Muslim leadership and doctrine is the most significant source of a trend to the contrary within the ranks of the Negro people. (Contrary to the opposition to the Communist policy for a Negro republic that existed among the Negroes before). The heart of the program advanced by the Muslims calls for the establishment of a Negro nation, separate and apart from other white Americans."

One can begin to understand what the Communist Party is aiming at. It aims to make an alliance with the Black Muslim movement in order to draw it into the Communist orbit. But Communist aims go even further. The Communists see in the increasing popular support the Muslims have in the Negro community an opportunity of linking up the nationalist struggle of the Muslims, and those under their influence, with the world revolutionary struggle of the black people being engineered by the Communists against the United States as part of the Soviet effort to undermine U.S. influence in strategic areas of the globe.

This factor is indeed underlined by Lightfoot when he writes: "Nationalism is rising in the Negro community not entirely out of context with the problems flowing from the basic structure of American Negro life, but it is a fact that nationalism today is influenced more by external factors * * *. The national character of the Negro struggle is still an overall characteristic."

It is necessary here, before we examine what the Communist policy on the Negro question has in store for the United States, to determine the basic elements of the policy.

As has already been stated Stalin was the originator of the American Communist Party policy on the Negro question. Writing an article on "Estimating Stalin," William Weinstone, a top American Communist gave this estimate of Stalin in the May 1962 issue of "Political Affairs."

"His [Stalin's] pamphlet written in 1912 on Marxism and the national question, which Lenin praised, remains a classic of Marxism. His 'Foundation of Leninism' which helped train generations of Communists in its time * * * is also a great work."

We will, therefore, turn to Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" as an authority on the basic foundation of the Communist position on the Negro question. On page 286 the following is written:

"It is obvious that those who look upon the nationalist question as an integral part of the general question of proletarian revolution, will never be willing to look upon it as a mere matter of constitutional adjustment."

To use Stalin's words—it is therefore obvious that the American Communists when they fight so loudly and militantly for civil rights, for integration, for the Constitution, are perpetrating a hoax on the Negroes. What they are diligently preparing, by their activities in the civil rights field, are conditions favorable for civil war and revolution. This is obviously true because the Communists, by exploiting the justified complaints of the Negro people and the humane instincts of the American people, seek, because they champion national self-determination for the Negroes, an outcome that is not a matter of constitutional adjustment; they seek revolutionary results that do not square with the legal process—for their real aim is civil war and revolution. That is the essence of the Communist position. They are setting a trap for ensnaring the Negro masses into the Communist conspiracy. They are committing a colossal fraud upon the American people.

To further underline the Communist position on the Negro question, I herewith underscore the fundamentals outlined by Stalin:

"The national question must not be considered as an isolated phenomenon but as one which is indissolubly intertwined with the question of the victory of the revolution" ("Fundamentals of Leninism," p. 288).

Stalin emphasized as most important this statement used by Zinoviev, chairman of the Comintern: "The national question is a revolutionary problem, not a constitutional one."

It should now be clear to every reader that the Communists have no intention of conducting a constitutional battle for Negro rights and justice. To them the Constitution is a scrap of paper to use when it serves their purpose, to disregard it and violate it whenever it suits them.

The Communists in their propaganda on the Negro question try to impress the American people and the Negroes in particular that they are for justice for the Negro, for giving the Negro full democratic rights, for raising his status and giving him equal social standing with the whites. This propaganda is all camouflage, all lies.

Here is what Lenin, the Communist genius, stated unequivocally in the basic Communist position as reported by Stalin:

"Herein he (Lenin) declared that the essential point of the nationalist question, in general, and of the right of self-determination in particular, was that they had ceased to be parts of the democratic movement, and had become vital constituents of the proletarian movement, of the Socialist revolution," "Fundamental of Leninism," page 290.

The Communists are, therefore, championing the cause of the Negroes in America, not as part of a democratic movement, but as an important part of their drive to mobilize both colored and white for proletarian revolution and the overthrow of our Government.

And using Aesopian language, because the Black Muslims reject the movements on civil rights which the Communists support, Lightfoot concludes as follows:

"Thus nationalism, as expressed today in the United States, unlike in Africa and other places, is an obstacle in the path toward freedom.

"But this does not necessarily have to be so. A nationalist movement which would direct its fire at the source of our oppression, the white ruling class, would have a positive progressive value.

"And so those of us (the Communists) who feel that we can see through today's frustrations to a brighter tomorrow are duty bound to go among our Muslim brothers and to help light an understanding among them. For in winning them to more positive concepts we will help to enlist people who hold nationalist sentiments in the great battle for freedom in the United States.

We have Lightfoot's words for it that the American Communists are seeking to join hands with the Muslim Brotherhood, an organization that thrives on Negro chauvinism, hatred of all whites and separation from the United States. The Communists hope to direct the fire of the Muslim movement against the white ruling class. That is another way of saying against the U.S. Government. This is the important and immediate objective of the American Communist Party among the Negroes.

It is necessary to examine the Communist Negro policy a little more closely. Their policy on the Negro question is based on a false premise. It cannot stand up when considered in the light of U.S. vital population statistics.

The total Negro population of the United States in April 1960 was 18,871,831 representing 10½ percent of our total population. There is not a single State in the Union where the Negroes constitute a majority of the population. The Negroes are Americans and should enjoy all the privileges of American citizenship. They are, however, not an indigenous group in spite of the numerical numbers. It has no basis in origin, land, special language or culture warranting a legal status for separation as a distinct independent nation within the United States, as the Communists demand.

Under our Constitution there is absolutely no legal basis whatsoever for such separation. Any serious attempt in that direction, as the Communists propose, is bound to break out into racial violence and a great loss of life. This the Communists are fully aware of, yet they advocate that step and are prepared to make the gamble. They are willing to make that gamble because the Communists are disloyal Americans who have pledged their loyalty to a foreign power, the Soviet Union. Furthermore, they are under orders from their Russian masters to pursue such a policy regardless of the consequences. And, finally, since civil war is the main objective in setting the stage for the Communist assumption of power, nothing could foment civil strife and division among the American people better, than to inflame the Negro masses against the white ruling class by promising them heaven in the United States in a separate, independent Negro republic.

But you may insist, since Khrushchev has assumed high command over the Communist empire, a more rational and civilized attitude toward the world and its people may be expected. Nothing could be further from the truth, for on the Negro question Khrushchev sees eye to eye with Stalin and the American Communists. In Khrushchev's "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" published 1961, on page 489, the following appears:

"The reactionary bourgeoisie is altogether incapable of solving the national question, as is eloquently attested by the gravity of the Negro question in the United States of America."

Khrushchev, who wants self-determination for the Negroes in the United States where there is absolutely no basis for it, refuses self-determination to the people in East Germany where there is a real, a fundamental basis for it. To prevent their desire for national liberation he builds a wall around East Berlin, locks the entire border of East Germany with soldiers and bristling steel and tanks, thereby imprisoning a population of over 17 million people.

Yea, the ways of the Communists lack logic and reason. But of one thing you may be sure, they know where they are going and they are hellbent on getting there even if they have to drown the American Negroes in their own blood to get the power they covet.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 5, 1963]

COMMUNIST RIGHTERS?

Nothing the Government has said on the subject has removed every doubt that Communists are playing a part in the civil rights movement. On the contrary, even the de-

nials during the Senate Commerce Committee hearings have been, on close scrutiny, somewhat less than categorical.

Senator MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, promptly and correctly challenged the statements of two Southern Governors charging that this summer's demonstrations have been Communist-inspired. In answer to the Senator's request for an FBI check, Attorney General Kennedy replied: "Based on all available information from the FBI and other sources, we have no evidence that any of the top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communists, or Communist-controlled. This is true as to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., about whom particular accusations were made, as well as other leaders." This statement, however, refers only to "top leaders." By implication, this suggests that some of those beneath the top echelon are Communists.

At another point Mr. Kennedy said: "It is natural and inevitable that Communists have made efforts to infiltrate the civil rights groups and to exploit the current racial situation. In view of the real injustices that exist and the resentment against them, these efforts have been remarkably unsuccessful."

Here again, at first blush, this would appear to be a denial of Communist penetration. But it could also mean that infiltration has not been as successful as Communists hoped it would be.

One Mississippi State legislator has labeled Mr. Kennedy's statement a "whitewash." We do not believe this. But the FBI information on Communist penetration of the rights movement should be made public. All concerned—both white and colored—have a right to know just who is working for the Kremlin in this matter.

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, July 22, 1963]

HIGHLANDER DESEGREGATION: WITH THAT JOIE DE VIVRE AND TAX EXEMPTION TOO

Highlander Folk School, it seems, has always been able to work a little "joie de vivre" into its mission. A pioneer in the field of integration, its avowed good works were undertaken in the early thirties, long before the Supreme Court confirmed the practices of the institution with stern orders for the mixing of the races.

While many alumni have gone forth to remake the world by participating in deadly serious demonstrations, in some cases with the grim assistance at times of Federal troops, the loyal Highlander must look back with longing to the days of good fellowship and congeniality at the old alma mater.

For example, there was the Labor Day celebration in 1957. Recently sworn testimony before a congressional committee was to the effect that the now famous Dr. Martin Luther King was there, along with an alleged Communist or two and a considerable representation from Red-front organizations.

But as usual, at the idealistic refuge on the mountain not far from Monteagle, the agenda did not call for all work and no play. Photographic evidence shows breaks for dancing, swimming, and other forms of relaxation. During the court hearing that ended in padlocking the school, the picture presented was hardly that of a religious convocation.

But when the place was closed by law, the director was undaunted. With whatever assets remained, he removed to Knoxville and set up the Highlander Research & Education Center. In a recent letter to friends and contributors, he proclaimed the Highlander "idea" had been "born anew, like Phoenix rising out of the ashes."

The communication also contained the glad tidings that Mr. Kennedy's Internal Revenue Service had concluded the Center need not pay income taxes and that all who wished to have a part in furthering a good cause could deduct their donations on their annual returns.

That must have been inspiring news for the harassed businessman who needs to relax on a trip occasionally and entertain a few faithful customers. Then while the taxpayer might have been fretting about discrimination on the matter of deductible pleasure, some Highlander researchers decided that all work and no play tends to dull the edge of ideals.

Knoxville newspapers bloomed out a few weeks ago with headlines about a Highlander camp in neighboring Blount County that caught the attention of the high sheriff. He decided to make an unannounced call, accompanied by deputies, with the net result that a group of Negroes and whites were hauled into court. Seven were bound over to the grand jury. There would have been eight, except that a judge was shocked to learn that one of the white girls was only 15 years old. Then there were seven. The charge: contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Some fines were also assessed for lewdness, disorderly conduct, and possession of whisky.

A story in the Knoxville Journal quoted the judge as saying that the involvement of Negroes and whites had no effect upon his decisions, and that anonymous efforts to intimidate him by telephone had been useless. Then came the statement from the bench that there had been "scandalous and lewd" activity at the camp and the officers charged only those they could identify.

Faced with the consequences of desegregation with joie de vivre, Director Horton told the court the camp was set up so people from the North and the South, as well as college students from all over the country, could get closer together and discuss their problems.

There is no indication as yet, however, that the explanatory plea for tax exempt togetherness will satisfy the demands of the legal and moral standards of historic Blount County.

MILITARY CONTROL OF CIVILIAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on last Wednesday, the distinguished junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] made an eloquent plea on the Senate floor for the President and Defense Secretary McNamara to withdraw the ruling issued by McNamara's order which would make it possible to place communities near defense installations off limits, if these communities should refuse to integrate its private business establishments and also presumably its locally controlled public facilities. As these remarks were printed in the body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in today's RECORD the following articles in support of the views expressed on that occasion by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi and others who participated in this discussion:

"Report Advances Race Amalgamation," which was printed in the August 2, 1963, issue of the Birmingham Post Herald.

"McNamara Exceeds Authority," which was printed in the Tampa Times on July 29, 1963.

"Political Use of Defense Bases" as printed in the August 4, 1963, issue of the News and Courier.

"Preview of Police State," which was printed in the August 2, 1963, issue of the News and Courier.

"Tax Returns No Club for Integrationist Wielding," as printed in the August 2, 1963, issue of Nashville Banner.

"Attorney General of the Air Force" as printed in the August 6, 1963, issue of the Aiken Standard and Review.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Birmingham Post Herald, Aug. 2, 1963]

REPORT ADVANCES RACE AMALGAMATION

The report of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunities in the Armed Forces (now being called the Gesell report) seeks integration "for the amalgamation of the races" and not merely to secure equal opportunity for Negroes in the services, charges Edward M. Almond, of Anniston, retired lieutenant general in the U.S. Army.

General Almond, who was commander of the 92d Division during World War II, has made a detailed analysis of the report and condemns many of its recommendations.

The report apparently is the basis for the action of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in threatening to put "off limits" to service personnel, cities where segregation practices are followed.

Some of General Almond's criticisms of the report:

"It demands in the name of 'equal opportunity' a higher percentage of Negro promotions than education, age in service, and the more fundamental consideration of merit.

FEW VERIFIED

"It invokes responsibilities and makes demands on post and area commanders by coercive methods to force integration on civilian communities by 'threat and blackmail.'

"It quotes injustices repeatedly but at the same time admits that the Committee has verified very few and many times none of the facts.

"It does not envisage a real evaluation of the individual Negro based on merit, but repeatedly speaks of opportunities and 'latent' skills inherent in the Negro.

"It strongly recommends a 'spy system' to be called 'monitoring' with an especially sympathetic monitor throughout the range of troop levels in order to report on responsible commanders as to how they carry out their functions.

"It strongly recommends that those responsible for integrating Negroes among white elements of commands be given to understand that such accomplishments will rebound to the credit of the author of such plans for the purpose of furthering his promotion.

NO WAY OF KNOWING

"It emphasizes repeatedly that Negroes should operate without reference to race and that there should be no record of blood or race on the Negro's record of service. Later on in the report it complains of the inability to determine what cases there are which have been committed against Negroes, since it has no way of determining from the military record whether the individual is a Negro or not.

"It goes on further to claim that the absence of such a record has cost untold time and money to accumulate such information for the purposes of the report."

Those signing the report were: Gerhard A. Gesell, Chairman; Nathaniel S. Colley, Abe Fortas, Louis L. Hector, Benjamin Muse, John H. Sengstache, Whitney M. Young, and Lawrence I. Hewes III, committee counsel.

Mr. Gesell, the Chairman, is a Washington attorney.

RECOMMENDATIONS CITED

Following are some of the recommendations of the report, according to Representative JOE D. WAGGONNER, of Louisiana, as quoted in the New Orleans Times-Picayune:

More recruiting should be directed toward Negroes to correct the "insufficient flow" of Negroes into the services and to increase the "pitifully small" number of Negro officers.

Negroes should be located in jobs throughout the services regardless of their individual preferences in order to have a few everywhere and in all positions.

Promotion boards should have more Negroes on them because white officers "consciously or unconsciously" discriminate against Negroes on promotions.

Special officers should be appointed (with biracial staffs) on every base to handle all complaints by the Negroes.

Such complaints are to be "encouraged."

More Negro girls are to be brought on bases for social functions and fewer girls who believe in segregation.

NEGRO HOSTESSES FAVORED

Negro hostesses should be considered, rather than white.

Military police patrols used in neighboring communities should be integrated.

Segregated buses should be boycotted.

Civic clubs should not be joined if they are segregated.

The practice of Negroes gravitating to one base service club and whites to another should not be permitted, even though this might be of their own choosing.

Methods are suggested for getting around segregated housing by renting homes in the name of the Government and moving Negroes in.

ROTC units should be canceled in segregated schools.

The efforts of officers to bring about integration should be constantly reviewed and rated. Promotions should be based on their "initiative" and "accomplishments" in this field.

Military personnel should be allowed to patronize only those local establishments which are "integrated" and have the "express approval" of the base commander. All others should be placed off limits.

Approved stores should display placards or decals on their windows and doors to show they have the approval of the military.

[From the Tampa Times, July 29, 1963]

MCNAMARA EXCEEDS AUTHORITY

Defense Secretary McNamara's order declaring communities which practice "relentless discrimination" off limits to members of the armed services is almost laughable. But any tendency toward merriment is drowned in the realization of how far the Federal Government is willing to go to enforce its will on the American public.

What Secretary McNamara actually proposes is economic blackmail of communities which insist upon maintaining their own standards and traditions. This is a weapon being brandished with increasing frequency by Federal agencies which have wormed their way into the active life of every community in the United States.

The Secretary proposes to establish himself as judge, jury, and prosecutor. He is prepared to issue and enforce an edict from which there is no appeal. We suspect the authors of the U.S. Constitution would recoil in horror from such an act.

We offer no defense of any community which practices "relentless discrimination." However, we do insist that where such abuses occur they should be attacked through normal judicial channels. The courts of this Nation are not paralyzed to such an extent that a Federal bureaucrat must apply martial law to suppress real or imagined evils.

And that is what Secretary McNamara is doing.

What is "relentless discrimination"?

Obviously, Mr. McNamara's action is related to the current wave of racial strife and demonstrations by Negro groups seeking, in some cases, full rights of citizenship and, in others, preferential treatment.

Does Secretary McNamara propose to dictate the hiring practices of a community? Would he use his power of blackmail to take the issue of school integration out of the hands of the Federal courts and place it with the military? Is he to sit in judgment of housing distribution within a community?

We are in total sympathy with the individual Negro's desire to improve his position and we believe that the individual Negro pursuing this ambition deserves the encouragement of his total community and recognition of goals achieved. But we do not believe his dreams or ambitions will be advanced through threats such as Secretary McNamara has issued. Such orders will arouse general antagonism even in areas where there is no "relentless discrimination."

Mr. McNamara seems to forget that the Government is not a private corporation and that he and the Kennedy brothers are not its principal shareholders. The Government belongs to all the people. As such, it should be responsive to the will of the people rather than expect the people to respond to its will. We see no basis for the Federal Government specifying codes of conduct for men, businesses, or communities beyond its constitutional limits.

Following the same principle which Mr. McNamara is applying in his "relentless discrimination" order, he might just as well declare that the Government will not purchase from firms which employ red-headed secretaries in preference to blondes. The point is that there are some things which are none of Mr. McNamara's business.

We have lived a long time within the framework of the present Constitution and have registered unmatched progress. There is no reason to junk it now in favor of government by Executive order which bypasses the legislative and judicial branches.

Secretary McNamara would be well advised to withdraw his "relentless discrimination" boycott order and confess that he has wandered far afield from his normal duties as head of the Defense Department.

We are certain that his retreat will not make life one bit more difficult for members of the Negro race. But we feel that enforcement of his order will injure the rights of citizenship of both white and colored people by establishment of a dangerous precedent. For, if the Secretary of Defense exercises economic blackmail to apply his will, how much longer will it be before the Secretary of Defense is backing up his orders to the American people with Armed Forces?

The doors of the courts are wide open to handle cases of "relentless discrimination," Mr. McNamara. Until they are closed, there is no excuse for a member of the Cabinet attempting to usurp their prerogatives.

[From the News and Courier, Aug. 4, 1963]

POLITICAL USE OF DEFENSE BASES

(An editorial from the Charlotte News)

Defense Secretary McNamara's latest directive bids fair to make Humpty Dumptys of military base commanders in the United States. In a precise defense of imprecise language, the original Humpty declared: "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—nothing more or less."

So it will be with the base commanders, who have been authorized by Mr. McNamara to declare "off limits" any area—or community—which practices "relentless discrimination" against Negroes.

"Relentless" in this instance, as the Greensboro Daily News rightly notes, is a "weasel word." It means whatever Secretary McNamara chooses it to mean, and the meaning can change from commander to commander—subject, of course, to higher level approval where the meaning well might change again.

The probability of unequal application of the directive is obvious. But the meaning of Mr. McNamara's words is not a point upon which debate ought to be impaled. It needs to be directed, instead, at the improper assumption that the social and civil ills of this Nation fall within the province of military concern.

Those ills, of course, are none of the military's business, unless Congress so declares by legislation or the President, in his capacity as commander in chief, so declares by Executive order. Neither Congress nor the President has made such a declaration.

The Defense Department's sole reason for being it to protect this Nation and this Government against foreign attack or domestic revolt. It is neither required nor authorized to use its considerable economic power to achieve political ends or social and civil reform which, at this time, not even Congress has endorsed as a goal properly within the purview of Federal authority.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Aug. 2, 1963]

PREVIEW OF POLICE STATE

Orders from Washington to inject the armed services into local public school problems is the latest sample of Government dictation. It is, we are confident, by no means the last.

While citizens are marching in the streets of cities of both North and South, and gearing up perhaps for full-scale race riots, the Kennedy administration is proceeding with its practice runs for the police state in America.

We use these strong terms advisedly. An administration that will direct the Armed Forces to intervene in social and political matters on the scale already announced in the current controversy will not stop at policing the color problem. Once the habit is formed of employing the Armed Forces for domestic purposes instead of protecting the country against foreign enemies, the concentration camp and the firing squad begin to move closer.

Couched in language that seems harmless enough, a Department of Defense order published yesterday in the News and Courier instructs commanders to advise parents under their command of "the constitutional rights of their children to be assigned to school without regard to race." These "constitutional rights"—though supposedly settled by the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court—still are being argued in the courts. Yet Army, Navy and Air Force officers are being commanded to interpret them and see that they are enforced in local communities where military bases are situated. Other directives already have threatened to use the economic weapon, by putting off limits places of business that cater to patrons of only one race.

Meanwhile, in Congress, the so-called civil rights bill is under consideration to give the force of statutory law to Government management of private business policies. As we understand this legislation, it would deny the civil right of a jury trial to businessmen charged with violation of rules for employment and accommodation.

Putting together the removal of protection by juries and the enforcement of Government civil policies by the armed services, a concerned citizen hardly can escape the conclusion that the United States of America is fast becoming a police state in the literal sense of the term.

[From the Nashville Banner, Aug. 2, 1963]

TAX RETURNS NO CLUB FOR INTEGRATIONIST WIELDING

To the docket of coercive devices employed or attempted by the Kennedy team in behalf

of its desegregation pitch, now is added the charge that it is using previously secret income tax returns of businessmen to make them integrate their facilities near military bases.

And to Senator BARRY GOLDWATER's urgent suggestion that the Senate investigate that, as well as kindred tactics visited on these areas as policy, through the Pentagon, a concerned public can only reply "It is time somebody investigated them."

Congress through its appropriate committees has that authority—backed with subpena power.

Congress writes the laws, including, certainly, the tax statutes. It also has the responsibiilty of guarding these against abuse, or misuse for punitive purpose—as a blunt instrument held over individual or community heads.

Moreover, the Defense Department is answerable to Congress for digressing into new policy areas of sociological challenge, waving a big stick, on the domestic front. Whether such originates with Secretary McNamara, or through the Pentagon's embroidery with new offices of fancy nomenclature—such as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights—Congress has the authority, and the duty, to hold it to an accounting.

One of the foremost civil rights, guaranteed to the citizens by their Constitution—and not lawfully subject to abridgement—is the right to security from political caprice by figures of the Government, itself. That is the point to which Thomas Jefferson was drawing attention when he admonished, "In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

This is, after all, still the United States of America—where the people are boss—and not a police state, wherein they are in subject status to either elective or appointive officialdom.

If, as charged, tax returns—normally and properly secret—are employed as an instrument of coercion; and by units of the Government not properly privy to them, a major departure from the civil proprieties has occurred. And that, note it, is the business of Congress.

No less has a major departure occurred in the order, whatever its source, subjecting whole communities to the off limits status for failure to come to heel—just like that—at the brothers Kennedy et al., cracking of the whip. Again, this is not a police state, relative to military decree, or otherwise.

BARRY GOLDWATER and southern colleagues, challenging the drift in that direction, are not alone, surely, in their concern. As the Arizona Senator clearly pointed out—communities almost as far north as the Canadian border, with military installations, have not adopted all-out integration.

There is a vast difference between the Kennedy team's political interest and the public interest. There are adequate laws to accomplish the latter. It won't be accomplished by the former.

[From the Aiken Standard and Review, Aug. 6, 1963]

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE AIR FORCE?

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, a major general in the Air Force Reserve, sees in the Defense Department's civil rights program "the threat of a military takeover should things change in the country and we find the military commanders have become used to running politics and the social life of the community."

The Arizona Republican expressed this concern in attacking, on the floor of the Senate, the Pentagon order that directs commanders of military establishments to place off limits nearby areas where "relentless discrimination" is found.

Senator GOLDWATER charged that the directive "started in the Attorney General's Office" and demanded an investigation of the recent tour of military bases by the newly appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Civil Defense, Alfred B. Fitt, who, he said, was "completely armed with dossiers on the businessmen of the community, dossiers complete with every figure the Committee (Presidential Committee on Equal Opportunity) can get out of income tax returns."

Democratic Senators JOHN STENNIS of Mississippi, and STROM THURMOND of South Carolina, backed the Goldwater charge that the Pentagon order put the military in politics.

The Pentagon admitted that a group of Defense officials recently visited Air Force bases at Biloxi, Greenville, and Columbus, Miss.; Mobile, Ala., and Shreveport, La., and that Mr. Fitts was on part of the tour—"where off-base discrimination problems had been known to exist." But the Department denied that Mr. Fitt or any others had information from income tax records or Government files.

It would seem to us that the Defense Department might have its hands pretty full running the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine Corps, and in maintaining and strengthening our defenses against the most cunning, ruthless and far-flung enemies the Nation has ever faced—without undertaking to police civil rights.

However, the Goldwater charge of the use of police state tactics, would seem to revolve around the question of whether or not Mr. Fitt and his group have used, as the Senator said, "the full force of the Internal Revenue documents." When the facts have been established by investigation it will then be time to determine the proper scope of military duty.

DOCTRINE FOR TEACHERS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, under the sponsorship of the American Bar Association, the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina has prepared a syllabus and guide for teacher workshops and seminars entitled "Democracy and Communism in World Affairs."

It is my understanding that the draft is to be considered by the American Bar Association this weekend. I sincerely hope that the bar association will scrutinize this work most carefully, for I have had numerous protests from responsible sources concerning the lack of scholarship and the generally ineffective presentation of the subject in this work.

One of the latest criticisms which has come to my attention is an editorial entitled "Doctrine for Teachers" which appeared in the August 6, 1963, issue of the Richmond News Leader of Richmond, Va. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

I am particularly concerned about this publication since it originated at the University of South Carolina. I have had numerous contacts from across the Nation inquiring as to just how such an inferion work happened to be produced in South Carolina. I must say that I am unable to account for what appears to be a most unobjective work and I join with many others who have taken a sincere interest in informing the public on the issues of communism against democracy and urge that the American Bar Association weigh most carefully the harm that could be done by sponsoring the distribution of an inferior product as a guide to teachers in public schools.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOCTRINE FOR TEACHERS

The American Bar Association is circulating a draft version of a new teacher's guide on communism, intended for comment and correction before September publication. Our correction is brief: This draft needs lots of correction; it is unacceptable, and unfortunate.

The proposed publication is "Democracy and Communism in World Affairs." This title omits a significant word when one considers that the book was prepared by the ABA's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism. That word is "against."

Needless to say, this guide does not advocate communism. It does not, as a matter of fact, advocate anything. The message of the manual, which is designed to help teacher-trainees prepare high school courses in communism, pretty much comes down to this: You've got your communism, and you you've your democracy. They both have their good points and their bad points. If you want to "deal effectively" with communism, you have to understand the appeal which it has for its devoted followers. But teachers are warned "to steer clear of the 'good guys vs. the bad guys' approach." Communists are a bit despotic, but are they really such bad guys?

Under this analysis, communism becomes merely an alternate system of social organization, relished by hungry millions who have a taste for totalitarianism. Communism is indeed ruthless, which makes it something of a challenge to the more genteel "forces of freedom." But on the whole, the problem is to maintain a dynamic equilibrium in world affairs, with a judicious use of foreign aid as a holding action, and to demonstrate the moral power of good example. The ABA manual will cost no lost sleep to Walt Whitman Rostow and the State Department policy planning staff.

Over and over again the fledgling teacher is invited to understand the mysterious "appeals" of the Communistic system. He is invited to read the ponderous tomes of George Kennan and Walter Lippmann. He is told that the enormous bureaucracy of Soviet Russia is "essentially conservative." He is reminded of the excesses of our own industrial revolution, although "today we have learned that property is compatible with social justice." He observes the flowering of socialism and Marxism in history and follows the contributions of Hegel and the refinements of Lenin. He finds that Lenin's terrorism perverted true socialism—a development of such magnitude that a whole chapter is necessary to explain that the "democratic socialists are among the bitterest foes of the Communists, as well as their admittedly most dangerous enemies."

And so it goes in a soft tapestry of subtle webs and fine-spun distortions. The manual asserts that communism in the United States began in 1917; in reality Communists set up headquarters in New York in 1872. Here Trotsky published "Novy Mir" until the revolutionaries left to join Lenin in Russia in 1917. The manual implies that 10,000 U.S. Communists have registered under the foreign agents law, whereas none have. The manual twice refers to the pre-election Cuban crisis last year as the "November" crisis; and not without noting that "the U.S.S.R., backed away from the prospect with maturity and realism." The clear and familiar record of Communist espionage and subversion in the United States is ignored while Communist conquests abroad just happen impersonally—the People's Republic of

Interpp Org. Prin

VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION PROJECT

JUNE 22 - AUGUST 17, 1963

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

CO- SPONSORED

NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA
SOUTHERN REGION
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E.
SUITE 301
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

COMMISSION ON ECUMENICAL VOLUNTARY
SERVICE PROJECTS
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

TENTATIVE PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Description: This project is to work for voter registration and education in a lower socio-economic urban area within a city defined political unit. An area which might be defined as a place of "voter apathy" or "political apathy". The registration books are open all summer and there is no discrimination or harrassment of Negroes wishing to register. The project would work with a local committee, made up of representatives of existing civil rights and voter registration groups. There has been some extremely effective involvement in the political structure by an independent group of Negroes. They are working for the welfare of the total Negro community in Nashville and in Tennessee, and not for the personal gain or for advancement of specific persons.

The main goal of the project will be to stimulate and encourage qualified Negro voters to register. Additional purposes are -- (a) to assist in developing citizenship education and organization in a particular location. (b) to gather some data on lower socio-economic urban Negro political interests for the total voter education and registration efforts, and (c) to communicate a concern by the presence of the participants.

The project will canvass and survey the area to find non-registered citizens. The survey also would attempt some tentative answers, either subjectively or objectively, to the following and related questions: (1) What are the issues to the people? (2) What are their immediate personal interests or concerns which citizen or political participation might begin to meet, such as, job opportunities, housing, economic conditions, human and civil rights, government services (education, streets, sidewalks, recreation, sanitation, police, etc.)? (3) To what extent and why do they seem to be politically apathetic? How do people get active; in politics?

The project will be coordinated into existing voter registration efforts and organizations. At the beginning of the project adequate time will be given to orientation so that the participants are apprised of the local conditions, issues, problems, personalities, etc. in order to see how the project fits into the context of the local situation. Continuous orientation,

seminars and study sessions will be held on the particular economic, social, civil rights, and political structures and their role in that urban situation. During the project, as well as at the close, the group will analyze its activity and survey work, share reactions and reflections upon the whole experience.

Note: The project is clearly voter registration and education and not a "direct action" project. It must be clearly understood that the participants' contribution to the civil rights movement is voter registration and is not to be diverted to crusade for the whole civil rights situation. The project is entering an ongoing situation where local committee people live, already at work and will continue to work after the project leaves. The participants are "outsiders" and will have to be continually sensitive to this.

Living and Group Life: The project group will have a maximum of sixteen participants, including persons from the south and north, Negro and white, men and women. Leaders will be persons with direct experience in the civil rights movement, with at least one leader with experience in the south and particularly in voter registration. There is need for applicants with experience and understanding in civil rights. The group will live within the working area, or as close to it as is possible. The group will work out its own discipline and procedure for meal preparation and cleanup, house cleanup, Bible study, worship, discussions, seminars and recreation, with a focus on civil rights, economic, social, and political structures and their roles in urban life.

Cost: There will be a project fee of $115.00 to cover board, insurance, and administrative and leadership costs. In addition, participants will have incidental personal expenses and roundtrip travel costs to Nashville. SOME SCHOLARSHIPS ARE AVAILABLE according to the need.

* Student YWCA members send applications to the Southern Region Office, of the National Student YWCA, Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

All other applications should be sent to the Ecumenical Voluntary Service office.

Deadline for applications - April 15, 1963

Selection of participants will be made by a joint committee representing both organizations by - April 30, 1963

IMPORTANT
1) Clip two passport type photos at this spot.
2) Please print or type application in DUPLICATE. DO NOT USE BALL POINT PEN.

APPLICATION for

VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION PROJECT

June 22- August 17, 1963
Nashville, Tennessee

NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA, Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Suite 301
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Acknowledged _____
Sent to _____
date _____
Ref. sent _____
date _____
Ref. returned
1. 2. 3. 4.
5. 6. 7. 8.
Assigned to _____
date _____

1. PERSONAL DATA

Name (& nickname)

Citizenship

Present address

Phone

Age, date of birth

Sex

If you will leave present address before departing for project, where can you be reached?

Dates

Birthplace

Height:

Single:

Weight:

Married:

Address in fall after completion of project, if known.

Ages of Brothers:

Sisters:

Parents' name and address

Phone

Ages of Children:

Any disabilities which might prevent your participation in project.

Parents' occupations:

Selective service no.

Classification:

2. FINANCES

Total cost you understand involved _____

Can you pay this? _____

If not, how will you raise it? _____

(over)

3. REFERENCES

	NAME	ADDRESS
1. Minister who knows you best		
2. Classmate or fellow worker		
3. Classmate or fellow worker		
4. Employer (or other adult)		
5. Professor (or other adult)		

4. EDUCATION

High School:

Class of:

College(s):

Class of:

Major:

Minor:

Name of graduate schools:

Dates: Degree:

Field:

Must you work to put yourself through college:

Other educational experience:

Present occupation:

Intended occupation:

5. CHURCH

Name of church in which you hold permanent membership:

Name and address of the pastor:

Name of Y.W.C.A. student group in which you participate:

Name and address of YWCA staff or advisor of this group:

Name and address of campus minister who knows you best:

5. CHURCH (cont'd)

Your part in home church:

Your part in campus religious activities:

Christian conferences attended - dates:

6. ACTIVITIES & EXPERIENCES

Your part in community activities

Your part in campus activities:

Conferences (other than church-related)

List recent part-time and full-time jobs you have held:

Previous voluntary service:

Project	Sponsor	Dates

What books have MOST INFLUENCED your thinking recently?

Significant types of leadership experience - dates:

(OVER)

7. SKILLS AND INTERESTS

Check those in which you have an interest:
Double check those in which you are proficient:

___play piano
___lead group singing
___lead folk dancing
___dramatics
___photography
___handicrafts
___Nature study
___story telling to children
___child and infant care

___lead Bible study
___lead discussion groups
___conducting worship
___choir direction
___preaching
___Red Cross Lifesaver
___instruction
___first aid
___electrical work

___typing___words per min.
___shorthand___words per min.
___mimeographing
___bookkeeping
___switchboard
___meal planning & preparation
___cooking
___carpentry,___masonry
___plumbing

8. PLEASE WRITE A SHORT STATEMENT of your present religious faith and concerns including why you want to participate in this Voter Registration project.

(please confine yourself to one typewritten page - make duplicate copy.)

Who interested you in this program?

From whom did you obtain this form?

I understand that this service demands work and acceptance of the disciplines of a Christian community, including tedious and commonplace duties as well as the more creative aspects of the project.

Date _____ (Signature of Applicant) _____

Date _____ (Signature indicating approval of parent, if the applicant is under 21.) _____

SEND APPLICATION TO:

Miss Rosetta E. Gardner
National Student Y.W.C.A.
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Suite 301
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CU/sr
3/63

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Weight:

Married:

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Ages of Brothers:

Sisters:

Parents' name and address

Phone

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Selective service no.

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3. Classmate or fellow worker		
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Class of:

College(s):

Class of:

Major:

Minor:

Name of graduate schools:

Dates:

Degree:

Field:

Must you work to put yourself through college:

Other educational experience:

Present occupation:

Intended occupation:

5. CHURCH

Name of church in which you hold permanent membership:

Name and address of the pastor:

Name of Y.W.C.A. student group in which you participate:

Name and address of YWCA staff or advisor of this group:

Name and address of campus minister who knows you best:

5. CHURCH (cont'd)

Your part in home church:

Your part in campus religious activities:

Christian conferences attended - dates:

6. ACTIVITIES & EXPERIENCES

Your part in community activities

Your part in campus activities:

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Project	Sponsor	Dates

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___lead folk dancing
___dramatics
___photography
___handicrafts
___Nature study
___story telling to children
___child and infant care

___lead Bible study
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___conducting worship
___choir direction
___preaching
___Red Cross Lifesaver
___instruction
___first aid
___electrical work

___typing___words per min.
___shorthand___words per mi
___mimeographing
___bookkeeping
___switchboard
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___cooking
___carpentry,___masonry
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Intergroup Org. Misc

SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 25, 1963

NEGRO SPEAKS

Emphasis on 'Now' in Civil Rights Slogans

Realize Segregation May e Years, True Integration tion — Dr. Martin Luther t in Symposium

HOMAS W. OTTENAD
Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24

RSISTENTLY DISREGARDED for nearly a olt in the United States exploded into the his year. The police dogs of Birmingham, iss," the demonstrations, violence, arrests es of other places, north and south, made ial upheaval is shaking this country.

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leaders, scholars, educators, experts in a variety of fields and one federal official.

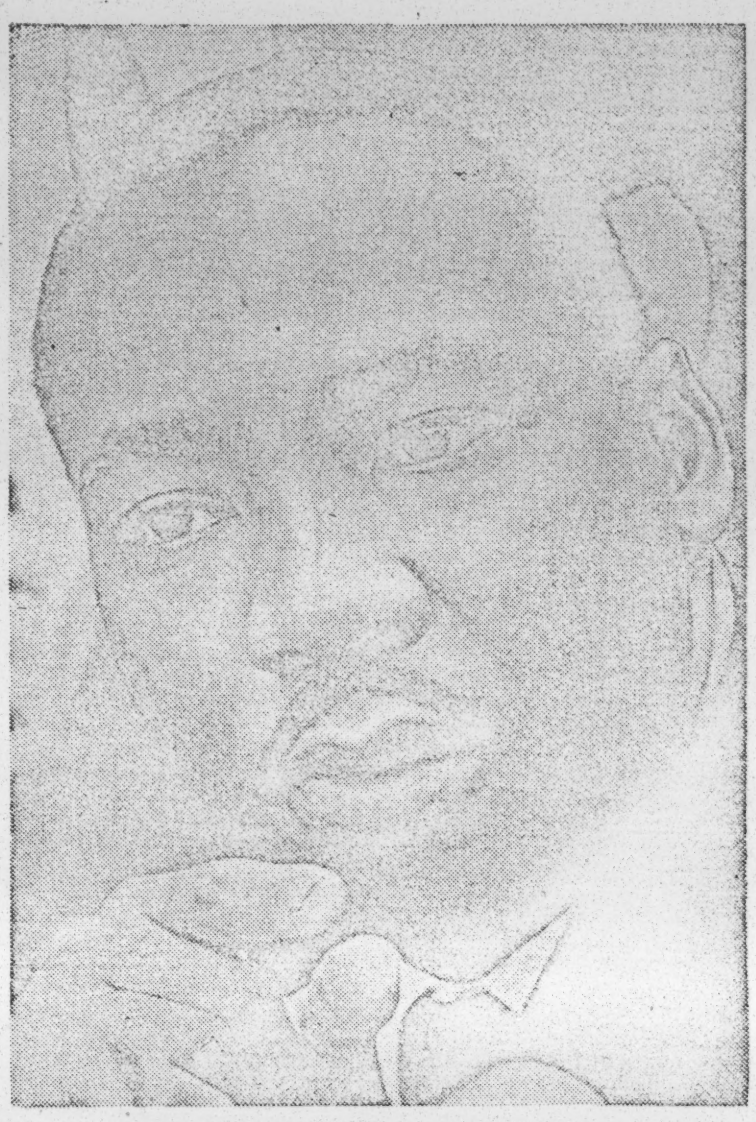
In language sometimes impassioned and sometimes impersonal but always cogent, they cast a clear light on the Negro's goals and the resolution that drives him.

RECURRING like an insistent theme are four major objectives —freedom, equality, opportunity and restitution. In the meaning of these symbolic words is a litany of Negro longing: Freedom from racial discrimination, equality under law and the Constitution, opportunity to win some of the special privileges and benefits enjoyed by many white people, and restitution for accumulated injustices by means of special programs to bridge quickly the social, economic and educational gulf that isolates Negroes from the mainland of American life.

There is wide variation in the methods Negroes favor for attaining their ends. There is none, however, in their commitment to the fight. On every side they show an insistence that will not be denied.

Although popular slogans call for full equality "today" and "now," there is among the Negro leadership a realization that Negro goals will not be achieved at once. The leaders believe that an end to segregation may come in four or five years, but that true integration may not be achieved for another generation.

The coolest heads see no likelihood of a race war. On the other hand, they expect continued tension, unrest and possibly sporadic violence, in a future likely to test sorely both the Negro's reasonableness and his



THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. stands as the undisputed symbol of the Negro revolution in America. Perhaps more than any other Negro leader, he has seared the conscience of the nation and forced it to look, though slowly and unwillingly, at the ills of racial discrimination.

Equally important, he has roused and strengthened his people's demand for equality through an extraordinary ability to interpret their longing and frustration in terms that the ordinary Negro can respond to and understand.

Since starting his civil rights career with the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott in 1955, the Rev. Dr. King has led or helped in Negro demonstrations throughout the South. Massive, passive civil disobedience is his major weapon.

The Rev. Dr. King, 34 years old, lives in Atlanta, Ga., where he was born. He is a third-generation Baptist preacher. He completed high school in two years and entered college when he was 15. He holds a liberal arts degree from Morehouse College in Atanta, a divinity degree from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa., where he was top man in his graduating class, and a Ph.D. in theology from Boston University.

Intergroup Org. Misc.

SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 25, 1963

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Emphasis on 'Now' in Civil Rights Slogans

But Leaders Realize Segregation May Continue Five Years, True Integration Take Generation — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. First in Symposium

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD
A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24

AFTER BEING PERSISTENTLY DISREGARDED for nearly a decade, the Negro revolt in the United States exploded into the public consciousness this year. The police dogs of Birmingham, the deaths at "Ole Miss," the demonstrations, violence, arrests and bombings in scores of other places, north and south, made it plain at last that social upheaval is shaking this country.

Although no one can yet see how far the consequences will reach, it is clear that few persons or communities will be left untouched and that for many life will never be the same again.

In the belief that the purpose and significance of this movement can be explained by Negroes with an understanding that is all but impossible for white people, the Post-Dispatch asked a group of distinguished Negro Americans to write a special series of articles. They were asked to discuss the Negro's aspirations and ideals, to tell what he wants and needs, and what both he and the nation must do to achieve his goals and at the same time strengthen society.

THE RESULT is "The Negro Speaks," a symposium that goes beyond civil rights to deal with some of the fundamental aspects of the greatest social crisis the United States has faced since the depression of the '30s.

The series starts with the accompanying appraisal of the Negro's mood and his demands, by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., widely regarded as the country's principal civil rights leader.

Later articles will deal with the Negro's need for better jobs and education and for homes outside big-city ghettos, his reaction to President John F. Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation, the uncompromising demands of young and militant Negroes, the balance of political power that Negro voters can exercise, the new and rising insistence on special treatment to make up for three centuries of neglect, and an assessment of today's movement in the perspective of history.

The writers include civil rights leaders, scholars, educators, experts in a variety of fields and one federal official.

In language sometimes impassioned and sometimes impersonal but always cogent, they cast a clear light on the Negro's goals and the resolution that drives him.

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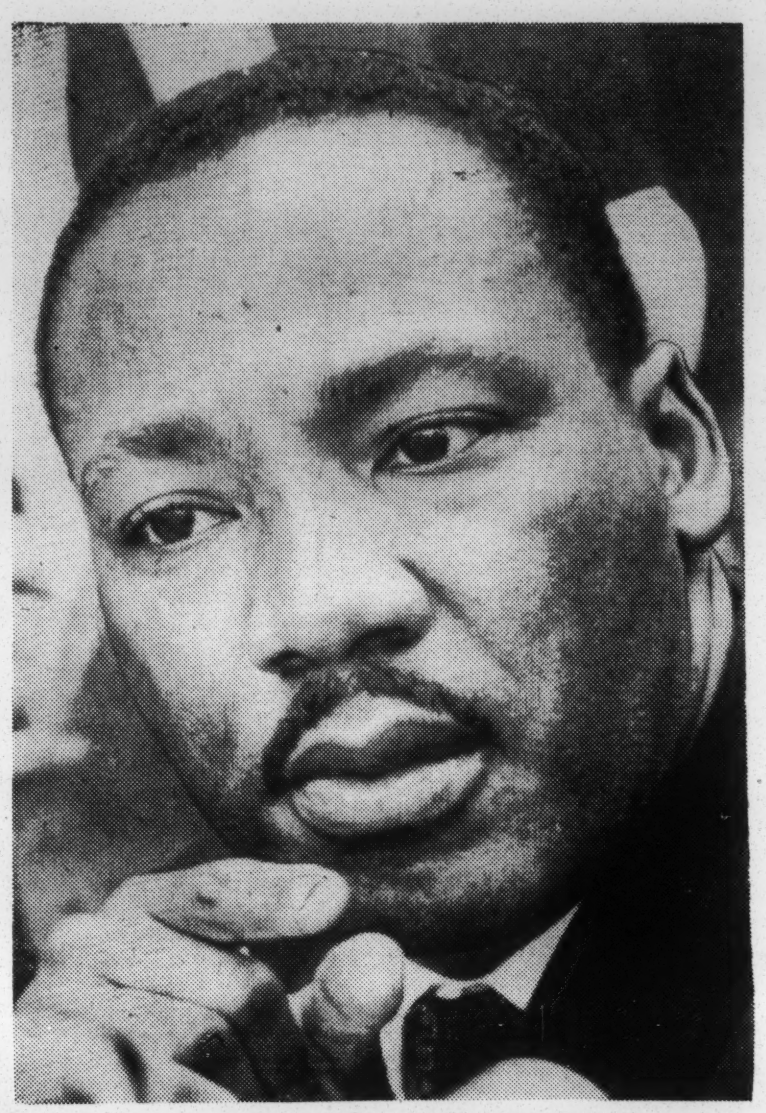
Although popular slogans call for full equality "today" and "now," there is among the Negro leadership a realization that Negro goals will not be achieved at once. The leaders believe that an end to segregation may come in four or five years, but that true integration may not be achieved for another generation.

The coolest heads see no likelihood of a race war. On the other hand, they expect continued tension, unrest and possibly sporadic violence, in a future likely to test sorely both the Negro's reasonableness and his staying power.



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'Negro Glaring Evidence of White American Hypocrisy'

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'Negro Glaring Evidence of White American Hypocrisy'

By THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

THE MOOD OF THE NEGRO today is one of impatience. There seems to be no more room in his soul to wait. He has waited 100 years, and not very much has been accomplished.

Today he has awakened from the long sleep of quasi-freedom. Everything that he seeks now, was his right and privilege by law on Jan. 1, 1863. He was miserably shortchanged and he is demanding immediate restitution. In all fairness, it must be said that his mood is not one of vengeance and bitterness, but he will not be put off any longer.

The strength and determination of the American Negro are waxing, not waning. Realism impels me to admit that if some immediate relief is not found to ease the compound frustration of the Negro community, there is the terrible possibility of incidents of violence.

I do not believe there is any danger of a violent race war as long as there are signs of tangible progress in areas that affect Negroes most.

What the Negro wants today is his equality. He needs a social revolution; every quarter of his life demands it. Consider his plight, particularly in the South, in public education, medical services, employment, voting rights and public accommodations.

THE WHOLE STRUCTURE of his moment-by-moment experience is marshaled against him in such a way that he is disadvantaged; his "high visibility" penalizes him at every turn. If he is to be included in society, nothing short of a revolution will change his circumstances materially.

The Negro's demand for "equality" means the untrammeled opportunity for every person to fulfill his total individual capacity without any regard to race, creed, color or ancestry. His insistent demand for equality must be approximated if not totally fulfilled. It is the only hope for the soul of this nation. The Negro is the most glaring evidence of the white America's sin and hypocrisy.

What must the Negro and the nation do to meet his needs? I would underscore the need for the Federal Government to get out of the segregation business; that is, it should withdraw federal funds from projects and states where statutory segregation remains in defiance of the Constitution of the United States.

Despite the most comprehensive civil rights bill in history, the Federal Government has yet to launch an effective day-by-day program that strikes at the flesh-and-blood considerations of what segregation does to the Negro in Birmingham as well as in the Brooklyn ghetto.

THE OTHER SIDE of the coin is positive. If the plight of race and color prejudice, with its attendant penalty to the Negro, is removed, then a vigorous program of implementation of already-existing laws must be conceived. New legislation must be enacted by the Congress, or executive fiat must be used. Parallel and supplementary programs in job training and adult education will also be needed.

It seems likely that race and color prejudice will have all but disappeared in its most obvious forms in the next five years. The present temper of Negro demands for equality will not allow statutory segregation to survive more than another year or two.

Three stages seem reasonable. First, we are able to see that even in the deep South, hard-core states, the overwhelming majority of white people say "later" instead of "never." Thus, massive resistance has been conquered. Secondly, though segregation is still with us in many forms, I believe that if the present trend continues—and it must—for the most part we shall have a desegregated nation within the five years that I mentioned earlier.

Thirdly, despite the realization of a "desegregated society," the goal we seek is integration—inter-group and inter-personal living with mutual understanding and respect. We long for the day when color aristocracy will give way to character aristocracy.

This will take considerably longer. I would hazard the guess that it could be a generation away. This might be called a period of "national adjustment."

I DO NOT SHARE the feeling of some politicians and others who believe that continued Negro pressure and demonstrations may jeopardize passage by Congress of President Kennedy's civil rights proposals. The pending legislation would not exist at all today if it were not for Birmingham, Ala., and the all-out Negro pressure that followed in its wake. Their argument is thin, for during the years when pressure did not exist, very little was done in regard to Negro rights. It is an unfortunate fact of political science that politicians react directly to pressure.

The Negro will continue to press his demands for equality, using a number of methods. Tremendous victories already have been won through court decisions establishing and defining his rights as a citizen. Increased educational opportunities will move many Negroes closer to the mainstream of American life. In recent years and particularly in the present moment, the Negro represents a political entity which must be recokned with in national politics. These and other factors will combine in a broad sense to secure equality for the Negro.

In a more narrow sense, I am persuaded that the use of nonviolent direct action is the most practical and useful vehicle to fulfill the normal dream and aspirations of the Negro or any oppressed people. More importantly, it is at the same moment the most moral and the most powerful. It is a critical supplement to the traditional methods mentioned above and has much to do with the pace at which the others move.

The nonviolent revolution in America, with all of its drama and conscience-searing, is just coming of age. It has moved the Negro a giant step forward while 50 years of traditional redress through the courts have brought in many instances continued frustration to the dilemma of his "Negro-ness."

NONVIOLENCE is a creative discipline. Its application in behalf of an oppressed people has not been exhausted yet. However, it could very well be that some new techniques will be developed in the future. For example, the increased awareness of the Negro of his purchasing power and the effect produced by its withdrawal hold promise of the boycott being used more and more to open doors heretofore closed to the Negro community.

There is no legitimacy to the complaint that direct-action demonstrations sometimes are as unlawful as the practices they seek to remedy. It is true that in our demonstrations we sometimes violate laws. But the laws that we violate are unjust laws, human laws that are out of harmony with the law of God. On the other hand, one has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws, those that conform to moral law.

I tried to explain this difference in the letter I wrote while confined in the Birmingham city jail four months ago. I said then: "An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

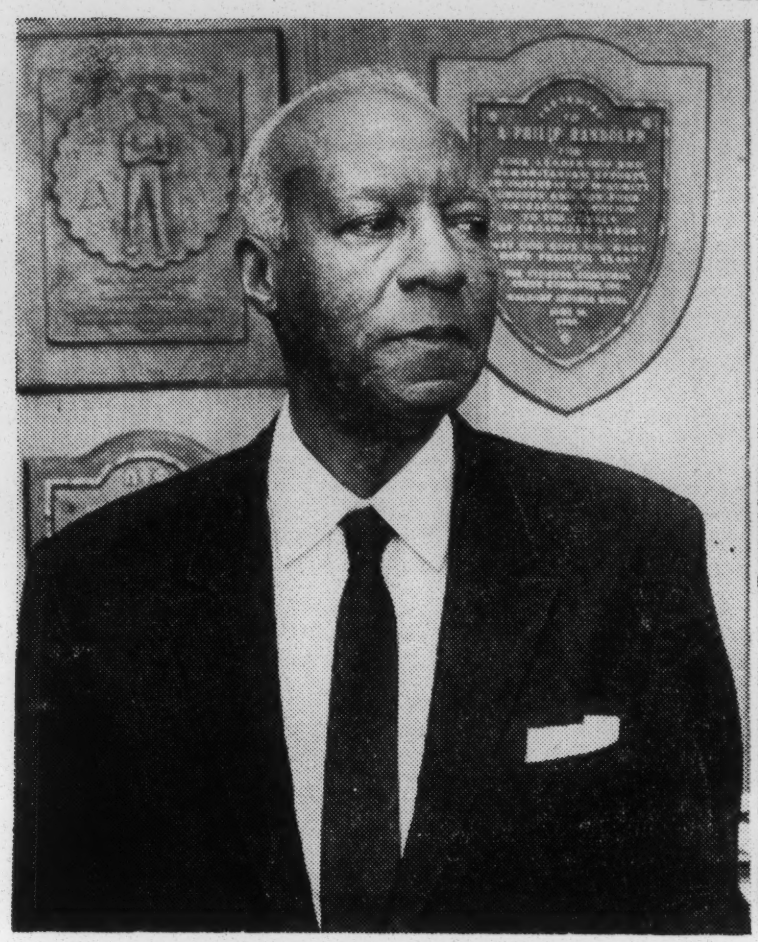
"In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law."

IN SOME AREAS of the civil rights struggle there has been considerable and, at points, rapid progress toward our goal of equality. In others, progress has been negligible and in some instances we have lost ground.

The wake of Birmingham caused the President to change his priority in Americas' domestic concerns and civil rights has become the key issue in the nation. There is before Congress now the most comprehensive civil rights bill in history. Its enactment and implementation could do much to relieve the far too many obvious problems that humiliate and degrade the Negro daily.

For the first time in its history our nation has begun to grapple seriously with the problem of race and color prejudices.

MONDAY: Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington.

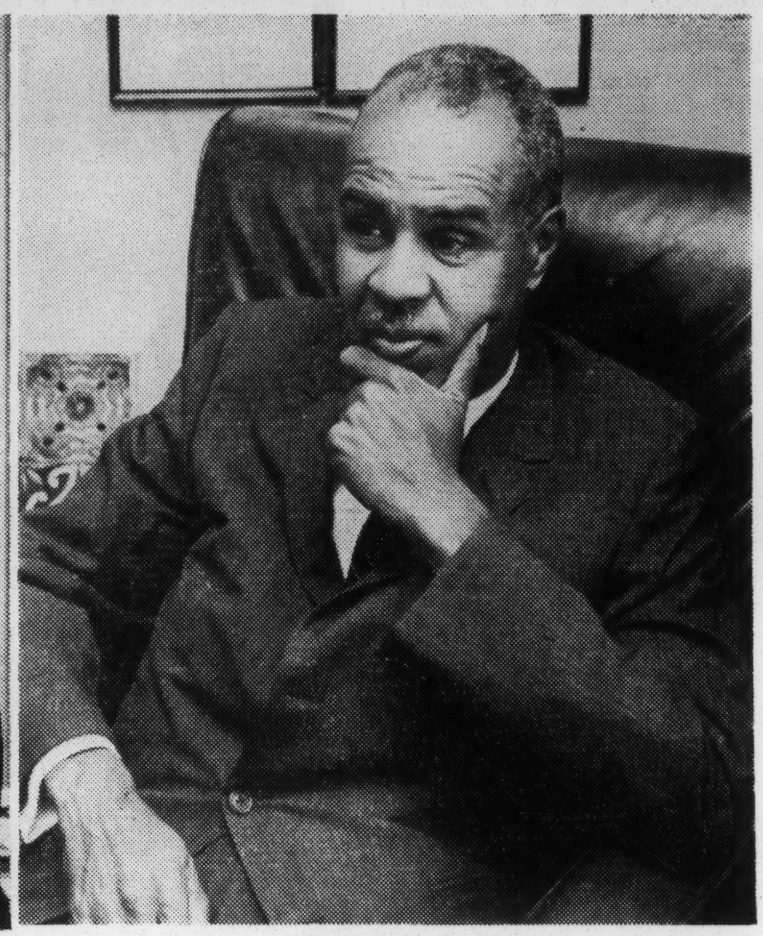


ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

One of the directors of the demonstration that seeks to bring 100,000 or more Negroes to Washington on Wednesday. Organizing massive rallies is nothing new for Randoph, who in 1941 threatened to lead 50,000 Negroes in a march on the Capital to protest against discrimination in World War II defense industries. The threat led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's order banning job discrimination in war plants.

Randolph is the highest ranking Negro in the organized labor movement. He is the only Negro vice president of the AFL-CIO, a position he has held since 1957. International president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters since he took the lead in founding the organization in 1925, he also is national president of the Negro-American Labor Council.

He was born in Crescent City, Fla., and worked as an elevator operator, waiter and editor of a Negro magazine in New York City before establishing the porters union. He is 74 years old.



By Paul Berg, a Post-Dispatch Photograher

ROY WILKINS

Executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was born at 2818 Laclede avenue in 1901 and attended kindergarten in St. Louis before he and a brother and sister moved to St. Paul, Minn., to live with relatives after the death of their mother. His wife, the former Aminda Badeau, is a native of south St. Louis.

After graduating from the University of Minnesota, he returned to Missouri to work on The Kansas City Call, a Negro weekly newspaper. It was this change that eventually led to his decision to work for the NAACP. "Going from St. Paul to Kansas City, from an area relatively free of discrimination to one rigidly segregated, deepened my interest in racial matters," Wilkins told the Post-Dispatch.

In 1931 Wilkins joined the staff of the NAACP. As executive secretary, he has been its top officer since 1955. The NAACP is the largest and best known of the civil rights organizations.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Wilkins Says NAACP Backs Kennedy Rights Bill But Holds That It Does Not Go Far Enough

Negro Group Prepared to Work for Defeat of Lawmakers Who Vote Against Antibias Package

By ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

SECOND OF A SERIES

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of

tion and other forms of racial discrimination in public accommodations be banned throughout the nation.

The victims of this vile discrimination are little concerned with whether the statute is based on the interstate commerce clause or the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. What they want is the right to use any public accommodation on the same basis as other citizens. They place human rights above property rights and, accordingly, dismiss as irrelevant the contention of Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen and others that Title II infringes on property rights.

What they know are the suffering and denials they have to endure in certain sections of the country because there is no federal legislation securing their

ing in 1909, the NAACP has recognized that an essential first step is the enactment of laws establishing equality of rights in all public aspects of American life, including facilities privately owned and controlled but serving the public, and including also the right to work on the same basis as other Americans. In those areas where job control is vested in trade unions, this means equal access to job training opportunities and enrollment in the controlling unions.

Segregation, whether embodied in the Jim Crow laws of the South or embedded in custom throughout the nation, is the principal obstacle to the achievement of the goal of equality. Segregation is the negation of equality and the rejection of the Judeo-Christian ethic of univer-

That It Does Not Go Far Enough

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of Colored People, with other civil rights organizations, is engaged in a massive effort to secure enactment of President John F. Kennedy's civil rights program in this session of Congress.

Of the three branches of government, only Congress has failed to take a forthright position on the issue of segregation. This is why the President's proposals, now before Congress, are of such vital importance.

The NAACP and other civil rights organizations have hailed Mr. Kennedy's bill as the most comprehensive civil rights measure ever submitted to the Congress by a President. Nevertheless, as good as it is, it does not go far enough and, accordingly, is in need of strengthening.

Civil rights groups are united in urging that the bill be broadened to include a Fair Employment Practices Commission section with power to ban discrimination in private as well as public employment; authority for the Attorney General to initiate on his own civil suits against all violations of civil rights, not just in school cases; sanctions against labor unions which discriminate against Negroes or members of other ethnic or religious minorities; and establishment of the Civil Rights Commission on a permanent basis.

CIVIL RIGHTS advocates recognize that there is strong opposition to the bill, particularly to Title II, the public accommodations section. But this is not new.

There has never been a civil rights bill introduced in Congress that did not meet strong opposition from the South and from its northern and western allies. It matters not what the issue — anti-lynching, FEPC, right to vote, school desegregation, filibuster Rule 22, or what not — the opposition has formed.

This accounts for the paucity of such legislation at the federal level. Only two civil rights measures—the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 — have been passed by Congress since Reconstruction days.

We in the NAACP have given top priority to the pending bill and expect its enactment. We are mobilizing full support in behalf of it and are prepared to work for the defeat at the polls of those members of Congress who vote against it.

The fight for equal access to places of public accommodations, for an FEPC law, for school desegregation and for other civil rights measures will continue until the objectives have been achieved. Vigorous action toward these objectives was pledged in the 1960 platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties. We are asking simply for implementation of these pledges.

TITLE II, the most controversial section of the President's bill, faces without equivocation the Negro demand that segregation clause or the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. What they want is the right to use any public accommodation on the same basis as other citizens. They place human rights above property rights and, accordingly, dismiss as irrelevant the contention of Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen and others that Title II infringes on property rights.

What they know are the suffering and denials they have to endure in certain sections of the country because there is no federal legislation securing their right to equal access to public accommodations anywhere in the land.

They know also that federal and state authorities have placed many restrictions on private property in order to protect the public. They see no reason why they, too, cannot be protected by federal legislation in their right to equal access to public accommodations.

In short, the Negro is unable to comprehend the opposition to this section among those, in the Congress and elsewhere, who profess adherence to a religious faith that affirms the brotherhood of all mankind and to a political creed based on equality of citizenship.

ENACTMENT of the Administration bill would wipe out this senseless humiliation which is the daily fare of nearly 20,000,000 Americans.

Other titles in it would further accelerate the pace of school desegregation; strengthen the right to vote; extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission another four years; establish a new agency, Community Relations Service, to aid communities in voluntary desegregation actions; give statutory approval to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; and authorize the President to withhold federal funds from any segregated institution, facility or service.

The goal of our association is to raise the status of the Negro to equality with that of his white fellow citizens. Since its founding, also the right to work on the same basis as other Americans. In those areas where job control is vested in trade unions, this means equal access to job training opportunities and enrollment in the controlling unions.

Segregation, whether embodied in the Jim Crow laws of the South or embedded in custom throughout the nation, is the principal obstacle to the achievement of the goal of equality. Segregation is the negation of equality and the rejection of the Judeo-Christian ethic of universal human brotherhood.

THE PURPOSE of segregation is not separation of the races, but rather the maintenance of a caste system relegating the Negro to the lowest position in the social hierarchy. The South, where segregationists are loudest and most insistent, is also the region in which intermingling of the races has historically been most commonplace. The millions of Americans of mixed racial ancestry originating in the South afford living testimony that separation of the races is not what the South seeks in upholding segregation.

To be meaningful, the equality which the Negro seeks today requires, and would in itself contribute to, a significant expansion of the gross national product. Nothing is gained by achieving "equality" with a poverty-stricken, illiterate white sharecropper. The plight of millions of marginal white people must also be improved. They, too, stand in urgent need of better schooling and training to equip them for better jobs which, in turn, will enable them to live in decent homes.

The abolition of poverty and ignorance is an attainable goal for both Negroes and whites. A booming economy of full employment will make equality not only possible but also meaningful. Our goal is such a society with all citizens enjoying equal rights and opportunities and shouldering equally the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

Mon., Aug. 26, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Leader of March on Capital Links Freedom and Jobs

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Director
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

IN THE GREAT MARCH ON WASHINGTON that is to take place Wednesday, the Negro people's demand for "full freedom now" is linked with a demand for federal action to obtain the basic human right to jobs and bread. This is significant, for it marks the recognition of a fundamental truth. Full economic equality as well as full civil rights are equally and together the objectives of our movement.

The Negro people have not only been deprived of the basic rights guaranteed by our democracy and our Constitution—the right to vote, to equal treatment in public accommodations, to respect and dignity as human beings; they have been deprived also of all the good things of life which have fallen so abundantly to the lot of other Americans—decent housing, green spaces for their children to play in, wholesome and sufficient nourishment, vacations in the country or by the sea.

Negroes have borne more, far more, than their fair share of unemployment and of low paying, distasteful jobs. They have been afflicted, far more, in proportion, than other Americans, by the paralyzing fear of economic insecurity. They have known the blight of poverty. In a rapidly changing world they have been denied access to those skills which alone can insure economic survival.

In the March on Washington we are asking for **Federal action** to create new jobs through a massive multibillion-dollar public works program. The jobs that we seek are not to be found in the manufacture of weapons of destruction or in unproductive "make work" programs.

JOBS MUST BE fitted to our burning, pressing social needs. Hundreds of American communities are not only job-poor; they lack good houses, good schools, adequate hospitals and health facilities, recreational opportunities for youth. Hundreds of our communities lack the things essential to a secure and healthful environment — trees, adequate parks, public gardens, public swimming pools, museums, ball parks, libraries and

workers made in American industry in World War II. More highly paid Negro workers from auto or steel, lacking alternative skills, now walk the streets seeking any kind of job, whatever the pay.

Nor have we yet felt the full impact of this technological revolution. Workers in heavy industry, office workers, even engineering and other highly specialized personnel are being laid off. None is exempt from the inexorable march of this far-reaching change.

Prospects in the building trades and construction industry do not offer us very great grounds for hope. To be sure, significant breakthroughs are being registered today by civil rights groups struggling to batter down racial barriers in the building trade unions. But the market for new luxury housing is glutted; commercial and downtown renewal programs have been carried to completion in many big cities.

Barring new, publicly financed work programs on a huge scale, the freedom forces will, at best, register no more than token gains in the construction field. At worst, they will succeed only in pitting Negro against white workers in a futile struggle for nonexistent jobs.

Defense industry provides no answer either to the problem of Negro unemployment. In this field, as in most others, a technological and scientific revolution has been under way with gathering momentum. The days have gone when the construction of giant battleships could employ thousands of workers. Such weapons have become obsolete. Automation is replacing workers with machines in national defense industries as in all others.

WE MUST LOOK elsewhere if we are to find the expanding

weapons of destruction or in unproductive "make work" programs.

JOBS MUST BE fitted to our burning, pressing social needs. Hundreds of American communities are not only job-poor; they lack good houses, good schools, adequate hospitals and health facilities, recreational opportunities for youth. Hundreds of our communities lack the things essential to a secure and healthful environment — trees, adequate parks, public gardens, public swimming pools, museums, ball parks, libraries and monuments.

In all of these areas we have witnessed a steady and tragic retreat from federal responsibility since the end of World War II. In these areas, indeed, we are actually spending less money in proportion to total federal expenditures than was the case 20 years ago. But, as we all know, our population continues to explode by leaps and bounds; and our social fabric—the fabric of our cities, the foundation of our cultural and spiritual life—continues to decline. This is the area in which the Federal Government must move to assure the jobs and human welfare that constitute the true defense of the American way of life.

The need is emphasized by the dire situation of the Negro unemployed. The rate of unemployment among Negro workers is twice that among white workers. At this moment, nearly one out of every six Negro wage earners across the nation is without work.

In our big cities the proportion is far higher, because Negro unemployment is concentrated in the urban areas. In some places it rises as high as one out of every five Negro workers. Unemployment is higher among younger people. In Chicago this summer 70 per cent of Negro youth who sought jobs have failed to find them. Among younger workers roughly one of every four is without work.

The problem of Negro unemployment would be relatively simple to solve if it were merely a matter of providing the skills necesary for effective competition in the labor market. If this were the only question, the current civil rights revolution might well succeed in changing the Negro's economic status in a short time. This could be accomplished by properly enforced fair employment practices legislation combined with a massive retaining program for Negro workers.

UNFORTUNATELY the problem will not yield to so straightforward a solution. The reason for this lies in the advance of automation. Automation imposes a severe crisis on our entire economy. Insofar as Negroes are concerned, its impact has made itself felt with great force. Automation is a technological revolution that knows no bounds. It has largely wiped out employment gains Negro existent jobs.

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WE MUST LOOK elsewhere if we are to find the expanding markets which we need—to provide jobs, to set the wheels of industry turning, to convert a stagnant into a healthy and thriving economy.

The fate of the Negro masses is linked in the last resort to the fate of the American economy. Our great freedom movement must address itself to the basic problems of this economy if it wishes to find a way out of the swamp of unemployment, poverty and despair.

For this reason, therefore, the march on Washington demands measures **to increase the number of jobs available,** as well as to end discrimination in hiring Negro workers. Of course, the struggle for full equality of job opportunity must be relentlessly pursued. But it must be coupled with insistence that more jobs be made available through special federal measures. We ask, too, that a massive retraining program for Negro workers and for youth be instituted on a larger scale than anything now contemplated. This will enable our people to catch up to their white brothers and to take full advantage of the opportunities that an expanding job market will offer to them.

These three demands — for equal access to jobs, for the creation of millions of new jobs, and for a job retraining program — are intimately and purposefully linked. Only by winning **all** of these demands will the Negro people succeed in emancipating themselves from the blight of poverty and deprivation.

Therefore, we are seeking to enlist our white brothers in the movement for full freedom. We have found that many trade unions are responsive to our initiative. They stand firm with us in our quest for full freedom; and they are joining us, in great numbers, in the March on Washington.

In the interest of an integrated and united trade union movement we take a firm stand against unions which maintain closed membership books; which forbid the enrollment of even highly qualified Negro workers. We insist that, whether they exist in the North or in the South, these Jim Crow practices be given up. And we are confident that our movement for interracial trade unions, for the full brotherhood of all American workers, willl be victorious.

Tomorrow: Federal Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver and Loren Miller, vice president, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

Tues., Aug. 27, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Tragedy of Discrimination: It Excuses Failure While Erecting Barriers to Success

Weaver Says Constant Threat of Inequality Causes Sense of Outrage, Hostile Reactions Among Nonwhites

By ROBERT C. WEAVER

Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency

THIRD OF A SERIES

THE ISSUE OF RACE PROVIDES significant areas of disagreement, as well as agreement, between Negroes and well-informed, well-meaning white Americans. Negro Americans feel that the progress they have made is exaggerated by whites; whites frequently feel that Negroes understate their gains. In this and other areas of dispute lie some of the most subtle, yet significant, aspects of Negro-white relationships.

Many white Americans frequently ask, "Why do Negroes push so? They have made phenomenal progress in 100 years of freedom. Now why don't their leaders do something about their crime rate, illegitimacy and other problems?"

The answer is clear: When Negroes demand full equality, they are behaving as would all other Americans under similar conditions. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told a congressional committee recently that were he a Negro, he would do the same. Every American has the right to be treated as a human being; striving for human dignity is an American characteristic. Other factors underlying the Negro American's drive are the slowness with which the Supreme Court school desegregation decision has been implemented and the emergence of Africa as a continent of independent nations.

The constant threat of discrimination and inequality causes a sense of outrage among Negroes. Many react hostilely; a separate culture with deviant values develops. Those who live in these unhappy environments face a difficult dilemma: Ours is a middle-class society and those who fail to show most of its values and behavior are headed for trouble; but on the other hand, the rewards for those who conform are often minimal, providing inadequate inducement for large numbers to emulate them.

Until the second decade of the twentieth century, it was traditional to compare the then current position of Negroes with that of a decade or several decades earlier. The Depression revealed the basic marginal

neers, mathematicians and highly-trained clerical and stenographic workers. Lack of college-trained persons is especially evident among Negro men.

One is prompted to ask why does this exist? The facts indicate the answer:

In 1959 nonwhite males who were high school graduates earned, on the average, 32 per cent less than whites; for nonwhite college graduates the figure was 38 per cent less.

Among women a much different situation exists. Nonwhite women who were high school graduates earned on the average of 24 per cent less than whites. Nonwhite female college graduates, however, earned but slightly over 1 per cent less than white women college graduates. Significantly, the median annual income of nonwhite female college graduates was more than double that of nonwhite women with only high school education.

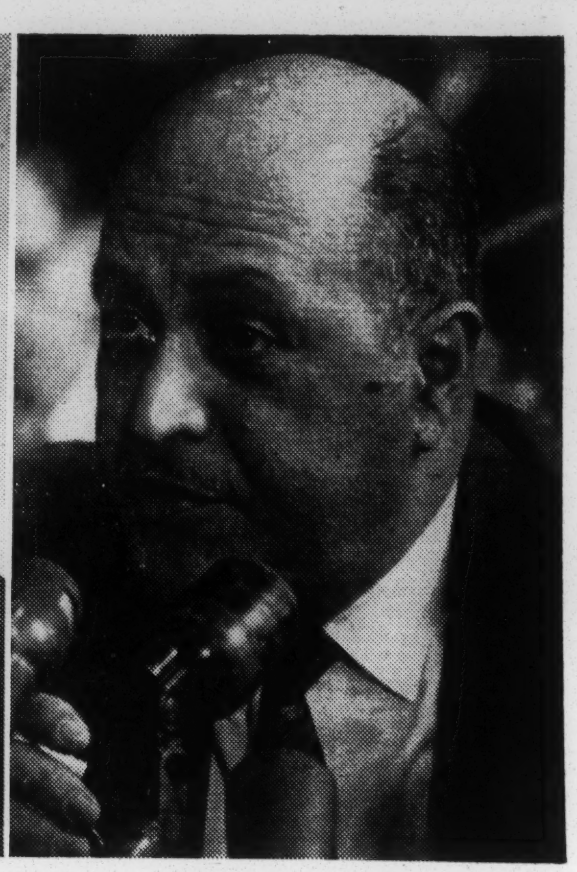
Is it any wonder that among nonwhites, as contrasted to whites, a larger proportion of women than of men attend and finish college? The lack of economic rewards for higher education goes far in accounting for the paucity of college graduates and the high rate of drop-outs among nonwhite males. It accounts also for the fact that in the North, where there are greater opportunities for white-collar Negro males, more Negro men than women are finishing college; whereas in the South, where teaching is the greatest employment outlet for Negro college graduates, Negro women college graduates outnumber men.

LOREN MILLER

He is vice president of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and is rated an expert on the Negro's drive to break out of his housing ghetto.

A lawyer and newspaper publisher in Los Angeles, he has for many years played a major part in litigation against discrimination in housing. He was one of the attorneys who in 1948 argued the cases that resulted in the Supreme Court's ruling against racially restrictive housing covenants. He was chief counsel in California cases that successfully attacked racial segregation in public housing and discrimination in sales by FHA builders. As a member of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, he has participated in many of the organization's civil rights cases.

Miller is owner and publisher of the California Eagle, second largest Negro weekly newspaper in the state. He was graduated from the University of Kansas and the School of Law of Washburn University in Topeka. His father had been born a slave in Missouri.



ROBERT C. WEAVER

As administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, he holds the highest federal administrative position ever occupied by a Negro. And if a Department of Urban Affairs is ever created, he may become the first Negro to serve as a member of the Cabinet, for President John F. Kennedy said he would appoint him to the proposed post.

Weaver is the federal government's top housing official. During the early days of the New Deal, he was architect and leader of the so-called "black cabinet," a group of tough-minded Negro brain trusters who were instrumental in obtaining job and housing opportunities for Negroes. After serving in a variety of federal positions between 1933 and 1944, Weaver held a number of teaching and race relations positions.

Before being picked for his present job by President Kennedy, Weaver had been vice chairman of the Housing and Redevelopment Board of New York City and was administrator of the New York State Housing Rent Commission.

between acceptance as earned by individual merit and enjoyment of rights guaranteed to everyone. Implicit, also, is the assumption that Negroes can lift themselves by their bootstraps, and that once they become brown counterparts of white Americans, they will be accepted on the basis of individual merit. Were this true, our race problem would be no more than a most recent phase in the melting-pot tradition of the nation.

Poverty still haunts half of the Negroes in the United States, and

To the Negro American, involuntary segregation is degrading, inconvenient and costly. Perhaps its principal disadvantage is its costliness. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in education and housing. By any and all criteria, separate schools are generally inferior schools in which the cultural deprivations of the descendants of slaves are perpetuated.

Enforced residential segregation, the most stubborn and universal of the Negro's disadvantages, often leads to exploitation and effects a spatial pattern

tribulations of others who are less fortunate or less recognized than itself. It cannot stress progress—the emphasis which is so palatable to the majority group—without, at the same time, delineating the unsolved business of democracy. It cannot provide or identify meaningful models unless it effects social changes which facilitate the emergence of these models from the environment which typifies so much of the Negro community.

But Negro leadership must also face up to the deficiencies

culture with deviant values develops. Those who live in these unhappy environments face a difficult dilemma: Ours is a middle-class society and those who fail to show most of its values and behavior are headed for trouble; but on the other hand, the rewards for those who conform are often minimal, providing inadequate inducement for large numbers to emulate them.

Until the second decade of the twentieth century, it was traditional to compare the then current position of Negroes with that of a decade or several decades earlier. The Depression revealed the basic marginal economic status of colored Americans and repudiated this concept of progress. By the early 1930s Negroes became concerned about their relative position in the nation.

VIEWED IN THIS context, the facts are:

Median family income among nonwhites in 1959 was slightly less than 55 per cent of that for whites; for individuals the figure was 50 per cent.

Only a third of the Negro families in 1959 earned enough to sustain an acceptable American standard of living. Yet this involved well over 1,000,000 Negro families, of which 6000 earned $25,000 or more.

Undergirding these over-all figures are many paradoxes. Negroes have made striking gains in historical terms, yet their current rate of unemployment is well over double that among whites. Over two thirds of our colored workers are still concentrated in five major unskilled and semiskilled occupations, as contrasted to slightly over a third of the white labor force.

Despite the continuing existence of color discrimination even for many of the well prepared, there is a paucity of qualified Negro scientists, engi-

women than of men attend and finish college? The lack of economic rewards for higher education goes far in accounting for the paucity of college graduates and the high rate of drop-outs among nonwhite males. It accounts also for the fact that in the North, where there are greater opportunities for white-collar Negro males, more Negro men than women are finishing college; whereas in the South, where teaching is the greatest employment outlet for Negro college graduates, Negro women college graduates outnumber men.

THE NEGRO middle - class seems destined to grow and prosper. At the same time, the economic position of the untrained Negro — as of all untrained and poorly-trained in our society—will continue to decline. Nonwhites are doubly affected. First, they are disproportionately concentrated in occupations particularly susceptible to unemployment at a time when our technology eats up unskilled and semi-skilled jobs at a frightening rate. Secondly, they are conditioned to racial job discrimination. The later circumstance becomes a justification for not trying, occasioning a lack of incentive for self-betterment.

The tragedy of discrimination is that it provides an excuse for failure while erecting barriers to success.

Most colored Americans still are not only outside the mainstream of our society but see no hope of entering it. The lack of motivation and antisocial behavior which result are captialized on by the champions of the status quo. They say that the average Negro must demonstrate to the average white that the latter's fears are groundless.

In this attitude lies a volume on race relations. In the first place, those who articulate this point of view fail to differentiate

been born a slave in Missouri.

between acceptance as earned by individual merit and enjoyment of rights guaranteed to everyone. Implicit, also, is the assumption that Negroes can lift themselves by their bootstraps, and that once they become brown counterparts of white Americans, they will be accepted on the basis of individual merit. Were this true, our race problem would be no more than a most recent phase in the melting-pot tradition of the nation.

Poverty still haunts half of the Negroes in the United States, and while higher levels of national productivity are a sine qua non for higher levels of employment in the nation, they alone will not wipe out unemployment, especially for minorities. The labor reserve of today must be trained if it is to find gainful employment. Among nonwhites this frequently involves more than exposure to vocational training. Many of them are functionally illiterate and require basic education prior to specialized job preparation.

THE VERY MAGNITUDE of these problems illustrates that society must take the leadership in solving them. But society can only provide greater opportunities. The individual must respond to the new opportunities. And he does so, primarily, in terms of visible evidence that hard work and sacrifice bring real rewards.

Those white Americans who are perplexed, confused and antagonized by Negroes' persistent pressure to break down racial segregation should pause to consider what involuntary segregation means to its victims, the harmful effect on the personality, and, in turn, on the thoughtful and well-intentioned community weighted with its load of guilt for a manifest injustice to a fellow-being, fellow-American.

York State Housing Rent Commission.

To the Negro American, involuntary segregation is degrading, inconvenient and costly. Perhaps its principal disadvantage is its costliness. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in education and housing. By any and all criteria, separate schools are generally inferior schools in which the cultural deprivations of the descendants of slaves are perpetuated.

Enforced residential segregation, the most stubborn and universal of the Negro's disadvantages, often leads to exploitation and effects a spatial pattern which facilitates neglect of public services in the well-defined areas where Negroes live. It restricts the opportunities of the more successful as well as the least successful in the group, augmenting artificially the number of nonwhites who live in areas of blight and neglect and face impediments to the attainment of values and behavior required for upward social and economic mobility.

The most obvious consequence of involuntary residential segregation is that the housing dollar in a dark hand usually commands less purchasing power than one in a white hand. Clearly, this is a denial of a basic promise of a free economy.

What are the responsibilities of Negro leadership?

Certainly the first is to keep pressing for first-class citizenship status — an inevitable goal of those who accept the values of this nation.

Another is to encourage and assist Negroes to prepare for the opportunities that are now and will be opened to them.

THE ULTIMATE responsibilities of Negro leadership, however, are to show results and maintain a following. This means that it cannot be so "responsible" that it forgets the trials and tribulations of others who are less fortunate or less recognized than itself. It cannot stress progress—the emphasis which is so palatable to the majority group—without, at the same time, delineating the unsolved business of democracy. It cannot provide or identify meaningful models unless it effects social changes which facilitate the emergence of these models from the environment which typifies so much of the Negro community.

But Negro leadership must also face up to the deficiencies which plague the Negro community, and it must take effective action to deal with resulting problems. While, of course, crime, poverty, illegitimacy and hopelessness can all be explained, in large measure, in terms of the Negro's history and current status in America, they do exist. We need no longer be self-conscious in admitting these unpleasant facts, for our knowledge of human behavior indicates clearly that antisocial activities are not inherent in any people. What is required is comprehension of these—a part of society's problems — and remedial and rehabilitation measures.

Emphasis on self-betterment, if employed indiscriminately by Negro leaders, is seized by white supremacists and their supporters to bolster the assertion that Negroes, all Negroes, are not ready for full citizenship. As a result, because of the nature of our society, Negro leadership must continue to stress the people's rights if it is to receive a hearing for programs of self-improvement.

TOMORROW: James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, and G. James Fleming, professor of political science, Morgan State College, Baltimore.

Tues., Aug. 27, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Government Said to Shirk Duty To End Urban Ghetto System

By LOREN MILLER

Vice President
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

THE PATTERN IS THE SAME EVERYWHERE. Centers of our great cities are filled to overflowing with Negro residents. Ranged around that core, like petals on a daisy, are suburban communities, built white and long kept white by an intricate and devious interplay of private and governmental practices and policies.

The all-white or all-Negro section of a city shapes and strengthens the racial attitudes of its inhabitants.

Embattled whites are stereotyped as standing heroic guard to repulse black invaders trampling on property values. Violence to prevent Negro occupancy is all too common. The "Would - you - want - one - to-move - next-door-to-you?" query is assuming the proportions of the "Would-you-want-your-sister-to-marry-one?" squelch and has almost equal potency.

Negro urbanization, already at 72 per cent, continues to grow. The ghetto expands everywhere and unless present trends are reversed our cities will become increasingly Negro cities, breeding ever more de facto segregation in schools and public facilities, exacerbating division between whites and Negroes, strangling renovation of central cities, heightening the conflict between core cities and suburbs and adding explosive content to strained Negro-white relationships.

President John F. Kennedy issued an executive order Nov. 20 designed to halt overt federal assistance to practices that exclude Negroes from new housing tracts. The narrowly drawn order forbids sales and rental discrimination in governmentally owned or operated dwelling units and in governmentally assisted and redevelopment housing for which federal aid is sought after the effective date.

It has not made a dent in hardshell urban segregation and, stretched to the limit, would not apply to more than 25 per cent of new housing.

THE STRIKING infirmity in the presidential order and in state and local fair housing legislation is that they are devoid of affirmative devices to undo more than half a century of intensive governmental cultivation of residential segregation. There is no governmental leadership of the many private groups which have sprung up in response to the pangs of private conscience and which seek to alleviate dis-

which has a total population of 81,712.

Concentration of Negroes in central cities has been on the aggressive increase for more than half a century. A government report noted in 1913 that Negro "migration to the city is being followed by segregation into districts and neighborhoods within the city. . . . Thus the Negro ghetto is growing un."

Residential segregation flowers into de facto segregation in schools and other public and semipublic facilities as everybody knows by this time. Where the Negro central city population grows, as in St. Louis, it results in resegregation of schools even after a desegregation program has been instituted.

Most cities have lost the fight to maintain integrated school systems and have to run twice as fast as they can just to stay where they are. More Negro children attend all-Negro schools in Chicago than in Birmingham.

One more set of dry figures will round out the statistical story. The total population increase for the 10 largest central cities from 1930 to 1960 was 3,480,295, including a Negro increase of 3,222,347. Central city growth thus was Negro growth. Population increase in the standard metropolitan areas outside those 10 cities was 4,174,537, but the Negro increase was only 146,540. Whites outgained Negroes 30 to 1 in the suburbs.

CONTRARY to widespread belief, the fix we are in is not the result of pig-headed popular prejudice; it is the product of more than 50 years of governmental sanction and support of residential segregation. Emboldened by Supreme Court approval of the separate but equal doctrine in 1896, Southern and Border cities enacted racial zoning ordinances from about 1904 to 1915, only to have the court invalidate them in 1917 after more than a decade of usage had whipped up sentiment in their favor.

Balked on one front, segregationists turned to the use of racially restrictive covenants and

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THE STRIKING infirmity in the presidential order and in state and local fair housing legislation is that they are devoid of affirmative devices to undo more than half a century of intensive governmental cultivation of residential segregation. There is no governmental leadership of the many private groups which have sprung up in response to the pangs of private conscience and which seek to alleviate discrimination in housing.

What it adds up to is gigantic governmental shirking of responsibility to disestablish a ghetto system that is without parallel in the free world outside of South Africa. The Federal Government should discharge its responsibility by arraying the full panoply of its power to create a free housing market.

That means:

(1) Expansion of the presidential order to prohibit discrimination in sales and rentals by builders where loans are obtained from member institutions of the Home Loan Bank system and proscription of discrimination in all housing where an insured loan is in effect.

(2) Desegregation of public housing should be undertaken as vacancies occur.

(3) No urban redevelopment plan should be approved unless it contains affirmative, built-in devices to insure relocation of displaced persons in integrated communities and integration of housing produced under it.

(4) State and local fair housing statutes should be broadened to cover all housing sales and rentals.

Together federal and local governments can create a free housing market. But that will not be enough. All governmental units should co-operate and co-ordinate their programs to encourage and assist Negro entrance into communities outside the ghetto.

Federal housing agencies should take the leadership in encouraging the many voluntary groups that are tackling the problem. The President should assume moral leadership through White House conversations with churches, unions, business associations, lawyers, women leaders and other groups and individuals as he has done in the case of his civil rights legislation.

The 1960 census figures outline the housing problem starkly: The combined population of the 10 largest cities was 21,751,334; their Negro population was 4,655,505, or 27.4 per cent. Standard metropolitan areas around those 10 central cities had a total population of 18,271,039, of which only 809,134, or 5.4 per cent, were Negroes, a substantial number of whom lived in Negro sections of satellite cities and towns.

ST. LOUIS, for example, had a population of 750,026 with 214,377 Negroes, or 28.6 per cent. The metropolitan area outside the city had a population of 1,310,077, with 80,496 Negroes, or 6.1 per cent, but about 45 per cent of that number lived in the Negro section of East St. Louis,

prejudice; it is the product of more than 50 years of governmental sanction and support of residential segregation. Emboldened by Supreme Court approval of the separate but equal doctrine in 1896, Southern and Border cities enacted racial zoning ordinances from about 1904 to 1915, only to have the court invalidate them in 1917 after more than a decade of usage had whipped up sentiment in their favor.

Balked on one front, segregationists turned to the use of racially restrictive covenants and obtained court enforcement from 1915 to 1948. In that 30-year span, courts of 19 states and the District of Columbia ground out decrees confining Negroes to unwanted sections of cities and towns—North, East, South and West.

The Supreme Court finally turned thumbs down on judicial enforcement in the St. Louis case of Shelley v. Kraemer in 1948 after extending its tacit approval in an earlier case in 1926. But a firm foundation had been laid for urban black belts in those critical three decades when Negroes were swarming to the cities.

The ultimate in governmental sanction of the ghetto came when the Federal Government got into housing in 1934. Under the thin disguise of conforming to local custom, it approved and financed segregated public housing projects and kept right on doing so for a decade after the courts had held that such segregation ran afoul of the Fourteenth Amendment.

More than 80 per cent of public housing is still segregated in theory and more than 90 per cent in practice because site selection policies determine tenant occupancy.

FHA BEGAN its career in 1935 by requiring race restrictive covenants as a condition for extension of federal mortgage insurance. It furnished a model racist covenant for builders and became a sort of Typhoid Mary carrying the ghetto germ wherever it went.

Of course, neither federal, state nor local governments invented the initial sentiment for residential segregation. What they did do was to lend their processes to conserve shallow racial prejudices and nourish them into enforceable discriminatory practices.

The initial problem to be solved is that of admitting the Negro to a free market where he can buy and rent shelter without discrimination. The presidential order is a timid step in that direction. State and local fair housing statutes operate to create a free market by interdicting discrimination at the point of sales and rentals and are more significant than the presidential order, but they do not cover all housing in the best of cases. The used housing market is still largely closed to Negroes with the consent of government.

The corrective measures needed must be heroic, and unprecedented, but black belts are not a Negro problem; they are an urban problem in an increasingly urban society. They are the fire this time in urban race relations.

Wed., Aug. 28, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Integrationist Says U.S. Is Not Facing Up to Ultimate Issues That Transcend Discrimination

Question of Society's Proper Values Being Sidetracked by Drive to End Racial Bias

By JAMES FORMAN
Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee

FOURTH OF A SERIES

I REMEMBER, when I was 6 years old, or maybe 7, I went into a drugstore in Memphis, Tenn. It was a hot day. I had been walking up and down the avenue, looking at the beautiful houses in which the white people lived, passing time until I could catch the train going to Mississippi to be with my grandmother.

I sat down on the stool at the counter, twirled around and politely asked the waitress for a Coke. She turned away and went toward the back of the store. A few minutes passed and a Negro porter came up to me and said, "If you want a Coke come with me."

I got off the stool, following him with some hesitation. He stopped at a Coke machine. "You have to get your Cokes here," he said.

I told him I did not want to drink my Coke there; I wanted to sit on the stool in the front. He asked me where I was from. I told him I had been in Chicago. I asked him why I had to drink my Coke in the back.

He said all Negroes had to drink their Cokes in the back at the machine.

I started to cry, holding the wet bottle in my hand. Crying, I took a sip and put it down. Crying, I left the store.

I went straight to my aunt's house and asked her what was a Negro. "That's what we are," she answered. I did not ask any more questions that day.

I REMEMBER that experience vividly to this day, every detail of it. The older I grow the more significant it becomes. It was the making of a Negro.

I can't say just what the aspirations of American Negroes are. Some black people are motivated by the same drives many American whites have—the desire to acquire fortunes, to own a home, to have two automobiles. Every Negro motivated this way, unless he tries to be a white-Negro, knows that his skin color affects the achievement of whatever he desires.

But I know that American Negroes, and especially students, increasingly are asking: "Why should we strive to be like white people. Is it not better to have a society where money is not the dominant value? Is it not better to have a society where productive work of people is valued; where one works for the betterment of society rather than for the betterment of one's private possessions?"

These are the ultimate questions with which the Negro and all America must deal.

At the moment we are not dealing with them. At the moment we are too busy trying to end segregation and discrimination, trying to create a society where personalities are not injured and deformed, a society where incidents such as I have described cannot occur. We are addressing ourselves to the problems of color and not to the broader problems that confront us all. We are simply trying to end our criminal condition.

THE BLACK BABY'S very right to be born is denied when white doctors—the only doctors in Fayette county, Tennessee—tell a pregnant Negro mother they cannot deliver her baby. Negroes in that county were blacklisted because they tried to register to vote. The mother was then faced with the choice of driving 50 miles to a Memphis hospital while in labor, or having an unclean wet-nurse deliver her child.

The black child's right to humane formative years is denied when he learns there are certain things he cannot do because he is black. The damaging process of repression begins when his mother and father must explain why Negroes cannot sit down in a drugstore to have a Coke. His chance to compete equally in this competitive society is denied when he must go to overcrowded, ill-equipped, ghettoized and segregated schools—or to no schools at all, as in Prince Edward county, Virginia.

Black bodies are exploited and denied in the Mississippi Delta, where people must work in the cotton fields for $3 or less for a 12-hour day. Everywhere black bodies are exploited and denied when they are jobless, last hired, first fired, denied promotions and discriminated against by businesses and labor unions.

Black dollars are exploited when the Negro must pay more rent for less desirable homes. Among other things, this means he is even less able to save money for medical expenses or for education for his children.

Denied the right to be born, to be educated, to grow normally and humanely, to live decently—denied these things, the Negro finds it no surprise that he is denied the right to participate in democracy.

THE DENIAL of democracy runs across the South, but let us isolate Mississippi, an area intimately familiar to the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, an area in which I was reared.

Senator James Eastland and his Mississippi machine know full well that the present Mississippi constitution was framed to deny the vote to Negroes. The United States Justice Department knows this, too. It is not apathy on the part of the Mississippi Negro which is behind the fact that, as the Civil Rights Commission reported in 1960, only 6.2 per cent of the total Negro population of voting age in Mississippi is registered to vote. Rather, this is the result of the carefully planned denial of democracy to 44 per cent of the Mississippi population.

The skeptical white demands proof of this assertion, and ample proof there is.

Assume that the Mississippi Negro has made up his mind that he, too, wants to be an American citizen. He goes to the courthouse fully aware that he can lose his job because he is trying to register. He knows others have been thrown off the plantations. Yet, he goes to the courthouse, where he must fill out an application blank with 25 questions. He must interpret a section of the Mississippi constitution and describe the duties of a good citizen. The fact that the learned jurists of the United States Supreme Court frequently disagree among themselves on the proper interpretation of the Constitution has no bearing on the fact that the poor and miseducated Negro must come up with the "right" interpretation.

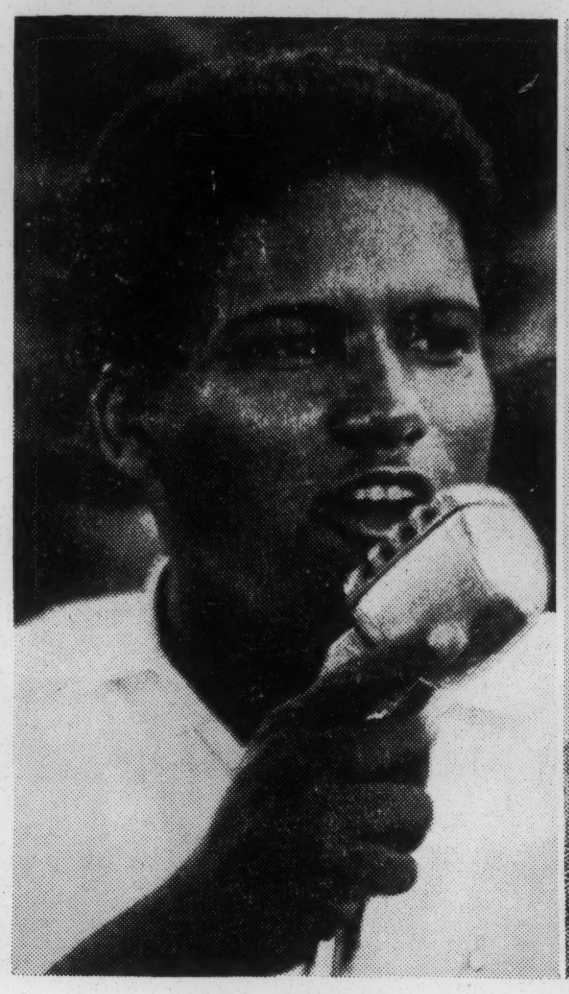
WHEN HE LEAVES the courthouse, he must wait for his name to appear twice in the county newspaper stating that he has applied to register. His employer and officers of the state-supported White Citizens Council scan the paper to see what "uppity nigger" has tried to register. By law, any qualified voter can challenge the registration of any person on the ground that he is unfit morally to be a registered voter.

If the registrar does not receive a complaint, he then determines whether or not the Negro has interpreted the constitution correctly and adequately stated the duties of good citizens. Even then the Negro does not know if he has successfully registered because the registrar is not required to let an applicant know if he has passed the registration test.

This is the legal side to the planned denial of democracy that permits the Mississippi machine to rule high, wide and handsome. By itself it might not be enough, but then there is the extra-legal side. For remember, this is Mississippi, and every Negro remembers, for no Negro can forget, that this is where Emmett Till was lynched. Every Negro remembers that the Rev. George Lee of Belzoni, Miss., was murdered here because he headed a voter registration drive. And every Negro knows that Medgar Evers was murdered here. Young and old, political and unpolitical, color was their crime, denial was their portion, murder was their fate.

Our criminal condition will change to the extent that we force the country to deal with the issues of segregation and discrimination. Dramatic direct action—pickets, vote-ins, sit-ins, sit-downs, wade-ins, move-ins—all confront today's realities. The civil rights legislation before the Congress is primarily a result of such direct action by students and other persons—in Albany, Greenwood, Birmingham, Cambridge, Nashville, in communities throughout the South—who seek to change our pathetic condition.

I cannot speak for members of other civil rights organizations, but those of us in the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee have made our choice. We prefer to work not for money but for the emancipation of our society. We prefer quick death from positive nonviolent direct action rather than the slow death that one begins to feel when he learns that he is a Negro in America.

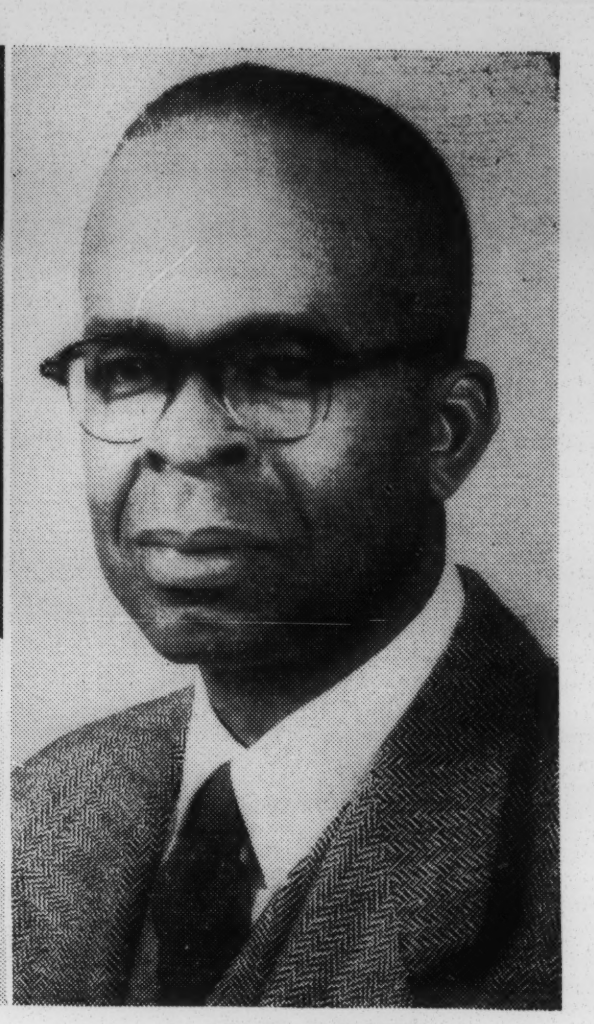


JAMES FORMAN

As executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, he ranks as one of the major younger leaders of the Negro civil rights movement. He is relaxed, easy-going, but capable.

His calm nonchalance masks the fact that he and his fellow members in Snick, the popular name for their organization, spend much of their time on a truly dangerous frontier—in small towns and rural areas of the deep South. There, in the face of community attitudes ranging from cool unfriendliness to heated violence, members of Snick seek to register Negro voters or to break down other discriminatory practices.

Forman, who is 34 years old, spent his childhood in Mississippi but attended high school in Chicago and was graduated from Roosevelt College there. Before taking his present job with Snick for $60 a week in October 1961, he and his wife were school teachers in Chicago with a combined annual income of $10,000.



G. JAMES FLEMING

He is a close student of the American political scene and particularly of the Negro's part in it. He is professor of political science at Morgan State College in Baltimore and has been director of the college's Institute for Political Education since its establishment in 1959. The institute provides training in public affairs, with emphasis on practical politics, for students, visiting teachers and the public.

In World War II he was regional director of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. He worked on a number of weekly newspapers. He served as executive editor of the New York Amsterdam News from 1952-54.

He is a graduate of the Academy of Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va. He holds an A.B. degree from the University of Wisconsin and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania.

Wed., Aug. 28, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Negroes Seeking Political Gains To Obtain Bread, Butter Benefits

By G. JAMES FLEMING
Director, Institute for Political Education
Morgan State College, Baltimore

POLITICAL FREEDOM, POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY and political rewards are among the major goals included in the cries of colored Americans for "Freedom now" and for "All, now and here."

They want political gains not only for their own sake, but as a means toward obtaining even more substantial bread and butter benefits. Thus, colored Americans want freedom "to be in politics" but they also want the gains and status which they believe politics can, or should, help them to achieve.

Freedom at the ballot box means more than freedom to vote; it means freedom and opportunity to hold high elective and appointive office, with the fringe benefits enjoyed by other groups that have achieved political recognition—groups such as those of Irish and Italian background in Boston, Irish and Jewish in New York, Polish in Detroit, or old Anglo-Saxon stock in the South and other areas.

Although there may be some immediate gains, it is not difficult to agree with a recent poll taken by United Press International in 25 major cities. The survey indicates that it will take a decade or more for Negroes, specifically those in urban areas, to achieve the first-class citizenship for which they and their friends contend. It will take non-urban Negroes longer.

During these waiting but not necessarily passive years, Negroes will undoubtedly use all means to lift themselves politically. They will help to make the South a two-party region. They will help to support liberals rather than conservatives. They will put the emphasis on men rather than party organization labels, particularly in local and primary elections. They will try to use their numbers to elevate Negroes to higher political offices and other places of dignity and power. They will try to use politics and government to improve their immediate lot.

NATIONALLY, during these coming years, Negroes will vote as both Republicans and Democrats, with a tremendous degree of independence that will cut across party lines and support of blackness in the Harlems, South Sides, and black belts of the nation. If he is made a racial entity, all to himself in most essential matters, he will exercise his political potentials all for himself. If he is permitted to break out of the racial islands — without penalties against him — he will join the body politic of communities that are neither all-white nor all-Negro.

NEGROES, TOO, will have to decide whether the political recognition they want, based partly on their racially conglomerate living, will be best served by their decentralization and diffusion among the majority race, or whether they can live, more or less together, and use their new political strength to convert their ghettos into decent communities.

In several years of being among Negro leaders and practicing politicians, even in periods of bitter struggles for political recognition, this writer has not found serious sentiment, desire or plan on the part of Negroes to capture and take over any city, county or state, much less the nation.

Few Negroes who have broken with a local party organization, for example, have wanted to run an all-Negro ticket and, by bloc voting, perhaps defeat all white candidates in a specific district.

In the same sense, the Negro electorate has not shown support for all-Negro tickets even where such support might have been effective. Baltimore and Memphis are recent examples where all-Negro slates have failed either partially or totally, although Negro voters might have prevented such a fate. Indeed, investigation will show that, as between Negroes and whites, what bloc voting there is, is white bloc voting.

BUILDING political strength, learning how to play practical politics, learning how to reward friends and punish enemies, and

primary elections. They will try to use their numbers to elevate Negroes to higher political offices and other places of dignity and power. They will try to use politics and government to improve their immediate lot.

NATIONALLY, during these coming years, Negroes will vote as both Republicans and Democrats, with a tremendous degree of independence that will cut across party lines and support the faction or man who seems to come nearest to giving Negroes the chance to achieve what they consider "freedom now."

Polls have shown that President John F. Kennedy is favored by Negroes 30 to 1 for re-election, and registration figures show Negroes registered from 74 to 85 per cent Democratic, with fewer than 12 per cent Republican.

What happens to these ratios will depend, somewhat, on whether the President can lead his Democratic Congress into passing significant new civil rights legislation, on whether the President starts "going soft" on civil rights in order to hold Dixiecrat support, and on whether the Republicans nominate a candidate who can give President Kennedy any real competition.

The Kennedy name has come to have electric meaning for Negroes, both as President and Attorney General. They have not only spoken, but acted. They are not held responsible for the behavior of Southern Democrats. There is not likely to be any mass defection from President Kennedy by Negro voters in 1964 even if his civil rights program is not enacted fully by Congress.

THE ROCKEFELLER name also has meaning, largely among older Negroes. But, the polls and the registration figures indicate that Negroes are not enamored of the Republican party. However, miracles are possible in politics!

There is no evidence that a Goldwater can lead the Republican party into performing a miracle in 1964, as far as Negroes are concerned. It appears doubtful that Goldwater could carry the South next year.

Our Electoral College, with its "winner take all" method of allocating votes, gives Negroes a significant role in deciding presidential elections. In 13 northern and border states, Negroes hold a pivotal position. In each of these states there are enough registered Negro voters—50,000 or more—to be decisive in a close election if they unite in throwing their support. In the 1960 election, these states — New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, California, New Jersey, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma—held a total of 260 electoral votes. That is only eight fewer than required for election next year.

In exercising his increasing political power, will the Negro act and vote as a political bloc wherever possible? Much of the answer will depend on whether he is forced to live in islands phis are recent examples where all-Negro slates have failed either partially or totally, although Negro voters might have prevented such a fate. Indeed, investigation will show that, as between Negroes and whites, what bloc voting there is, is white bloc voting.

BUILDING political strength, learning how to play practical politics, learning how to reward friends and punish enemies, and increasingly paying their own way in politics are the ways in which Negroes seem destined to win the fruits that politics is capable of giving. To this end, amid and after the present demonstrations, Negroes will or will need to:

(1) Continue their cammaign to make the masses of their people vote-conscious and to point out the potentialities of political activism.

(2) Integrate themselves as much as possible into the political party organizations that exist and that will come into being.

(3) Join with other groups to elect to office candidates who accept the reality that all Americans are entitled to equal opportunity, even in politics and government, and that the Civil War is over.

(4) Use their numbers in certain political units of government as an asset rather than a liability and, through political action, obtain for their communities what they have lacked.

(5) Become public-relations conscious to assure the well-meaning majority that the Negro wants all freedom here and now, but not with the objective of denying any other American his freedom.

(6) Remain organizationally strong to prevent a recesion after the Negro has made his gains and to prevent the kind of loss sustained after reconstruction.

(7) Strengthen their internal weaknesses as to family organization, care for their children and their preparation for citizenship responsibilities, to the end that they increase the quality of American society in general and, in particular, make their maximum contribution wherever they are called to serve.

The fundamental challenge to white Americans will be to bring themselves to share the United States and what it stands for, at its best, with all Americans, regardless of race, religion, color or previous condition of servitude; to strengthen their faith in the American system and its ideals so that they can support colored Americans for office employ them on merit and treat them generally as equals, each person being judged as an individual, socially and economically.

TOMORROW: Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director, National Urban League, and Rayford W. Logan, head of the history department, Howard University.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

'Marshall Plan' for Negroes, Preferential Treatment Urged As an Indemnity for Injustices

Urban League Calls for Crash Program to Close Economic, Education Gaps — Could Cost $12,000,000,000

By WHITNEY M. YOUNG JR.
Executive Director
National Urban League

FIFTH OF A SERIES

DEMANDS FOR EQUALITY IN VOTING, in education, in job opportunity, in housing, in public places are long past due.

Every major city in the United States has felt some manifestations of the current unrest and burning desire of its Negro citizens for equality—now. Hundreds of smaller communities have experienced the discontent that has spread like wildfire and that has illuminated the land with the flames of a modern revolution.

Civil rights legislation being considered by Congress is far from adequate, even to meet needs with which legislation can deal. And civil rights laws, however commendable, will not substantially erase the piled-up conditions inherited by Negroes from slavery and post-slavery segregation and discrimination.

We stand today on the verge of winning rights and respect long denied. But rights and respect are empty symbols unless they are translated into tangible social, economic and cultural gains.

STATISTICS ON JOBS, income, death rate, housing and education show clearly that the past exists in the present. This persistence of the past will continue even if, tomorrow, all forms and attitudes of discrimination were eliminated and true equality in custom and law were achieved. The burden of years of inadequate income, deprived education, menial jobs, social and psychological humiliation would remain. This is the force of inertia preventing true equality of opportunity for the majority of Negro citizens.

To overcome these conditions, the National Urban League believes the nation must undertake immediate, dramatic and tangible crash programs to close the intolerable economic, social and educational gap which separates the vast majority of Negro citizens from other Americans. This gap widens every year.

This all-out attack, a "Marshall Plan for Negroes," must be a co-operative effort on the part of all agencies, institutions and individuals, public and private. If sustained for 10 years, it could reverse the widespread social deterioration of urban families and communities and help develop tools and understanding for progress to full and equal citizenship. The cost probably would exceed the 12 billion dollars the United States poured into Europe under the Marshall Plan.

MAJOR ELEMENTS of the crash program proposed by the Urban League include:

Education—First-class schools and teachers would be provided to help Negroes realize their potential and prepare them to take advantage of educational opportunity. It would mean putting the best teachers in slum schools or in classes where children are the slowest learners. Schools and colleges must find ways to seek out and provide scholarships for Negro youths with potential talents because these youths are still among the most economically disadvantaged. They must be given personal encouragement to seek higher education because they are part of a culturally deprived group.

Employment — A planned effort should be made to place qualified Negroes in all categories of employment and levels of responsibility. It would mean that the employer would consciously seek to hire qualified Negroes and to invest extra time and effort in training programs to upgrade Negroes. Employers would examine personnel practices and plan how to make their opportunities known to the Negro community through the Urban League and the Negro press.

Housing—Racial ghettos would be eliminated by providing genuine housing opportunity on the basis of need and financial ability. For example, the real estate agent or apartment owner would deliberately seek out Negroes as tenants.

Health and welfare services — They would be greatly improved for the Negro community. Public and private agencies would be adequately staffed with competent personnel who understand the complex problems of the urban Negro community.

Public leadership — Qualified Negroes would be sought and named to all public and private boards and commissions, in particular those which shape employment, housing, education, health and welfare policy. To achieve this objective, strong leadership would be developed in the Negro community. This leadership will in turn form the vanguard of the civil rights effort.

SELF-IMPROVEMENT—Every means would be utilized to strengthen the social and economic fabric of the Negro community. Negro citizens, young and old, would be afforded, and encouraged to exploit, every opportunity to acquire education and technical skills.

Financing—Government agencies, private foundations, business and industry would reassess the extent and aims of their financial contributions to established Negro leadership organizations. Financial support must be increased substantially if full and equal opportunity for the Negro citizen is to be achieved.

Responsibility—Negro citizens would be actively encouraged to carry their full share of responsibility for a meaningful community life.

For years there has been a privileged class of citizens—the white citizens. There has been preferential treatment for whites, and now there should be a transitional period of preferential treatment for Negroes.

The community must consciously include the Negro, whereas in the past it has consciously excluded him. Such a form of discrimination is justified if the gap is to be closed.

HOW WIDE the gap is appears clearly in the following figures: The average Negro family today earns $3233 as compared with $5835 for the white family, a difference of 45 per cent. This gap has widened by 2 per cent in the last decade.

More than 75 per cent of all Negro workers are in the three lowest occupational categories—service workers, semiskilled workers and unskilled and farm labor — the categories most affected by automation.

The nation must embark on a domestic Marshall Plan—to help the masses of Negroes to help themselves and, by so doing, reach the point at which they can compete on a realistic basis of equality and achieve their full share of human rights.

This special effort can be considered a kind of indemnification —a repayment in new programs and services to compensate for past racial injustices. This, unquestionably, is the only way that the majority of Negro citizens can be prepared for assuming the increasing responsibilities that they will face in a more integrated society.

This program for restoration of loss might take the form of a law of restitution to correct, as far as possible, the effects of slavery and segregation. A massive fund might be set aside by the Federal Government for such purposes as these: Job training and apprentice programs, educational counseling and guidance, book buying and tutoring programs, special training and fellowships in the arts, scholarships for technical education.

THE UNITED STATES realized after the second World War that it was in jeopardy as long as it had among its allies nations unable to assume full responsibilities. It must now realize that it is in jeopardy as long as it has within its body politic a socially and economically handicapped group of citizens — the majority of whom are often dependent, poorly educated and unable to assume the normal responsibilities of citizenship.

Without a bold, genuine preventive effort, it is almost inevitable that conditions will become worse and that we will by default create a class of permanently dependent citizens unable to make a useful contribution to the nation's growth.

A massive attack on social, economic and cultural problems represents the only way in which significant progress can be made. The civil rights struggle has been characterized as the "Negro revolt." This term may be appropriate in some respects. But today's movement differs from revolutions in that it is an attempt by an underprivileged element of society not to change the fabric of society but to "revolt" into partnership with it. It is a revolt with which every American should sympathize.

WHITNEY M. YOUNG JR. (above) has put the National Urban League in the forefront of those who are urging special compensatory programs to make up for the disadvantages American Negroes have suffered for so many years. He also has brought a new sense of urgency to the league. Perhaps the most professional but least demonstrative of civil rights groups, the 53-year-old organization specializes in job training and social welfare programs.

Young, who is 42 years old, has been its executive director since October 1961. Prior to that he was dean of the School of Social Work at Atlanta University. He was a pre-medical student at Kentucky State College in Frankfurt where he received his bachelor degree when he was only 18. Changing his field of study, he took a master's degree in social work at the University of Minnesota.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN (right) stands in the foremost ranks of Negro historians in the United States. He has written extensively on the history of the Negro in the U.S., Africa and Latin America and has been professor of history at Howard University in Washington, D.C. since 1938 and head of the department since 1942. He is a graduate of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., and holds A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Thurs., Aug. 29, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Outcome of Civil Rights Drive May Not Be Decided for Years

By RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Head of the Department of History

Howard University, Washington

ONE HUNDRED YEARS after the Emancipation Proclamation, American Negroes are demanding equal rights with insistence and urgency that have startled the nation, surprised older Negro leaders and strengthened the opposition of segregationists.

The outcome of this tug-of-war is undecided; in my judgment it will remain undecided for many years regardless of yesterday's March on Washington, of federal and state civil rights laws, of Supreme Court and lower court decisions, of federal and state executive orders.

This is not a prediction. It is a firm judgment based on the pattern of the long struggle of American Negroes for equal rights and of the resistance to this struggle. The evidence is convincing that the violence of the resistance has generally been in direct proportion to the thrust of the Negroes' quest. At times the North has joined the South in this resistance, with varying degrees of unanimity in both sections.

THE MORE STOUTLY abolitionists condemned slavery, the more vigorously the South defended it. Some northerners supported southern views, and a few led mobs in northern cities against abolitionists, men and women, white and Negro. When Lincoln's election in 1860 caused alarm that he would prevent the expansion of slavery into free territories and that he might emancipate slaves, the Southern states began the secession which led to the Civil War and to emancipation. Draft riots in New York City in July 1863 dramatized the opposition of some Northerners to a war that was clearly being fought for emancipation.

After the war, the South resisted so successfully the efforts of the Federal Government to give Negroes a measure of civil rights that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Federal Government had practically abandoned its efforts. Most white leaders in the North, most leading Northern magazines and newspapers acquiesced in the victory of the South. Negro leaders, with the notable exception of the late W.E.B. Du Bois, faced the future with gloom and despair.

The first 15 years of the twentieth century were relatively calm, primarily because neither the Federal Government nor Negroes and their few white allies made efforts that seemed

Court decisions, caused mild apprehension among the defenders of the old order.

This apprehension exploded in a new "Southern revolt" after the Supreme Court in 1954 declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional and in 1955 established guidelines for implementing the 1954 decision. President Dwight D. Eisenhower muted the force of this "revolt" when he sent federal troops in 1957 to prevent Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas from using the National Guard to keep Negro children out of Central High School in Little Rock.

The mild civil rights law of 1957, the first civil rights law since 1875, and the slightly stronger civil rights law of 1960 irritated the South and caused sporadic efforts to circumvent them.

After the fiasco of Faubus, Southern states resorted to ingenious laws and delaying court actions to permit only token school desegregation. Rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission which prohibited segregation in railway and bus terminals, Supreme Court decisions which extended the principle of the school cases to busses, streetcars and public recreational facilities caused further perturbations—again, especially in the South, but to some degree in the North.

The gathering storm became a hurricane when President John F. Kennedy in October 1962 used federal marshals, the Mississippi National Guard and Regular Army units to enroll a Negro, James H. Meredith, at the University of Mississippi. The hurricane hardly abated when, last June, Gov. George Wallace or Alabama made his futile stand in the doorway to prevent the enrollment of a Negro student at the University of Alabama.

MEANWHILE a strong gale had developed as the result of renewed freedom rides, sit-ins, wade - ins, kneel - ins, boycotts and, above all, of street demonstrations. These activist movements led President Kennedy to send to Congress on June 19 a special message calling for more comprehensive civil rights legislation than he had proposed in February.

In mid-August 1963, the ef-

leaders in the North, most leading Northern magazines and newspapers acquiesced in the victory of the South. Negro leaders, with the notable exception of the late W.E.B. Du Bois, faced the future with gloom and despair.

The first 15 years of the twentieth century were relatively calm, primarily because neither the Federal Government nor Negroes and their few white allies made efforts that seemed to threaten the victory of the South in imposing its will on the nation. Little heed was paid to the "revolt of Negro intellectuals," led by Du Bois, then an authentic American radical.

Practically no one foresaw in 1910 the later menace of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the National Urban League to the supporters of second-class citizenship. Two Supreme Court decisions in 1915 which for the first time declared unconstitutional state action limiting Negro suffrage aroused little concern because the decisions involved only the border states of Oklahoma and Maryland.

WORLD WAR I jolted the complacency of opponents of Negroes' increasing demands. Negroes from the South joined Northern Negroes in a new militancy; Negro troops returning from France wanted to enjoy at home some of the democracy for which they had supposedly fought. Bloody riots in some Northern and Southern cities failed to convince many Negroes that they should continue to accept their subordinate place in American society.

In the late 1920s the Ku Klux Klan lost most of its power to frighten Negroes, Jews and Catholics, and another period of relative quiet ensued. From the late 1920s to 1941, the NAACP won many victories in the courts. The effect of these decisions disproved William Graham Sumner's dictum that "stateways cannot change folkways." But the impact was not sufficiently great to cause dismay to the defenders of the old order.

World War II shook the foundations of American society with greater force than had World War I, and a race riot in Detroit, in 1943, revealed again that some Northern communities were as determined as was most of the South to oppose Negroes' increasing demands for first-class citizenship. During and after the war, the National Urban League's quiet negotiations gained new but limited job opportunities for Negroes. Small-scale freedom rides and sit-ins by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Quakers in the 1940s achieved a few victories.

FEDERAL executive orders and a few laws enacted by Northern states established the principle that there should be no discrimination in employment on account of "race, religion, color or national origin"; and President Harry S Truman's executive order of July 26, 1948, declared a policy of "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services." These executive orders and state laws, and new Supreme

enrollment of a Negro student at the University of Alabama.

MEANWHILE a strong gale had developed as the result of renewed freedom rides, sit-ins, wade - ins, kneel - ins, boycotts and, above all, of street demonstrations. These activist movements led President Kennedy to send to Congress on June 19 a special message calling for more comprehensive civil rights legislation than he had proposed in February.

In mid-August 1963, the effectiveness of these activities on the local level cannot be accurately stated. For instance, Albany, Ga., remains almost as rigidly segregated as it was a year ago. Limited breakthroughs have been achieved in Durham, Charleston, Savannah, Birmingham, Philadelphia and New York. An uneasy quiet reigns in Cambridge, Md., but Salisbury and Easton, Md., profiting from the experience of Cambridge, quietly desegregated.

For a few weeks in the early summer of 1963, leaders of the NAACP deemed it politic to support the street demonstrations. Recently, they have tended to return to their traditional procedures of court action.

The persuasiveness of Burke Marshall, assistant Attorney General for civil rights, the damage to the image of the United States abroad from the use of police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses on Negro demonstrators, the growing awareness of the limited effectiveness of street demonstrations, and the intervention of the power structure, especially in the strife-torn Southern communities, have brought a lull in the storm.

TAKEN TOGETHER, the events since 1954 have created one of the most significant movements in the history of the long and difficult struggle for full civil rights. The importance of the period has been enhanced by this year's sudden burst of public interest and awareness, so frequently lacking in the past, and by the fact that President Kennedy has been forced at last to seek a relatively full program of civil rights legislation.

Difficult to forecast is the effectiveness of whatever civil rights legislation may be enacted. I do not foresee a civil war even if the pending civil rights legislation is enacted and even if an effective fair employment practices measure is added to it. Nor do I foresee willing acceptance of the legislation even if it is weakened. I expect grudging acceptance on the whole and pockets of resistance, North and South, a resistance in proportion to the vigor of enforcement.

We Negroes are not likely to get "all our rights now." I agree with a forecast made recently by President James M. Nabrit Jr. of Howard University, who predicted four years of continued struggle, then a period of relative quiet in which we Negroes will consolidate our gains before "advancing in other areas." This wise assessment, it seems to me, is rooted in the historical process of the American Negroes' struggle for equal rights and of resistance to that struggle.

Tomorrow: James Farmer, national director, Congress of Racial Equality, and Luther H. Foster, president of Iuskegers Institute.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Progress Cited in Race Relations Said to Appear to Negroes As Maddeningly Slow Tokenism

Anger Is Deep-Seated — Fast Changes Called Necessary if Movement Is to Remain Nonviolent

By JAMES FARMER
National Director Congress of Racial Equality

SIXTH OF A SERIES

THERE IS A SPECIAL ELOQUENCE in nonviolent direct action; it speaks in a metaphor of brutality and love. Here, in the words of Elaine Weinberger, wife of the cruelly beaten Congress of Racial Equality veteran, Eric Weinberger, is a true reason for "the mood of the Negro community." It happened in Brownsville, Tennessee.

"The action started almost immediately. Water hoses were turned on the demonstrators, the police dog was turned loose, tear gas was used (or some acid which burns the skin). Some of the assembled white crowd began to beat on the demonstrators but the police, it seemed, had one major concern: the white demonstrator, Eric. When they started dragging him, no less than six men started beating him; they sprayed tear gas on him, put the dog on his head, used electric cattle probers. There were white men still waiting with bricks, knives, etc. I've been told that they waited well past nightfall.

"One 55-year-old Negro man who happened to be in the square when the demonstrators arrived was beaten up quite badly, and he also was arrested, but released soon after. Another Negro man who witnessed this unhappy event came home in a terribly upset state, cried in disbelief, was so sickened by it all a doctor was needed. Saturday this town was in hell."

I have always felt that truth, unvarnished, is one of our most potent weapons. Yes, the Negro is angry . . . but not just in the Gethsemane of Brownsville, but throughout this ill-jobbed, ill-housed, ill-educated world.

IRONICALLY, much of the white community feels that there has been vast progress in the past few years in the areas of education, employment, housing and public accommodations. But the American Negro sees nothing but a maddening slowness and tokenism. He sees James Meredith in the University of Mississippi, but he also sees ONLY James Meredith in the University of Mississippi. He sees integrated lunch counters, but he sees a blackout in jobs which could give him the wherewithal to enjoy newly desegregated facilities.

This is the temperament, the mood, the sense of historic timing that make it manifest that the entire job must be accomplished quickly, if not immediately.

A key word here is proximity. It is only in housing, employment and educational proximity as well as proximity at the lunch counter that an even more basic problem be approached; and that is the emotional and deeply-seated resentments of the oppressed American Negro, the deeply seated discriminatory drive of the American white man. The answer lies only in the social and physical dialogue of men who work, learn, live and sit together.

No one of these tasks is more important than the other. No one of these tasks can be ignored. We must fight on all fronts at once.

IN TRUTH, the Negro wants more than freedom. The Negro wants a recovery of pride, a sense of simple dignity, a genuine competitive social and economic equality. All of this must be understood in terms of an enormous awakening within the Negro community. An awakening which places a sustained burden of proof upon the white community; the entire nation, and its entire power structure. It is not enough to grant equality when your arm is being bent; the nation must BELIEVE that the Negro is right in his petition — because there is no other choice except the choice that is written in blood.

The anger is deeply seated, historic. It is the anger of a man long taught to stare at his toes who now has proudly leveled his eyes at his antagonist. There is no geography in this anger and as the months of protest and oppression pass, the usual apathy and distance of the upper and middle class Negro are being replaced with commitment both personal and economic.

Walk in the ghetto streets, North and South, and you will sense the immediacy of the demand. Listen to the singing in the jails, where the whole white superstructure of control, the clinical redress of the state, is made lyric with a unison of Negro voices.

I DO NOT THINK it really relevant to dissect this community in the usual sociological terms . . . the "trends" are strong and inexorable, the "power structure" has overflowed into the entire body of the people.

And now there is no turning back. Brownsville must be lifted from Eric Weinberger's "hell." The arms the Negro extends are open . . . but they will not remain open. If there is no relief, the arms will close and the weapons will appear.

Eric is white, a gentle and poetic man . . . a witness to his belief that the bath of blood will begin only when the races close ranks against one another. That is why we walk unarmed into the war, Negro and white together, striking at every visible and invisible sign of racial hatred.

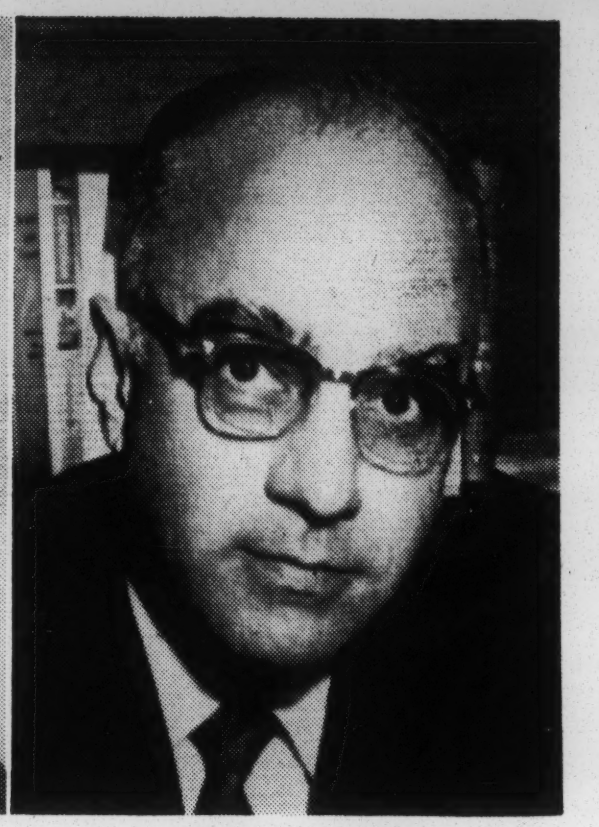
(Weinberger, who lives in Brownsville, took part in a demonstration with a group of Negroes Aug. 3 there. Police said that the group, carrying placards demanding racial equality, threw themselves to the pavement when ordered to disperse.)

JAMES FARMER

A founder of the Congress of Racial Equality, one of the early pioneers in developing nonviolent, direct action methods for tackling racial problems. In 1943, the year after CORE was established, it conducted a sit-in against a Chicago restaurant. From 1949 to 1953 CORE members used picket lines and sit-ins in a successful effort to break segregation at lunch counters in St. Louis.

Farmer is a tall and husky man, 43 years old. He speaks eloquently, with a note of controlled intensity seeming always to underly his deep, resonant voice. He is a graduate of Wiley College in Marshall, Tex., and of the School of Religion of Howard University, Washington.

In his adherence to nonviolent direct action techniques, he sees himself as a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. Before becoming national director of CORE in March 1961 he had been program director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, worked in a southern union organizing drive and for the Fellowship of Reconciliation.



LUTHER H. FOSTER

As president of Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, Foster has at his command a vast amount of knowledge about the serious difficulties afflicting rural America. Study of these problems, particularly as they affect Negroes, is one of the institution's major activities.

It was at Tuskegee that the late George Washington Carver, famous Negro botanist, conducted much of his research, which had far-reaching effects on the nation's agriculture. Booker T. Washington, who won renown as a Negro educator, was first principal of the institute when it was established by the Alabama Legislature in 1881.

Foster, who has been president of Tuskegee since 1953, has a lively interest in both rural problems and higher education. In 1955 he served as American representative on a committee established by the Indian government for the study of rural education in that nation. He has been a member of a number of educational and vocational advisory committees created by federal and other agencies.

Fri., Aug. 30, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Negroes in the Rural South Are Most Disadvantaged of U.S.

By LUTHER H. FOSTER

President Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

IN THE LAST 25 YEARS no other segment of the population of the United States has experienced more disturbing and complex problems than have rural Southerners, particularly Negroes. They may not be a forgotten population, but they certainly enjoy no high priority in public concern, despite the fact that the rural Southern Negro is the most disadvantaged population group in the country.

In the rural South changes in social organization, including modification of the status of the Negro, have lagged behind changes in agricultural technology and in the economy. This characteristic to defend tradition and to resist change is fraught with tension and potential conflict within the area. Those who control the government often try to continue the status quo, and without Negroes sharing in the decision-making of local government, there is small hope of Negroes' having the public services in rural areas that are now common in cities.

IN AN IDEAL democratic setting, of course, the solution to the problems of rural Negroes would be for both races to work together for the benefit of all concerned. This is well-nigh impossible in most Southern rural communities, so a more realistic approach must be followed without delay.

The plight of Negroes in the rural South must have the increasing interest, intervention and vigilance of the Federal Government if there is to be relief from the limited production potential of the Negro population. Nonprofit organizations, such as the National Sharecroppers Fund and the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, have given assistance to some facets of the problem, but the greatest help to rural Negroes will have to come through federal agencies for the foreseeable future.

The extent of the rural Negro's burden is revealed clearly by his income and education. The median family income for the United States in 1960 was $5660; for white rural families, 4981; and for nonwhite rural families, $1917. More than 80 per cent of the nonwhite rural

Yet there remain more than 5,500,000 nonwhite people in rural areas, and 85 per cent of these are in the south. Moreover, public concern — that sometimes amounts to alarm—over the influx of rural Negroes into cities has left almost unnoticed what was happening in the areas from which these persons had come.

The largest problems of Negroes in the rural South are employment and education. When they are displaced from traditional agricultural employment, new jobs are not open to them because of limited levels of skills and abilities.

Of paramount importance in raising the productivity potential of the rural Negro is a drastic change in the educational system. The dual system of education in the South is costly and has resulted in inadequate facilities and teachers for both white and Negro youth. Relief will come through rapid desegregation of public schools, federal aid to education, continued consolidation of school districts and the provision of more area trade schools.

The migratory farm bills, now before the Congress, will help. These are designed to establish a five-year program of grants to the states to provide day-care for the 415,000 children of farm workers, to build sanitation facilities at field work areas, and to provide for the added cost of educating the migratory children and of pilot adult education for their parents.

ANOTHER GREAT problem in improving the condition of rural Negroes is that programs designed to aid them do not include Negroes on a representative basis when they reach the local level. Many of the federal

from the limited production potential of the Negro population. Nonprofit organizations, such as the National Sharecroppers Fund and the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, have given assistance to some facets of the problem, but the greatest help to rural Negroes will have to come through federal agencies for the foreseeable future.

The extent of the rural Negro's burden is revealed clearly by his income and education. The median family income for the United States in 1960 was $5660; for white rural families, 4981; and for nonwhite rural families, $1917. More than 80 per cent of the nonwhite rural people in each and all the states had annual family incomes of less than $3000; more than 40 per cent had income of less than $1000. Rural white families were somewhat better off.

THE DEGREE of educational disadvantage is suggested in median years of school completed by persons 25 years and over. For the United States, the median school grade completed was 10.6, the 1960 census showed. In the South the median school grade completed was 10.4 for whites and 7.1 for nonwhites.

The median school grade completed for rural Negroes over 25 years old in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina was between five and six years; in Texas, eight years. Rural white persons 25 years and over had completed less than nine years in Alabama, less than 10 years in Mississippi and less than 11 years in South Carolina and Texas.

Rapid and far-reaching changes in the structure of agriculture, as well as technological advances, have altered the "face" of the rural South and have resulted in chronic unemployment in an area which has long been blighted by a low economy. Farm machinery that efficiently cultivates and harvests crops has decreased the demand for farm workers. As farms grow both in terms of capital requirements and gross annual sales, the small farmer finds himself engaged in an economically unsound venture. Thus, tenant farms have decreased more than one-half during the last quarter of a century; and changes in farm enterprises from traditional crop production have resulted in further replacement of farm workers. Negroes have been most adversely affected by unemployment in this transitional period.

AGAINST THIS PATTERN of economic change and with evidence that no clear solutions to problems of unemployment were in sight, rural Negroes began migrating to urban areas to seek employment—in the last 10 years about 1,500,000 Negroes left the Southern farms.

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ANOTHER GREAT problem in improving the condition of rural Negroes is that programs designed to aid them do not include Negroes on a representative basis when they reach the local level. Many of the federal and state agencies have failed to serve rural Negroes in the same manner that they have rendered services to whites.

The Rural Area Development program is now attempting to meet the challenge of rural poverty by retraining large numbers of unemployed and underemployed persons. Progress of RAD will depend on co-operation between the races at the local level, which is often thwarted by the customs of prejudice and discrimination.

Problems of health are greatest in areas where income is lowest, with concomitant poor medical facilities. These are indeed grave for rural Negroes in the South. The Hill-Burton act passed in 1946 allowed "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes. Of 5888 Hill-Burton hospital and related projects, as of the end of 1961, only 98 had been constructed as segregated facilities; the remainder, however, were not integrated. The department of Health, Education and Welfare has taken the posiltion that once a project is built, the department does not inquire into its internal operations. The Federal Government should insist that any health facility for which federal funds are spent must be open to all without discrimination.

THE RURAL NEGRO in the South currently seems caught in a labyrinth of educational, economic and cultural deprivation, which is contrived and controlled by hard-core farm barons and entrenched politicians. This bewildering state of affairs will pass, however, with the continued help of the Federal Government, the dedicated work of sincere citizens and numerous nonprofit organizations and the increasingly effective action by Negroes in their own behalf.

The status of the rural Negro —just as that of Negroes throughout the United States — will be raised as soon as he can become a fully participating citizen and can enjoy opportunities which are rightfully his in a democratic society.

Sunday: Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Sun., Sept. 1, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

The Negro Speaks: Scientists Have Repudiated Concept of Inherently Superior, Inferior Races

Doctrine Is Said to Have Inhibited Incentive

Special Programs Urged to Atone for Deprivations

By The Rev. Dr.
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

LAST OF A SERIES

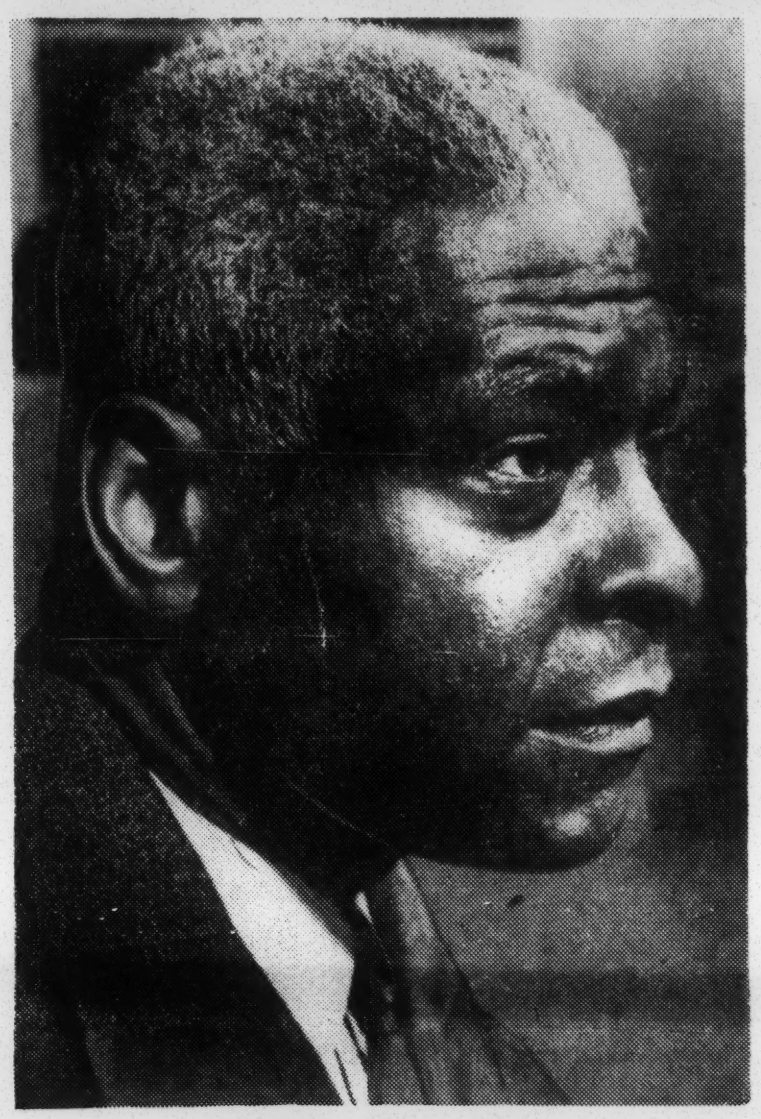
NO ONE PERSON is wise enough to speak adequately for 20,000,000 Negroes. I believe, however, that millions of Negroes will assent to much of what I say here.

The Negro wants the abolition of segregation and discrimination in education based on race. He wants equality of opportunity in education and wants deliberate attempts made to compensate for the educational disabilities imposed on Negroes in 350 years of slavery and caste.

Slavery and segregation have been justified on the ground that Negroes are biologically inferior. This view was expressed by leading scientists of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is only in the last 40 years that anthropologists and other scientists have unearthed new data and gained new insights which enable them to repudiate the doctrine of inherently "inferior" or "superior races.

This view of Negro inferiority was eloquently dramatized in books, magazines, newspapers, movies and on the platform. It caused the Negro to be provided with inferior education, poor paying jobs, inferior public accommodations. It denied him the use of the ballot. It reflected itself in lynching, police brutality and in inequality before the law. If it could be believed that the Negro was an inferior being, the inalienable human rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence did not apply to him.

LIVING IN SUCH an environment, the Negro suffered irreparable damage in spirit and mind. Some Negroes accepted the myth of inferiority and governed themselves accordingly. Virtually all Negroes had to aim low. There was little incentive to strive for excellence because a low ceiling and not the sky was the limit for them. Everything in the environment told Negroes that high aims were not meant for



DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., for nearly 25 years, the Rev. Dr. Mays is an educator and churchman of international standing. His credentials in the field of civil rights are equally impressive. As long ago as 1929 he was writing of the "new Negro" and his challenge to the old order of society. He has written frequently on problems of integration, particularly as they affect education and the church.

He is a Baptist minister and was dean of the school of religion at Howard University in Washington, D.C., from 1934 to 1940. Prior to that he was a teacher, pastor, social worker, YMCA secretary, director of a study of Negro churches in the United States and executive secretary of an Urban League local. He was graduated with honors from Bates College in Lewiston, Me., and received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago.

He has been president of Morehouse since 1940. Established in 1867 when many persons questioned the ability of the Negro to learn, this liberal arts college for Negro men has grown over the years. It is one of six institutions affiliated in the Atlanta university system.

A compensatory educational program for Negroes in the South probably would cost millions of dollars every year.

A great responsibility rests on Negroes and all who teach Negro youth, from the first grade through college. It must be made clear to Negro stu-

Court. Some have used tokenism and devious devices to avoid full compliance and there are others who do not intend to comply at all.

A survey last December showed that in 11 Southern states — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, Texas,

to expect wholesale voluntary action to eliminate inequality in education.

Residential segregation in housing may mean that de facto segregation in schools will be with us for some time. The Negro expects school officials to work out programs designed to eliminate all schools serving only Negroes and all schools serving only whites. Achieving this end will not be easy, for the problem is difficult and complicated.

Schools that are predominantly Negro in enrollment should be provided with up-to-date buildings, modern equipment and the best teachers, while ways are being sought to wipe out segregation. Segregated schools for Negroes are more than likely to be neglected. Faculties in de facto seggregated areas and elsewhere should be thoroughly mixed. Negroes should serve on school boards and in administrative capacities on a nonsegregated basis.

THE NEGRO does not want discrimination in education in a desegregated society. He believes that integration (I prefer "desegregation") is a two way street. Every state institution, whether formerly all Negro or all white, should be first-rate, and racial barriers should be eradicated.

The West Virginia State College and Lincoln University in Missouri have large enrollments of white students, and this pattern will be followed in Southern states in due course. No state can afford to run a second-class college. Negroes will expect nothing less than the best in state colleges. An institution, whether formerly serving all Negroes or all whites, must be judged by the quality of its education. If it is first rate in what it offers, the question of its former racial designation will have less and less significance.

The Negro expects a two-way street in education in private institutions as well. Here again an institution should be judged on need and the quality of education.

Private and church-related Negro colleges have contributed much to American life. One of their major contributions is in performing a function that

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LIVING IN SUCH an environment, the Negro suffered irreparable damage in spirit and mind. Some Negroes accepted the myth of inferiority and governed themselves accordingly. Virtually all Negroes had to aim low. There was little incentive to strive for excellence because a low ceiling and not the sky was the limit for them. Everything in the environment told Negroes that high aims were not meant for them.

This situation explains in part the fact that although Negroes are 10 per cent of the total population, they are only about three and one-half per cent of the collegiate enrollment. If three times as many Negroes were in college, we would have three times as many competent Negroes available for jobs in government and industry. It is against this background that I shall try to state briefly what the Negro expects in education.

He wants America to make amends for the crippling circumscriptions imposed on Negroes for centuries by providing the support needed to enable them to take advantage of opportunities now opening up to them. To expect Negroes in large numbers to be ready, without previous opportunity, experience and training, to occupy the new jobs that are becoming available is to expect the miraculous.

If Negroes have been cheated of billions of dollars in the past by being provided with inferior, segregated education, it is not unreasonable for them to want and expect support needed to overcome handicaps in as short a time as possible. If special programs are needed to upgrade potentially able Negro students, they should be provided. The cost will be high.

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A great responsibility rests on Negroes and all who teach Negro youth, from the first grade through college. It must be made clear to Negro students that a new day is appearing and that they can strive for excellence because the sky is beginning to be the limit. Teachers can tell Negro students truthfully that top government officials in Washington and executives in industry are looking for talent, and that race is a declining factor.

WHEN THE NEGRO boy and girl get this message, dropouts will decline, more Negroes will go to college, and instead of 40 Negro men in college to every 60 Negro women, the number will be equalized or reversed.

In addition to incentive and motivation, large financial assistance must be found to guarantee aid to deserving boys and girls who for economic reasons would never be able to attend high school and college. Federal scholarship grants are needed.

Because the Negro believes that public segregated education for Negroes is almost invariably inferior to public education for whites, he wants school officials everywhere to strive honestly and speedily to eliminate segregation and discrimination based on race. Some school officials have not been honest in endeavors to abide by the May 17, 1954, school desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court. Some have used tokenism and devious devices to avoid full compliance and there are others who do not intend to comply at all.

A survey last December showed that in 11 Southern states — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia — only four-tenths of one per cent of all Negro children were attending classes with white youngsters. Of 2,803,882 Negro pupils in public elementary and secondary schools, only 12,212 were in integrated classes. If the desegregation rate of the last nine years does not improve, it will take more than 2000 years to integrate fully schools in these states.

The Federal Government should be more vigorous in seeking compliance with the Supreme Court decision. In addition, new legislation may be needed requiring school districts to put desegregation plans in effect by specified deadlines and allowing the Federal Government to initiate school desegregation suits.

IT IS the responsibility of the Federal Government to see to it that its laws are obeyed. When federal money is appropriated for education, the Negro expects the Federal Government to protect him against discrimination in the use of such funds. Such protection should be expressly provided. In the use of federal money, Southern states have rarely dealt fairly with the Negro.

It is too much a strain on the goodness of human nature

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The Negro expects a two-way street in education in private institutions as well. Here again an institution should be judged on need and the quality of education.

Private and church-related Negro colleges have contributed much to American life. One of their major contributions is in performing a function that the best white colleges have no interest in undertaking. Many Negro students enter private Negro colleges economically, culturally and educationally deprived, but after four years in these colleges they are qualified to enter the best graduate and professional schools of the nation. Many of them would have been denied admission to the freshman classes of these same universities.

THE DOORS of the private Negro colleges have never been closed to white students. Since 1954 an increasing number of white students has been enrolling and graduating from these colleges. This trend will continue. The colleges serving mainly Negroes do not have to get ready for integration. They were born integrated.

It will be good for America if these colleges, which for the most part have been meagerly supported, are now substantially supported by philanthropy so that no manpower will be allowed to go undeveloped and no potentially able person will be lost to government, industry, education, art, religion, law and business.

The Negro student must understand that larger opportunities carry with them larger responsibilities to serve the community and the nation.

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HOW AMERICANS PROTEST

A Statement on the
Civil Rights Demonstrations

Published by the

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

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1963

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Foreward

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION views with firm hope the course being taken by the movement of our Negro countrymen toward full citizenship. A protest movement of such dimensions is bound to arouse opposition and be attended by disorders, perhaps some that will be more serious than have already occurred. But disorder is less to be dreaded than suppression of the right to protest. In our constitutional system this right is one of fundamental importance – a part of the purpose of our national being. It is also a means of resolving deep-seated problems – the loss of which threatens dangers of a much higher order.

We deem it essential, therefore, to revert to first principles – to inquire why the First Amendment forbids Congress to make any law "abridging . . . the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances," why the Fourteenth Amendment forbids State action abridging the same right, how Americans have used this right before, and how all this affects what we *do* in response to today's headlines.

The First Amendment prohibition was a fruit of colonial experience. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, the Regulator movement in North Carolina, and the movement culminating in the Boston Massacre – all originated in denial to the people of a right to assemble and voice their grievances. The colonists therefore, had had bitter experiences at the hands of an unrestrained government willing to resort to shooting and hanging to suppress popular protest. Hence the architects of the Constitution rightly put the new government under restraint.

Yet in the very act of establishing a government they placed themselves under reciprocal restraint, acknowledging this in the word "peaceably" which they wrote into their definition of the First Amendment right. Even so, the right they defined is quite as capable of being suppressed by violent citizen opponents as by an unrestrained government. Clearly, then, government is not only required to refrain from interference

with peaceful assemblies; it must restrain the restrainers as well.

Those government officials and editorial writers, who have been quick to rebuke certain parts of the extraordinarily effective civil rights demonstrations of 1963, have forgotten this clear direction of the First Amendment. They have likewise forgotten that the demonstrators have shown a keen awareness of the meaning and limit of the First Amendment right. When breaches of order have occurred, the well-led civil rights assemblies have manifested truly remarkable self-discipline, and they have rarely been the agressors.

But observers of these actions owe the protesters an additional concession: the grievances sought to be redressed are themselves the denial of a carefully defined constitutional right to equality. Members of the majority that has dominated the American society and its law-making machinery for the past century cannot escape responsibility for the years of callous indifference to the demands of non-white citizens. This indifference created the frustration which now finds expression in the current demonstrations. After decades of denial of rights, is it any wonder that demonstrations show such deep emotion? Or that some actions have been taken which inconvenience – or even interfere with rights of – other citizens? The American Civil Liberties Union does not assert that every civil rights demonstration has confined itself to constitutionally-protected protests. But we remind every American who feels adversely affected by this activity that he is involved in the current crisis: he must face the issue of the deprivation of rights – rights having dignity equal with his own.

In the final analysis it is *redress* of the grievances that will measure the living value of the right to protest. In employing this time-honored American right, the people engaged in this movement have created an awareness of the extent of deprivation, and the justice of their cause, that never before existed among their countrymen. Yet ignorance of these matters persists, sometimes from almost conscious self-deception, more often from an unreal sense of distance from and non-involvement in the issues. None of us is free from involvement.

The blot of inequality, of persisting vestiges of that slavery which the Thirteenth Amendment undertook to outlaw, is a curse upon all of us, and threatens the security with which we all enjoy the fundamental rights of an American. Until this lesson is brought home, until the grievances to which it relates are in fact redressed, we may expect an increasingly persistent employment of the right of protest. And a decent respect for our own interest in all of the rights of an American demands that we acquire and manifest a more perfect understanding of this one.

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE OF PUBLIC PROTEST

THE MAJOR IMPACT of the civil rights demonstrations in 1963 warrants our knowing more of the American heritage of public protest. Too many of us have forgotten the important role protests have played in the history of the United States, and the constitutional rights involved.

De Toqueville's *Democracy in America* pertinently remarks that the exercise of the right of association in order to pursue common objectives is a potent weapon of free citizens to resist tyranny of the majority and to achieve desired legislative action.[1] The First Amendment contained in the Bill of Rights (1791) guarantees the right of the people "peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." This federal constitutional guarantee was preceded by provisions of several state constitutions guaranteeing the right of the people to "assemble together, to consult for the common good, to instruct their Representatives and to apply to the Legislature for redress of grievances."[2] Although stemming historically from the right to petition the Crown for redress, set forth in Chapter 61 of the Magna Carta (1215), the United States Supreme Court has established that the American right

[1] De Toqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, 1956), pp. 194-5.
[2] North Carolina Constitution, 1776, Declaration of Rights, Article 18. See also similar provisions in the Constitutions of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

is not limited to assembly *in order* to petition the Government but is an independent right, equally as important as free speech and press.[3]

The Declaration of Independence reminds us that this Nation came into being as an act of protest against discriminatory treatment of the colonies by the British Government. It is not surprising then that we find throughout our turbulent history numerous examples of public and even violent protest either against governmental action or to achieve the creation of new public policy. The formation of a Government of the United States followed such public protests as the Boston Tea Party and those of the earlier movements in Virginia and the Carolinas. In New York the protest took a less violent but no less effective form when the Sons of Liberty of New York published, on November 29, 1773, a Resolution branding as an "enemy of the liberties of America" whoever aided in transporting, selling or buying the taxed tea. The forceful suppression of these protests culminated in a war of revolution, whose successful conclusion made the paper independence of 1776 an ultimate reality. The relationship between these protests enshrined in history and the current protests on behalf of equal rights for Negroes was recognized by Senator John O. Pastore in the course of Secretary of State Rusk's July 10, 1963 testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee on the pending civil rights bill. When Senator Thurmond challenged Secretary Rusk's approval of civil rights demonstrations, Senator Pastore asked Senator Thurmond whether he believed in the Boston Tea Party.

Slavery in the United States, prior to its abolition in 1865 by the Thirteenth Amendment, was the object of vigorous public attack and support in the North as well as in the South. William Lloyd Garrison, a leading abolitionist, was a pacifist; the agitation he led and countenanced did not include physical violence or go beyond the bounds of colorful speech and symbolic burnings of copies of the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and of court decisions enforcing it.

Determined efforts to stop his non-violent agitation for

[3] *DeJonge v. Oregon*, 229 U.S. 353, 364.

abolition involved disorderly public demonstrations and unlawful threats in several Northern cities. For example, on his return in 1835 from London, where he spoke against slavery, Garrison was criticized in the New York newspapers and met at the pier by a throng of 5000 persons opposing abolition. His appearance in Boston was met with placards urging that he be tarred and feathered. Prominent people, including members of the clergy, joined in denouncing the abolitionists and Boston's Faneuil Hall, that historic cradle of liberty, was packed with a crowd of the "best people" to listen to speeches denouncing the abolitionists and in support of states' rights and slavery. A month later a mob gathered in front of the Boston office of Garrison's newspaper, the *Liberator*, and dragged him through the street at the end of a rope. In 1838 a mob opposing the abolitionists rioted for several days in Philadelphia and in the process burned down the newly built Pennsylvania Hall.

For years abolitionists could not meet in New York City without encountering organized disturbances. And even during the Civil War the New York City Draft Riots of 1863, which in large part reflected anti-Negro sentiment, resulted in thousands of deaths and several lynchings of Negroes. Southern states, such as South Carolina, of course handled abolition talk very simply by threatening to hang any abolitionist who might fall into their zealous hands. (It is only fair to add, however, that the abolition movement had its start and, prior to 1831, most of its members in the plantation states.[4])

Even though Garrison refused to support or condone them, violent demonstrations also supported the cause of abolition. The enforcement of the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 requiring the return of escaped slaves met with violent resistance. In 1854 the capture and return of Anthony Burns was met with riot in Boston as well as by Thoreau's famous denunciation, "Slavery in Massachusetts." The Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision in 1857, holding that an escaped slave remained the property of his master, aroused indignation and protest throughout the entire North. The raids, violence and killings in the struggle to determine whether Kansas would be

[4] Charles A. Madison, *Critics and Crusades* (2d ed.; New York, 1951), pp. 3-4.

a free or slave state culminated in John Brown's raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry seeking to arm volunteers, white and Negro, to invade the South and free the slaves. Although Brown was promptly captured and hanged, his truth that slavery is an abomination did indeed go marching on and all of the violence on both sides merged into the Civil War.

After the ultimate violence of that fratricidal war, in which more Americans were killed than in any other war in which the United States participated, the struggle to secure the freedom and equal rights of Negroes "guaranteed" by the Thirteenth (1865), the Fourteenth (1868) and the Fifteenth (1870) Amendments, continued. The strongest measures were taken by the Federal Government, including the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, and the series of Reconstruction statutes imposing military rule on the defeated South until 1877.[5] During this period, as at present, Negroes demonstrated to obtain in fact the equal treatment under the laws which the Civil Rights Acts undertook to grant them and then, as now, their peaceful protest actions were met with counter-attacks and physical violence. For example, in May, 1871, in Louisville, Kentucky, Negroes who insisted on riding in streetcar seats reserved for whites were dragged off the cars by fellow passengers and bystanders and beaten. When the United States Attorney promised federal court action to support the rights of the Negro riders, the streetcar company capitulated and allowed passengers to sit where they pleased. The Kentucky press approved this desegregation of the streetcars as a model for good race relations and the community accepted the new state of affairs.[6]

The Supreme Court's 1883 decision in the *Civil Rights Cases*,[7] holding invalid the Act of 1875 which prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, brought to a halt that era of demonstrations to support the rights of Negroes. The 1954 decision in the school segregation cases[8] was the forerunner of the protests currently developing.

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[5] Claude Bowers, *The Tragic Era* (New York, 1929).
[6] Alan F. Westin, "Ride-In," *American Heritage Magazine*, August, 1962.
[7] 109 U.S. 3.
[8] *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483.

Wholly apart from the many forms of pro and anti-slavery agitation, our history has recorded many vigorous public protests, either against action taken by state or federal authorities or urging action to be taken. Even under the Articles of Confederation it was necessary for state authority to cope with such uprisings as Shay's Rebellion. In 1794 the militia of the infant federal government was called to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania against the federal excise tax on liquor. Public agitation against the Senate's ratification of the Jay Treaty terminating the War of the Revolution with Great Britain was so violent and extensive that John Jay, who negotiated the treaty for the United States, was burned in effigy in 1795 at the culmination of public meetings of protest in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah and other cities.[9] Convictions under the infamous Sedition Act of 1798 were protested by large assemblies before the jails demanding the release of the prisoners. In later demonstrations, the suffragettes helped secure voting rights for women; supporters of the Anti-Salon League contributed to the enactment of prohibition; a Bonus Army of thousands of jobless veterans marched on Washington, D.C. in 1932; farmers in the Middle West protested against foreclosure of farm mortgages during the economic depression of the 1930's; and extensive agitation and picketing accompanied the attainment by labor of the right to organize. All these uses of the right of public "assembly" give solid precedent for the current demonstrations against unequal treatment of Negro citizens.

THE RIGHT OF PROTEST

TWO VITAL QUESTIONS are immediately presented to the public as it views the current protests: what are the proper limits to which these demonstrations may go, and are the participants under any obligation to avoid occasions where violence may occur?

There is no doubt that some demonstrations have exceeded

[9] Claude Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton* (Boston, 1925), pp. 265-288.

the proper limits of the constitutionally-protected right of protest. For example, last July 4 a protest against discrimination in employment by Jones Beach State Park in Long Island, New York, took the form, not merely of legal picketing, but in addition of blocking automobile approaches to the park by bodies of demonstrators lying across the highway. More recently the blocking of all access to the construction site for Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn, New York, in protest against the hiring policies in the construction trades, prevented persons from entering the site on their own business. Each of these violated legal protections of the public's right of movement and thereby exceeded the limits of constitutionally protected activity. The ACLU does not support such excesses; specifically we believe that physical obstruction of the right of movement does not merit civil liberties protection.

But citizens will variously judge these invasions of the rights of others – deliberately done on these occasions by persons prepared to accept the consequences of law violation. We owe these persons acknowledgement that the discrimination they object to is itself a violation of law – more outrageous in these cases because the public's funds, and thereby a measure of official sanction, are involved. Moreover, it recognizes but part of the problem to editorialize, as did the *New York Times* recently, that "protest certainly cannot be allowed to interfer with the rights of innocent bystanders." [10] They neglect the fact that the majority, long indifferent to racial discrimination, may scarcely be considered to consist entirely of innocent bystanders. Some men of conscience are moved to use extraordinary means only because ordinary ones have seemed to fail.

The Supreme Court has made it clear that the right of assembly is a relative, not an absolute right, subject to regulation to protect the rights of others.[11] But it may be regulated only to protect substantial rights, not merely to avoid inconvenience. Just as the distribution of non-commercial handbills (an exercise of the comparable right of freedom of press)

[10] "Bounds Of Protest," July 9, 1963; See also "Right Goal — Wrong Method," July 23, 1963; "Breakthrough or Breakdown?" July 31, 1963.
[11] *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496, 516.

may not be prohibited merely to avoid littering,[12] so the right to assemble and protest may not be denied to avoid possible public unrest, or even violent opposition.[13] A permit may be required for the holding of parades or public meetings, and meetings and demonstrations may be regulated, for example, to prevent undue restriction of normal traffic or to limit use of facilities to one group at a time. But this power may not be used to "protect" the public from exposure to what some members of it – or some officials – do not want said.[14]

The American majority may well see the predominantly lawful activity which has characterized the current movement as bringing troublesome inconvenience. And indeed the protests forecast even more. Painful readjustments are demanded by the expressed grievances. Many people, in every section of the country, are only now beginning to understand how racism pervades our daily lives and to sense how profoundly all our ways will be affected in the process of eliminating it. As white citizens in Northern communities begin to re-examine entrenched habits and customs, particularly those involving schools, employment, and housing, many of the same emotions may be stirred as in a deep Southern community moving away from total segregation. Change is difficult and often frightening. But it is coming, and its accomplishment will occupy a towering place in history. Oliver Wendell Holmes said that a man must "share the passion and action of his time at peril of being judged not to have lived," and we are confident that Americans will increasingly welcome the sense of urgency which our time impels. We are also confident that as a beginning, each community will bend to accommodate the immediate inconveniences engendered by today's legitimate protests.

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[12] *Lowell v. Griffith*, 303 U.S. 444.

[13] *Kunz v. New York*, 340 U.S. 290; *Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 U.S. 1. As Mr. Justice Douglas said in *Terminiello*, of an intensely provocative speech made in a public meeting, ". . . [a] function of free speech under our system . . . is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are or even stirs people to anger . . . It may strike at prejudices and preconceptions and have profound unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea." 337 U.S. at 4. These words apply equally to protest demonstrations.

[14] *Hague v. CIO*, note 11 above (holding void a municipal "permit" ordinance which had been used by local authorities to prevent public meetings on behalf of union organization); *Rockwell v. Morris*, 211 New York State 2d 25, Affd. 10 N.Y. 2d 721, cert. denied 368 U.S. 913 (requiring issuance of a permit to hold a public meeting for a speech by a " 'self-confessed advocate of violence' and Hitlerian methods").

The major aspect of the right to demonstrate which has had insufficient attention is found in the suggestions by many of the highest public authorities that assemblies likely to lead to breaches of the peace should be avoided. Governors of various States and even the President of the United States have been among the authors of this misstatement of principle. The point that has not been made clear is that the important constitutional right of protest cannot be abridged by the violent threats of lawless individuals opposed to the objectives of the demonstrators.

The courts have plainly declared that important constitutional rights, such as free speech and assembly and equal protection of the laws, cannot be curtailed because of apprehension that the exercise of these rights will result in riotous disturbances by lawless opponents. The United States Supreme Court very recently reiterated this point in *Wright v. Georgia*,[15] in reversing the "breach of peace" conviction of six Negroes for peacefully playing basketball in a "whites only" public park. There the Court said "the possibility of disorder by others [whites, whom the police anticipated would be provoked to a breach of the peace by the Negroes' presence] cannot justify the exclusion of persons from a place if they otherwise have a constitutional right (founded on the Equal Protection Clause) to be present." The constitutional rights of speech and protest are equally fundamental.[16] In *Cooper v. Aaron*,[17] the "lawless opponents" were state officials themselves who, encouraging mob violence and interposing state units of the National Guard forcibly to prevent compliance with federal court orders, led the school authorities in Little Rock, Arkansas to ask a federal court to postpone implementation of a desegregation plan because of extreme public hostility. The Supreme Court rejected this petition and ordered immediate reinstatement of the plan, saying that "law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights." [18]

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[15] 373 U.S. 284.

[16] *Edwards v. South Carolina*, 373 U.S. 229 (peaceful protest on State capital grounds); *Rockwell v. Morris*, note 14, above; *Terminiello v. Chicago*, note 13, above (inflamatory speech which occasioned mob violence by opponents outside the meeting hall).

[17] 358 U.S. 1.

[18] 358 U.S. at 16.

This issue arises in the streets, at police headquarters and at executive mansions before it reaches the courts and it is the Governors, the Mayors, and the police officials who must bring home the truth that demonstrations for racial equality cannot be prohibited because lawless reaction is anticipated. Means must be found to turn the forces of law and order to the protection of the demonstrators and to prevent violence by those who would attack them.

It is unthinkable that the constitutional right to demonstrate peaceably should be abridged by the least tolerant element in the community. Reversing the denial of an injunction against interference with free speech of Jehovah's Witnesses, the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in *Sellers v. Johnson* [19] explained:

> "Under such a doctrine [that individuals may be deprived of their constitutional rights of assembly if their unpopularity threatens a riot], unpopular political, racial, and religious groups might find themselves virtually inarticulate. Certainly the fundamental rights to assemble, to speak, and to worship cannot be abridged merely because persons threaten to stage a riot or because peace officers believe or are afraid that breaches of the peace will occur if the rights are exercised."

Of course police may be compelled to stop a public meeting or demonstration if the situation develops to the point of imminent riot. But before the tension reaches that stage police must act to prevent hostile threats agains peaceful demonstrators from being carried out and to arrest those seeking to break up an assembly.[20] There is no legal or constitutional right for other citizens to interfere with a public assembly.[21]

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[19] 163 F. 2d 877, 881.

[20] Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, of New York City, on June 20, 1963 issued a public statement describing the responsibility assumed by the police department he heads. In it he said: "The police are the representatives of the government — a government of laws, not men. The police have a sworn duty to enforce the law — impartially, objectively and equally . . . They recognize and respect the right of the people to express their views on matters of public concern. The police will protect the rights of all to peacefully assemble and petition. They will brook no interference with these rights by anyone. Their impartial role is clear and set by law."

[21] See dissenting opinions in *Feiner v. New York*, 304 N.Y. 315; also, David Fellman, *"The Constitutional Right of Association"*, pp. 29-33.

NEEDED: A NATIONAL COMMITMENT

THE EXERCISE of the right of assembly, protest and demonstration cannot guarantee a redress of all just grievances and of only those which are just. Not every movement of protest will be successful, nor will history necessarily judge to be just all those which are successful.

But grievances must be heard in order to be redressed — and in a forum where action can be taken that is responsive to the whole thrust of the problems raised. Underlying the emphasis which the civil rights movement now places upon public demonstrations is the proven inadequacy of the forums in which their grievances have previously been heard. The courts have responded to their suits with unequivocal declarations of the right to equal treatment. Yet nine years after the decision in the school segregation cases, but a small proportion of Negro students in biracial districts attend integrated schools, and parks and other public facilities continue to discriminate. Presidents and Governors have issued executive orders in response to the pleas of civil rights leaders, dealing among other things with discrimination in public employment. Yet lack of employment opportunities for non-white people is a problem approaching crisis proportions today. Congress has legislated that there shall be no discrimination in voting rights, but application of these laws has so far made only a small dent in the rejection that faces many Negroes seeking to vote.

Each of these forms — the judicial, the executive, and the legislative — has responded, when it acted, with an unequivocal endorsement of the justice of the civil rights demands and each has contributed important gains which have in turn given impetus to both the demands and the awakening of the American conscience. But these gains, in the context of the total problem, have afforded only a token measure of redress. What has not yet come to pass is a commitment of the whole nation to right the wrongs toward minority races embedded in the patterns of our national existence. Such a commitment can only come from a total awareness of the problems, and of the inconsistent clash that exists between our historic and consti-

tutional standards of equality and our everyday practices. Only appeal in a larger forum – the public demonstrations – can achieve that total awareness. Only then will legislation, executive action, judicial decree and private response concur to redress not merely some grievances, but an entire pattern of second-class citizenship.

Thus it is that our aggrieved countrymen have come to state their case in the largest forum our free society provides. They follow the path of countless others – from the participants in the Boston Tea Party to the suffragettes and the trade unionists. They count on a core of humanity and decency in their fellow men to respond to a case that is well and forcefully stated. And, as their cause is just, so may we as confidently count on the Nation's ultimate response to be equal to it.

Current
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Intergroup Org. Misc.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The civil rights movement consists of shifting social forces in a variety of organized groups. The direction of the U.S. revolution in race relations is affected by how these elements interact on each other as well as by their impact on the general scene.

THE GROWTH OF NEGRO INFLUENCE

Mr. Meier teaches history at Morgan State College in Baltimore, Maryland, and is adult advisor to the Civic Interest Group, a student nonviolent organization in Baltimore. His book, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, *will be published in the fall. The following analysis of new currents in the civil rights movements appeared in* New Politics.

August Meier

"Two of the most significant aspects of the civil rights movement since 1960—and essential components of its dynamics—are that it has become increasingly a Negro movement and a mass movement. The two developments are not unrelated; and both of them, of course, had their origins well before 1960.

"The N.A.A.C.P. [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] membership and branch leadership had always been almost entirely Negro; but at the start, most of the staff and executive board were white liberals. In 1921 the N.A.A.C.P. employed its first Negro executive secretary, James Weldon Johnson; in 1933 its legal staff came under Negro direction when Charles Houston took over; and today only two N.A.A.C.P. staff members are white (though the Legal Defense Fund's chief counsel, Jack Greenberg, is white). Constitutional changes made in 1947 and 1962 have permitted greater membership participation in the selection of the national board; one result has been a decline in the number of whites on it so that today they make up less than one-fourth of its membership.

"C.O.R.E. [Congress of Racial Equality] started off as a predominantly white liberal middle-class organization. As late as 1960, perhaps only one-third of its membership was Negro, and at that time its three chief executive officers, as well as its national chairman were white. With the selection of James Farmer as national director in 1961, C.O.R.E.'s image in the Negro community changed markedly, and it was thereby able to attract far more Negro support. Today, of C.O.R.E.'s four chief paid executives, two are white and two are Negro. While the majority of Northern C.O.R.E. members are still white there has been increasing Negro participation and in the South C.O.R.E.'s membership is almost entirely Negro. C.O.R.E.'s recent convention, held in June 1963, witnessed two firsts: it was the first time that a majority of the delegates were Negro, and it was the first time that a Negro was elected national chairman. And the *Southern* Negro delegates set the tone for the convention and moved into positions of leadership. . . .

"Organizations like S.C.L.C. [Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by Martin Luther King] and the various local movements that

have sprung up around the country have been Negro organizations from the start.

"S.N.C.C. [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] has avoided any form of union with the predominantly white Northern Student Movement for Civil Rights—though it and Northern white students generally have been a prime source of S.N.C.C.'s funds. S.N.C.C. has a number of white field secretaries, but it consciously projects itself as a Negro-led organization, and Negroes dominate S.N.C.C.'s power structure. There has, in fact, been a growing insistence that Negroes must take the initiative and leadership in achieving their freedom, that white liberals tend to be compromisers who cannot be fully trusted, though their financial assistance and their participation in direct action—under Negro leadership —are to be welcomed.

"C.O.R.E.'s experience has shown clearly that in order to attract large numbers of Negroes to the civil rights movement Negro leadership is essential. White liberals—and radicals—in the movement have accepted this fact. The N.A.A.C.P. had originally appealed to the élite Negroes, and during the 1930's some of the younger intellectuals like Ralph Bunche criticized it for doing nothing about the problems of the Negro working masses. The Association modified its program somewhat, and during the Forties and Fifties . . . made an increasing appeal to working-class people.

"Actually it would be impossible to make any generalization about the sources of N.A.A.C.P. branch membership and leadership today, since the variations are so great, and since so much depends on local conditions and personalities. In some branches the more élite people in the community set the tone; in others the professional and business people show no interest and blue collar workers dominate. Thus, suburban New York branches have an élite tone, while the Youngstown, Ohio, branch, for example, is under labor control and has a steelworker for president. At the risk of much oversimplification one may say that, in general, branch leadership today tends to be more middle class rather than either lower class or upper class. . . .

"C.O.R.E. originally attracted white collar middle-class Negroes. Since 1960, however, it has found blue collar skilled and even semi-skilled workers joining its ranks, both in the North, where it has started to place major emphasis on the problem of obtaining jobs for working-class Negroes, and in the South. The youthful sit-inners of 1960 and 1961 were chiefly of working-class origins—that is they tended to be upward mobile members of the Negro lower-middle and upper-lower classes, though their leadership was more likely to be of middle-class origin. From the beginning the bus boycotts of the South were mass movements, and the same is true of movements like the Albany Movement and the selective buying campaigns that appeared in a number of cities, though it should be pointed out that all classes of the community are involved in these efforts and that the upper-middle and even upper classes are disproportionately represented in their leadership.

THE GROWTH OF LOWER-CLASS INFLUENCE

"A recent development of the highest significance has been the active involvement in the civil rights movement of menial lower-class people, many of whom are chronically unemployed. Apparently it was they who were responsible for the brick and bottle throwing in Birmingham and Jackson. Generally, individuals of this group have heretofore avoided

actual participation in demonstrations sponsored by the direct action groups. I personally remember how in Chestertown, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where most of the Negro population is composed of unskilled cannery workers with only seasonal employment, few of the local people attended the mass meetings or participated in demonstrations—but they were ready, more than ready, to fight the white hoodlums who attacked the interracial teams of nonviolent demonstrators. . . .

"It is exceedingly significant that some individuals from lower lower-class background have actually begun to demonstrate with nonviolent activists. Unlike the latter, they have not remained nonviolent in the face of provocation from white mobsters, but have become involved in fracases with them in places like Cambridge and Nashville. In the North, people of this class are chiefly concerned with obtaining jobs; in the South, despite a high rate of unemployment, they are becoming involved in the struggle for public accommodations, though this is quite likely a result, at least in part, of the new practice of packaging demands for desegregation of lunch counters and so forth, with demands for jobs. . . .

Will Negro violence rise?

"There are those who believe that overt violence on the part of Negro demonstrators will rise, and that in hard-core areas of the South, Gandhian techniques will not work and disillusionment with nonviolence will set in even among those heretofore committed to it. Certainly, few of the demonstrators in C.O.R.E. or S.N.C.C. are philosophically committed to nonviolence. Rather it has been a technique that has proved successful, and has given those who use it a certain sense of moral superiority. But with the increasing police brutality as in Alabama, Danville and elsewhere, the growing frustration at the resistance to change on the part of the white South, and the expanding involvement of lower-class people whose values condone the use of violence, it is likely that the tendency to fight back rather than accept brutality passively, may increase. . . .

"Whether or not extensive racial violence occurs, astute leadership in the civil rights movement will certainly employ its possibility as a device for eliciting quicker action from the white power structure. In any event, the movement is at the point where C.O.R.E., S.N.C.C. and many N.A.A.C.P. leaders say that no matter what the risks of violence may be, they cannot stop pressing forward now. The outlook is therefore clearly for more direct action, not less. . . .

"Thus, each of the four organizations is now committed to direct action. . . . The N.A.A.C.P., however, has eschewed primary emphasis on direct action, regarding it as an extremely useful technique; the others regard direct action as the chief focus of their work and consider legal remedies of distinctly secondary value. This fact should not obscure the importance of the legal work done in support of the direct-actionists, most notably in the Supreme Court decisions secured on behalf of the demonstrators. (In fact there is evidence that one reason for the willingness of so many youth to violate Southern laws has been the fact that there was a general expectation that the Court would rule, as it has done thus far, in behalf of demonstrators convicted of trespass, disorderly conduct, parading without a permit, breach of the peace and so forth). . . .

"On the other hand, there are differences in style among the three more exclusively action-oriented bodies. King and S.C.L.C. appear to be the most cautious, and to specialize in a few showy projects. The S.N.C.C. people are the most spontaneous. For some of them, demonstrating and going to jail almost appear to have become a way of life. Status is measured by the number of arrests and amount of time spent in jail. More

than any of the others the S.N.C.C. people are the 'true believers'. . . .

"One must conclude that there has emerged a real thrust for achieving 'Freedom Now' from the working class and lower-middle class people. S.N.C.C., highly critical of both the 'Black Bourgeoisie' and the white liberals, regards itself as the vanguard of the Negro masses – and to a remarkable extent that is exactly what the youthful demonstrators of the years since 1960 have proved to be. And this pressure from the working class—especially working-class youth—has been largely responsible for the greater momentum the civil rights movement has recently attained. It is ironic that what started out some time ago as a Negro middle- and upper-class and a white liberal movement, has ended up as a movement where the largest impetus is coming from the Negro working masses. In fact, the competition for prestige and power among the major civil rights organizations is in considerable degree a competition for control over the masses of working-class Negroes. It is also likely that a large part of the waxing militancy of middle- and upper-class Negroes is derived from the new militancy of the working classes. . . .

THE DECLINE OF WHITE LIBERAL INFLUENCE

"It has become fashionable in activist circles to criticize the Negro bourgeoisie and the white liberals as being conservative compromisers, wedded to gradualism and legalism. But this is a gross oversimplification of the true situation. Much of the leadership in the civil rights movement comes from the more élite Negroes. Even the leadership of S.N.C.C., which is most vociferous in its denunciation of the 'Black Bourgeoisie' is largely of middle-class origins. From Cambridge to Albany the leadership of the Southern movement is peppered with members of the middle and upper classes. And the Birmingham experience suggests that if the businessmen and leaders drawn from the upper strata wish to retain their position they will have to go along with the tide.

"It is as erroneous to stereotype the white liberals as it is to stereotype the 'Black Bourgeoisie.' 'Farewell to the white liberal,' has now become a familiar slogan. And in large part this feeling is justified. As far back as the middle Fifties, Negroes exhibited disillusionment with many white liberals who thought the N.A.A.C.P. (of all organizations) was going too fast. Liberal labor leaders have temporized on the issue of trade union discrimination in deference to prejudiced elements within their unions, especially in the South. Often white liberals, who ideologically think in terms of gradual change and compromising where necessary, and whose wide-ranging concerns sometimes lead them to feel that progress in other areas should not necessarily be sacrificed for an all-out attack on civil rights . . ., display what to Negro activists is an alarming tendency to compromise, if not betray, their cause. . . .

"Yet, all liberals are not alike; a significant number are activists themselves. Faculty members and students from Duke University and the University of Tennessee, and more recently Vanderbilt University, have participated in direct-action demonstrations, as have a handful of liberal white professors in the Negro colleges. White liberals formed an important element in C.O.R.E.'s 1961 Freedom Ride, and C.O.R.E. still draws largely from the liberal white group in the North; a very substantial share of the financial support (possibly over half) of S.N.C.C., S.C.L.C., C.O.R.E. and the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund comes from liberal whites; many hundreds of Northern white liberal college youth have participated in demon-

strations in Maryland, and some have worked as field secretaries for S.N.C.C. in the Deep South.

"Moreover, it seems inevitable that as desegregation progresses in the South, increasing numbers of Southern white liberal youth will want to participate. If they do so in significant numbers, the most active ones will certainly wish to participate in policy-making, and thus S.N.C.C. will have to re-examine its Negro-only leadership policy. It is natural that Negroes should want to discard paternalistic white leadership. But the ironic result is that a movement for racial equality operates ideologically with the notion that whites should be subordinate in it to Negroes. Undoubtedly this is a passing phase; as we approach genuine full citizenship for American Negroes this sort of anomaly will disappear. . . .

"Some white liberals, no longer regarded as authorities on strategy by Negro integrationists, amazed at some of the demands that Negroes are now making—such as bringing white children into Negro areas for school so as to create racially balanced educational facilities, and giving Negroes preferential treatment on jobs until employment equality is achieved—must feel rather like the Girondists did when overtaken by the Jacobins. Should violence become a common tactic rather than a sporadic reaction, more will find themselves in this position.

"Thus to some extent, there is a tendency for many white liberals to feel rather alienated from the civil rights movement today. This is true even for those who participate in the movement. They sense the general suspicion of white liberals, the deliberate exclusion of whites from leadership, and their relegation, as whites, to secondary and supporting roles. (I do not intend to suggest that this attitude toward white participation is universal. Baltimore, North Carolina and probably Nashville would be exceptions. In North Carolina a white Duke University student was elected president of the N.A.A.C.P. state youth conference in 1962; in Baltimore where the N.A.A.C.P. leadership has for years held that 'You can't trust any white people,' the nonviolent demonstrators in C.O.R.E. and C.I.G. tend to regard some of the more extreme activists in S.N.C.C. as something akin to racists.)

THE PROSPECTS FOR RADICAL INFLUENCE

"Interestingly enough there are signs that the white radicals in the civil rights movement are also somewhat alienated from it. Radicals of various hues—Socialists, Trotskyites, Russophile Communists and others—perceived in the student nonviolent movement important implications. They saw it as a potentially revolutionary movement and believed that, given the context of American life in the Sixties, in this movement lay the key to a more socialized America. . . .

"Superficially their ideas fitted in well enough with the vocabulary of the Negro activists, who were imbued with the mystique of conducting a 'revolutionary' movement destined to shake the social structure to its very foundations, and who identified themselves with the Negro masses against the 'Black Bourgeoisie'. Undoubtedly the white radicals added to the revolutionary, anti-Negro-bourgeois, anti-white-liberal psychology of the movement. Their presence was welcomed by many, though fully understood by only a few, for they seemed sincere, dedicated and uncompromising in their advocacy of civil rights. Attending the S.N.C.C. meeting in 1962 was like going to a Popular Front affair in the 1930's. . . .

"More significantly, some of the revolutionary Marxists, both Negro

and white, are looking with dismay upon the signs that Southern businessmen are coming to terms with the demonstrators since this would deflect the movement from what they believe is its true revolutionary course. They regard it as regrettable that Negroes would be satisfied with the ballot, a home and a car. But they have really missed the point of the Negro protest movement. After all, the vote, a job, a decent standard of living, the right to come and go like other American citizens, are what Negroes are really striving for.

"The non-ideological activists are not aiming at radical change in the social structure—they simply talk as if they are. In speaking with Negro youth who use the vocabulary of revolution, one soon discovers that the vast majority of them are attempting to *reform* American society. They want to 'revolutionize' the system of race relations, and anticipate that in the process the political system of the South will undergo a radical transformation into a two-party system. But they contemplate no change in the basic political and economic structures; at most, some of them talk rather vaguely of the identity of interest between poor white and poor Negroes. More fundamentally what most of them want is the opportunity to participate fully in American society as it stands.

The direction of Negro militancy

"Since the American Negro is now an emerging class that demands the opportunity to participate fully in the American social structure, one would expect that, like thwarted emerging classes elsewhere, if the employment situation is not improved, and if unbreakable resistance should persist in the South, or if a period of reaction should reverse the present trends, he might become a genuine revolutionary radical, and reject entirely the American system and what it stands for. But in such an eventuality the trend is not likely to be toward Marxism—which has had practically no impact upon the Negro activists—but toward some form of nationalism. Until recently, in fact, it seemed quite possible that the unskilled, lowest-class urban Negroes might turn to the escapist nationalistic ideology of the Black Muslims, for this sect offered a sense of dignity and a hope for the future to those whom the civil rights movement neglected. . . .

"Prejudice and discrimination have produced strong ambivalences in the psychology of American Negroes. They wish to be accepted as Americans, and yet are forced to an ethnocentric loyalty to the black race. Basically they wish to participate in the American social structure, yet they are forced into revolt against it. But revolutionary radicalism, whether of the nationalist or the Marxist variety, seems to be an unlikely haven for the majority of Negroes, simply because, in contrast to the Africans, they are in a minority that is too small and too dispossessed. . . .

"Unless the problems posed by automation prove insoluble within the framework of a capitalist economy, the United States is likely to remain dominated by a middle-class ideology; the routes of upward mobility for Negroes will be the same as those for whites; and Negroes consequently will share in the typical bourgeois values and aspirations of American life.

"The new thrust from the Negro masses, the complex patterns of rivalry and cooperation among the civil rights organizations, the increasing power of the Negro vote in the urban centers North and South, the growing realization of the Negro's economic power that he has learned from successful boycotts, the obvious sensitivity of the government to foreign criticism of our racial system, have together resulted in a broadening and intensification of the Negro protest. Year by year and month by month, Negroes have been growing more militant, more immediatist, more fed up with limited successes and tokenism.

"Paradoxically both the increasing pace of advancement and the growing resistance in the South are leading to greater and greater Negro militance. It is conceivable that a stiffening of Southern white intransigence, or large-scale unemployment may complicate matters and encourage the development of a Black nationalist revolutionary ideology. But two things are quite certain—Negro militance is bound to grow, and an accelerated tempo of improvement in civil rights appears almost inevitable." ("New Currents in the Civil Rights Movement," *New Politics*, Summer 1963)

MIDDLE CLASS VERSUS LOWER CLASS

The executive director of the National Urban League, writing in Ebony, *discusses the danger of estrangement between the Negro middle class and the Negro lower class.*

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

The Negro middle class, growing and influential, is playing a crucial role in the current Negro upheaval, but very little has been written about the Negro middle class or, for that matter, about the class structure of the United States Negro population in general. This is because, with rare exceptions, most Negroes in America have been rather uniformly lower class by socio-economic standards.

Now, however, "available figures on Negro income levels reflect the growth of a new and vital middle class. Some twenty per cent of the Negro family population are in the $7,000 a year or over income bracket, while some sixty per cent are in an income bracket of $3,000 or under. This means that the conventional way of looking at general social class divisions does not hold true for Negroes because there is a distinct, drastic jump from the low-income level to the middle-class group with no upper income class, and only a tiny lower middle class."

The gap between the two groups is not only great but it is growing. The great problem, therefore, of the emerging Negro middle class is that it is not identifying with the lower-class Negro. Because of the gap, "the American Negro has far less social mobility than the white citizen. In the white community there are more stages in social advancement. The rise from low-income status to upper is marked by various class levels between the two extremes—lower middle class, upper middle class, etc. For the Negro, there is no in-between status; he must jump directly from lower-class status to the higher with no way stops or intermediate stops.

"The Negro in America today all too often faces a choice between being a highly skilled technician or professional, or being a waiter, porter or domestic; between living in a fabulous house in the suburbs or in a tenement in the slums; between sending his kids to a fashionable prep school or to an overcrowded, ill-equipped public school in a deprived neighborhood; between acceptance by heads of government and barons of industry or daily rejection by callous and indifferent human beings. . . .

"This poses serious problems for those who work in the field of race relations and who are concerned about what is happening in the Negro community. There is a grave danger of the posssible alienation of the middle-class Negro from those of his race, who, due to automation or other factors, are in an almost dependent category of the lower class. This alienation works both ways. The middle-class Negro often (sometimes unconsciously) disassociates himself from the lower-class Negro, not because of any personal dislike of him, but because he is symbolic of a phase in history that he wants to forget. . . .

"For generations in the South an established middle-class leadership group existed which could identify with the lower-class masses they represented because they were subjected to the same pressures because of skin color. One of the chief differences between the status of the Negro in the South and the North is that in the South Negroes have experienced prejudice regardless of economic level. In the North the middle-class Negro is able to escape some of the pressure of racial prejudice by physically withdrawing from the ghetto. . . .

"The flight to the suburbs of the Negro middle class is not a response to racial factors, whereas when the white middle class does it, race often plays a major part in the decision to move. The middle-class Negro who withdraws from the city is also escaping all that the ghetto means. He is getting away from the racial ghetto and all that it symbolizes, he is seeking healthier and more attractive surroundings and better schools for his children. These are non-racial factors. He wants those things that his white counterpart wants. . . .

Social mobility as seen by lower-class Negroes

"On the other hand the Negro in the lower-class groups sees in the flight of the middle-class Negro from his neighborhood a desire to disassociate himself from the rest, and this causes a tension. This is of real concern to those of us involved in efforts to advance the Negro community because while the desire of the middle-class is to escape a condition, his flight often results in a loss of leadership that is needed to inspire and uplift the group which cannot afford escape. . . . Unless the rate of growth of the latter group is not checked we will soon see in America a large class of dependent, permanently unemployed, with Negroes contributing a disproportionate share. This holds alarming implications for the economic future of the Negro middle class because its income and wealth still derive preponderantly from the Negro community. Most Negro professionals earn their living from Negro clienteles. . . .

"Another problem created by the withdrawal of the middle-class Negro is the development of different values and different goals by the two groups. Middle-class Negroes possess status or symbolic goals to which the lower class may be completely indifferent. Negroes in the low or poorer class are concerned with reality or welfare goals. For example, the opening to Negro use of rest-room facilities in a Southern airport terminal may mean a great deal to middle-class Negroes, but little or nothing to the lower class. Winning such a right would be of symbolic importance primarily to the middle class.

"Today, almost without exception, the leadership of the Negro's civil rights struggle is drawn from the middle-class group. The danger exists, therefore, that because of the widening alienation of the classes, each class may at times be working toward different goals. This is evidenced in support by working or lower-class Negroes for certain schools and public housing projects near or in their ghetto districts, and a resultant clash with middle-class Negroes who may oppose erection of such buildings because they regard them as strengthening segregation instead of weakening it. The welfare values of the lower-class Negro can force him to see tangible benefits in such facilities wherever they may be built.

"The lack of social structure in the Negro community is disturbingly reflected in a growing social gap between Negro middle-class leadership and the masses they are called on to lead. The estrangement of the Negro èlite from the Negro masses encourages the former to stop regarding themselves as Negro." ("The Role of the Middle-Class Negro," *Ebony*, September 1963)

ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Committee on Appeals for Human Rights

All Citizens Registration Committee

Atlanta Negro Voters League

Operation Bread Basket

Ghandi Youth Society

November 1, 1963

ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY

(Recommendations from the City-Wide Leadership Conference of October 19, 1963)

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INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, October 19, 1963, at the Interdenominational Theological Center, more than two hundred outstanding leaders of the Atlanta Community met and addressed themselves to the problems of segregation and discrimination still facing Atlanta.

Democracy stands at the point of becoming either the greatest motivating force in the lives of human beings or of going down in history as an ignoble failure of a great experiment in man's search for human happiness. Presently, Atlanta enjoys the enviable opportunity of being in a position to help resuscitate America's soul and to help revitalize the hopes and aspirations of free peoples everywhere. If democracy survives in its battle for the hearts and minds of men, history will speak glowingly of those who dared to initiate programs to make democratic institutions apply to all peoples regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The conference participants believe that Atlanta's race relations image, often proudly used to bolster America's democratic image abroad, needs considerable improvement. In order to enhance the essence of individual dignity, the conference leaders unanimously request the speedy removal of all racial barriers to the full enjoyment of all activities and institutions in this community. This is Atlanta's challenge and Atlanta's opportunity to boost freedom.

We cannot believe that delay is an asset. The time is now! It is impossible to move too fast in providing recognition for the dignity of the human soul; it is not necessary to engage in a long, laborious, and agonizing process of social change in order to provide equality for all people.

We cannot believe that token desegregation represents a noteworthy achievement. Limited desegregation admits the moral impropriety of segregation and prolongs a social situation which is completely unacceptable to Negroes and to other sincere believers in democracy.

We cannot believe that the citizens of Atlanta are content to allow their favorable national and international image to rest upon changes that already have occurred as a consequence of legal, economic, and protest actions. We believe that most of the citizens of Atlanta possess the moral courage to actualize racial equality without delay and without the necessity of overt pressures to effectuate the needed changes.

Since the various aspects of life are so intricately interwoven that lasting change in a limited area of behavior is practically impossible, total desegregation must apply to all areas of community life. We request, therefore, that public officials, leaders in business and industry, the churches, and all others in positions of authority institute immediately total desegregation and meaningful equality in housing, employment, education, political participation, law enforcement, voter registration, health and social services, and public accommodations. Our immediate concerns in each of these facets of life are delineated in the requests that constitute this document.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

A severe blight on the alleged good image of Atlanta

is the continuing refusal on the part of many businessmen to desegregate completely public accommodations for all citizens. Yet, hopefully, we define our city as suitable for major league sports, as ready to produce a world's fair, and as being cosmopolitan in character.

Limited desegregation of hotels, motels, and restaurants as put into effect in Atlanta is an affront to the dignity of Negroes as individual citizens and, thereby, is completely unacceptable to all fair-minded people. Continued segregation in this vital area is based upon an unreasonable allegiance to tradition at a time in history when such allegiance is unnecessary and impractical.

The denial of freedom and equality for all Atlanta citizens in the use of public accommodation facilities cannot be rationalized under the smoke-screen that property rights are being violated. We contend that, morally and legally, the rights of American citizenship, irrespective of race, religion, or national origin, negate the long-standing practice of excluding categorically individual citizens from free access to businesses licensed to serve the public. Democratic principles are oriented toward individual dignity and responsibility rather than toward group membership and responsibility.

Therefore, we strongly request the following:

1. That all public accommodations and facilities, including restaurants, hotels, motels, and recreational facilities, be totally desegregated immediately.
2. That the Atlanta Board of Aldermen pass a Public Accommodations Ordinance guaranteeing human rights to all citizens.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The absence of equal employment opportunities is one of the key problems facing Negroes in Atlanta. Discrimination in employment finds expression through making Negroes the last hired and the first fired, through assigning them to sub-standard jobs, through applying differential wage scales when Negroes and whites engage in the same type of work, through preferential employment of white workers, and through limiting the training and the up-grading of Negro workers. Even Federal Civil Service and State, County, and City Merit Employment utilize various types of subterfuges to prevent Negroes from obtaining many jobs for which they are qualified.

Because of the conditions described above, a Negro's chance of finishing high school is half that of a white's, his chance of finishing college is one third of a white person's chance, and his chance of earning $10,000 a year is one thirtieth of the chance of his white fellow citizens. Other consequences of economic discrimination affecting the Negro are inability to support adequately his family, disproportionate numbers of his children among juvenile delinquents, and large numbers forced to live in substandard housing.

Since these conditions produce intense frustration and discontent and serve to motivate the general Negro protest movements, we call upon all agencies of government — Federal, State, County, and City —, upon all private employers, and upon labor leaders to initiate the following changes:

1. Start positive programs of equality of opportunity in employment, up-grading, and apprenticeship training for all people regardless of race, religion or national origin.
2. Establish machinery in government and private places of employment for the implementation of fair employment practices.
3. Give serious consideration to offsetting the Negro's lack of opportunities for education and training.

HOUSING

Despite rulings of the Georgia and the United States Supreme Courts that racial clauses in real estate dealings are not enforceable and despite the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Atlanta Negroes (39.9 percent of the population) occupy only 16 percent of the residential land area within the city limits. Of the total of 185,816 non-whites in the city, 47 percent live on the Westside.

The Atlanta Housing Authority still operates racially segregated housing projects, separate tenant selection offices for Negro and white applicants, and still has no Negroes employed on the Housing Authority or on the Central Administrative Staff.

Although the majority of public housing units are occupied by Negroes, the Atlanta Housing Authority has 253 Negro applicants approved and waiting and 2,500 more eligible and waiting for approval. There are only 50 white applicants approved and waiting. These data reveal the dramatic need of drastic plans to improve housing for Negroes.

Therefore, we request that the following measures be instituted immediately:

1. Immediate desegregation of all public housing units, with one tenant selection system and assignments made without regard to race, and with the appointment of qualified Negroes to the Central Administrative Staff.
2. Appointment of qualified Negroes to the Atlanta Housing Authority.
3. Immediate desegregation of all facilities built on land acquired under Urban Renewal.
4. A proclamation by the Mayor and an ordinance by the Board of Aldermen declaring open occupancy and pledging the resources of the city to a vigorous program of implementation.

EDUCATION

We recognize education as one of the essential cogs in the engine of democracy. It contributes to the effectiveness of the individual's community participation and to the ultimate achievement of maximum happiness for the greatest number of people.

We further recognize that the complete integration of Negro Americans into the total fabric of American life is dependent upon a quantity and quality of education that is no different from that which is received by any other citizen. In Metropolitan Atlanta, according to 1960 census data, median school years completed by Negroes is only 63 percent of the white median. Equal educational opportunities are unattainable under segregation or under limited desegregation. A totally desegregated school system is the minimal essential in providing quality education for the Negro and white children of Atlanta.

Accordingly, we strongly request the following:

1. That the Atlanta Board of Education develop and implement a plan for the total desegregation of schools in Atlanta. By total desegregation, we refer to administration, clerical and teaching personnel, students, maintenance personnel, special education, and other relevant activities and services not enumerated here.
2. That, in the implementation of the plan to desegregate students, the primary criteria should be availability of space and availability of desired programs of study.
3. That the Atlanta Board of Education plan and institute immediately in-service training programs in inter-group relations for administrators, specialists, and teachers.

REGISTRATION AND VOTING

The most important single privilege of the individual citizen in a democracy is the right to register, to vote, and to have his vote counted without distinction based on color, religion, or national origin. While Georgia's voter registration laws and the administration of these laws in Fulton County are relatively liberal, there are inherent in the registration procedures certain subtle and practical obstacles which severely restrict the registration of the working people in which the bulk of Negroes fall.

Since Negroes suffer from the adverse effects of long years of systematic deprivation, denial, and isolation from the mainstream of community life, and since the masses of Negroes and many white people are engaged in confining daytime jobs, we recommend to the Fulton County Commissioners, the Fulton County Manager, the Fulton County Personnel Director, and other concerned officials that the following changes be made:

1. Take the necessary steps for instituting and maintaining a system of registration that will permit citizens to register at night as well as during the daytime hours.
2. Institute a program of neighborhood registration away from the Fulton County Court House for the convenience of the citizens of the County. This may be accomplished in cooperation with local civic groups.
3. Develop a coordinated program of citizenship education particularly in the use of voting machines and printed ballots.
4. Support a registration system requiring age and residence as the only valid qualifications for registration.
5. Employ qualified Negroes on the staff in the Registration Office.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Negroes in Atlanta are being denied health and welfare services because of race. Segregation is practiced in the administration of public and private hospitals (staff and patients), in the administration of public and private social service programs and institutions, and in programs of special care and education.

According to information secured from admission offices of hospitals in the area, there are 1,937 beds available (in 13 hospitals) for white paying patients and 467 beds available (in 6 hospitals) for Negro paying patients. Hill-Burton facilities serve Negroes on a segregated basis, with specific quotas of beds set aside for Negro patients.

The state-operated Georgian Clinic has forty beds for white alcoholics, none for Negroes.

The recent report of the Community Council of Atlanta, Inc., entitled "Atlanta's People," shows that of those persons living in the census tracts with both the lowest socio-economic and housing indexes, 81 percent are non-white.

Since the problems of health affect Negroes and whites alike, we make and seek immediate implementation of the following:

1. Complete and immediate desegregation of services and staffs in all public health facilities, including Grady Hospital, and of all health facilities and programs which receive public funds.
2. Removal of racial restrictions from any agency receiving funds from the United Appeal.
3. Denial of approval by the Atlanta Fund Appeals Board of community-wide financial campaigns for funds to support programs which restrict services or employment by race.
4. Increased representation of Negroes on policymaking bodies of health and social service agencies.
5. Appointment of qualified Negroes to state boards which set up policies for health and welfare services and professions.
6. Legislation to prohibit restricting health and social services by race.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Negroes are interested in all matters which affect the welfare of the City, the County, the State, and the Nation and are anxious to make their maximum contribution to the common weal.

We think that it is only fair to acknowledge with appreciation the fact that the concept of total inclusion and participation of all segments of our citizenry in many important areas of public affairs has made some progress toward fulfillment.

However, in view of the complexity and urgency of the community problems still awaiting solution, it is imperative that there shall be an acceleration in the efforts to assure the participation of the entire citizenry in arriving at solutions to these problems. We wish to maintain Atlanta's good image and to magnify it in order that it may become a shining symbol of democracy in action for the rest of the Nation and the world.

It is not too much to request that Negroes be given representation on all boards, commissions, and agencies appointed by City, County, State, and Federal officials to handle the people's business.

Specifically, we request the following:

1. That Negroes be appointed to the Jury Commission and that they be used in larger numbers on petit and grand jury panels.
2. That Negro lawyers be appointed to the staffs of City and County Attorneys.
3. That Negroes be appointed to all governmental agencies and boards wherein policies are made.
4. That Negroes be appointed to judgeships on the Municipal and Traffic Courts.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The impartial enforcement of the law is the bulwark of protection for the individual citizen and for society. Therefore, we pledge an allegiance to the observance of the law of the land.

The badge of authority, which adorns the breast of the law officer, should be recognized as the symbol of the majesty of the law rather than as the shield behind which undeserved immunity may be sought by officers who overtly have abused their authority. When the law is not enforced fairly, Negroes and, to a lesser extent, poor whites are the victims.

We deplore the law, custom, and practice which sanction the taking of the life of a misdemeanor suspect who is seeking to escape or evade arrest. No law officer should be permitted to be the arresting officer, the complaining witness, the prosecuting officer, the jury, and the executioner when the maximum punishment would not have exceeded twelve months on the chain gang.

We therefore request:

1. That a public defender be provided in all the criminal courts for indigent defendants.
2. That the prison laws and administration be revised to the extent that equal, if not greater, emphasis be placed upon the rehabilitation of the miscreant rather than upon punishment.
3. That the Aldermanic Police Committee of the City of Atlanta take appropriate steps to discipline those officers who abuse persons in their custody.
4. That there be equality of assignment of duties to prisoners working out sentences.
5. That there be total desegregation in penal and correctional institutions.
6. That Negroes be appointed in larger numbers as Probation and Police Officers.
7. That misdemeanor first offenders be placed on probation and not be incarcerated with hardened criminals.

We believe that the foregoing objectives and requests are reasonable, proper, and valid and that we ask only those things which are possessed already by other citizens as a matter of course.

We would prefer, by far, to attain these objectives through cooperative action rather than through conflict. Thus, in order to achieve justice for all Atlanta citizens, we appeal to the basic integrity and good will of the leaders of this City and hope that the "good name" of Atlanta will continue to shine throughout the Nation and the world.

While these requests are addressed to City, County, State, and Federal officials, and to all other persons in positions of formal and informal authority and influence, we do not overlook our responsibility as leaders. We pledge our unswerving support to all persons who are willing to join with us in the task of securing and consolidating these rights; we dedicate our efforts to working with members of the Negro community in order to develop a sympathetic understanding of the problems involved in rapid social change and in the creation of a climate of peace and good will with malice toward none.

This document represents the composite thinking and action of more than two-hundred leaders representing eighty-two different organizations.

Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.
College Box 2307
Berea, Kentucky

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NEWSLETTER #1 - 1963

YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND THE 51ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC. - FEBRUARY 19-22, 1963
GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE

Theme - The Role of the Appalachian South in a Changing America

For over half a century, the Council of the Southern Mountains has served the people of the Appalachian South. Its past 50 Annual Conferences have brought together the leadership of the region to discuss problems, listen to new ideas, and to work toward common solutions. At this 51st Conference, we shall study change and how it effects underdeveloped areas such as the Appalachian South, and plot strategy for revitalizing our institutions so as to do a better job in preparing our people for a new age.

- CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS -

Tuesday - February 19

2:00 P.M. REGISTRATION begins and continues throughout the Conference - (Registration Fee $2.00)

6:30 P.M. DINNER MEETING - Presiding: Mr. Stuart Faber, President of the Council.
Election of Officers.
Keynote Address: "Must We Always Back Into The Future?"
Mr. P. F. Ayer, Executive Secretary of the Council.

ENTERTAINMENT - Billy Edd Wheeler, singer and composer, New York City.

Wednesday - February 20

8:00 A.M. MORNING WORSHIP - Led by Rev. Wendell Belew, Secretary, Department of Associational Missions, Division of Missions, Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Georgia.

9:00 A.M. ADDRESSES: "The New America", Dr. Solon Kimball, Professor of Anthropology and Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, and "The Ending of Appalachian Isolation and the Tightening Web of Relationships with the Greater Society", Dr. James S. Brown, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky.

GROUP DISCUSSION

12:30 P.M. YOUTH LUNCHEON - Address: Mr. Charles Drake, writer, educator, Lexington, Mass.

2:00 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUPS based on the morning presentation.

4:00 P.M. Council Committee Meetings

6:30 P.M. DINNER PROGRAM - "An Evening of Folk Music", featuring Edna Ritchie, folksinger, Viper, Kentucky, and Billy Edd Wheeler.

Thursday - February 21

8:00 A.M. MORNING WORSHIP - Rev. Wendell Belew.

DETACH AND MAIL

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Interpp Org - Misc

Publications

1963

ANNUAL SUMMER PROGRAM OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Enjoy a Workshop Experience

Participating in a workshop is different from taking a course. General meetings and small group discussions constitute the core of the workshop activities, and time is provided for individual reading, program planning, and conferences with the workshop staff. Recreation and informal group activities are arranged by the members and staff. Many workshops provide pleasant living quarters for their members on campus. Such live-in workshops make for easy, natural, informal relationships among the participants, and thus reinforce the ideas developed by lectures, readings and group discussions. In a very real sense a workshop is a laboratory for democratic intergroup relations.

The workshops are a regular part of summer school programs and fully accredited by the colleges and universities which offer them. Regional and national offices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews cooperate with the colleges' and universities' workshops by providing materials, consultant and staff services, and some scholarship aid to participants who need such assistance.

Workshops Provide for a Variety of Interest

Each workshop has its distinctive features. Some offer a general orientation to the field of intergroup relations, emphasizing the social forces and psychological dynamics that underlie prejudice and discrimination. Others offer more specialized work in such areas as urban problems, program planning for community agencies, group dynamics, and curriculum development. Still others focus on such topics as moral and spiritual values in public education and problems arising from desegregation. Whatever your particular needs and interests, you can almost certainly find among the workshops listed one that fits your individual requirements.

THE WORKSHOP WAY OF LEARNING

Plan Now to Attend the Workshop of Your Choice

INSTITUTION	DATES
ADELPHI COLLEGE, Garden City, L. I.	7/8-7/19
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C.	6/24-7/12
BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE, Daytona Beach, Fla.	6/17-6/29
BOSTON UNIVERSITY, Boston, Mass.	6/28-7/12
CALIFORNIA WESTERN UNIVERSITY San Diego, Calif.	7/8-7/19
CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK	7/5-7/25
EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, Ypsilanti, Mich.	8/5-8/16
HOFSTRA COLLEGE, Hempstead, L. I.	7/1-7/19
HOWARD UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C.	6/17-6/28
KENT STATE UNIVERSITY, Kent, Ohio	7/22-8/9
KUTZTOWN STATE COLLEGE, Kutztown, Pa.	7/15-8/2
LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY, Brooklyn, N. Y.	7/1-7/18
LOS ANGELES STATE COLLEGE, Los Angeles, Cal.	8/5-8/23
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, Los Angeles, Cal.	6/24-8/2
MERRILL-PALMER INSTITUTE, Detroit, Mich.	7/8-7/19
MOUNT MERCY COLLEGE, Pittsburgh, Pa.	6/24-7/16
OAKLAND UNIVERSITY, Rochester, Mich.	8/12-8/16
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, Columbus, Ohio	7/22-7/26

INSTITUTION	DATES
OUR LADY OF THE LAKE COLLEGE, San Antonio, Texas	6/4-6/22
PACIFIC UNIVERSITY, Forest Grove, Oregon	6/17-7/3
PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY, Tacoma, Wash.	7/22-8/9
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, New Brunswick, N. J. (3 workshops)	7/2-7/20 7/14-7/20 7/21-7/27
ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, St. Louis, Missouri	6/18-7/26
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE, Northridge, Cal.	8/5-8/16
SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE, San Francisco, Cal.	6/24-7/12
SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY, Dallas, Texas	6/10-7/5
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford, Cal.	8/4-8/16
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, Syracuse, N. Y.	7/1-8/9
WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, Detroit, Mich.	8/19-8/30
WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE, Westminster, Md.	7/29-8/16
WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, Cleveland, Ohio	6/17-7/26

INSTITUTION	DATES
UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO, N. Y.	7/1-7/19
UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, Cincinnati, Ohio	6/17-7/12
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, Denver, Colo.	7/8-7/19
UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT, Detroit, Mich.	6/24-7/19
UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD, Hartford, Conn.	6/24-8/2
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, Lexington, Ky.	6/17-7/12
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE, Orono, Maine	7/8-7/26
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor, Mich.	8/5-8/16
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, Albuquerque, New Mexico	6/24-7/19
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, Norman, Okla. (2 workshops)	7/8-7-19 8/5-8/9
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, Eugene, Oregon	8/12-8/23
UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC, Stockton, Cal.	7/22-8/2
UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND, Kingston, R. I.	6/23-6/29
ABROAD:	
ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Spain and the British Isles	7/29-8/31
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, San Juan, P. R.	7/8-8/10

How to Choose Your Workshop

Human relations and intergroup workshops are valuable, stimulating educational experiences because they deal with important current issues in practical, down-to-earth ways. But the needs and interests of the people who attend workshops vary, and so the most satisfied participants are those who choose carefully the workshop they want to attend.

Obtain accurate and adequate information about the workshops you can attend. Many factors, such as the time you have available, travel, vacation plans, and cost, may limit your choice of workshops. The list of workshops will help you decide which are possible for you to attend. Obtain brochures describing the workshops which interest you from your regional or national NCCJ office.

Analyze your particular needs in terms of a specific, back-home professional problem you would like help in solving. Perhaps you need help in planning a program for parent education activities, or in developing a reading program in human relations for your eighth grade class. You may wish to take a fresh look at your in-service teacher education work if you are a school administrator, or discover more effective ways of gaining community support for a program of intergroup education.

Try to get at least one other person from your school or community organization to attend the workshop with you. The experience of many workshop participants indicates the value of a team approach in solving the intergroup problems of a school or community. A team can better interpret ideas to their colleagues than can any individual, however gifted and persuasive.

If you need some financial help in order to attend a workshop, apply to your regional NCCJ office for a scholarship, Many, but not all, local NCCJ offices have some scholarship funds to assist teachers who wish to attend a workshop. The number of scholarships is limited, and so an early application is advisable.

What is the NCCJ?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nationwide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

National Conference of Christians and Jews • *43 West 57 St., New York 19*

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QUAKER Service

Bulletin of AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SUMMER 1963

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM TO OPEN IN PERU IN SEPTEMBER

IN SEPTEMBER of this year the AFSC will begin a five-year community development program to help meet some of the problems in the "barriadas" on the outskirts of Lima, Peru.

A barriada is a whole village that has migrated as a unit. These units have illegally established themselves on land surrounding the city, forming a fringe population of 500,000 without employment or adequate dwellings. Barriada dwellers are largely Indians from the interior areas of Peru. Others are city inhabitants who—seeking to improve their lot but owning no land—move onto the government-owned land where they erect shacks of tin, wood, or cardboard. Living in appalling poverty, they lack sanitation, health services, recreational facilities, child-care centers, and schools.

Cooperation Needed

AFSC workers will cooperate with Peruvians who are concerned for the welfare of these people, and will seek to develop a program which will encourage the barriada dwellers themselves to take increased responsibility for their own future.

AFSC efforts, in one or several of the barriadas, might include counseling the inhabitants on effective ways to acquire the facilities they need. Classes in literacy, cooking, and nutrition could be established. Tradesmen and artisans might be helped to obtain supervised credit and to develop credit unions.

As the program expands, it is hoped that other interested Peruvians —social workers, young professional people, and university students— will become involved in it.

To lay the groundwork for these plans, Alan and Margery Walker have been appointed to go to Lima in September for two years. Alan Walker holds degrees in psychology from Stanford University and Michigan University, and has taught at Earlham College in Indiana. Most recently he has directed a community development program at Goddard College in Vermont. Margery Walker is a graduate of Stanford University. Both are members of the Religious Society of Friends.

The new program in Peru represents an expansion of the Committee's work in Latin America which now includes activities in Mexico and Guatemala. The AFSC has also had program experience in El Salvador. This experience, the encouragement of Peruvians who have worked with AFSC in Mexico, and the needs which exist in Peru have together convinced the Committee that the work should be undertaken.

Urban Population Growing

The barriada problem toward which efforts will be directed is the result of several factors in the life of Peru today. The nation has a rapidly growing urban population. Difficult living conditions on the High Andean plateau are causing thousands of rural people to emigrate toward the cities in search of work and in hope of a better life. But a lack of industrialization in Peru limits the jobs available. Lima, the capital, is particularly hard hit by this rural influx.

The barriadas surrounding Lima form a fringe population of 500,000 unemployed people living in makeshift dwellings.

• • • to assume new tasks • • •

Philadelphia, Pa.
May 1963

Dear Friends,

This issue brings you word of several new developments in AFSC work—in Washington, in Peru, in Ghana, in Russia, in the Far East.

Our efforts to help enrich the lives and the spirits of our fellowmen—and our own in the process—find us closely engaged in the dynamics of a changing world. Even as we continue our commitment to ongoing programs, we are steadily gratified to devolve some projects into the able hands of local groups—and freshly challenged to assume new tasks.

There are now almost 3 billion people in the world. There are resources in all these minds and hearts which are an untold wealth. It is the business of our lives to find ways to unlock at least some of these resources—by helping others to "spend themselves" creatively and in those purposes which enrich us all and leave no man a victim.

The characteristics of an AFSC program have been shaped through the interweaving of belief and practice during 45 years of experience. All AFSC programs are based on the belief that love can be the most potent force in the ordering of a good society. The significant point is that we believe this, *and* we have found it to be true whenever men trust love.

AFSC programs try to be experiences and experiments shared with others rather than acts done for them. It is our belief that free men solve their problems from the inside out, rather than by the superimposition of an answer, by however kind an administrator.

AFSC programs seek to influence individual lives in depth, rather than masses on a more superficial level. Here, again, our convictions and our experience coincide. We are concerned for the whole worth of each individual. At the same time, we see that other agencies, both private and public, are able to tackle quantitatively larger tasks with bigger resources.

Thus we try to serve those needs which are not being met by others, to avoid duplication of existing efforts, to break new ground and find new techniques to reach closer into the causes of the problem, and to develop our projects as the local people feel their own needs widen.

As we move into the busy and demanding seasons ahead, we take this moment not only to comment on the purposes of our work, but also to thank you for your invaluable support.

Yours sincerely, Colin W. Bell

Executive Secretary

Behind the Quaker center in the Algerian village of Souk el Tleta is a steep hillside which is badly eroded. One of the first projects of the agricultural course, now offered to teen-age Algerian boys, was the planting of this slope in olive and eucalyptus trees to hold the life-giving soil. These activities are part of the long-range AFSC resettlement program in Algeria which now follows upon the conclusion of the interim relief work.

WASHINGTON HOUSING WORK BEGINS

IN RESPONSE to a growing need to ease the housing restrictions imposed upon American Negro citizens in the District of Columbia, the American Friends Service Committee has inaugurated the Washington Metropolitan Housing Program, projected as a five-year effort.

Because of its 12 years of practical experience in seeking open-occupancy housing, the AFSC was invited by a number of private Washington agencies to establish a program in the area. These agencies include Neighbors, Incorporated; the Capital Clearing House; and the Urban League.

Although the program has been in operation only six months, there have been several specific developments.

A local citizens group—Suburban Maryland Fair Housing, Incorporated—has been formed with a membership of 150 persons. The organization is patterned upon the Burlington County Fair Housing Council, which AFSC helped establish, and which has been responsible for assisting more than 50 non-white families to locate peacefully in Burlington County, New Jersey.

Twenty-eight Negro families, all seeking homes, have registered their desire to buy or rent in areas traditionally restricted to white owners in Maryland, Virginia, or the District of Columbia.

Fifteen white home owners have informed the Maryland group that they are willing to sell their homes on an open-market basis.

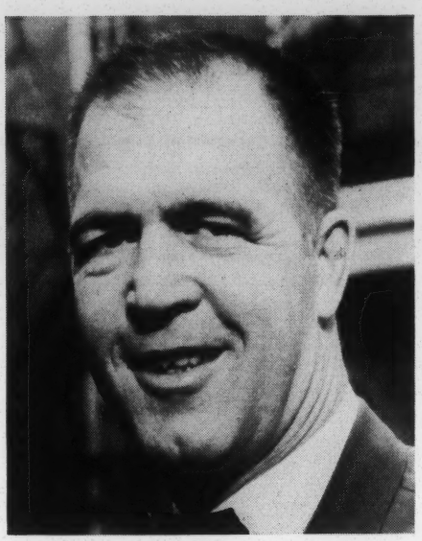
Unexpected interest and support for fair housing has developed in the northern Virginia suburbs of Alexandria, Arlington, and Falls Church. Several homes have been listed.

Personal Experience Cited

In December Helen Baker, AFSC consultant who opened the housing program, testified at the hearing held by the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia on a fair housing ordinance. She told of her own experience of being discriminated against when she sought housing in the District in November of 1962. Her testimony included an account of having been turned away from 31 apartment houses, each of which had listed available space, when she applied in person for occupancy.

In a final instance, after negotiations for an apartment had been concluded with the aid of friends, the option was withdrawn when the landlords discovered that Helen Baker was a Negro. Eventually appropriate housing was found in the District.

During the hearing, Helen Baker also told of the color paradox in the



Merlin Myers heads new program.

District of Columbia. Dark-skinned foreigners—either students or persons with diplomatic status—can get rental housing in areas where American citizens, also dark-skinned, are rigidly excluded. She and her son, a career diplomat, were both turned away from apartments housing foreign consular personnel.

The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia have been thwarted by their Congressional overseers in seeking a fair housing ordinance. It may be that Helen Baker's

continued on page 4

AFSC CONFERENCE HELD IN GHANA

A FOUR DAY "consultative conference" was held at the University of Ghana in April as a step toward developing a seminars and conferences program in West Africa in the fall of 1963.

The group of 27 men and women included outstanding Africans from both French-speaking and English-speaking countries, as well as Quaker representatives and other friends of the program. Some had previously participated in AFSC seminars and conferences in the United States, Europe, or Asia. Others, representing government ministries, had become interested in the project as a result of exploratory staff work carried out in West African countries in 1962.

The group recommended the topic "Africa Today—Common Tasks and Aspirations" as a theme around which a program might be developed. It further recommended that the program be undertaken as a "discussion for understanding."

The conference participants agreed that leaders of African thought and life would welcome opportunities to meet with each other for an exchange of information and views. It was noted that others who obviously will become part of this leadership in the near future would also benefit from such exchange. In expressing this opinion, the participants recognized that many conferences are now held in Africa with a view to action, yet, because of language or cultural or economic barriers, there is little communication among these countries. Therefore, only a meagre basis of knowledge exists on which governments can develop cooperative action in meeting the needs and aspiration of the West African people. Educators, older students, young professional people, civil servants, those who carry diplomatic responsibilities, and any others who help their people learn to become responsible citizens—all were identified as key groupings from which participants should be drawn.

The International Conferences and Seminars programs, of which these plans are a part, is jointly sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council of Great Britain.

YOUTH PROJECT LOCATED IN RUSSIA

THE 1963 Tripartite Work and Study Project to be held this summer in the northern Caucasus of the Soviet Union is the second stage of a three-year project sponsored jointly by the Friends Service Council of Great Britain, the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Soviet Union, and the AFSC. Each of the sponsors will send 10 participants between the ages of 20 and 30. The young people will help construct a new dormitory at a childrens' home.

In 1962 the project was held in Bristol, England, where participants helped build a community center. They worked mainly in the mornings, leaving the afternoons free for discussion. Discussion topics included disarmament, education, and the United Nations, each of which was introduced by a member of the group. Through a free exchange of views and opinions, participants felt they had increased their knowledge of each other's life and thought, and experienced a growth in mutual understanding. During the final week of the project the group toured in other parts of England, sightseeing, visiting with local residents, and staying in private homes. Similar activities are planned for this summer's project.

All of the American participants selected for the current project have some proficiency in the Russian language. Their experience is wide and varied. One American participant worked for the World Bank. Another, a lawyer, is attached to a U.S. District Court in California. A third member of the group is a former member of the Russian language study tour of Indiana University to the USSR. Another, who has traveled widely in western Europe, is studying for a doctorate in political science.

British and American participants will assemble in London on July 27 and travel together to the Soviet Union in time for the project opening on July 29. The project, located at Natlchik, will conclude on August 28.

In 1964, a third project will be held in the United States, rounding out the original three-part plan.

"QIAR" ACTIVITIES BASED IN TOKYO

NORMAN WILSON has been appointed Quaker International Affairs Representative in the Far East to begin in September. He will base his activities in Tokyo, Japan, but will be concerned with international relations in Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Philippines as well.

In the course of his work in the Far East, Norman Wilson will meet members of the diplomatic community. He will bring together people in government to discuss common problems and will share with them the concern of Friends for peaceful settlement of international problems.

A graduate of Antioch College, Norman Wilson holds a master's degree from the University of Chicago, and will receive his doctorate in education from Columbia University this summer. He was a Fulbright scholar at Utrecht in the Netherlands, 1955-56, and has taught at Bronxville High School, Bronxville, New York, since 1956. He and his wife, Claire, are members of the Scarsdale Friends Meeting, Scarsdale, New York.

Washington Work Begins

continued from page 3

testimony will help the commissioners to invoke an 1863 law which permits them to take unilateral action to provide for the safety and welfare of their citizens if Congress has neglected to do so.

The second phase in the development of the AFSC Washington housing program came in February when Merlin Myers, a sociologist from Oregon, became director of the project. Working with Helen Baker, who had accepted the position of consultant for six months, Merlin Myers began seeking prospective Negro home buyers as well as white home owners who would sell on the open market.

Meanwhile, Merlin Myers has been carrying forward Helen Baker's community commitments—working with the real estate industry, the fair housing groups, and with non-white buyers—interpreting both the housing needs and the opening opportunities under the new Executive Order.

In undertaking this housing program in Washington, the AFSC also believes it is in the national interest for a private agency to bring such inequities to the attention of the lawmaking and executive branches of the government with examples of discrimination gathered in its own neighborhood.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, a Quaker organization, attempts to relieve human suffering and find creative solutions to tensions between individuals, groups, or nations. We believe there is that of God in every man, and that love in action can overcome hatred, prejudice, and fear.

Our work is open to anyone regardless of race, religion, or nationality. We depend upon your contributions. Checks may be sent to the American Friends Service Committee at any of its offices.

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New Politics
1963

August Meier

Intergroup Org. Misc.

New Currents In the Civil Rights Movement

EVENTS THIS SPRING have made it abundantly clear that gradualism and tokenism in civil rights will no longer pass for progress. The Negro protest movement has become suffused with a new militancy, a new sense of urgency. This is evident in the widespread use of deliberate mass jail-ins, open sneering and jeering at white policemen, a disposition to meet violence with violence, a tendency to package several demands together—to demand "total integration" rather than to work for one reform at a time—and the involvement of greater and greater numbers of people from all strata of the Negro community. "Freedom now!" has become the new slogan.

What happened in Birmingham epitomizes this new militancy, and was itself a major stimulus for the events that have transpired since. But the basic forces operating in Birmingham were operative elsewhere. Birmingham basically functioned as the spark that ignited some highly inflammable material.

INDICATIVE OF THE NEW MOOD was the Northwood Theater demonstration in Baltimore, which occurred in February, over two months before Birmingham. Enjoying unusual support in the white community, a rather fair police force and often favorable judges, and moving over the years from one victory to another, the Civic Interest Group—as the student nonviolent movement in Baltimore is called—had been characterized by a relatively mild spirit. Seldom had demonstrators stayed in jail even overnight and the notion of deliberate large-scale arrests was dismissed as unworkable, for no one would ever be able to get that many students from Morgan State College to go to jail. But it was a continuing insult to the dignity of the Morgan student that the neighborhood theater, less than a block from the school, should have resisted

negotiations and picketing for over eight years, and this in the face of the desegregation of practically every other business establishment in the same shopping center, and of all the other theaters in that part of the city.

When Civic Interest Group leaders and student government officials met once more to discuss the matter early last February, it was obvious that the students were in a mood to employ some new and dramatic techniques. The upshot was that over four hundred Morgan students (and several white students from Goucher College and Johns Hopkins University) were arrested, filling the city jail to overflowing. Punitively high bail set by the judge only encouraged further arrests. Finally, after three days of distressing turmoil, embarrassed by the nationwide publicity and facing a primary election in two weeks, the city's mayor compelled the theater to capitulate.

The Negro community in Baltimore was stirred as it had not been in all the previous years of demonstrations. Students who had been skeptical of direct action found themselves trespassing and going to jail, and for the first time large numbers of fraternity members, honors students and outstanding athletes participated along with the more anonymous students who had heretofore formed the backbone of Civic Interest Group activity. Adults who wondered about all the fuss over one single theater were told that it was the principle that counted. Parents whose mixed feelings of anger and fear soon turned to pride, even urged that their children be kept in jail until the theater opened its doors. Certain powerful figures in the community, themselves previously sympathetic to the student activists, at first frankly questioned the wisdom of this particular action, but eventually came to give the students their militant support. And at the other end of the social scale, it was reported that for the first time the nonviolent demonstrations were a topic of excited conversation in the lower class bars of East Baltimore.

The whole experience was clearly a new departure for Baltimore. Few if any towns had witnessed so many arrests at a single place of business. And though the jails were filled at Albany, Ga. and on the Freedom Ride to Jackson, this was one of the first successful attempts to deliberately disrupt the city's political and judicial machinery by mass arrests and filling the jail. The experienced veterans of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) regarded the Northwood Theater demonstration as a highly significant development. And SNCC, itself, shortly thereafter launched its Greenwood, Miss. registration drive, in the heart of the White Citizens Councils' territory—the most difficult and dangerous task any of the civil rights organizations had yet undertaken in their voter registration work. Then came the William

Moore memorial trek, Birmingham, and the outbreak of new demonstrations around the country.

OUR CASE STUDY OF THE Northwood Theater demonstration illustrates in microcosm an essential factor that has been at the base of all the demonstrations this Spring—a rising mood of frustration with previous tactics due to the lack of concrete progress, a sense of frustration that made these communities especially sensitive to the stimulus that came from Birmingham. What occurred this Spring is in a way remarkably like what happened in 1960, when the demonstration at Greensboro, N.C. sparked a sit-in movement throughout the South, because youth were becoming impatient and disillusioned with older techniques. In practically all of the Southern cities where direct action has taken place this Spring there has been a history of such action, often of a sustained nature. In Savannah, Georgia a brilliant campaign conducted by the NAACP that included a fifteen month boycott, had obtained not only the desegregation of buses, lunch counters and municipal facilities but also over a hundred new jobs for Negroes as sales clerks and cashiers. But since then little or no progress had been made. In Jackson, following the Freedom Ride, both NAACP and SNCC stimulated nonviolent action there for a brief period (and disagree as to which organization deserved the credit for it), while both SNCC and CORE joined in the voter registration work there. Danville, Virginia, it is true, had had no previous demonstration, but for two years an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), had been working unsuccessfully.

The North Carolina communities had a rich history of demonstrations and achievements in 1960–1961, though little had been accomplished recently. In Cambridge, Md. there had been a year of bitter conflict with city authorities that began with the Civic Interest Group's Eastern Shore Freedom Ride in the Spring of 1962, but intermittent efforts by the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee founded at that time had brought no results. In the North, the past three years had witnessed sharply increased agitation over both jobs and de facto school segregation; and frustration there was augmented—as it was in the South—by the serious unemployment problem. Thus, everywhere there was growing disillusionment with methods that seemed to be bringing little in the way of tangible accomplishments. In essence what Birmingham did was transform this disillusionment and frustration into constructive, direct action efforts for social change throughout the nation.

Actually what is going on today is the culmination of efforts under way since the late 1950's. There was a shift in emphasis from legalism to direct action, and a broadening of the scope of civil rights activity. In membership and leadership the civil rights move-

ment became more and more a Negro movement, and more and more a mass movement. The competitive rivalry among civil rights organizations supplied additional impetus. The emerging African states, and their importance in international affairs, gave American Negroes a new self-image. There was the goad of swelling unemployment at the very time that the gradually accelerating pace of change in American race relations and the embarrassment the American race system was causing in the conduct of the nation's foreign policy, combined to create a revolution of expectations in Negro thinking. All of these are interrelated and interlocking phenomena; but the net result was that here, indeed, was a classic case of a rising class in society, confident of itself and its future, but denied its just place in the social structure, and therefore turning to increasingly radical tactics in order to secure that goal.

TODAY, THE FOUR LEADING CIVIL RIGHTS organizations are—in order of historical appearance—the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. (We omit from the discussion, as being somewhat peripheral to our interests, the Urban League. This, the most conservative of the Negro advancement organizations, is not strictly a civil rights institution, but a cross between that and a social welfare agency.)

A decade ago the NAACP was easily preeminent among civil rights organizations. Often interlocked with it were the voter registration groups that had been formed in the South after the Supreme Court invalidated the white primary in 1944. Called conservative today, the NAACP's program of protest and political and legal action had originally been regarded as radical, in contrast to the accommodating ideology of Booker T. Washington in the ascendancy when the NAACP was founded in 1909. By the mid-Fifties the NAACP's legal arm had secured an impressive series of Supreme Court decisions which appeared to guarantee voting rights and set forth a set of legal precepts that unequivocally banned any official support for segregation—whether in transportation, housing, or in publicly owned facilities. During the late fifties the NAACP's Southern work consisted largely of litigation against the South's resistance to the school desegregation decision, and fighting the attacks an aroused white South was now making on the organiza-

tion and its leaders. In the North there was a broadening program, with increasing emphasis on fair housing and especially on employment. The organization's vigorous labor department scored some significant breakthroughs in both the North and the South, most notably the opening up of several hundred jobs at the Lockheed Plant in Marietta, Georgia.

Throughout the country there was major stress on voter registration as the fundamental technique by which to obtain civil rights legislation and the favorable ear of public officials. More recently Northern branches have been giving major attention to eliminating de facto school segregation. Prior to 1960, nonviolent direct action was a peripheral NAACP concern, though in 1958 and 1959, NAACP college and youth groups in Oklahoma City and St. Louis engaged in successful sit-ins and elsewhere, as in Louisville and Baltimore, adult branches had sponsored direct action projects.

CORE, a decade ago, was still a small, chiefly white organization, confined to the Northern and border states, and lacking even a single paid staff member. Founded in 1942, CORE utilized methods that had been developed over the preceding two or three years by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This group of religious pacifists had, at the suggestion of A. J. Muste, combined Gandhi's method of satyagraha with the sit-*down* tactics of the Detroit automobile strikers to produce the technique known as the sit-*in*. The synthesis of union methods (including picketing) with Gandhian nonviolence having proved successful as far South as Baltimore and St. Louis, CORE in 1956 hired its first field secretary, and soon thereafter began its Southern work in earnest (though actually its first foray in that direction had been the Freedom Ride in the Upper South in 1947). CORE's major emphasis throughout the Fifties was on public accommodations. Early in the decade, however, it had pioneered in the method—later so effectively employed and popularized by the Philadelphia ministers—of selective buying to obtain employment; and in 1958–1959 it began using direct action to secure desegregation of privately owned apartment houses. Today, in the North, CORE concentrates on employment and housing, with some work in school desegregation; in the South it concentrates on public accommodations and to a lesser extent on voter registration.

CORE pioneered in satyagraha in the United States, but it was the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955–1956 that dramatically brought it to the attention of the nation, and popularized its use among Negroes. And it has been Martin Luther King, catapulted into prominence by the boycott, who has become the leading symbol of this strategy. Before the court decision (obtained by NAACP Legal Defense Fund lawyers) had spelled success for the Montgomery Improvement Association, a similar movement had started in Tallahassee, under the leadership of Rev. C. K. Steele, (president of the NAACP branch, and later a vice-president of SCLC). Later,

similar action was undertaken in Birmingham where, following the state's injunction against NAACP operations, a group of ministers headed by Fred Shuttlesworth had established the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. About the same time, there appeared the Tuskegee Civic Association, which conducted a three-year boycott of local merchants in response to the state legislature's gerrymandering Negro voters out of the town's limits. This campaign attained its object when the Supreme Court ruled the gerrymander illegal in 1960.

The events in Montgomery, Tallahassee and Tuskegee were widely heralded as indicating the emergence of a "New Negro" in the South—militant, no longer fearful of police harassment, jails and white hoodlums, and determined to use his collective economic strength to obtain his freedom. Seizing upon the new mood, King in 1957 organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—an organization of affiliates rather than a membership organization like the NAACP and CORE. Ideologically committed to a thoroughgoing pacifism of the Gandhian persuasion, SCLC's program includes not only the familiar mass demonstrations, but also citizenship training institutes which prepare local leaders to work on voter registration in their communities.

The NAACP perceived the beginning of the end to the Negro's second-class citizenship in the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Yet, impressive as it was to cite the advances made in the post-war years, in spite of state laws and Supreme Court decisions, something was clearly wrong. Negroes were still disfranchised in most of the Deep South; legal decisions in regard to transportation were still largely ignored there; discrimination in employment and housing was the rule, even in states with model civil rights laws; the Negro unemployment rate grew constantly due to recessions and automation; and, rather than giving in, the South responded with the White Citizens Councils.

At the very time that legalism was thus proving itself a limited instrument, Negroes were gaining a new self-image as a result of the rise of the new African nations; King and others were demonstrating that nonviolent direct action could be effective in the South; and the new laws and court decisions, the gradually increasing interest of the federal government, and the evident drift of white public opinion developed a new confidence in the future among American Negroes. As a result of this revolution in expectations, Negroes no longer felt that they had to accept the humiliations of second-class citizenship, and consequently these humiliations—somewhat fewer though they now were—appeared to be more intolerable than ever. This increasing impatience accounted for the rising tempo of nonviolent direct action in the late 1950's which culminated in the student sit-ins of 1960. Ironically, the NAACP by its very successes

in the courts and legislatures had done more than any other agency to create the revolution in expectations that was to disillusion so many Negroes with the limitations of the NAACP program.

Many date the "Negro Revolt" from the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955—and the significance of this event cannot be overemphasized. Yet it seems to me that the truly decisive break with the past came with the college student sit-ins that began spontaneously at Greensboro in 1960. These sit-ins involved, for the first time, the employment of nonviolent direct action on a massive South-wide scale that led to thousands of arrests and elicited the participation of tens of thousands of people. Moreover, a period was inaugurated in which youth were to become the spearhead of the civil-rights struggle. And this is still the case—for it has been the youth who have been the chief dynamic force in compelling the established civil-rights organizations to revamp their strategy, which they found it imperative to do to retain their leadership in the movement.

The NAACP quickly went into action, and the national office deliberately speeded up the creation of youth councils and college chapters with the specific intent of engaging in demonstrations, while national staff members "knocked heads together" at regional conferences that Spring in a vigorous effort to obtain local NAACP participation and support for this type of mass action. In fact, a great deal of the sit-in activity during 1960 and 1961 was carried on by NAACP youth councils and college chapters. Like the NAACP, SCLC sought to get on the student bandwagon, and it sponsored the Raleigh Conference in April, at which the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was founded—though SNCC and SCLC later drifted apart. CORE in 1960, seemed to be a dying organization, its methods appropriated by more enterprising successors. But in 1961, after the Freedom Ride to Alabama and Mississippi, CORE re-emerged as the most imaginative and resourceful of the civil-rights agencies in the application of the tactics in which it had pioneered.

THUS, EACH OF THE FOUR ORGANIZATIONS is now committed to direct action. In other ways also the differences between them appear largely to be differences of emphasis. All four are now engaged in voter registration; all of them have moved energetically into the employment problem; and both CORE and NAACP—the only two with Northern operations—are stepping up their activities in regard to de facto school segregation and housing. The NAACP however has eschewed primary emphasis on direct action, regarding it as an extremely useful technique; the others regard direct action as the chief focus of their work and consider legal remedies of distinctly secondary value. This fact should not obscure the importance of the legal work done in support of the direct-actionists, most notably in

the Supreme Court decisions secured on behalf of the demonstrators. (In fact there is evidence that one reason for the willingness of so many youth to violate Southern laws has been the fact that there was a general expectation that the Court would rule, as it has done thus far, in behalf of demonstrators convicted of trespass, disorderly conduct, parading without a permit, breach of the peace and so forth.

Even the differences in emphasis between the NAACP and the other organizations seem likely to disappear in the light of what happened at the NAACP's recent national convention, where militants among the rank and file and the "radicals" on the paid staff triumphed against the more conservative elements. The convention enthusiastically endorsed direct action as the major NAACP tactic for the future. Undoubtedly the 1963 convention will mark a real turning point in NAACP history.

However, there has been one important difference in the way in which direct action is conducted by national NAACP leaders as compared to that of the leaders of other organizations. The NAACP has tended to act on the premise that the "professionals" should not go to jail; while all the others believe that the "professionals" should not only go to jail along with their followers, but they should also stay there with them. Roy Wilkins' arrest in Jackson was thus a highly significant *symbolic* act.

On the other hand, there are differences in style among the three more exclusively action-oriented bodies. King and SCLC appear to be the most cautious, and to specialize in a few showy projects. The SNCC people are the most spontaneous. For some of them, demonstrating and going to jail almost appear to have become a way of life. Status is measured by the number of arrests and amount of time spent in jail. More than any of the others the SNCC people are the "true believers."

As in other great movements for the advancement of human welfare, the idealistic and egoistic motivations among civil-rights leaders become so inextricably intertwined that one often cannot tell where one ends and the other begins. Consequently, it is not surprising that the events of 1960 and 1961 ushered in a period of intense competitive rivalry for power and prestige in the civil-rights field. It has been a four-way struggle between SCLC, NAACP, SNCC and CORE, and even the Urban League has become more aggressive.

Of the four it may be said that SNCC has probably been the most dynamic force closely seconded by CORE. SNCC, theoretically a coordinating committee of affiliated college and youth groups, ordinarily operates through a small group in Atlanta which engages in action of its own choosing and enlists the aid of people in the communities where it decides to work. SNCC has been extraordinarily effective. Though it has the most modest budget of any of

the four (its field secretaries, currently reported as numbering about ninety, work on a subsistence basis), and although it has, until very recently, received far less publicity than the other organizations, it can probably be said that it has supplied the major drive for the civil rights movement in the South.

While various SCLC affiliates have taken the lead in non-violent action in certain communities, especially in NAACP branches dominated by conservative leadership, King himself functions as a symbolic or "spiritual leader." Ordinarily, he moves into situations after they have been started, and then lends the magic of his image to the support of the local movement. King operates effectively in this way both because he is a superb symbolic figure, and also because he is easily the most effective interpreter of Negro aspirations to white America. Elsewhere there have arisen numerous local organizations, often established by ministers, taking various names and unattached to any national body. Sometimes these are "umbrella" groups, including local units of national bodies; at other times they are independent of, though not necessarily hostile to the NAACP or other established groups. As the oldest and therefore the most bureaucratic of the civil rights agencies, in many localities dominated by older conservative leaders, the NAACP has quite naturally been on the defensive in a number of cities. Yet, while the NAACP can scarcely take credit for initiating the use of direct action techniques, it is clearly invalid to stereotype it as run by a conservative Black Bourgeoisie irrevocably wedded to legalism. Pushed and shoved by the more exclusively action-oriented groups, the NAACP has pretty effectively met the challenge posed by them —though its dominance in the civil rights field, not seriously contested as late as 1960, has been broken. Often, in fact, one gets the impression that rivalry among the different groups is not due so much to differences in philosophy, tactics or degree of militancy, as much as to a power struggle for hegemony in the civil rights movement. Painful as these conflicts have been, the rivalry of the civil rights groups has actually proved to be an essential ingredient of the dynamics of the Negro protest movement over the past three and a half years. For, in their attempt to outdo each other, each organization puts forth a greater effort and is constantly searching for new avenues along which to develop programs. And despite all rivalries, when the chips are down, the different agencies can and usually do manage to cooperate. Especially significant has been the growing cooperation between CORE and SNCC in the past few months. The best example of this cooperation amidst rivalry is, of course, the fact that all four of these organizations, along with others, are currently working together in sponsoring the March on Washington to take place late in August.

It is impossible to generalize about the NAACP. To arrive at a

valid account of the relationship of the NAACP to the nonviolent movement one would have to make a detailed study of the complexities in various local situations, and the policies of the national staff. The patterns of what actually happened seem infinitely varied. Some branches have resisted the direct action approach; others have embraced it wholeheartedly. In some branches there has been fierce internal fighting. Thus in Philadelphia one faction denounced the branch leaders for being conservative, picketed their homes with signs calling them "Uncle Toms," and having captured the branch offices has subsequently enjoyed an unusual degree of support from the masses of people. In Lynchburg a few years ago, the initiative in civil rights passed to a group of ministers affiliated with the SCLC because the branch leadership there was a conservative group, consisting chiefly of businessmen and school people. (Teachers, because of their vulnerability have been the most cautious group in the Negro community. When, therefore, the Birmingham teachers openly sided with their demonstrating students it was an event of major significance.) In some instances adult leadership worked well with youth, as in Durham, one of the first action groups in the South to add successful work in the area of employment to its achievements in desegregating places of public accommodation. In Memphis militant NAACP adult leadership maneuvered originally autonomous youth groups into the NAACP, and misunderstanding and some bitterness followed when the adults and youth did not agree on tactics, since the adults did not see the necessity of so many arrests.

In a number of places it was the youth chapters that pushed the adult branches into action. Thus in St. Louis there was also some friction. There adults organized the youth council, then thought the youth were moving too fast and finally when dramatic youth action brought results, they wished to take the credit for the achievement. In Charlotte and Richmond also, the college activists quarreled with adult NAACP leadership over tactics and credit, the students being action-oriented, impatient with negotiating, and intolerant of anything that smacked of compromise. Such personality and tactical conflicts undoubtedly explain why CORE, in the aftermath of its Freedom Highways project in the summer of 1962, has been able to enlist so much support from NAACP people in North Carolina—so much so, in fact, that the state youth conference leaders were tempted to go lock, stock and barrel over to CORE. In Durham the activists now refer to themselves as NAACP-CORE, and that town's unusually able and dedicated NAACP lawyer, Floyd B. McKissick, was this past June elected National Chairman of CORE. Something of the same order occurred in Savannah, where there was a break between an unusually militant branch president and the youth leader. The upshot was that the NAACP predomin-

ance in civil rights activity in Savannah was broken. Both the NAACP branch and the SCLC affiliate there now have vigorous, but independent programs, with some cooperation. However, it is the work of the SCLC affiliate that is currently receiving national attention.

The story of the interaction between the NAACP and the more activist groups is therefore one that defies easy generalization. In at least three cases—Atlanta, Tallahassee, and Nashville—dynamic NAACP branch presidents became heads of local SCLC affiliates. What the NAACP has been aggrieved about is not their direct action work, but the fact that its leaders' identification with SCLC subtracted deserved credit from NAACP. In Danville, a project initiated by the local SCLC affiliate, CORE and SNCC sent field workers to assist, and both the local and state NAACP are also cooperating. In Baltimore, the NAACP's effort to dominate the Civic Interest Group led to a bitter quarrel; but the local arrangements for the CIG's Eastern Shore demonstrations in the Spring of 1962 were set up by an NAACP field secretary, and on the basis of these demonstrations he was able to establish or reactivate several NAACP branches in the area, to the benefit of the Maryland State NAACP Conference, presided over by the head of the Baltimore branch.

In some cases the NAACP's problem seems to be that it is too aggressive, as in Baltimore and Philadelphia. In other cases its problem arises from the fact that it is not aggressive enough. In New York, CORE and NAACP have worked together on picketing the Harlem Hospital construction site in an effort to secure employment for skilled Negroes in the building trades, but there has been some disagreement on who deserves the credit. In Philadelphia, the problem is more serious; but even there, though the fractionalization of leadership has been deplored, analysis of the situation reveals that the nasty rivalry over who is going to do most to secure new employment opportunities in the skilled trades, has led both groups to step up their activities more than otherwise anticipated, and has thus led to more rapid progress than would otherwise have been possible. In Jackson, on the other hand, SNCC and CORE people who had been assisting the NAACP in its recent major effort there, felt that the NAACP's failure to conduct continuous massive demonstrations was a serious tactical error arising from NAACP timidity and lingering faith in legalism, and eventually they withdrew from the demonstration. The NAACP itself was not unified on the matter; not only were certain local elements anxious to have more vigorous action, but it has been reported that national leaders who were on the scene were not agreed among themselves.

In Louisville, the tension between the NAACP and other organizations operated in quite a different fashion. For some reason

the NAACP there was quiescent during 1960, and not until a tiny CORE group led the way at the end of the year was the NAACP galvanized into action. After some bickering, a coordinating committee was organized to run the demonstrations which included the NAACP, CORE and a voter registration group. Under the forcible leadership of the son of the local Negro newspaper publisher, a mass boycott of all downtown Louisville, mammoth parades, mass arrests and other colorful—if, at the time, rather unorthodox—techniques, resulted in the complete desegregation of downtown Louisville. The campaign cost the local NAACP treasury some $6,000—given under the compulsion of circumstances—and most of the demonstrators happened to be members of the NAACP. But the organization did not get the lion's share of the credit. The NAACP is still bitter about this; Roy Wilkins referred specifically to the Louisville situation in his acid remarks last month about other organizations taking the credit and letting the NAACP foot the bills. Yet the truth in Louisville is a complex one, for youthful dynamism, CORE's prodding, the resourceful leadership of a person on the NAACP executive board who neither spoke for the branch, nor was an officer of it, and NAACP money were *all* essential ingredients of the movement's spectacular and probably unparalleled success.

These questions of finances and credit are touchy ones. Concern with the latter is not entirely unjustified. As responsible officials in both CORE and NAACP have put it to me, it is essential for their respective organizations to receive full credit for what they are doing, since each needs a good image if it is to attract the members and funds necessary to carry on and expand its work. And it is, in fact, in large part this need for a good public image that has propelled the NAACP into more and more direct action throughout the nation, either by itself or in coalition with other organizations. The NAACP, particularly the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the two wealthiest civil rights organizations, have played an important role in financing the direct action movement. The Legal Defense Fund has performed an exceedingly important function in representing activists both in and out of the NAACP, in the courts. However, it should be noted that since 1955, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has been a completely independent organization, legally, administratively, and financially. As for the other groups, CORE and SNCC are in chronic need of funds; while the best heeled of the more strictly actionist organizations is easily the SCLC. There is a widespread feeling in the civil rights movement that King is able to get a great deal of money because of his excellent public relations image, but that most of it is spent on overhead. His field staff, for example, is small—half a dozen compared to the dozens that are employed by SNCC, whose annual budget has not been much more than $100,000.

SINCE 1960 THE PUSH FROM THE YOUTH and the competitive rivalry between the various organizations have galvanized the civil rights cause. Organizations and leaders just have to take more dramatic action if they are to maintain their position since arrests numbering fifty or a hundred are scarcely news any longer. Both the NAACP and SCLC, as we have observed, attempted to tie the student movement to its image. But youth have a way of being independent, overthrowing the yoke of their elders. The importance of the work of NAACP youth in 1960 and 1961 was made very evident at the NAACP 1961 convention, when the organization was faced with a serious revolt of its own youth councils and college chapters, which regarded themselves as setting the pace for the adults. They demanded and received greater autonomy and representation on convention committees and on the national board. As one youth was overheard to remark: "We can do without the adults, but they can't do without us." Though in view of the students' dependence upon the adults for financial and legal aid this statement was clearly an oversimplification, it did epitomize the dynamics of the situation. Thus, when CORE recouped itself by the 1961 Freedom Ride, it was the Nashville students who were responsible for continuing it when it bogged down in Alabama. Later, when CORE and SCLC leaders thought it was time to call the whole thing to a halt, the students insisted on continuing to bring Freedom Riders into Jackson.

Student groups have kept things humming ever since. King, the youth tend to say, stays in jail only long enough to obtain the publicity necessary to maintain his symbolic leadership. Especially revealing is an incident reported to have occurred during the recent Birmingham demonstration. The decision to use young children was not King's, but was made by two younger men—one a man on King's staff (and a former leader in the student movement), and the other a CORE representative—while King and other adult leaders were out of the city. By the time King returned the children were ready to move, and at the very moment when King was questioning the tactics at a strategy meeting—so the report goes—the two young men slipped the children out of the church and led them on their way to jail in what probably proved to be the most brilliant tactic of the whole campaign. And just as King, many felt, had to help lead the Birmingham campaign in order to revive his fading image,* so it was obvious that the NAACP had to do something. That this something proved to be Jackson was apparently due not only to the external pressures facing the NAACP, but also, in part, to the considerable pressure from the youth groups in Jackson itself for direct action. Similarly the acclaim accorded Paul Zuber for his victory in the New Rochelle school case must have been a major stimulus for the

* His reputation had been severely damaged by his two defeats in Albany, Ga.

NAACP's all-out attack on educational segregation in the North. As we shall point out below there are several factors that account for the recent burgeoning civil rights activity in the North, but surely the competition between CORE and NAACP is partly responsible for the vigor with which these two organizations are now working on de facto school segregation, job discrimination and housing. Finally, the pressure of competing organizations was very largely responsible for the turn taken by the NAACP annual convention held in July, 1963. Not only did the convention resolve to emphasize direct action work, but the youth were granted greater autonomy than ever, and the convention recommended to the national board procedures for removing do-nothing conservative branch officials.

TWO OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT aspects of the civil rights movement since 1960—and essential components of its dynamics—are that it has become increasingly a Negro movement and a mass movement. The two developments are not unrelated; and both of them, of course, had their origins well before 1960. The NAACP membership and branch leadership had always been almost entirely Negro; but at the start, most of the staff and executive board were white liberals. In 1921 the NAACP employed its first Negro executive secretary, James Weldon Johnson; in 1933 its legal staff came under Negro direction when Charles Houston took over; and today only two NAACP staff members are white (though the Legal Defense Fund's chief counsel, Jack Greenberg, is white). Constitutional changes made in 1947 and 1962 have permitted greater membership participation in the selection of the national board; one result has been a decline in the number of whites on it so that today they make up less than one-fourth of its membership. CORE started off as a predominantly white liberal middle-class organization. As late as 1960, perhaps only one-third of its membership was Negro, and at that time its three chief executive officers, as well as its national chairman were white. With the selection of James Farmer as natonal director in 1961, CORE's image in the Negro community changed markedly, and it was thereby able to attract far more Negro support. Today, of CORE's four chief paid executives, two are white and two are Negro. While the majority of Northern CORE members are still white there has been increasing Negro participation and in the South CORE's membership is almost entirely Negro. CORE's recent

convention, held in June 1963, witnessed two firsts: it was the first time that a majority of the delegates were Negro, and it was the first time that a Negro was elected national chairman. And the Southern Negro delegates set the tone for the convention and moved into positions of leadership.

The March on Washington Movement during the Second World War encouraged current tendencies insisting upon an all-Negro membership and leadership; and the same holds true of the Negro American Labor Council formed in 1960, to combat discriminatory trade-union practices within the AFL-CIO. Organizations like SCLC and the various local movements that have sprung up around the country have been Negro organizations from the start. SNCC has avoided any form of union with the predominantly white Northern Student Movement for Civil Rights—though it and Northern white students generally have been a prime source of SNCC's funds. SNCC has a number of white field secretaries, but it consciously projects itself as a Negro-led organization, and Negroes dominate SNCC's power structure. There has, in fact, been a growing insistence that Negroes must take the initiative and leadership in achieving their freedom, that white liberals tend to be compromisers who cannot be fully trusted, though their financial assistance and their participation in direct action—under Negro leadership—are to be welcomed.

CORE's experience has shown clearly that in order to attract large numbers of Negroes to the civil rights movement Negro leadership is essential. White liberals—and radicals—in the movement have accepted this fact. The NAACP had originally appealed to the élite Negroes, and during the 1930's some of the younger intellectuals like Ralph Bunche criticized it for doing nothing about the problems of the Negro working masses. The Association modified its program somewhat, and during the forties and fifties, largely as a result of the energetic work of its labor secretary, made an increasing appeal to working-class people. Actually it would be impossible to make any generalization about the sources of NAACP branch membership and leadership today, since the variations are so great, and since so much depends on local conditions and personalities. In some branches the more élite people in the community set the tone; in others the professional and business people show no interest and blue collar workers dominate. Thus, suburban New York branches have an élite tone, while the Youngstown, Ohio branch, for example, is under labor control and has a steelworker for president. At the risk of much oversimplification one may say that, in general, branch leadership today tends to be more middle class rather than either lower class or upper class. For example, the noted work of the Savannah branch was carried out under the leadership of a postal worker.

CORE originally attracted white collar middle-class Negroes. Since 1960, however, it has found blue collar skilled and even semi-skilled workers joining its ranks, both in the North, where it has started to place major emphasis on the problem of obtaining jobs for working-class Negroes, and in the South. The youthful sit-inners of 1960 and 1961 were chiefly of working-class origins—that is they tended to be upward mobile members of the Negro lower-middle and upper-lower classes, though their leadership was more likely to be of middle-class origin. From the beginning the bus boycotts of the South were mass movements, and the same is true of movements like the Albany Movement and the selective buying campaigns that appeared in a number of cities, though it should be pointed out that all classes of the community are involved in these efforts and that the upper-middle and even upper classes are disproportionately represented in their leadership.

A RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIGHEST SIGNIFICANCE has been the active involvement in the civil rights movement of menial lower-class people, many of whom are chronically unemployed. Apparently it was they who were responsible for the brick and bottle throwing in Birmingham and Jackson. Generally, individuals of this group have heretofore avoided actual participation in demonstrations sponsored by the direct action groups. I personally remember how in Chestertown, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where most of the Negro population is composed of unskilled cannery workers with only seasonal employment, few of the local people attended the mass meetings or participated in demonstrations—but they were ready, more than ready, to fight the white hoodlums who attacked the interracial teams of nonviolent demonstrators. In fact a riot at that time (the Spring of 1962) was only narrowly averted. Especially remarkable was the situation in Jacksonville, Florida, a year or so ago, where youthful Negro gangs started to defend the NAACP demonstrators from attacks by white gangs. The NAACP was able to establish contact with the Negro gangs and creatively channeled and coordinated their activity to fit in with NAACP direct action strategy.

It is exceedingly significant that some individuals from lower lower-class background have actually begun to demonstrate with nonviolent activists. Unlike the latter, they have not remained nonviolent in the face of provocation from white mobsters, but have become involved in fracases with them in places like Cambridge and Nashville. In the North, people of this class are chiefly concerned with obtaining jobs; in the South, despite a high rate of unemployment, they are becoming involved in the struggle for public accommodations, though this is quite likely a result, at least in part, of the new practice of packaging demands for desegregation

of lunch counters and so forth, with demands for jobs. CORE's experiments with direct action to secure improvement of slum housing in Newark and Brooklyn suggest that the major civil rights organizations will soon be deliberately making a bid, through concrete action projects, for the support of this most underprivileged element in the Negro population.

There are those who believe that overt violence on the part of Negro demonstrators will rise, and that in hard-core areas of the South, Gandhian techniques will not work and disillusionment with nonviolence will set in even among those heretofore committed to it. Certainly, few of the demonstrators in CORE or SNCC are philosophically committed to nonviolence. Rather it has been a technique that has proved successful, and has given those who use it a certain sense of moral superiority. But with the increasing police brutality as in Alabama, Danville and elsewhere, the growing frustration at the resistance to change on the part of the white South, and the expanding involvement of lower-class people whose values condone the use of violence, it is likely that the tendency to fight back rather than accept brutality passively, may increase. In retrospect, the incident involving Robert Williams of Monroe, North Carolina, who was suspended as NAACP chapter president in 1959, because he held that Negroes should fight in self-defense when attacked, which at the time seemed to be a unique and relatively inconsequential phenomenon, turns out to be something of a harbinger of the future. Williams later said that only if Negroes fought back would federal intervention on their behalf occur—and recent events in Birmingham suggest that there was an element of truth in this prediction. There are some who believe that rioting and bloodshed are inevitable and could even be of value in compelling the intervention of federal authority and the recognition of the Negro's constitutional rights. Moreover, it is possible that the dire predictions in the daily press about the likelihood of racial violence may act in the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Whether or not extensive racial violence occurs, astute leadership in the civil rights movement will certainly employ its possibility as a device for eliciting quicker action from the white power structure. In any event, the movement is at the point where CORE, SNCC and many NAACP leaders say that no matter what the risks of violence may be, they cannot stop pressing forward now. The outlook is therefore clearly for more direct action, not less.

One must conclude that there has emerged a real thrust for achieving "Freedom Now" from the working class and lower-middle class people. SNCC, highly critical of both the Black Bourgeoisie and the white liberals, regards itself as the vanguard of the Negro masses—and to a remarkable extent that is exactly what the youthful demonstrators of the years since 1960, have proved to be. And

this pressure from the working class—especially working-class youth —has been largely responsible for the greater momentum the civil rights movement has recently attained. It is ironical that what started out some time ago as a Negro middle- and upper-class and a white liberal movement, has ended up as a movement where the largest impetus is coming from the Negro working masses. In fact, the competition for prestige and power among the major civil rights organizations is in considerable degree a competition for control over the masses of working-class Negroes. It is also likely that a large part of the waxing militancy of middle- and upper-class Negroes is derived from the new militancy of the working classes. As Bayard Rustin wrote concerning Birmingham in the June, 1963 issue of *Liberation,* here was a "black community [that] was welded into classless revolt. A. G. Gaston, the Negro millionaire who with some ministers and other upper-class elements had publicly stated that the time was not ripe for such a broad protest, finally accommodated himself, as did the others, to the mass pressure from below and joined the struggle." There is, however, a wide range of patterns. Thus in Baltimore it has been the example of certain prominent ministers and the Urban League Executive Secretary, who were arrested July 4, at the Gwynn Oaks Amusement Park demonstration, that is galvanizing large numbers of adults in the community to a willingness to participate in direct action activity.

It has become fashionable in activist circles to criticize the Negro bourgeoisie and the white liberals as being conservative compromisers, wedded to gradualism and legalism. But this is a gross oversimplification of the true situation. Much of the leadership in the civil rights movement comes from the more élite Negroes. Even the leadership of SNCC, which is most vociferous in its denunciation of the Black Bourgeoisie is largely of middle-class origins. From Cambridge to Albany the leadership of the Southern movement is peppered with members of the middle and upper classes. And the Birmingham experience suggests that if the businessmen and leaders drawn from the upper strata wish to retain their position they will have to go along with the tide.

It is as erroneous to stereotype the white liberals as it is to stereotype the Black Bourgeoisie. "Farewell to the white liberal," has now become a familiar slogan. And in large part this feeling is justified. As far back as the middle Fifties, Negroes exhibited disillusionment with many white liberals who thought the NAACP (of all organizations) was going too fast. Liberal labor leaders have temporized on the issue of trade union discrimination in deference to prejudiced elements within their unions, especially in the South. Often white liberals, who ideologically think in terms of gradual change and compromising where necessary, and whose wide-ranging concerns sometimes lead them to feel that progress in other areas

should not necessarily be sacrificed for an all-out attack on civil rights (a point of view that plagued the Kennedy Administration during its first two years and more in office) display what to Negro activists is an alarming tendency to compromise, if not betray, their cause. Certain white liberals who have entered the Establishment since Kennedy became President, tend to urge a go-slow approach because they do not like to see the President placed in a difficult position.

Yet, all liberals are not alike; a significant number are activists themselves. Faculty members and students from Duke University and the University of Tennessee, and more recently Vanderbilt University have participated in direct-action demonstrations, as have a handful of liberal white professors in the Negro colleges. White liberals formed an important element in CORE's 1961 Freedom Ride, and CORE still draws largely from the liberal white group in the North; a very substantial share of the financial support (possibly over half) of SNCC, SCLC, CORE and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund comes from liberal whites; many hundreds of northern white liberal college youth have participated in demonstrations in Maryland, and some have worked as field secretaries for SNCC in the Deep South. Moreover, it seems inevitable that as desegregation progresses in the South, increasing numbers of Southern white liberal youth will want to participate. If they do so in significant numbers, the most active ones will certainly wish to participate in policy-making, and thus SNCC will have to re-examine its Negro-only leadership policy. It is natural that Negroes should want to discard paternalistic white leadership. But the ironic result is that a movement for racial equality operates ideologically with the notion that whites should be subordinate in it to Negroes. Undoubtedly this is a passing phase; as we approach genuine full citizenship for American Negroes this sort of anomaly will disappear.

The sharpest censure of liberal whites is of course reserved for those labor leaders and politicians who, subjected to many cross-pressures, do not act fully in accordance with their ideals. Southern union locals and vested interest groups who do not wish to share their monopoly of skilled jobs or their power within the unions with others, resist granting equality to Negro union members. Even unions that pass resolutions in support of Negro rights, significantly compromise the rights of their own Negro members. The situation in the ILGWU, for example, where non-whites make up a large proportion of the membership is a scandal. There is not a single Negro on the union's General Executive Board, and though non-whites make up over 90% of the membership of certain locals all managers are white. Not only are there no Negroes in positions of real leadership in the ILGWU, but Negroes have difficulty in entering the skilled craft local unions. Even the UAW, known for

years for its outstanding liberalism on the race issue, has lacked Negro participation in its top circles. Not until the 1962 convention was a Negro elected to the International Executive Board—and this came about only after a Negro caucus conducted a spirited two year fight on the floor of the convention. The situation, of course, is far worse in most of the old-line illiberal AFL unions, especially in the building trades, printing and skilled metal crafts. In the South, union locals are sometimes identified with the white supremacists, as in Savannah, Front Royal, Virginia, Lithonia, Ga., and elsewhere. In the steel center of Birmingham, the most highly unionized town in the South, and in Little Rock, Atlanta and New Orleans, which are all well unionized, organized labor failed to take a stand in behalf of civil rights during the racial crises in those cities. Union leaders have simply abdicated their responsibilities on this issue. All this is not lost on Negro workers. As far as Negroes are concerned, the theory of Negro-Labor unity is meaningless. Thus, with few exceptions, labor, which many conceive of as the natural ally of the Negro, is under attack from Negro protest groups.

THE TREMENDOUS PRESSURES generated by the Negro protest movement in recent months have forced the President to finally come out forcefully for Negro citizenship rights on moral grounds and to make some relatively strong legislative recommendations to Congress. While pleased with the step forward Kennedy has taken, Negro leaders, even Roy Wilkins, are nevertheless dissatisfied with his proposals. In many ways, they feel that the legislative package could and must be strengthened. They are particularly disappointed that Kennedy's recommendations do not attack the heart of the employment problem, whose solution they are now coming to recognize as the key to the solution of the whole problem of racial discrimination. And there have been strong rumblings of dissatisfaction over the Administration's seeming willingness to compromise on the public accommodations proposals. Thus Kennedy is caught between the accelerating Negro demands and the counter-pressures from groups hostile to civil rights. Under the circumstances, whatever he feels able to do will not satisfy the integrationists.

Yet in attacking white liberals, and in making the incontrovertible assertion that Negroes through their own actions have

brought about more changes in the past three years than took place in all the preceding fifty, it seems to me that the civil rights activists appear to be taking a somewhat narrow view of social causation. Leaving aside the role of white liberals in creating the climate of opinion which makes more rapid advancement now possible, it should be pointed out that the civil rights movement even now depends a great deal financially upon the contributions of liberal white. Kennedy acts too late and then too little on civil rights matters, but it is doubtful that if Nixon had won the presidency with southern support there would have been much significant progress. Indeed, undoubtedly the current Negro mood is partly rooted in the expectation that Kennedy would act decisively. Disillusionment set in when he did not.

Some white liberals, no longer regarded as authorities on strategy by Negro integrationists, amazed at some of the demands that Negroes are now making—such as bringing white children into Negro areas for school so as to create racially balanced educational facilities, and giving Negroes preferential treatment on jobs until employment equality is achieved—must feel rather like the Girondists did when overtaken by the Jacobins. Should violence become a common tactic rather than a sporadic reaction, more will find themselves in this position. Thus to some extent, there is a tendency for many white liberals to feel rather alienated from the civil rights movement today. This is true even for those who participate in the movement. They sense the general suspicion of white liberals, the deliberate exclusion of whites from leadership, and their relegation, as whites, to secondary and supporting roles. (I do not intend to suggest that this attitude toward white participation is universal. Baltimore, North Carolina and probably Nashville would be exceptions. In North Carolina a white Duke University student was elected president of the NAACP state youth conference in 1962; in Baltimore where the NAACP leadership has for years held that "You can't trust any white people," the nonviolent demonstrators in CORE and CIG tend to regard some of the more extreme activists in SNCC as something akin to racists.)

INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH THERE ARE SIGNS that the white radicals in the civil rights movement are also somewhat alienated from it. Radicals of various hues—Socialists, Trotskyites, Russophile Communists and others—perceived in the student nonviolent movement important implications. They saw it as a potentially revolutionary movement and believed that, given the context of American life in the sixties, in this movement lay the key to a more socialized America. They may yet be right, not because their aims are the aims of the Negro activists, not because they will be able to generate a truly revolutionary movement out of the Negro protest, but because the

unemployment problem facing Negro workers is of such serious dimensions that the government may be compelled to take what by American standards would be highly radical steps to solve it. For civil rights leaders are on the road to making employment their chief area of direct action, and it is the area most fraught with the danger of explosive violence in the North. In a sense, the solution to the nation's growing economic problems is a key to the solution of the civil rights question. Integration will be meaningless without jobs, and not very meaningful if the jobs are the old menial ones. In fact, a major source of the very urgency characterizing the Negro protest movement today is the economic deprivation suffered by millions of unskilled and semi-skilled Negro workers and their families.

The Socialists, and particularly the more militant revolutionary Marxists saw a golden opportunity in the student movement and the expanding work of SCLC. Superficially their ideas fitted in well enough with the vocabulary of the Negro activists, who were imbued with the mystique of conducting a "revolutionary" movement destined to shake the social structure to its very foundations, and who identified themselves with the Negro masses against the Black Bourgeoisie. Undoubtedly the white radicals added to the revolutionary, anti-Negro-bourgeois, anti-white-liberal psychology of the Movement. Their presence was welcomed by many, though fully understood by only a few, for they seemed sincere, dedicated and uncompromising in their advocacy of civil rights. Attending the SNCC meeting in 1962 was like going to a Popular Front affair in the 1930's.

Lately one can discern some disenchantment on the part of the white radicals. In the Winter 1963 issue of *Freedomways,* Ann Braden voiced concern over the second-class position accorded to Southern white radicals in the civil rights movement.

More significantly, some of the revolutionary Marxists, both Negro and white, are looking with dismay upon the signs that Southern businessmen are coming to terms with the demonstrators since this would deflect the Movement from what they believe is its true revolutionary course. They regard it as regrettable that Negroes would be satisfied with the ballot, a home and a car. But they have really missed the point of the Negro protest movement. After all, the vote, a job, a decent standard of living, the right to come and go like other American citizens, are what Negroes are really striving for.

The non-ideological activists are not aiming at radical change in the social structure—they simply talk as if they are. In speaking with Negro youth who use the vocabulary of revolution, one soon discovers that the vast majority of them are attempting to *reform*

American society. They want to "revolutionize" the system of race relations, and anticipate that in the process the political system of the South will undergo a radical transformation into a two-party system. But they contemplate no change in the basic political and economic structures; at most, some of them talk rather vaguely of the identity of interest between poor white and poor Negroes. More fundamentally what most of them want is the opportunity to participate fully in American society as it stands.

SINCE THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS NOW an emerging class that demands the opportunity to participate fully in the American social structure, one would expect that, like thwarted emerging classes elsewhere, if the employment situation is not improved, and if unbreakable resistance should persist in the South, or if a period of reaction should reverse the present trends, he might become a genuine revolutionary radical, and reject entirely the American system and what it stands for. But in such an eventuality the trend is not likely to be toward Marxism—which has had practically no impact upon the Negro activists—but toward some form of nationalism. Until recently, in fact, it seemed quite possible that the unskilled, lowest-class urban Negroes might turn to the escapist nationalist ideology of the Black Muslims, for this sect offered a sense of dignity and a hope for the future to those whom the civil rights movement neglected. More than anything else increasing unemployment joined with the revolution in expectations created a climate in which the Black Muslims thrived. The Black Muslims are simply one of several nationalist movements, but the only one of any size, and though their number is almost certainly below 100,000 they have many admirers. Historically, extreme nationalism of this sort has been usually found among the most dispossessed of the Negro masses (the chief exception being the discouraging decade prior to the Civil War when considerable interest in colonization was to be found among the Negro élite), though there are certain tiny groups of nationalist intellectuals, like the avowedly Marxist Monroe Defense Committee, and like the Liberation Committee for Africa, which seems to lack any coherent program.

JUST AS THE GARVEY MOVEMENT was the lower-lower-class counterpart of the New Negro of the 1920's, so the Black Muslims are the counterpart of the new "New Negro" of the 1960's. They preach an eschatological vision of the doom of the white devils and the coming dominance of the black man, promise a Utopian paradise of a separate territory within the United States in which Negroes will establish their own state, and offer a more practical program of economic accumulation and building up Negro business through hard work, thrift, middle-class morality, and racial unity. Nevertheless, despite the stark contrast between the integrationist aims of the civil rights organizations, and the separatist ideology of the Black Muslims, it is important to recognize that the two have much in common. Both are manifestations of a militant rejection of white discrimination and doctrines of Negro inferiority. Both are essentially a quest for recognition of the Negroes' human dignity. Both reflect the new self-image of American Negroes arising out of the emergence of the new African states. Both exhibit profound dissatisfaction with the traditional Christianity of the Negro masses which offered rewards in heaven rather than a correction of abuses here on earth. Both work for a future in which Negroes lead the life of bougeois Americans. Both exhibit a skepticism about liberal whites. And both are indications of Negro rejection of the philosophy of gradualism. In part, perhaps because they have sensed the increasing attraction for the masses of the direct-action activists of the civil rights organizations which have been moving more vigorously into the area of employment discrimination; in part, undoubtedly, because they thought the moment opportune to make a bid for leadership of the entire Negro community, since March 1963, the Black Muslims appear to have made a turn to the right. They now give less emphasis to separatism, and place more emphasis on the generalized abstractions of justice and freedom; they even urge support of the programs of the civil rights groups which are working for freedom and justice for the race.

The influence of the Black Muslims on the civil rights movement is somewhat speculative. Negroes of all classes approve of their searing indictment of the American race system, and of their ability to place white men on the defensive. Their renown may have contributed to some extent to the vogue of asserting pride in being black that has enjoyed some popularity among Negro activists in recent years. Their presence has also probably contributed not a little to the intensified activities of the more traditional organizations like the NAACP and Urban League, and may in fact have helped alert the civil rights organizations generally to the importance of vigorous action on behalf of the unemployed. This of course will, in turn, almost certainly undermine the Black Muslims' appeal. And finally, the fear of the Black Muslims has certainly

accelerated the efforts of influential whites to satisfy the demands of the civil rights organizations. Ironically, the Black Muslims, by frightening white people, are putting themselves out of business.

IT IS FAREWELL TO THE WHITE LIBERALS, and probably also to the white radicals, and quite likely it will be the same shortly for the Black Muslims. Prejudice and discrimination have produced strong ambivalences in the psychology of American Negroes. They wish to be accepted as Americans, and yet are forced to an ethnocentric loyalty to the black race. Basically they wish to participate in the American social structure, yet they are forced into revolt aganst it. But revolutionary radicalism, whether of the nationalist or the Marxist variety seems to be an unlikely haven for the majority of Negroes, simply because, in contrast to the Africans, they are in a minority that is too small and too dispossessed to obtain freedom and dignity by either of these methods. But they are numerous enough to be a crucial factor in national and in many state and local elections; they are numerous enough to disrupt the normal operations of city life by demonstrations; and they are numerous enough and prosperous enough to wield a mighty economic threat through the power of selective patronage. The future success of the Negro protest movement therefore lies in the use of economic and political pressures, dramatized by nonviolent demonstrations, that will compel the politicians and the business community (in the South the so-called moderates) to accord equal treatment to Negroes in American society. I do not conceive of the politicians or the business community as allies of the Negroes; rather they are the power blocs most susceptible to pressures that Negroes are able to exert.

If, as I think, this will be the likely course of events, we will be faced with another interesting irony in that certain groups that in the past have done so much to advance the cause of civil rights will be the least to benefit from the results. I refer to the Black Muslims who have advanced civil rights by scaring the white man, and to the white liberals and radicals who have worked directly for racial equality. Though one may anticipate that for some time Negroes will remain a relatively distinct group in view of the ethnic pluralism traditional in our society, there will no longer be a base upon which the Black Muslims can erect a powerful movement

although they will continue to appeal to the thousands of disadvantaged people whose problems cannot be solved even if tremendous progress is made. Nor will Negroes have any more cause to be liberals or radicals than Americans generally.

Unless the problems posed by automation prove insoluble within the framework of a capitalist economy, the United States is likely to remain dominated by a middle-class ideology; the routes of upward mobility for Negroes will be the same as those for whites; and Negroes consequently will share in the typical bourgeois values and aspirations of American life.

The new thrust from the Negro masses, the complex patterns of rivalry and cooperation among the civil rights organizations, the increasing power of the Negro vote in the urban centers North and South, the growing realization of the Negro's economic power that he has learned from successful boycotts, the obvious sensitivity of the government to foreign criticism of our racial system, have together resulted in a broadening and intensification of the Negro protest. Year by year and month by month, Negroes have been growing more militant, more immediatist, more fed up with limited successes and tokenism. Paradoxically both the increasing pace of advancement and the growing resistance in the South are leading to greater and greater Negro militance. It is conceivable that a stiffening of Southern white intransigeance, or large-scale unemployment may complicate matters and encourage the development of a Black nationalist revolutionary ideology. But two things are quite certain —Negro militance is bound to grow, and an accelerated tempo of improvement in civil rights appears almost inevitable.

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Intergroup - Gen

ANNUAL REPORT

FALL 1962 - FALL 1963

Quaker House

1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30306

Appal Intergroup Org. Misc.

WORKING TOGETHER

Rev'd 1963

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS INC.

SCHOOL AUTHORITIES

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

STATE GOVERNMENTS

PRIVATE CITIZENS

HEALTH AGENTS

RELIGIOUS LEADERS

RECREATION COUNSELORS

More than 8,000,000 people live in 257 counties in nine states—the Appalachian South. Inter-related problems of limited education and unemployment have resulted in under-nourishment, health deficiencies, substandard housing and clothing, out-migration, and low social morale. Only two of these counties are above the national medians in adult education and family income; 204 counties are more than two years below the national norm in number of years of schooling of adults over 25 years old; 100 counties have a family income median of less than half the national median.

MR. P. F. AYER
EXEC. SECRETARY

The Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc., is a 50-year old voluntary fellowship of professional, lay, and organizational leadership which brings to bear the best of the positive efforts in the region in a united movement of self-help *to which is added assistance available from sources outside the area.*

Research, conferences and workshops, publications, and field service in the areas of education, health, religion, economic and community development, welfare, and recreation and folklore are among the specific ways the Council works through established agencies.

THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS HAS MANY FUNCTIONS:

Through the Council, the Sigma Phi Gamma Sorority financially assists over 36 schools and institutions in the mountains. For administrative aid it turns to the Council which, through long experience, is able to designate those places where the greatest need exists among mountain children.

This cooperative effort between Council and sorority has resulted in hot lunch programs, examinations and inoculations antivenin for snakebite, dental work, clothing, shoes, tonsillectomies, Christmas treats, milk programs, seeds and fertilizer; making a continuing and vital contribution to the welfare of many who would otherwise suffer from serious handicaps.

O

Mountains speak to the soul of man, not as a gale but as a whisper. To hear it one must stop, be very still, and want to hear... then, having heard, be doomed to hear it forever.

New highways slash through tranquil eddies of yesterday's obscurity, bringing the new and taking away the old.

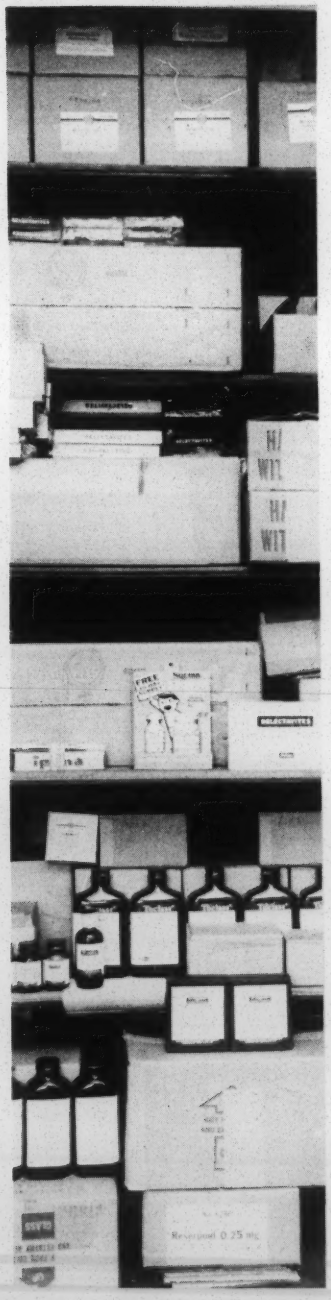
The Save-the-Children Federation, with used clothing outlets throughout the Region, was interested in an evaluation of the effectiveness of its program. It called upon the Council to conduct a survey. The Council, in turn, contacted key personnel who were given questionnaires to use in representative clothing centers. In a brief time the survey was completed at a nominal cost to the Federation. As a non-profit service organization in the region, the Council was able to provide such help at cost.

Over the years, the Council has amassed extensive data on all facets of mountain living. Statistics, reports, correspondence, as well as its specialized library, provide a literal cross-section of the developmental history of the mountain area.

In addition to what it has collected in its files, the Council also publishes, in its quarterly magazine, MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK, folktales and mountain poetry, songs, and other traditional materials, as well as surveys and studies on education, attitudes and health. These surveys include those sponsored and financed by the Council, as well as others.

As an agency of information, the Council has been frequently called upon to supply specific data which, in many instances, are available from no other source.

From Mount Mitchell, the Unaka range, the Cumberlands and up through New River Valley, across the miles of peaks to stoic Black Mountain—on all these ancient heights verdant tracery appears anew each year through the sleeping umber.



The Council has distributed thousands of dollars worth of multi-vitamin preparations, toothpaste, cold and cough medicine, diaper rash protective cream, as well as a wide variety of the latest in medicative preparations which are provided only under the authorization of a physician. The Council is able to extend this vital help to the area through the generosity of major pharmaceutical firms which send large shipments to the Council offices for this purpose.

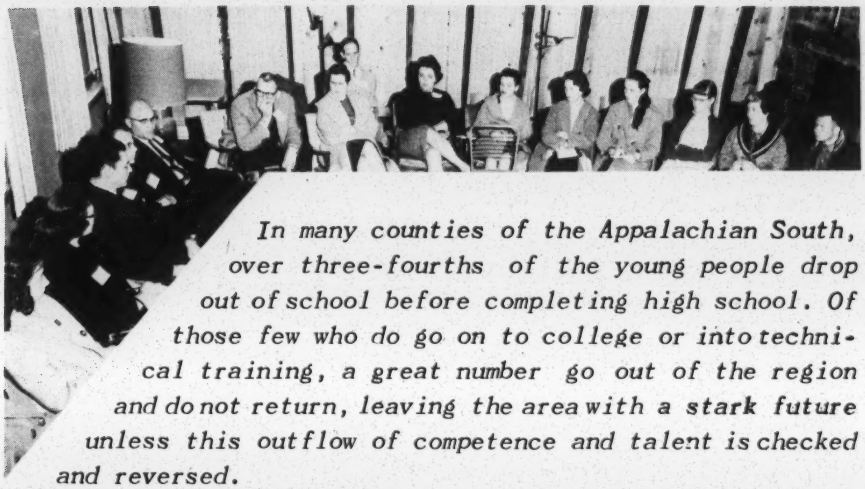
Through the efforts of its members both in and outside the Region, the Council receives shoes from manufacturers and is able to provide distribution through its volunteer workers in the areas of greatest need.

The Council provides a limited number of nursing scholarships as another of its contributions toward improving health in the Appalachian South.

It provides, on a loan basis, two excellent 16mm color films: one on menstrual hygiene and one on planned parenthood.

O

Northward away from Tusquittee, the peaks reach higher and higher and warm themselves slowly in ripe, green-gold afternoons through August until, brimmed over with torpor, they explode in color. Luminous and enchanted, range after range, they lure all with their leaf-crisp laughter.



In many counties of the Appalachian South, over three-fourths of the young people drop out of school before completing high school. Of those few who do go on to college or into technical training, a great number go out of the region and do not return, leaving the area with a stark future unless this outflow of competence and talent is checked and reversed.

The emphasis of the Council's work with youth is on the need for young people with knowledge, technique and skills, and on the opportunities which service to an underdeveloped region offers.

The Council plans youth meetings as part of the Annual Conferences, brings in specialized leaders in fields of particular interest to youth, and even provides scholarships to enable outstanding young people to attend the conferences.

The Youth Committee sponsors annual workshops which stress the problems and opportunities of the region, and the ideals of service to society, whether in or outside of the area. The Council continually emphasizes the need for education. In fact, youth groups are sponsored on college and secondary school campuses, Council staff members working with them in arranging for authorities in various fields to help in group discussions.

In these ways, through the Council, young people of the Southern Mountains are informed of the needs of their home territory, and of ways in which they can help in filling these needs.

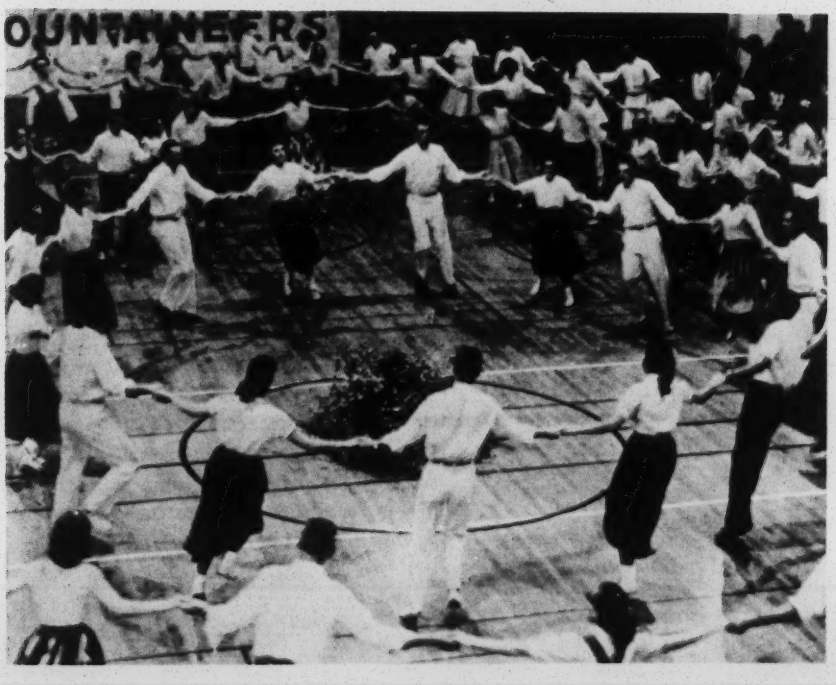
Finally, ashamed of splendor, the valleys settle down to meditation and prepare to be oblivious to winter's storms. Rebirth, blossoming, decline and rest; the mountains sing their ballads to the sky.

For years the Council has cooperated effectively with folklore collectors and researchers throughout the area, as well as many from elsewhere, in the preservation and appreciation, and even in a revival in current use, of the music, stories, and cultural patterns of the mountains.

Much of this folklore is documented in the Council's quarterly magazine ***MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK*** *and in other Council publications. Folk games, songs, and dances are preserved through use by many qualified leaders, including specialists employed by the Council for this purpose. Folk festivals and folk dance groups under many auspices are encouraged and often co-sponsored by the Council. Teachers and other leaders who attend the annual conferences of the Council are reoriented to the value of certain folklore and mountain traditions.*

O

From primordial time, the iron and coal, the zinc and slate and limestone, the asbestos, mica, emery, granite, and over all of it the forests. And man. For two hundred years the mountains' mother lode of timber has been used and abused. The forests have been loved, championed, ignored, taken for granted, stripped.



O

The shoulders of the mountains have been gouged and flung into the valleys; the streams, black with the offal from the pillaged cores of the mountains, ink their shame upon the land. From seasons, growth; from growth, minerals; from minerals, greed; from greed, destruction; from destruction, poverty.

The Community Development Counselor works with communities in the Appalachian South to help in bringing about a greater utilization of the region's potential.

His services are available, at no cost, to any community interested in working for greater opportunities which a broader economic base will provide.

He is prepared to consult with communities on the following bases:

- ✔ *To help them make inventories and evaluations of their own natural, human, and economic resources;*
- ✔ *to aid them in planning and organizing a total and continuing developmental program based on these inventories and involving all resources which can help broaden the economic base of the community;*
- ✔ *to assist communities in the preparation of publicity material if the development program indicates a need for such action;*
- ✔ *to help communities avail themselves of technical and professional services of federal, state and private agencies for which the inventories indicate a need;*
- ✔ *to help to create, through community organization, a closer relationship between town and rural people.*

In the mountains there is a wish to know and yet a fear to know what progress teaches. The folk are trusting. They listen when you come with missions, clinics, meetings and new songs. Radios bring new voices. But the question in their hearts is this: "What part of our lives should we keep reserved and hidden; how much of the new can we believe in?"

The Council program of workshops in community development is producing tangible results in areas where they have been held.

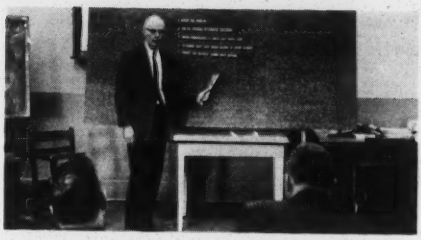
By providing expert professional personnel, the Council has succeeded in stimulating community awareness of the problems and of the available resources and methods which will be helpful in seeking solutions.

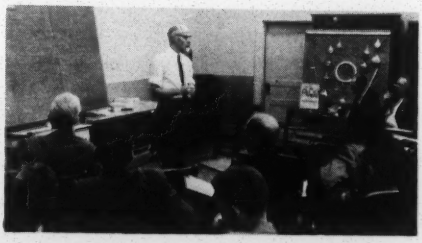
The workshops emphasize the importance of a trained leadership which can involve the whole community and, un so doing, lay the foundation for a sound community organization, capable of planning and carrying out projects for economic and social improvement.

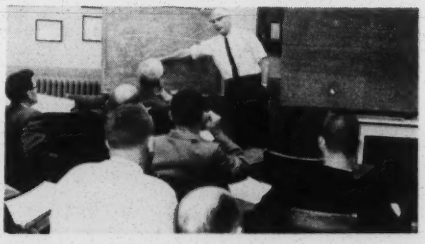
The workshops prepare people to use what they have as well as to use the assistance available from federal, state and private agencies.

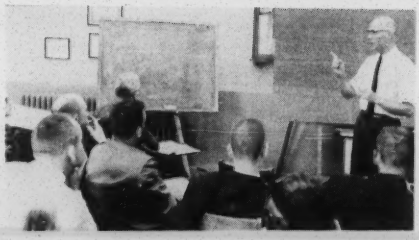
By pointing out the need for such workshops and appropriate follow-up sessions, the Community Development Counselor is able to provide the initial impetus to communities where there is potential without direction for its best use.

Through the co-sponsorship of interested organizations, honoraria and expenses for teaching personnel are provided, as well as scholarships for individual participants to assure the attendance of those most qualified to apply such training for the benefit of the entire community.









And this, too, the heart ponders: "Even as we accept your knowledge, we know that what we truly want is to GIVE. Can't those in the outer world find something in us to admire? The virtue of the mountains is our virtue. We, too, are quiet, patient, strong, and filled with faith. Look to us for something of beauty, of value, and pray God that you find it."

In some of the states within the Council's definition of the Appalachian South there is a functional illiteracy rating of over 20%.

A high drop-out rate is one of the contributing factors. In Kentucky, for instance, of the 57,960 pupils enrolled in the first grade in 1944-45, only 11 plus per cent graduated in 1956! This figure is somewhat influenced by those who left the state during their school years, and others whose schooling may have been interrupted and completed at a later time.

In Tennessee, of 51,530 who enrolled in the first grade in 1944-45, only 31,664 pupils completed the fifth grade!

Consequently, there are many adults in the Appalachian South (as well as migrants from this region in urban centers of the North) who have remained at a 3rd or 4th grade reading level.

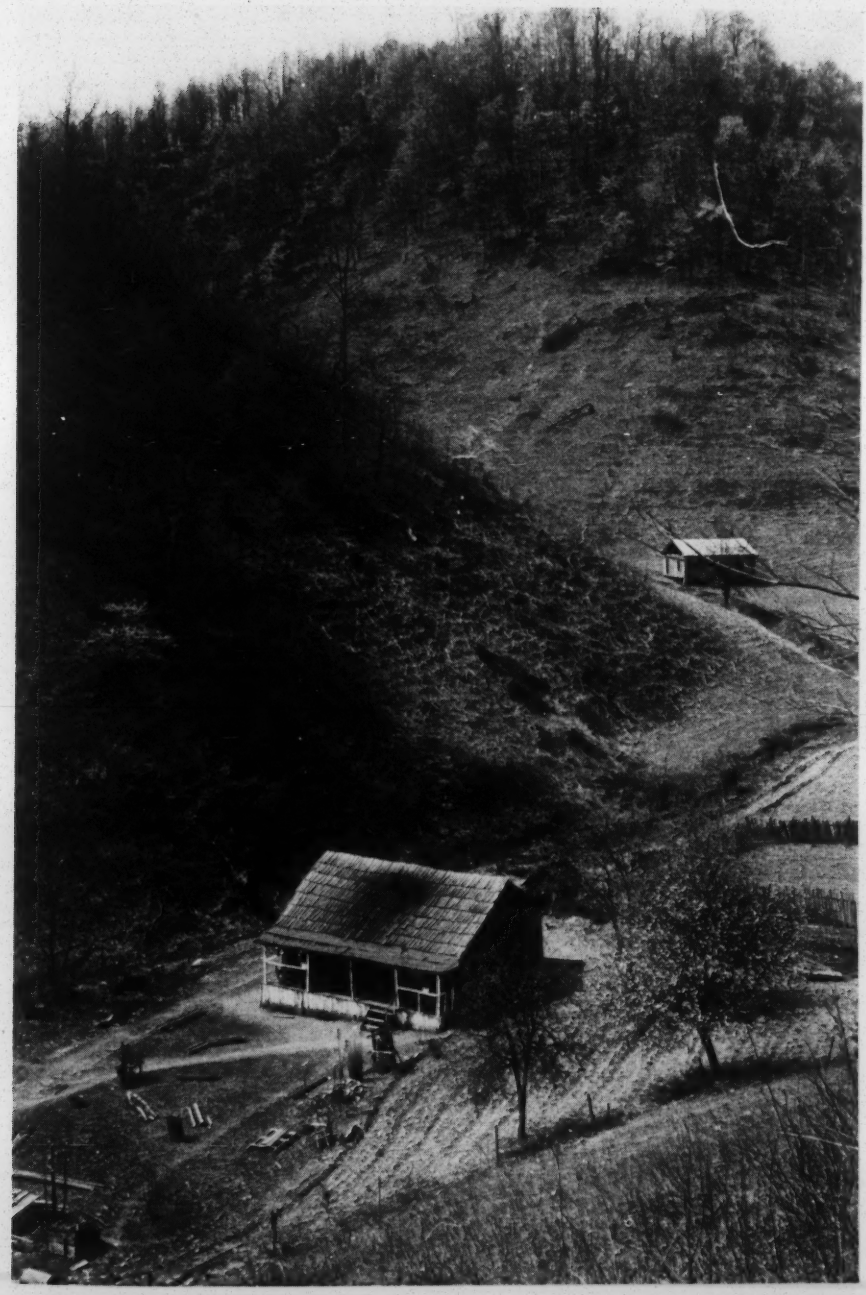
To help combat the situation, the Council has conducted workshops aimed at teaching adults the difficult technique of rewriting adult literature so that it can be read by a person with a 4th grade reading level.

The Council's Communicators Guild, composed of those who have attended its workshops, is a nucleus of writers whose efforts contribute to a growing library of easy-to-read adult material which the Council distributes free of charge.

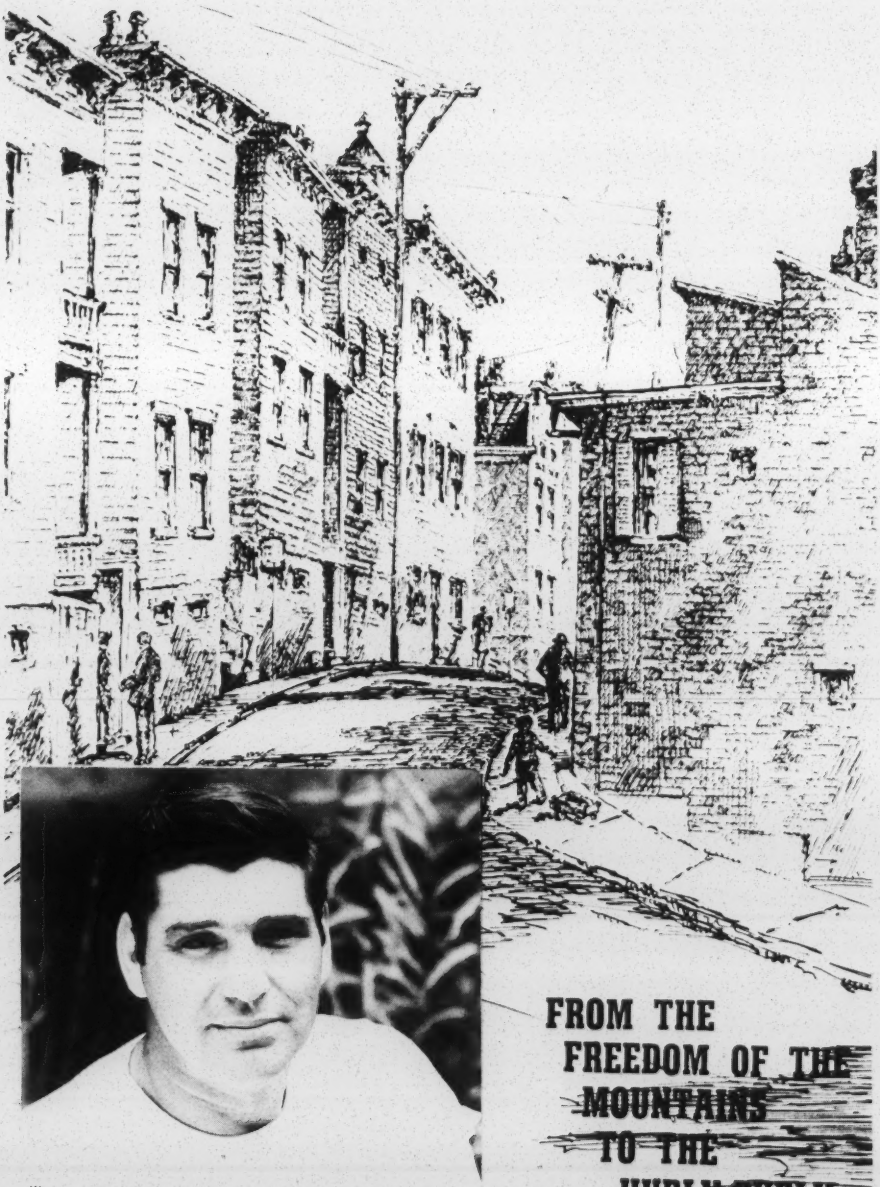
There are many organizations dedicated to helping this nation's ten million functional illiterates. The Council's main concern is with those of the Appalachian South whose low reading level might mean the difference between employment and unemployment whether they remain in their homeland or migrate to large urban centers in search of a better life.

The Council's goal is the publication of simply-written materials covering all urban problems common to newly-arrived migrants, as well as topics helpful to those who choose to remain in the mountains.

There is a song the singers know. It tells of a son away from home. It tells of those who remember and wait. Waiting is a way of life. There is play, and there is learning, suffering, singing and crying, but always there is waiting. Even the houses wait.



In any valley you can find a house with no one to live in it, melancholy with dark-remembered touches of faded laughter, bitter songs and the lonely strain of footsteps now silent. With blind eyes the cabin stares at the tragic, echo-laden mountains while nature moves with strangling fingers back to claim her own.



WOULD THIS MOUNTAIN MAN TAKE TO THE CITY?
WOULD THE CITY TAKE TO HIM?

FROM THE FREEDOM OF THE MOUNTAINS TO THE HURLY-BURLY CITY

C. Williams

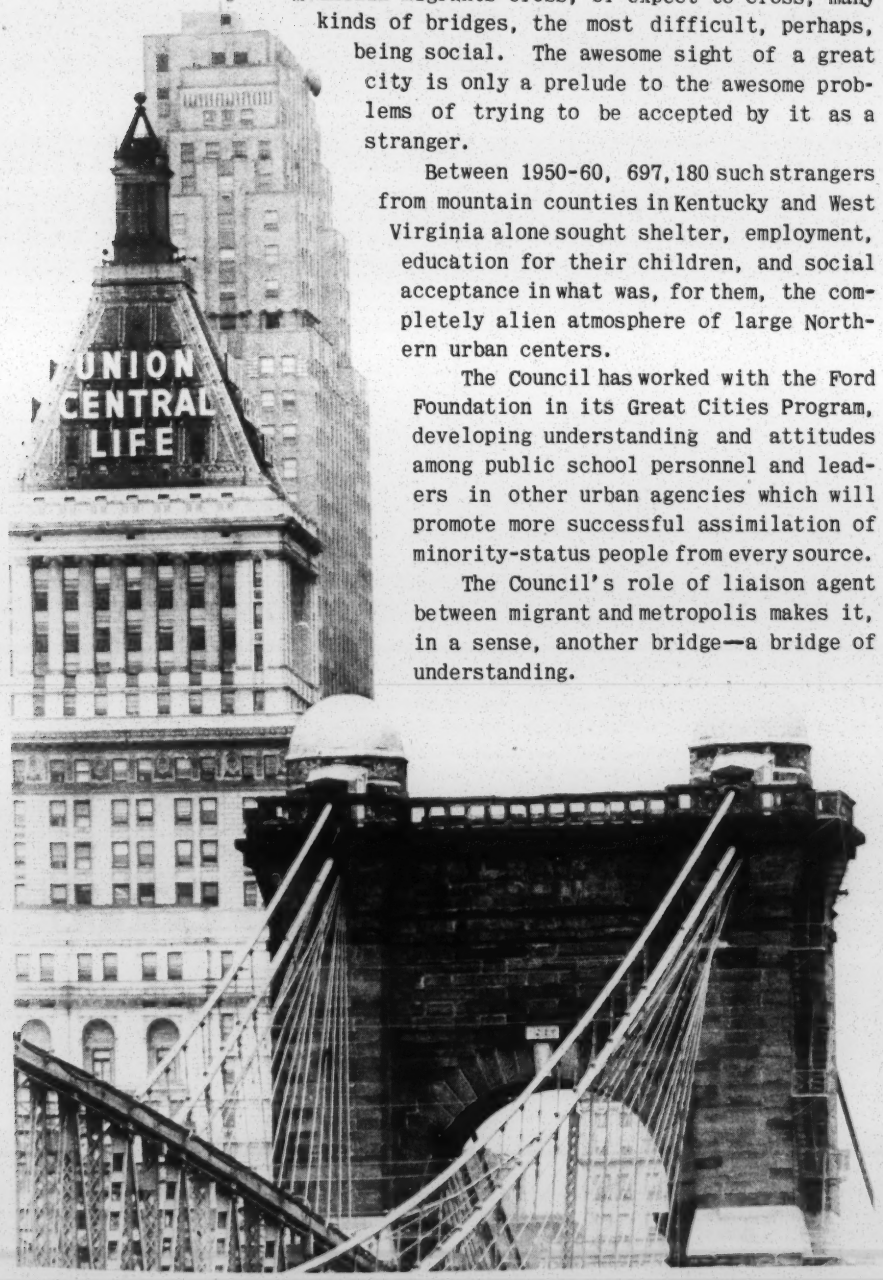
Some go when they do not wish to go, but others stay. Even when hungry they stay because they have a greater hunger; hunger for home, for old, familiar scenes, for peace, for the known and the understood, the ties of kith and kin. Those who do go look to the day when they will again walk the paths in their own land in better times.

Mountain migrants cross, or expect to cross, many kinds of bridges, the most difficult, perhaps, being social. The awesome sight of a great city is only a prelude to the awesome problems of trying to be accepted by it as a stranger.

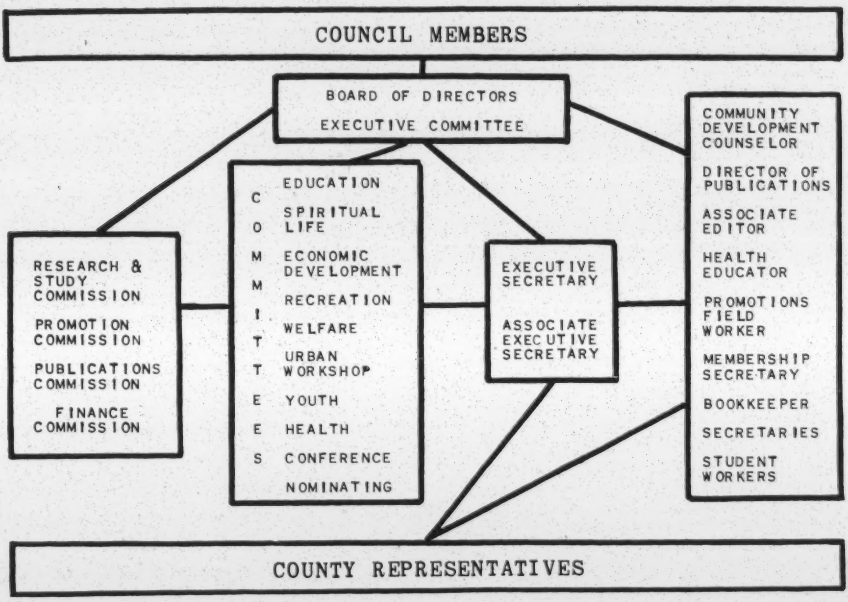
Between 1950-60, 697,180 such strangers from mountain counties in Kentucky and West Virginia alone sought shelter, employment, education for their children, and social acceptance in what was, for them, the completely alien atmosphere of large Northern urban centers.

The Council has worked with the Ford Foundation in its Great Cities Program, developing understanding and attitudes among public school personnel and leaders in other urban agencies which will promote more successful assimilation of minority-status people from every source.

The Council's role of liaison agent between migrant and metropolis makes it, in a sense, another bridge—a bridge of understanding.



The mountains speak to the soul of man. And in the crowded cities where there is noise and concrete, tensions and wall-lined, congested corridors, the mountain man remembers. Yearningly he is drawn home to the cathedraled mountains where he can see and smell and touch his God's creations, wild and green and growing in a quiet land.



LOYAL JONES
ASSOCIATE
EXECUTIVE
SECRETARY

ROBERT F. CONNOR
DIRECTOR OF
PUBLICATIONS

WILLIAM SUTERS
HEALTH EDUCATOR

MILTON OGLE
COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT
COUNSELOR

WHILE TWO STAFF MEMBERS ARE SUPPORTED BY SPECIFIC GRANTS, THE COUNCIL RECEIVES FAR LESS THAN ENOUGH FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE BALANCE OF ITS EVER-GROWING OFFICE AND FIELD FORCE OR FOR THE EXPENSES OF DAY-TO-DAY OPERATION: RENT, ELECTRICITY, TELEPHONES, AND THE MANY AND VARIED SUPPLIES WHICH ARE VITAL NOT ONLY TO THE COUNCIL'S EFFECTIVENESS BUT TO ITS VERY EXISTENCE. WON'T YOU HELP IN THIS IMPORTANT ASPECT OF COUNCIL SUPPORT?

O

This is a land of old, rich values, of painful transition—dignified in its suffering; patient in its need; questioning in its direction—but hopeful that those who try to help will learn as much as those they hope to reach.

BY PHYLLIS CONNOR

ACCOMPLISHED, BEING DONE, PLANNED FOR THE FUTURE

Region-wide Annual Conference held, attended by leaders who come to pool their concern and knowledge and to plan coordinated activities.

Conferences and workshops held, initiated and co-sponsored by the Council in fields of health, education, religion, leadership training, and other major aspects of life in the mountain region.

A Study Of Health Care Facilities in the Appalachian South published and widely distributed throughout the country.

A study of immunization attitudes and cooperation—reviewed in Mountain Life & Work, issue No.3, 1959.

Scholarships awarded for technical training in the field of health to those planning to serve in the area.

Health education program with full-time field worker.

Field service by a Spiritual Life coordinator.

Dental and medical clinics established and supported through developmental periods.

Studies and initial contacts made in locating hospitals and in establishing mid-wifery services.

Multi-vitamin, mineral deficiency and other preparations distributed to needy children in cooperation with pharmaceutical companies and responsible and competent local contacts.

Shoes, clothing and other materials distributed to needy children through Council contacts.

Statistical studies of education in this region made in response to specific and general questions.

Workshops in the preparation of reading materials for adults with limited reading abilities.

Publication and distribution of simplified reading materials for adults with limited reading skills.

Publishes the works of new and established writers in the mountains so that, through fiction, poetry and prose, they may help project a truer picture of mountain life to those outside the area.

Educational recruitment and scholarship aid for formal schooling.

Publication and distribution of lists of financial assistance to needy students.

Evaluation studies of specific educational, health and other projects undertaken as a continuing responsibility.

Directs an annual workshop on the Urban Adjustment of Southern Appalachian Migrants.

Cooperation with city programs of follow-up to migration workshops.

Leadership in Ford Foundation Great Cities program in the public schools oriented toward the minority status groups of which our Southern Appalachian Migrants comprise a large portion.

Representatives sent to regional and national meetings dealing with problems common to the Appalachian South and the rest of the nation.

Publishes Mountain Life & Work, a quarterly magazine with circulation in 45 states and 5 foreign countries.

Newsletter sent to a wide mailing list.

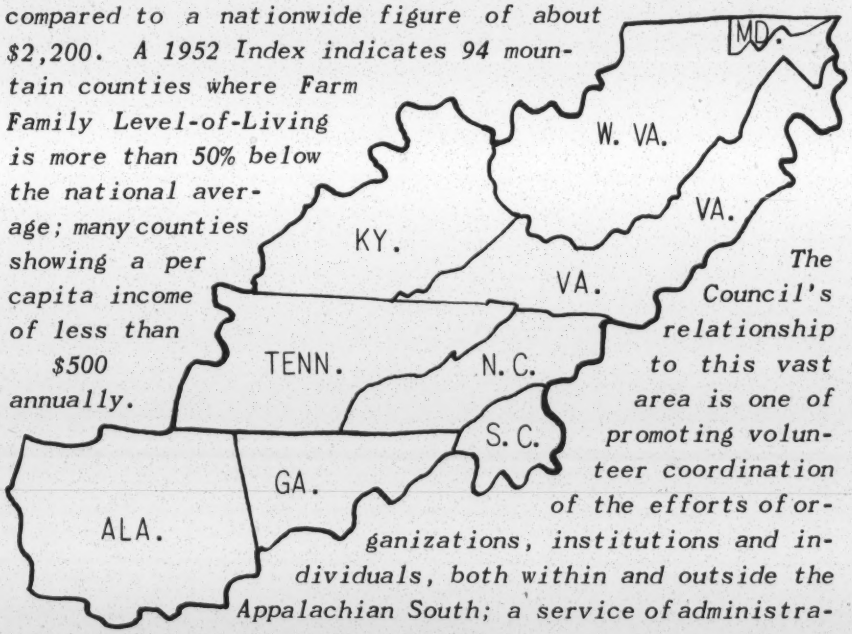
Folk songs, folk tales, and other traditional materials published, as well as approved and recommended recreational aids distributed.

Leadership training provided for community organization in recreation suited to local and individual need; co-sponsored by church, school and civic groups.

Close cooperation maintained with church efforts, including all interested denominations.

Field service by Community Resources Development Counselor.

Per capita income levels in this Region are well below those of the U.S. as a whole and, generally, below those of the states in which the Region lies. Estimates of the 1960 incomes in the Region indicate that only in the primarily urban counties containing about a quarter of the area's population do per capita incomes rise above $1,400 per year as compared to a nationwide figure of about $2,200. A 1952 Index indicates 94 mountain counties where Farm Family Level-of-Living is more than 50% below the national average; many counties showing a per capita income of less than $500 annually.



The Council's relationship to this vast area is one of promoting volunteer coordination of the efforts of organizations, institutions and individuals, both within and outside the Appalachian South; a service of administration, information and distribution.

* * * * *

Your participation, either by financial contribution to our program or in supplying materials, is deductible for tax reporting purposes.

. . . . . .

I WISH TO SUPPORT THE COUNCIL'S UNIQUE FORM OF REGIONAL ASSISTANCE. ENCLOSED FIND $_____ FOR MY MEMBERSHIP, TO INCLUDE A ONE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MAGAZINE, "MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK."

STUDENT MEMBERSHIP $1.50 • INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP $3.00 TO $4.00 • SUPPORTING MEMBERSHIP $5.00 TO $24.00 • SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP $25.00 OR MORE
INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP $5.00 OR MORE.

THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
(A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION)
COLLEGE BOX 2307 BEREA, KENTUCKY

Interpr Misc 1963

NOTES FROM THE SOUTH

HUMAN RELATIONS SPECIAL PROJECT of the NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA in the SOUTHERN REGION

By Staff Internes:
MARY KING
and
BOBBI YANCY

YWCA Voter Registration Project

The National Student YWCA in the Southern Region and the Ecumenical Voluntary Commission of the National Student Christian Federation will co-sponsor a Voter Registration and Education Project in Nashville, Tennessee, from June 22nd through August 17th. The major goal of the project will be to stimulate qualified Negroes to vote. Other emphases are: assistance in developing citizenship, education, and organization in a specific section of the city; and the gathering of data on urban Negro political interest.

The project will work with a local committee consisting of representatives from existing civil rights and voter registration groups. The project will have a maximum of sixteen student participants. Students from all sections of the country with experience and understanding in the area of civil rights are invited to apply.

The group will live in or near the working area and will work out its own discipline and procedures. A fee of $115.00 will cover board, insurance, and administrative and leadership costs. Some scholarship aid is available. Applications are available from this office and must be received by April 15th. Selection of participants will be made by a joint committee representing both organizations by April 30th.

Conference on Urban Problems

"The City: Dialogue and Encounter" will be the theme for a work conference sponsored by the National Student YWCA in the Southern Region, June 2nd - 8th, in Atlanta, Georgia. Teams of four to eight students will work four hours a day on one of eight projects. Several of the projects are: studying the resources and policies of Georgia's work with youth with the help of the community council and the League of Women Voters; investigating employment possibilities and problems with resources from the YWCA and the American Friends' Service Committee Merit Employment Program; voter registration and survey; a survey of attitudes related to urban renewal with the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

A special seminar in "The Changing Roles of Men and Women" will be held for non-students.

COLLEGES

Atlanta University

The Henry Grady hotel in Atlanta is named after the man who coined the phrase "The New South," and is owned and leased by the state of Georgia. On March 13 five students from the Atlanta University complex (one white) "slept-in" in the lobby of the hotel after they were refused rooms. A white female student at Spelman College had made reservations for the five and when she arrived alone she was shown to her room. The Negro students arrived soon after and she accompanied them to the registration desk where they were told that there were no more rooms. When two students were arrested for refusing to leave, Negro and white students from the Atlanta University center began picketing with signs such as "Dallas, Houston, Miami - Why Not Atlanta?"

The next day about 400 students from the Atlanta University center marched on City Hall to protest hotel segregation and to ask for a conference with Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. The students converged on City Hall singing "Freedom, freedom, freedom's coming and

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it won't be long." The mayor was presented with a letter from the Atlanta University-based Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. The letter read in part, "It is our opinion that, despite many attempts at negotiation with prominent officials of the hotels in the city, the progress being made is almost negligible.... We must say in all candor that we plan to use every legal and non-violent means to our disposal to secure full citizenship rights."

Following the demonstration, the Atlanta Journal wrote, "We have been making haste so slowly on this question for so long now that when the decision to desegregate is reached it should have no shock value at all. It will be simply part of an orderly pattern dictated by common sense."

Prior to this it was announced that the airport Hilton Inn is now desegregated.

Rice University

Trustees of Rice University asked a federal district court to authorize removal of a racial barrier included in the will that founded the school. Industrialist William Marsh Rice wrote before his death, "Texas received me when I was penniless, without friends... and now in the evening of my life I recognize my obligations to her and her children. I wish now to leave to the boys and girls ... the fortune that I have been able to accumulate." It is good that the trustees recognize that there are Negro children of Texas.

University of Kentucky

Early in March the Interfaith Council at the University of Kentucky drew up a letter requesting managers of restaurants in Lexington to desegregate their facilities. Student Congress voted to reject the Council's proposal on March 3rd, because it was felt that the letter indicated that U.K. students would boycott any establishment which would not put the recommendations into effect.

In a letter to the editor of the Kentucky Kernel, the U.K. newspaper, 27 Negro students asked, "Just what is the prime interest of the Student Congress, to protect the small businesses surrounding the University campus or to protect the best interest of the students?"

The Interfaith Council revised its' letter to read, "The great majority of our members are definitely willing to patronize an integrated restaurant." Student Congress chose to endorse the proposal.

In a survey conducted by the Kentucky Kernel 57% of the U.K.'s students said that they would object to rooming with a Negro, while more than two-thirds of the students stated that they would not object to living next door to a Negro student.

Mercer University

Mercer University in Macon, Georgia is currently agonizing over a definition of a Negro because of an application from an African student who was converted to Christianity by a Mercer graduate. (Can a student from any foreign country really desegregate an American college?)

Mississippi State University

Congratulations to the Mississippi State Bulldogs for recognizing the Union through its participation in the N.C.A.A. basketball playoffs. They won a moderate third place.

Clemson College

The Clemson College student newspaper, The Tiger, carried a letter not long ago which hits the nail on the head. It was in reaction to an article in the March 16, 1963 Saturday Evening Post

entitled "Integration with Dignity" about the recent desegregation of Clemson College. The letter said that the "Article dealt mainly with the endeavors of a few prominent politicians and businessmen. Granted, they did a fine job and should be commended. However, without the cooperation of the Clemson students and the general public of South Carolina, all their talks and planning would have been in vain." A gaping hole was left in the article when mention was omitted of the preparation by students and student groups and the fact that "the students of Clemson College were the real reason for the success of peaceful integration in South Carolina."

Morgan State College

Since 1955 Morgan State College (primarily Negro, Baltimore, Maryland) students have been working to gain admittance to nearby Northwood Movie Theatre. Recently, joined by white students from Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College, the members of the Civic Interest Group were finally successful in purchasing a ticket, but it cost the jailing of over 400 students who were crowded six and seven into small cells and overflowed into the prison corridors.

Fisk University

Eight Fisk University students were sentenced to 90 days on workhouse gangs and fined $50.00 each in Nashville for attempting to eat at the B&W Cafeteria. They were convicted of interfering with commerce and business. The main issue involved is the integration of privately owned (public) facilities and the case is probably headed for the Supreme Court.

Included in the group of students was John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Movement in Nashville. Also active with the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement have been students from Tennessee A & I State University, Peabody Teachers College, and a professor and students from Vanderbilt University.

Arkansas AM&N

Fifteen students have been expelled from Arkansas AM&N College because they participated in sit-ins and anti-segregation activities. This recent violation of academic freedom is as picturesque as any that historian C. Vann Woodward highlighted in his article "The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Schools," in the October 1962 issue of Harpers magazine. As a result of these students' efforts three restaurants have been desegregated, and attacks are being continued on Woolworth's and Walgreen's. SNCC field secretary Bill Hansen was beaten and stomped on during a sit-in by a white youth while police looked on. This is the first strong attack on segregation in Arkansas since school desegregation in Little Rock.

Mississippi Southern University

About the same time that Clyde Kennard was undergoing surgery for cancer, John Frazier, president of the student body at Campbell Junior College, said that he would make another effort to be admitted to Mississippi Southern University at Hattiesburg. As a result of attempting to do the same thing in 1958 Kennard was sentenced to a seven-year prison term for alledgedly stealing chicken feed. After serving two years of his sentence and in a condition "near death," Kennard's sentence was indefinitely suspended, no thanks to the Justice Department. Frazier will continue to try for entrance during the summer quarter. Frazier said that he wanted to "prove to myself and the world that authorities at Southern are fair-minded and will accept me without a court fight."

Mary Washington College

A scheduled concert of the Williams College Glee Club at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia in Fredericksburg, Virginia was cancelled because Mary Washington refused to

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house two Negro members of the Glee Club. Plans still called for the Glee Club to continue its itinerary for Goucher College (Baltimore) and Hollins College, (Hollins College, Virginia) both womens' colleges.

COLLEGE PRESS

University of Kentucky

An editorial in the U.K.'s Kentucky Kernel called for withdrawal from the Southeastern Conference and recruitment of Negro athletes: "We can stand up and tell the world that we, a Southern University, are sick and tired of having a doctrine of inferiority rammed down our throats." (We hope that U.K. will soon be able to swallow easily.)

Tulane University

The Tulane University (New Orleans) newspaper, The Hullabaloo, recently reprinted an editorial from the University of Alabama's Crimson & White. Following are a few lines from that editorial: "An invitation for Gus Hall, chairman of the American Communist Party, to speak at Yale University was withdrawn this month. Also, George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled fuhrer of the American Nazi Party, was quite recently denied the right to speak at Indiana and Northwestern. We are unalterably opposed to this basic limitation on freedom of speech... Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett spoke at Harvard this month without converting the Harvard Student Body to his brand of conservatism... Despite the dim ideas of some college administrators toward the intellectual capacities of their students, the students are capable of applying reason to the speeches they hear. So the argument that these men subvert the government by speaking is discredited."

University of Alabama

Melvin Meyer, editor of the University of Alabama student newspaper, Crimson & White, was named "outstanding student editor of the year" by the United States Student Press Association for his "courageous and significant contribution to American student journalism." Meyer was attacked by his university, fellow students, governor of his state and the Ku Klux Klan. His life was repeatedly threatened, a cross was burned on the lawn of his fraternity house, and the university was forced to hire two body guards, as a result of the printing of an editorial which called for integration in the South on "moral,legal and pragmatic" grounds.

University of South Carolina

The student newspaper of the University of South Carolina, The Gamecock, in the February 8 issue carried a column by graduate student, Hayes Mizell in which he asked, "But was Gantt's entry actual progress or mere realism? Granting that progress is a relative term and that in the case of South Carolina realism might be considered commensurate with progress, it would appear that this state must prove herself in other areas before she can be considered as entering into a progressive era." He then called upon members of the General Assembly to "... Have the honesty to present (the tuition grant plan) for what it really is -- a device to side-step federal decree, promote discrimination at public expense, and further cripple our educational system."

Spelman College

The front page of the Spelman Spotlight, student newspaper at Spelman College in Atlanta, recently carried this item: "According to an unofficial Federal edict, high-level government employees are prohibited from addressing segregated groups. However, recently as in the past, Robert M. Ball, Commissioner of Social Security for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, acted as guest speaker at a three-day lily-white conference of the

Fulton County (Atlanta) Welfare Department. Twenty Negro employees were asked to attend but all withdrew when separate accomodations were made by the owners of Atlanta's much talked about Dinkler-Plaza Hotel."

MISSISSIPPI

Delta Poverty

Greenwood, Mississippi is the "Land of Emmett Till," part of the Delta and located in Leflore County where Negroes outnumber whites 2 to 1. According to the Civil Rights Commission only .9% of the Negroes of voting age in Leflore County are registered. According to the State Education Department's Division of Finance and Administration $175.38 is spent yearly for education per white student and $9.52 for Negro students in Leflore County. The local Board of Supervisors has cut off 22,000 people (90% Negro) from federal commodity aid in retaliation for their voter registration efforts. In the past few months shootings and hunger have reached sufficient heights to arouse national attention to what it means to be a Negro who wants to vote in the Delta.

"From February 19th-21st," writes Charles Cobb, a student working on voter registration in Greenville, Mississippi, "22 persons have made registration attempts. This is directly due to our food program. The commodity roll in Washington County has been reduced by 10,000. The cotton season has been a poor one for hand pickers. Their need is much, but we have little since most goes for Leflore and Sunflower."

Contributions of food, clothing and money for Delta residents whose surplus food supply has been cut off should be sent to: Samuel Block, c/o Wesley Methodist Church, 800 Howard Street, Greenwood, Mississippi.

Near Fatal Shooting

On February 28th, James Travis, 20 year old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was driving from Greenwood to Greenville, Mississippi, accompanied by Robert Moses, director of the SNCC's statewide Mississippi project, and Randolph Blackwell, field director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, when three white men fired into his car. According to Moses, the car was an untagged white 1962 Buick which had tailed them from the Greenwood office for seven miles. All side windows in Travis' car were smashed. Travis received a shoulder wound and another bullet entered the back of his skull and became lodged behind his spine.

Greenwood police arrested two white men in connection with the shooting, charging them with "felonious assault."

Despite his near fatal wounds Travis has vowed: "I am going back to Greenwood. People there need all the help they can get. They are hungry, and their children are hungry, but they want to register and vote."

Burnings and Lawlessness

Four buildings adjacent to the SNCC's Greenwood office were destroyed by fire several weeks ago. Samuel Block, a SNCC field secretary, was arrested and charged with "public utterances calculated to cause a breach of peace" after he said that the fire was started by persons who wished to burn the SNCC office in retaliation for SNCC's distribution of food sent from Chicago.

At midnight on Sunday, March 24th, SNCC's Greenwood office was destroyed by fire.

In the March 19 edition of the New York Post columnist James Wechsler wrote: "Nothing the U. S. government has done in Mississippi has convinced Block and his 'freedom fighters' that they have any real personal protection against the lawless local

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structure.

"Nor do they have any faith in the willingness of the Associated Press bureau in that state to transmit the full and true story of their travail. (They have some kinder words for UPI.)

"But loneliness and isolation seem unterrifying to such men. It is a cruel joke on the white supremacists that the indestructible figure in the modern South so often turns out to be black."

(A cruel joke? Or is it merely the ironic twist of a poor experiment?)

Shots were fired late in the evening of March 26th into the home of Dewey Green, Sr., shortly after George Green, one of the students working on voter registration had entered his home. George Green's brother, Dewey Green, Jr., is a recent applicant to the University of Mississippi.

Recent Arrest

James Foreman, Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and 10 field secretaries were arrested in Greenwood, Mississippi on March 27th, as they were taking groups of Negroes to register and vote. They were charged with inciting to riot.

Land of Terror

Speaking of certain sections of Mississippi and Louisiana, Senator Allen Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, recently stated that, "The white people are just scared to death by all the Negroes in those areas where the Negroes are in the majority. If they get the vote, why they'll have all the offices in those parishes - counties - of course." He went a bit further and said, "It's the states who should determine who should and should not vote."

In thirteen Mississippi counties there are no Negroes registered to vote. Only 4.4% of the Negroes of voting age in the state are registered. Is this what the senator from Louisiana will permit a state to determine?

The Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission reported in February that, "Mississippi is a land of terror for Negroes who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority." For the Travis's, the Block's and other native black Mississippians, the badge of inferiority is a gaudy and worthless antique.

Public School Desegregation

The first federal suit to desegregate Mississippi public schools has been filed by six Negro families in Jackson. They have requested a preliminary injunction hearing before Federal District Judge Harold Cox on April 12th. State law authorizes the closing of any public school to prevent desegregation.

Members of the State Board of Education, the Mississippi Economic Council and the Parent-Teacher Association said recently that the schools must remain open. State Superintendent of Education, Jack Tubb, said not long ago that, "Closing the schools would bring to a halt the wheels of industry on the borders of our state and destroy the dreams we have had for a great state whose economy would be based upon agriculture and a great industry."

The Justice Department has filed a suit involving schools in the Harrison County "impacted area" on behalf of children of Negro military and governmental personnel in that area. "Impact areas" receive federal funds to compensate for enrollment increases caused by children from families of federal personnel. Similar suits have been filed in Alabama and Georgia.

In September the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will provide on-base schools so that children living on military bases "will no longer be required to attend segregated schools at federal expense," according to President Kennedy.

According to James Quigley, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, if the parents of military dependent children wish to continue to send their children to local schools, be they segregated or not, the government will continue to pay the local school boards "federal-impact" money.

IN SOUTHERN CITIES

Birmingham, Alabama

On April 2nd, former Lt. Governor Albert Boutwell and Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor will meet in a runoff for the mayoralty of Birmingham. Bull Connor is from the old school, so to speak, which permitted the riots during the Freedom Rides and attempted to punish Negroes by cutting off surplus food. In the first City Council government since 1911, the city commission which allowed Bull Connor to achieve a one-man reign of fear over the city's Negroes will be replaced. Two Negro candidates survived the primary last month and are among eighteen seeking seats on the nine-man council.

Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution wrote, "The Birmingham press is speaking. Boutwell has newspaper backing. Many Alabamans are trying to lay a restraining hand on Governor Wallace. Moreover -- and with politics and the mayor's race aside -- Birmingham's long-accepting people and their business leadership are beginning to demand something better than they have been getting in government-by-stridency. A great weariness of fear and foolishness is growing in the South and it can be sensed now in Birmingham."

Albany, Georgia

There is vertical integration in Albany, Georgia now which is probably a huge mistake. Because feet hurt regardless of color. And when people start telling each other about their aching feet, and leaning on each other for support, it's going to be something else down there. Carnegie Library in Albany, Georgia was recently opened for a 30-day trial period on an integrated basis..... with no chairs. The Southwest Georgia city has decided to drop all segregation ordinances and to leave the race problems to individual citizens. The Atlanta Journal cites a spokesman for the city as saying: "This action simply gets the city out of the legal position of attempting to compel any practice of any individual operating a business."

New Orleans, Louisiana

Bargain of the month: The New Orleans White Citizens Council has just warned the city of Dayton, Ohio to expect a group of reverse "freedom riders" soon. (Visit ancient New Orleans friends and ride home for freedom. The more you cooperate the quicker the Council's budget will be dissolved.)

Atlanta, Georgia

Two articles have recently appeared about Atlanta and Georgia, one in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "Progress Goes Marching Through Georgia,"(February 16, 1963) and the other in Hearst class Town and Country called "The Miracle in Atlanta," (February, 1963). We hear they almost weren't published as a result of what Editor Eugene Patterson of the Atlanta Constitution called "an absurd fence across a road to wall off Negroes." One way to solve the dilemma of being forced to puncture myths about Atlanta's liberality by a full story was simply to stop short of the "little Berlin wall" incident.

On March 1, 1963 a Fulton Superior Court Judge ruled the barricades illegal and unconstitutional and within an hour the construction department had been asked to tear them down. On March 2, the roads were cleared. Just prior to that however, it had been announced that a Negro real estate man had bought a home south of the wall. Earlier, Georgia Governor Carl Sanders ("In my case, a 'moderate' means that I'm a segregationist but not a damned fool.") had unwittingly made a pun in an interview with a UPI reporter when he said, "Georgia has a great reservoir of people with fiber and moral courage. They are coming out of the walls these days."

FEDERAL FRONT

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights presented a report to President Kennedy in February in which it was concluded that "the last battle for equal rights" for the Negro may have to be fought in the North. In the South, the report stated, "the irrestible force is moving the object which was thought to be immovable. Progress is slow and often painful, but it is steady and it appears to be inevitable." The inevitability of this force is often in spite of, rather than because of, governmental aid as any observer of the struggle in the South can say. And as far as the civil rights acts of 1957 and 1960 go, the Atlanta Journal said on March 7 that the acts "Have strong provisions which the administration has not chosen to utilize fully.

(OVER)

Those working for rights in Mississippi and numerous potential Albanys know that this administration's record is clear, although not as clean as it might be, only where a stark breakdown of law and order was imminent such as at Oxford, Mississippi.

In the December 1, 1962 issue of The Nation, ("Kennedy: The Reluctant Emancipator") Howard Zinn, Professor of History at Spelman College pointed out that although voting rights are protected by specific legislation of the Civil Rights Acts, the First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly and the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment for equal treatment by local officials are not. He said that "The national government has an undeserved reputation, both among Southern opponents and Northern supporters, as a vigorous combatant for Negro rights." He continued that this administration is acting essentially the same as its predecessors when you compare it not to past performances but to today's demands. In the case of Albany, Georgia in particular, "The federal government showed cautiousness to the point of timidity." (Professor Zinn's full report on Albany - a study in national responsibility - is available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Unsung Heroes

On January 31, 1963, the Manchester Guardian said the following about the members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: "They are the commandos, fighting not only the enemy but against the apathy of their own side, committed to nonviolence against an enemy who often has no answer but violence. They are no more beloved than commandos ever are --- senior Negro strategists often frown on them for stirring up trouble, especially if the strategists are far from the suffering of the front line --- but they have a panache that sends them sweeping successfully about the South with hardly a dime in their pockets....

"Deviously and subtly, the idea is being sown in the receptive minds of some senators that there must be some Reds in so militant an organisation, and this of course could be an excellent way of trying to kill off the organisation without facing what it represents....

"But if they are not in the least committed to communism, they are no more committed to the America of Madison Avenue and the Rat-Race: they are obviously much closer to a Jeffersonian idealism in their dangerous and often painful task, and their meetings are always full of Christian songs and feeling (much more so than the segregated churches of the South.)"

The author, W. J. Weatherby, continued about the fall meeting at Fisk University in Nashville, "Then, as if cleansing themselves of the bitterness... they sang out their freedom song. 'We Are Not Afraid...' went out over the Fisk campus, mocking not only the segregationists in the town but also those Negroes still sunk in apathy in the fraternities and sororities."

Freedom Singers

The Freedom Singers -- four young people with experience as field secretaries for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee -- have just begun the second part of an extended tour of Northern colleges, They have completed forty-eight concerts in the North.

Request from SNCC

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee urges that protests be made to the national offices of chain stores where segregation policies are being attacked by the Jackson, Mississippi, NAACP Youth Council. The stores include: Bakers Shoes; Bell Brothers Shoes; Bomar Shoes; Garyson's Dress Shops; H.L. Green's; J. C. Penney's; Lerner's Dress Shops; National Shirt Shops; Nora Day Shop; Owens Ltd.; Parisian; Schobilt; Shainberg's; Thom McCann Shoes: Walgreen's and Woolworth's.

IMPRESSIONS

LENA HORNE announced that she was leaving her career as night club singer to get into a production of political satire which would finally bring pressure to help the southern student movement and the cause of freedom generally. She said she was "astounded and overwhelmed by the courage and sheer power of those young students in the South. " "Let's face it," she remarked, "All Negroes have the

same problems; we're hampered and limited in no matter what we undertake." She continued, "I believe in politics and this freedom fight could also use some Madison Avenue arranging. Those Southern students are pointing the way. I'm inspired by their actions and in my way, I want to do my best. I won't sit and vegetate."

RALPH MCGILL, highly regarded publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, said last week over Atlanta television that during his extended stay in West Africa two-thirds of the questions directed to him were about racial problems in America. "We live not in glass houses, but in a glass world and something that happens anywhere is known around the world," he said. He continued that Africans know about Mississippi and Little Rock, and that in fact there had been two column headlines in one newspaper when the Atlanta wall went down.

After the demonstration about hotel segregation before City Hall by 400 Atlanta University students, BOB ZELLNER, field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said, "During the demonstration which has just ended, a white man, obviously from the lower socio-economic level, approached me as I was taking pictures. He said, 'If you don't look out Mister Reporter, in a few years those niggers are going to take your job away from you.' Knowing that I was a field secretary for SNCC I thought to myself that I certainly hoped they didn't take my job away from me because I see this as an integrated movement."

Recently, at a public affairs forum called the Hungry Club, EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution remarked, "I thought I would be full of fear, worry, and trepidation (regarding racial progress) but I, as a South Georgia born man, feel relief." He continued that, "The South may astonish itself by finding that it can solve its problems in good faith sooner than the North. We are not just discovering our problems here, we are working on them." Further, "The North is being shaken with doubt in the face of demands it had not forseen; it has some distance to go along the melancholy paths which the South has already travelled."

"The role of the Northern student," said JULIAN BOND (Administrative Assistant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) "is fourfold: to raise funds, to act in supporting groups, to attack problems in his own locale, and to join in the fight wherever he finds himself."

STUDENT CONFERENCES

National Student Association

The South Central Region of the U. S. National Student Association will sponsor the second Deep South Human Relations Seminar for students from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, April 11th-13th at Xavier University in New Orleans. Five workshops will deal with such topics as: "Techniques of Change;" Academic Freedom;" Southern Religion at the Crossroads;" and "The Image of the Southerner in American Culture." The planning committee consists of students from seven colleges in New Orleans.

Young Adult Council

An All-South Human Relations Youth Conference will be held May 2nd - 5th at Chapel Hill, North Carolina sponsored by the Young Adult Council. Leaders from southern rural and labor groups, and colleges will convene to consider the relation of human relations to economics, politics, religion, international affairs and education. Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund head attorney for the Ole Miss and Clemson College cases will give the keynote address.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Over 300 students from every Southern state, and several Northern states, are expected to attend the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's annual conference here on Easter weekend, April 12th - 14th. There will be workshops on Nonviolence, Voter Registration, Direct Action and the history of the protest movement for the participants who have been active in anti- segregation campaigns.

March, 1963

1/7/63 - ...

The New Leader

DEAR EDITOR

Intergroup Org NAACP

NAACP AND LABOR

As one who has been a longtime reader of, and occasional contributor to, THE NEW LEADER, I was shocked to read J. C. Rich's diatribe against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ("The NAACP vs. Labor," NL, November 26). I thought it was generally known that the NAACP was established and exists to combat racial discrimination wherever it may be found and in whatever quantity.

In his letter of December 7 to George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, made it clear that the Association has no intention of shirking its responsibilities to Negro workers hamstrung by the discriminatory practices of some trade unions. Responding to Meany's letter of November 20, the NAACP leader committed the Association to "the resolute employment of every technique which offers the hope of relief" and affirmed that the anti-bias campaign would continue to "be directed at every barrier extant." This course of action, he told the labor leader, does not "constitute an 'attack' upon organized labor."

How Rich arrived at the conclusion that the NAACP "had to beat a hasty retreat" in regard to the United Automobile Workers defies understanding. The NAACP has made no charges nor instituted any actions involving the UAW. On October 18, UAW President Walter Reuther issued a statement in which he conceded that "a few unions still have not met their moral obligations and continue to deny equal opportunity to all workers." Later he scotched a published report that he intended to resign from the NAACP Board of Directors.

Responding to the Reuther statement, Wilkins expressed appreciation for "the active cooperation of the UAW on civil rights matters over a period of more than 20 years," and affirmed the NAACP obligation "to press the campaign to eliminate these inequalities [within trade unions] so that American Negro workers may have their rightful share of the abundant American economy."

The fact is, discrimination against Negroes does exist in labor unions, including all of those against which actions have been instituted. Some of the trade unions' bias exists only at the local level and some exists as the entrenched policy of the internationals. All of it persists despite the declared anti-discrimination posture of the AFL-CIO.

In his eagerness to discredit the NAACP, Rich puts words in Herbert Hill's mouth which the organization's Labor Secretary never uttered. He attributes to Hill a statement made last August by a spokesman for the AFL-CIO as reported in *Newsweek* [August 20, 1962]. On the basis of this misrepresentation he proceeds to berate the NAACP staff member.

Contrary to Rich's assertion, Charles Zimmerman never held any official position in the

The New Leader

THE NEW LEADER **welcomes comment and criticism on any of its features, but letters should not exceed 300 words.**

NAACP itself. He has been active with the Legal Defense Fund, a separate corporation. The charge that the NAACP is anti-Semitic on the basis of a reference in the Hill statement to the "ethnic composition" of the ILGWU leadership is childish. It is like crying, "You're another!" Too many eminent Jews, including distinguished rabbis, have served in too many capacities with the NAACP to validate that charge.

As for Rich's reference to the ILGWU's Dressmakers Local 89, the continued existence of an all-Italian local—or, for that matter, an all-Negro, all Jewish, or all-Irish unit—within an international which prides itself on its liberalism and integration is in this day an anachronism.

The Herbert Hill on whom Rich now focuses his attack is the same Herbert Hill whose role in prevailing upon Negro workers not to allow themselves to be used to break a strike of the United Hatters against the Hat Corporation of America was heralded in the columns of *The Hat Worker* on February 15, 1954, edited then as now by Rich.

In publishing this distorted version of the challenging issue which confronts the American labor movement and of the NAACP role in trying to eradicate discrimination against Negro workers, THE NEW LEADER, I believe, has done a grave disservice to the cause of liberalism.

New York City HENRY LEE MOON
Director of Public Relations, NAACP

J. C. Rich replies:

It is pleasant to note that NAACP executives do recall the gratitude and regard with which I myself, and the trade union of whose newspaper I serve as editor, responded to an act of fair play by the organization and its labor specialist, Herbert Hill. Inasmuch as Henry Lee Moon thereby establishes my credentials as a friend of the NAACP—an outraged friend—perhaps he will appreciate the dismay that impelled me to write the article to which he files objection.

There is little refutation and much evasion in Moon's letter. One of the evasions is a typical Pecksniffian turn in respect to Charles Zimmerman, manager of the New York Dressmakers Joint Board and a vigorous opponent of racial bigotry. My article referred to Zimmerman's resignation from the NAACP, giving his reasons for this harsh severance. To this Moon interposes the legalism that Zimmerman was a member of an affiliate of the NAACP, not the main body of the organization. How this refutes Zimmerman's charges against the NAACP and the argument of my article is hard to determine.

Similarly, there is the detail about Dressmakers Local 89 which Herbert Hill presented as the horrible example of anti-Negro bias. I pointed out that Local 89 was a "language" local with an all-Italian membership, that so far as is known there are no

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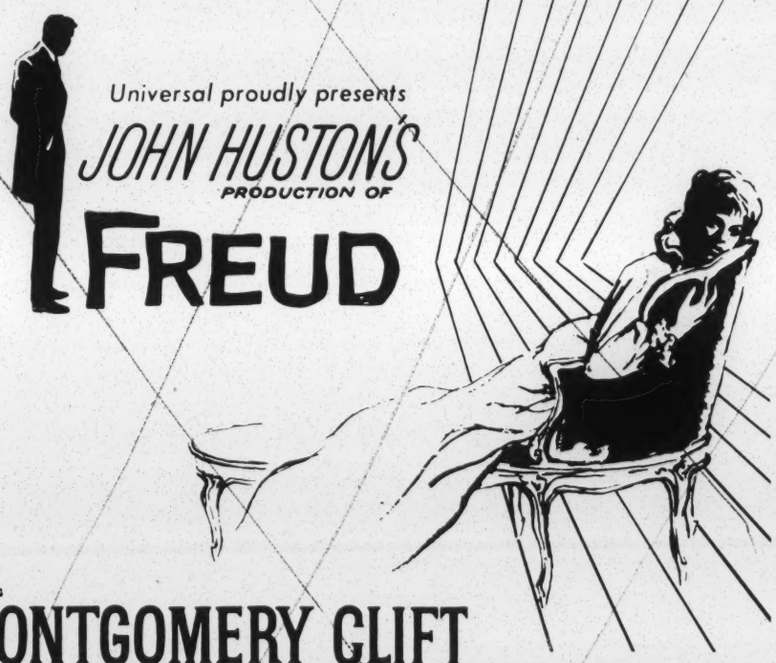

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DEAR EDITOR

*Can't

Italian-speaking Negroes in the dress trade, and that it was thus base and malicious to accuse the local and its manager, Luigi Antonini, of invidious bigotry because the local had no Negro members. Moon dismisses the deceitfulness of Hill's fabrication with the airy observation that a local of Italian dressmakers is an "anachronism." Presumably it would be less of an anachronism if an NAACP caucus, instead of the Italian membership, chose the local's officers. But Hill did not accuse Local 89 of maintaining an outmoded system of organization; he accused it of racial malpractice, knowing full well that his charge was false and contrived. Does the NAACP find such violence to integrity acceptable?

In an amazing example of political connivance, Hill made himself available to two Tammany stalwarts—Representatives Herbert Zelenko (now ex-Congressman) and Adam Clayton Powell—to prepare a case against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, of which David Dubinsky is president. Each to his own taste; perhaps the NAACP feels that Powell and Zelenko have acquired sufficient moral and ethical stature to sit in judgment over Dubinsky, Antonini and Zimmerman. Personally I doubt whether liberals would accept these statesmen as proctors of ethical conduct.

In any case, at hearings of a subcommittee appointed by Powell and chaired by Zelenko, Hill submitted a bill of indictment running to some 14 pages of supposed "evidence." The document was rejected by the subcommittee, but it was "leaked" to the press in advance of the hearings and has since been published *in toto*. And the astounding aspect of the entire maneuver is that Hill was caught with his facts down. Inaccuracies, distortions and outright prevarications by the dozen abound in his bill of indictment—as Gus Tyler of the ILGWU Educational Department has demonstrated. But instead of apologizing for Hill's hooliganism, instead of disassociating itself from this dreadful onslaught on a decent trade union, instead of steering clear of Powell's and Zelenko's politically motivated inquisition, the NAACP gave its blessings to the anti-union smear.

To validate this violence to liberal morality, Moon now cites a letter that Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, sent to George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO. When I wrote my article for THE NEW LEADER I was not aware that Wilkins had given the AFL-CIO two weeks to get out of town. I now suggest to the NAACP that it recall Wilkins's letter and hide it from view. For bombast and pompous self-righteousness it tops anything a Senator Claghorn could have uttered on the lily-white side of the racist street.

Rationally considered, the letter commits the NAACP to the idea that, by-and-large, all whites are anti-Negro, only organized labor is more so than most. As a matter of current practice, NAACP strategists find that progressive laborites are more vulnerable targets for calumny than the porkchop artists and boodle hounds of the labor movement. Therefore, Meany, Dubinsky, McDonald and Paul Hall become subjects of attack, while Hoffa teammates and walking delegates with the social morality of hyenas become acceptable to the NAACP.

To the extent that the NAACP indulges in its present behavior its credentials as a liberal and libertarian organization become as suspect as those of the Muslim band among Negroes. I stated in my article that the liberal community has a right to demand the NAACP behave according to the code of ethics long-established and respected among liberals and laborites. In response to Moon's objections, I repeat this assertion.

*Can't at top

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President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

STATEMENT BY NAACP FUND ATTORNEYS
ON THE JAMES MEREDITH CASE

January 8, 1963

NEW YORK -- (The following is a joint statement issued January 7, 1963, by Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, attorney for James Meredith, and Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.)

"Though Mr. Meredith has announced he cannot continue his studies next semester at the University of Mississippi because of the unfavorable conditions and hostility there, this will not lessen our efforts to secure for other qualified Negro students the right to enter the University of Mississippi, or other southern state universities which are now segregated.

"In South Carolina, Harvey Gantt's case to enter Clemson College is now pending. But in addition, students in Mississippi, Alabama and other young people in South Carolina have solicited our aid to enter various state institutions of higher learning, and we are now preparing pleadings which will be filed in their cases at an early date."

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Associate Counsel

GANTT'S ATTORNEYS TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY
FOR INJUNCTION IN CLEMSON CASE January 16, 1963

NEW YORK -- Attorneys for Harvey Gantt plan to proceed immediately to secure Gantt's admission to Clemson College on January 28, 1963, as ordered by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. A motion for judgment in accordance with the Fourth Circuit's opinion will probably be made on January 17, 1963.

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, chief attorney for Gantt, said: "With today's historic ruling by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit every southern state has now either voluntarily or by court order admitted Negroes to a formerly all-white state school." She noted that in Alabama, where no Negroes are now attending integrated schools, though a desegregation decision was won in 1956, "Negroes have filed to enter the University of Alabama, and we will support their applications with legal action."

The three-judge appeals court, in reversing a December 21st decision by South Carolina District Judge C. C. Wyche, said: (1) Gantt is fully qualified; (2) he should be treated as all other transfer applicants; (3) the District Court should issue an injunction to secure his admission for the second semester; and (4) the injunction should include all other Negro students qualified to attend Clemson.

Gantt had attempted to transfer to Clemson from Iowa State College since January 1961. Since then he has written many letters to the Registrar and other Clemson officials in an attempt to complete his application. At the trial in November 1962, Legal Defense Fund attorneys argued that this delay in considering Gantt's application was evidence that his papers were handled differently from those of white students. His attorneys also argued that Clemson, in not admitting Gantt, was simply following a long-standing "whites only" admission policy.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys for Gantt are Matthew J. Perry and Lincoln C. Jenkins, Jr., of Columbia, S. C., Donald J. Sampson and Willie T. Smith of Greenville, S. C., and Mrs. Constance Baker Motley and Jack Greenberg of New York City.

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CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

PRINCE HALL MASONIC SHRINERS
PRESENT $3,000 CHECK TO DEFENSE FUND

January 23, 1963

NEW YORK -- The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund received this week a $3,000 donation from the Prince Hall Masonic Shriners.

The check, presented to Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg and Associate Counsel Constance Baker Motley in the Fund offices in New York, represented the annual Shriner contribution to the NAACP Legal Research Department.

Charles A. Dargan, National Director of the Prince Hall legal fund drive, in presenting the check, said "we are fully cognizant of, and vigorously applaud the tremendous battle being waged in the area of first-class citizenship for all. We pledge ourselves to even greater support of the leaders of this fine organization, of which we are part and parcel."

At the presentation were Leon Berry, Deputy Imperial Potentate, New York State; W. C. Kilpatrick, Advisor, Imperial Council; Elmer A. Carter, Public Relations, Prince Hall Lodge, New York; Baxter F. Jackson and Rev. David Licorish, Medina Temple; Rufus Allen, Alfred Fields and Robert Taylor, Abu Bekr Temple, Brooklyn; and Kenneth Rhone, musical director.

Mr. Greenberg cited the Prince Hall Shriners for their continued annual support of the Legal Defense Fund and its activities.

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DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. MEREDITH

January 30, 1963

I notified everyone concerned that I would announce my decision at this time for two reasons. First, newsmen from every area of the news services had requested that they be given sufficient notification so that they could be present if they so desired. Secondly, I have found in the past that by not giving such notification, I have had to spend too much time answering the same questions for each individual newsman. Therefore, it was suggested by many of them that this procedure would be more advantageous both to them and to me.

It is a great tragedy for America that whether a student will attend a University has become a big news item. For the past several days, I have pondered this question. I have, in various ways, been informed of the feelings and opinions of most of the people in this country, and many throughout the world regarding this question.

After listening to all arguments, evaluations and positions, and weighing all this against my personal possibilities and circumstances, I have concluded that the "Negro" should not return to the University of Mississippi. The prospects for him are too unpromising. However, I have decided that I, J. H. Meredith, will register for the second semester at the University of Mississippi.

Many things have taken place in recent months, and I see signs that give me hope that I will be able to go to school in the future, under adequate, if not ideal, conditions.

I want to thank the people of the United States of America for their support. With so many of our citizens genuinely concerned with this grave racial problem we are bound to find an adequate solution. I also want to thank the many people throughout the world who have shown such a great interest in the struggle of men for the equality of opportunities.

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CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND JOINS IN
AIRLINE DISCRIMINATION BRIEF

February 1, 1963

WASHINGTON -- Can a state fair employment law be invoked to bar job discrimination by an interstate airline?

Three national civil rights groups argued "Yes" today in a joint friend-of-the-court brief submitted to the U. S. Supreme Court. They urged the high Court to overrule a Colorado Supreme Court decision which held that the state anti-discrimination law could not be constitutionally applied to the employment policies of Continental Air Lines, Inc., a Denver-based interstate carrier.

The three groups that filed the joint "amicus" brief were the American Jewish Congress, American Civil Liberties Union, and NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. "The outcome of this case can affect the proper working of all the state fair employment and other civil rights laws throughout the North," commented Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund.

The brief said the three organizations were "deeply concerned" by the Colorado decision, which -- if allowed to stand -- would prevent the "many state and local fair employment laws that have operated effectively in this country for more than seventeen years" from being applied "to a substantial and vital segment of the nation's economy."

The case, now before the Supreme Court, involves a Negro pilot, Marlon D. Green, who sought a flying job with Continental Air Lines in 1957. The company's job application form included a question on race. Green was not hired, although white pilots interviewed later did receive job offers.

An investigation by the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, a state body, found that Green was fully qualified for the position he had sought and that Continental had failed to hire him solely because of his race.

The finding was appealed by the airline, which claimed an exemption from the requirements of the Colorado fair employment law on the ground that it was engaged in the interstate transportation of passengers, which can be regulated only by the Federal Government. The Colorado Supreme Court sustained the airline's appeal, holding that "with reference to interstate carriers, the regulation of racial discrimination is a matter in which there is a 'need for national uniformity,' and...the states are without jurisdiction to act in that area."

Quoting a concurring opinion by retired Justice Felix Frankfurter in a case in 1945, the brief urged the high Court to support the Colorado policy under which the State has "put its authority behind one of the cherished aims of American feeling by forbidding indulgence in racial or religious prejudice to another's hurt."

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Associate Counsel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND CALLS
CONFERENCE OF NAACP LAWYERS

February 6, 1963

NEW YORK -- A working conference of NAACP attorneys will be held February 15-17 at the Howard University Law School in Washington, D. C., it was announced today by Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The conference will deal particularly with a discussion of the President's Housing Order, Labor Board Proceedings, health facilities, and voting cases.

The sessions will begin at noon, February 15th, and end Sunday afternoon, February 17th. Approximately 80 lawyers, primarily from southern States, are expected to attend.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will address the group at noon, February 16th.

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

NEGRO DENTIST SUES TO
DESEGREGATE NASHVILLE MOTEL

February 11, 1963

NEW YORK -- A federal suit challenging segregation in a Nashville, Tenn. motel was filed this morning by a Negro resident of Memphis.

The suit is considered extremely significant by NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys representing the plaintiff, Vasco A. Smith, Jr., because the motel, Holiday Inn-Capitol Hill, was constructed as part of an urban redevelopment project.

The complaint was filed by Nashville NAACP attorney Avon N. Williams in the federal district court for the Middle District of Tennessee. It alleges that the motel "is the product of indispensable federal, state, and local governmental, as well as private action", and is thus subject to the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, and the President's executive housing order of November 20, 1962 prohibiting racial discrimination.

The suit asks that the court enjoin the motel from discriminating on the basis of race, and open its facilities to all Negroes in addition to the plaintiff.

A reservation for Dr. Smith, a dentist who lives in Memphis, was made December 4, 1962 by Mr. Carroll Barber of Nashville for the following night. When Dr. Smith, in the company of Mr. Barber, went to the motel desk to claim his room, he was told that his reservation could not be honored as the motel did not serve Negroes. A few minutes later, the complaint states, a white man, Rev. Robert C. Palmer, entered the motel and was informed that single rooms were available.

Holiday Inn-Capitol Hill was built on land acquired from the Nashville Housing Authority in 1958 and 1959 for an estimated cost of

$194,771. The Nashville Housing Authority had condemned the redevelopment project area in 1952, of which 50% of the land, it is alleged, was owned or occupied by Negroes. The area is being redeveloped through a 1952 contract between the Nashville Housing Authority and the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, under which the federal government agreed to pay two-thirds of the net cost of the project, and the city of Nashville the remaining one-third.

The complaint points out that "defendants serve the public purpose of providing lodging, dining and recreational facilities to motorists visiting the capitol of the State of Tennessee, while at the same time enjoying the opportunity to pursue private gain."

It adds that "there are no adequate, first-class motel facilities open to Negroes in the central commercial district of Nashville."

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys for Mr. Smith are Avon N. Williams and Z. Alexander Looby of Nashville, Tenn.; A. W. Willis of Memphis, Tenn.; and Jack Greenberg and Constance Baker Motley of New York City.

STATEMENT BY LEGAL DEFENSE FUND DIRECTOR-COUNSEL
JACK GREENBERG ON THE NASHVILLE MOTEL SUIT

"This case is far more significant than the question of desegregating a single motel. It involves the constitutionality of excluding Negroes from an urban renewal site that is the product of local, state and federal planning and financing.

"The cities of the nation are being remade by urban renewal. Negroes generally are cleared out of the central city sites where the plans are carried out and shunted off to new and more crowded ghettos.

"This suit has the same goal as the President's new housing order, but has the advantage of enabling the injured parties themselves to commence a case in the federal district court."

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FIRST MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL
DESEGREGATION SUITS FILED

March 8, 1963

NEW YORK -- NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys launched a new attack on segregated schools in Mississippi this week.

In two suits filed in the Federal District Court in Jackson, bi-racial schools in the City of Jackson and Leake County were challenged by Negro plaintiffs.

This week's actions were first Legal Defense Fund suits against segregated elementary and high schools in Mississippi.

The Jackson complaint was signed by ten Negro minor plaintiffs, including the two children of Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers. The complaint alleges that the Jackson Municipal Separate School District is "pursuing a policy, custom, practice and usage of operating the public school system...on a racially segregated basis."

The Jackson school system is described as operating 34 schools for white children, and 16 schools for Negroes, with attendance and assignment areas, teachers, budgets, construction plans and appropriations all operated on a segregated basis. Negro elementary and junior high schools feed into Negro high schools, the complaint states, as white schools feed into more advanced white schools. Students are assigned by race, even if they live nearer a school which is maintained for members of the other race.

The Negro plaintiffs petitioned the school board to desegregate Jackson schools on August 15, 1962, but no answer was received from the Board. The names of the signers were published in Jackson newspapers, however.

The Jackson suit asks the District Court to enter a decree enjoining segregation in all aspects of the Board's operation, or, in the alternative, to require the Jackson School Board to submit a plan which would reorganize the school district into "a unitary non-racial system."

Thirty Negro minor plaintiffs signed the Leake County Complaint. Almost all of the plaintiffs are from the Negro community of Harmony, Miss., about 65 miles northeast of Jackson and ten miles from Carthage, the largest city in the county. Slightly more than 50% of the county residents are Negro.

The complaint points out that: 1) Negroes are assigned to Negro schools located further from their homes than schools limited to whites, and 2) all curricula and extra-curricular activities are provided on a racially segregated basis, in addition to bus transportation.

The Leake County plaintiffs first petitioned the County School Board for desegregation on February 23, 1962. They received no reply from the Board, but during March 1962, Mr. O. E. Jordens, Principal of the Negro High School in Carthage, personally wrote each of the petitioning parents telling of the advantages of segregated schools and urging them not to take further action because the white community would react adversely to such efforts.

In August 1962, the parents sent a second petition to the Board, but have still received no answer. During the height of the University of Mississippi controversy last fall, on the nights of October 4th and 5th, the homes of two of the plaintiffs, Mr. James Overstreet and Mrs. Ruthie McBeth, were shot into.

The Leake County complaint asks, as in the Jackson case, that the District Court enjoin all segregation in the operation of the County school system, or that the Board be required to submit a plan which would establish a "unitary nonracial system."

Local NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys are Jack Young of Jackson, for the Jackson plaintiffs, and R. Jess Brown of Vicksburg, Miss. for the Leake County plaintiffs.

Other Legal Defense Fund attorneys are Jack Greenberg, Constance Baker Motley and Derrick A. Bell, Jr., of New York City.

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Associate Counsel

SUPREME COURT TO HEAR
TENNESSEE SCHOOL CASE APPEAL TUESDAY

March 12, 1963

NEW YORK -- The United States Supreme Court will hear two important and potentially far-reaching school desegregation cases Tuesday, March 19th.

The cases, from Knoxville and Davidson County, Tennessee, are consolidated appeals brought by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund challenging "racial option transfer" provisions adopted by the two school boards which were approved by the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit last April.

The plaintiffs, who will be represented before the Court by the Fund's Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg, contend that the transfer provisions operate to perpetuate segregation rather than further desegregation and, thus, should be ruled inconsistent with the Supreme Court's 1955 decision requiring desegregation of local school systems "with all deliberate speed."

Under the "racial option" system, as adopted by the Knoxville and Davidson County school boards and approved by the Sixth Circuit, children assigned to schools which previously served the other race are permitted to transfer to schools where their race is in the majority; they may also transfer if they are assigned to any school or grade where their race is in the minority. White children who are required, through rezoning effected via the desegregation plan, to attend schools with a higher percentage of Negro students can therefore transfer back to the "white" schools, thus resegregating the system.

The Fund petition to the Court points out that this racial transfer device has "become a significant and effective method for limiting desegregation. Its use insures that the traditional all-Negro school will remain all-Negro, even after every grade is

covered in a grade-by-grade plan. This has been the uniform experience with this device." The petition also hits the "racial option" procedure for expressly recognizing race as a ground for transfer.

Both Knoxville and Davidson County, which is adjacent to Nashville, adopted school plans for grade-per-year desegregation beginning with the first grade -- Knoxville in 1960, Davidson County in 1961. The District Court in the Davidson County case ordered the first four grades desegregated at the outset. The Court of Appeals in the Knoxville case ordered the plan accelerated. Both plans contain provisions for rezoning and for transfers, but it is the transfer issue which is specifically attacked in the Supreme Court appeal.

The Fund petition argues that acceptance of the transfer provision in the Tennessee cases by the Sixth Circuit conflicts with holdings on similar transfer procedures by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (deep South states) and the Fourth Circuit (southeastern seaboard states). It cites a ruling by the Fifth Circuit in the Dallas, Texas school case prohibiting a transfer provision based on race, and similar holdings by the Fourth Circuit in the Roanoke, Va. and Durham, N. C. school cases.

In addition to Mr. Greenberg, NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys for the Negro children are Carl A. Cowan of Knoxville, Tenn., Z. Alexander Looby and Avon N. Williams of Nashville, and James M. Nabrit, III, of New York City.

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U. OF ALABAMA SUIT FILED
ON BEHALF OF THREE NEGRO PLAINTIFFS

April 15, 1963

NEW YORK -- NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys today filed suit against the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa on behalf of three Negro plaintiffs.

The suit was filed in the Federal District Court for the Northern District of Alabama in Birmingham by attorney Fred Gray of Montgomery, Ala.

The University of Alabama was previously sued by Legal Defense Fund attorneys in 1956 for Negro student Autherine Lucy. Miss Lucy's admittance was ordered by the Federal District Court, but after a period of rioting, she was expelled for allegedly making derogatory statements about University officials. She never attended classes at the University.

Today's action is the first on behalf of Negro students to enter the University since the Lucy case in 1956. It completes legal efforts by Negro students to gain entrance to state universities in Mississippi South Carolina and Alabama.

The three plaintiffs are Vivian J. Malone, 20, a resident of Mobile, Ala., a junior at Alabama A. & M. College; Sandy English, 21, of Birmingham, Ala., a freshman at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Ala.; and Jimmy A. Hood, 20, of East Gadsden, Ala., a sophomore at Clark College in Atlanta, Ga. All "are students in good standing in the collegesof their present enrollment and are eligible for transfer to the undergraduate schools of the University of Alabama" according to the complaint.

The complaint alleges that in November, 1962 the three Negro students applied for transfer to the University of Alabama for the February 1963 term. On November 30, 1962, they were informed by the Dean of Admissions that they could not be admitted for the spring semester "due to the pressures of enrollment," but their applications would be considered for a "subsequent semester."

A second letter was sent to the Dean of Admissions by the three students in February 1963, inquiring about the status of their applications. The Dean wrote Miss Malone and Mr. English that he could take no action until he received grades from their present (Spring 1963) semester of schooling. Mr. Hood has received no reply.

The complaint alleges that the handling of these applications by the Dean, Hubert E. Mate, was based on racial discrimination, that "white students similarly situated who have applied have been admitted or advised of conditional admission."

Dean Mate is cited as defendant. The complaint asks the court to enjoin him from refusing to consider the applications of Negro students on the same basis as those of white applicants and "from continuing to pursue the policy, practice, custom and usage of limiting admissions to the University of Alabama to white persons."

The suit further alleges that a policy of racial segregation by the University is in violation of the injunction in the Lucy case and asks the court to enjoin Dean Mate for this additional reason.

Jimmy Hood, the suit states, wishes to begin study at the University in June 1963. Vivian Malone and Sandy English desire to enter the University in September 1963.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys for the Negro plaintiffs are Fred Gray of Montgomery, Ala., Jack Greenberg, Constance Baker Motley and Leroy D. Clark of New York City.

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MISSISSIPPI TRANSPORTATION AND
LOUISIANA DEMONSTRATION CASES
APPEALED BY NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND April 17, 1963

NEW YORK -- Two cases were appealed to higher courts this week by NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys.

The first is an appeal of the conviction of Dion Diamond of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee for "disturbing the peace" in Baton Rouge, La. in January 1962.

The second case asked for effective relief in a Jackson, Miss. transportation case which has been pending in the Federal District Court of Judge Sidney Mize since March 1962.

Diamond's appeal asks the United States Supreme Court to hear his case. His conviction and sentence of 60 days and $100 fine has been upheld in Louisiana courts.

Diamond was arrested on February 1, 1962, after making speeches for three days at Southern University in Baton Rouge encouraging students to miss classes as an expression of sympathy with students who had demonstrated against segregation in December 1961 and suffered reprisals from University officials.

Diamond served almost a month of his sentence, and was finally released from jail in March after a demonstration on his behalf by other students in the office of Attorney General Robert Kennedy in Washington. An original charge of "criminal anarchy" was dropped.

The brief submitted to the Supreme Court by Legal Defense Fund attorney James M. Nabrit, III argues that Diamond was convicted for engaging in his constitutionally protected right of free speech under a law too vague and indefinite to provide due process of law.

"It is submitted that petitioner's (Diamond's) advocacy that students voluntarily attending a public University refuse to attend classes as a form of protest was a form of speech on public issues which a state cannot prohibit," the brief states. "There was no evidence that petitioner was ever ordered not to enter the campus, or

to leave it, and no evidence that he was ever told that he could not make speeches on the campus or that he needed any permission to do so."

In the Jackson transportation case, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (which ordered James Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi last summer) has been asked by Legal Defense Fund attorney Derrick Bell, Jr. to grant: (1) an injunction against state and private agencies in Mississippi which continue to segregate transportation facilities, and (2) make the relief apply to not only the three original plaintiffs but to all Negroes, as was requested in the complaint.

The case was filed in the Federal District Court in Jackson on June 9, 1961, asking for an end to all segregated transportation facilities, at the time when the Freedom Rides were at their height. The case went through several complicated legal maneuvers before Judge Sidney Mize ruled on May 3, 1962, that the three litigants had a personal right to unsegregated transportation service, but Negroes as a class did not.

In subsequent proceedings Legal Defense Fund attorneys asked the Judge to amend his findings alleging that segregated facilities had not ceased in Jackson, and that racial signs had not been removed. On August 24, 1962, Judge Mize again held that each of the three litigants -- Samuel Bailey, Joseph Broadwater and Burnett L. Jacob -- could use the facilities of airline, railway or bus terminals on an unsegregated basis, but refused to issue an injunction against the defendants, and refused to declare class relief for other Negro citizens.

Attorneys for the Legal Defense Fund in the Bailey case are R. Jess Brown of Vicksburg, Miss., Constance Baker Motley, Jack Greenberg and Derrick A. Bell, Jr. of New York City. Attorneys in the Diamond case are Johnnie A. Jones of Baton Rouge, La., Jack Greenberg and James M. Nabrit, III of New York City.

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CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

SUPREME COURT HEARS MEMPHIS
RECREATION SUIT ARGUMENT

April 18, 1963

WASHINGTON -- The United States Supreme Court heard argument this week on a suit involving desegregation of park and playground facilities in Memphis, Tenn.

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Associate Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, argued on behalf of the Negro petitioners.

She asked the Court to reverse opinions by the Federal District Court in Memphis and the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit which held that the Memphis Park Commission could desegregate their 130 park and playground facilities on a gradual basis in accordance with the second Brown "all deliberate speed" decision on schools.

Mrs. Motley told the high Court that the rights of Negro citizens should have been immediately enforced, and that the Brown case is not applicable to public recreation. She told the Court that Negroes are now excluded from 58 public parks and playgrounds in Memphis.

District Judge Marion S. Boyd had ruled on June 20, 1961, that the Park Commission must submit a plan within six months -- and the Commission submitted to the Court of Appeals a plan which it had drawn up calling for desegregation over a ten year period. On June 12 1962, the Court of Appeals upheld Judge Boyd's decision.

Supreme Court Justice William Brennan asked Mrs. Motley if this case involves "primarily the rights of Negro children." Mrs. Motley said that it did, adding that Negroes were excluded from CrumpStadium, the museum and 40 additional playgrounds operated but not owned by the City.

"The rights involved here are basic, fundamental, and are personal and present," Mrs. Motley said, "and should be immediately enforced."

She added that the Brown decision should not apply because public recreation is not as complex as a public school system with

its vast personnel and administrative problems. "All that's involved is removal of racial signs and a public announcement that these facilities are now desegregated," she told the Court.

Thomas R. Prewitt represented the City of Memphis. He argued that the Supreme Court could not consider the question of whether Judge Boyd's decision was justified because the entire record in the case was not before the Court. Upon questioning by Chief Justice Earl Warren, it was brought out that the record was before the Court.

Mr. Prewitt said that recreational facilities in Memphis encompassed a "vast system," involving supervision of 100,000 children of which 65% are white, 35% Negro. "Recreational facilities," he said, "should be desegregated in accordance with all other desegregation in Memphis, on a gradual basis."

Argument began Wednesday afternoon, April 17th, and was completed Thursday morning, April 18th.

Attorneys for the Negro petitioners, in addition to Mrs. Motley, are A. W. Willis, Jr., B. L. Hooks, C. O. Horton, B. F. Jones, H. T. Lockard and R. B. Sugarmon, Jr., all of Memphis, Tenn., Norman C. Amaker, Derrick A. Bell, Jr. and Jack Greenberg of New York City.

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NEGRO GOVERNMENT ECONOMIST ASKS FHA
TO INSURE RIGHTS OF HOME BUYERS
UNDER PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER

April 20, 1963

NEW YORK -- A government economist who was denied a home in a Levitt & Sons housing development because he is a Negro, asked the Federal Housing Administration today to take "further action" against the builder under the provisions of the President's Executive Order against discrimination in housing.

The request by Karl D. Gregory of Washington, D. C. was revealed in a letter sent yesterday to Commissioner Philip N. Brownstein of the Federal Housing Administration. The letter noted that Mr. Gregory and his attorney, Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, met with Mr. Adolphus Protho, General Counsel of the FHA and Oliver Hill, Assistant to Commissioner Brownstein, in a conference on Wednesday. Mrs. Motley is Associate Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in New York.

Mr. Gregory submitted his complaint to the FHA on December 17, 1962, alleging that Levitt & Sons refused to sell him a house in their Belair development at Bowie, Md. solely because of his race. The FHA found that his complaint was justified and fell within the purview of Section 102 of the President's housing order of November 20.

Mr. Gregory was notified by Commissioner Brownstein early this year that after two conferences with Mr. Levitt he had been unsuccessful in getting him to abandon his "all-white" policy. The letter stated there was "nothing further" the FHA could do. Mr. Gregory replied on March 26th that he was not satisfied with this answer. He retained Mrs. Motley and requested the meeting with FHA officials which was held last week.

Mr. Gregory moved from Detroit in September 1961 to work in the Executive Office of the President for the Bureau of the Budget. He earned a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Michigan and was

assistant professor of economics at Wayne State University before his government appointment.

In a statement made in January, he recounted his frustrating attempts to obtain adequate housing for his family in Washington. His wife is now expecting a second child and they live in a four-room house which he has said is "more inadequate than ever for our needs."

Mrs. Motley said today, "We think that the FHA has not done all that it can to enforce the President's Executive Order for housing which was insured prior to the effective date of the order. We certainly intend to do what we can to get the Executive Order fully implemented by FHA."

Mr. Gregory's letter said, in part, "It is inconceivable to me that the President's Executive Order...should be of so little practical benefit to those of us who have been so long deprived of equal opportunity to secure decent, safe and sanitary housing." He suggested that the FHA:

(1) Recommend to the President that his Executive Order be extended to cover previously existing FHA mortgage insured housing;

(2) Extend the order to housing financed by savings and loan institutions insured by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board;

(3) Refuse to grant FHA mortgage insurance commitments to developers who violate the public policy of the United States by continuing to discriminate against Negro applicants, even when such housing was insured prior to the effective date of the President's order;

(4) Ask the Attorney General of the United States to institute legal action against Levitt & Sons, Inc. to secure their compliance; and

(5) Require FHA's local insurance offices to make available to the public a list of all housing in an area for which FHA commitments have been issued.

Levitt & Sons is one of the nation's largest home builders. He has developed Levittowns in Long Island, N. Y., Pennsylvania, New Jersey--all since World War II--and initiated building ventures in Puerto Rico, Paris, Matteawan, N. J. and the Belair project. The originally all-white New Jersey Levittown development was sued by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in the mid-1950's. Mr. Levitt lost and homes are now sold to Negroes in the New Jersey development.

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Associate Counsel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND TO APPEAL
KING CONTEMPT RULING

April 26, 1963

NEW YORK -- NAACP Legal Defense Fund Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg said today the conviction of Rev. Martin Luther King and 10 of his supporters in Birmingham County Court will be appealed immediately to the Alabama Supreme Court.

Circuit Judge W. A. Jenkins of Birmingham ruled this morning that the Negro leaders were guilty of criminal contempt and sentenced them to 5 days in jail and $50.00 fine each, sentencing to begin on May 16. There was no finding of civil contempt.

In addition to Mr. Greenberg, the Negro leaders were defended by Mrs. Constance Baker Motley and Attorney Arthur Shores of Birmingham. The trial took place Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in a tense courtroom which included Rev. King and Southern Christian Leadership Conference officials Ralph Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth and Wyatt Tee Walker.

The evidence put on by Birmingham City Attorneys J. M. Breckinridge and Earl McBee sought to prove that Negro demonstrators had violated an injunction against unlawful picketing and parading issued by Judge Jenkins on April 13, specifically by demonstrations on Good Friday, when King and Abernathy were arrested, and Easter Sunday. They also cited a press conference which SCLC officials held in which they said the injunction would not stop them from protesting against segregation in Birmingham.

Greenberg told the court that the injunction was a prior restraint on free speech and that the demonstrations by Negro leaders were lawful exercises of free speech "in its most pristine form."

An unusual feature of the trial was the calling to the witness stand by Legal Defense Fund attorneys of Eugene "Bull" Connor, Commissioner of Public Safety and an avowed "tough" segregationist. He

"And the Lord God called unto

ADAM

and said unto him

WHERE ART THOU?"

Genesis 3:9

The NAACP and Adam Clayton Powell

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
16TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

NEW YORK OFFICE:
132 WEST 138TH STREET
AUDUBON 6-2626

SECRETARY:
HATTIE FREEMAN DODSON

Anti-Segregation Amendment

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
AND LABOR

WASHINGTON, D. C.
SUITE 459
OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
NATIONAL 8-3120
EXTENSION 418 OR 1917

SECRETARY:
LOUISE MARIENNE DARGANS

Adam Clayton Powell

RW

July 21, 1955

Mr. Roy Wilkens
N A A C P
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

17650 JUL 22 '55

My dear Roy:

Just a brief note of thanks for the magnificent support of the NAACP given me, both in New York and Washington, with the hope that it will continue to preserve.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Adam

Dictated but not signed:
ACP:nb

The NAACP was all right with Congressman Powell in 1955, even though it had more white members on its Board then than it had in March, 1963, when Rep. Powell attacked it for having white Board members. Apparently, it is not the color of the Board members that counts, but whether they give Mr. Powell what he considers to be "magnificent support."

THE NAACP AND ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

The Powell Position

Three times within a brief period of 11 days, March 21-31, Repsentative Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.) attacked the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at open meetings, first in Washington and twice later in Harlem. The March 23 speech was at an outdoor rally sponsored by a nationalist group and included Malcolm X of the Black Muslims as a speaker.

Each time he berated the NAACP, the National Urban League, Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE for including white persons among their officers and board members.

In the Harlem rally which was recorded in part by NBC television cameras, Congressman Powell said the public "should consider a boycott" of the NAACP because, he stated, it had white people in "policy-making" positions.

His main speech was given in his best rabble-rousing, street corner style and gave approval to the Black Muslims, although he said there were "some differences." He said Malcolm X was his "friend." When asked by a reporter if he were calling for a boycott of the Association he did not then deny it. The denial came later after public reaction against the proposal.

After a week of discussion back and forth, on Sunday, March 31, Congressman Powell spoke at the Upper Park Avenue Baptist Church in Harlem, with the NAACP as his principal topic.

In this speech Congressman Powell again called for the ousting of white people from the NAACP, naming specifically, the president, what he called "the secretary-treasurer," the chairman of the life membership committee and the director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Mr. Powell again embraced the Black Muslim approach by repeating that the NAACP was "controlled" by white people and that Negroes should not support any organization that they themselves did not control. During his speech he again repeated his assertion that Mrs. Agnes Meyer, widow of the former owner of the Washington, D.C., *Post* and the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had proposed at an NAACP Board meeting that the Association not support the Powell amendment to the Federal Aid to Education Bill. Congressman Powell asserted for the second time that the white members of the Board "voted solidly" not to support the Powell amendment.

He offered free advice on the selection of NAACP Board members

and assigned racial quotas, saying he would not object to "four or five" non-Negroes.

NAACP Position

The general position of the NAACP is that Congressman Powell simply does not know what he is talking about when he discusses the workings of the NAACP. He is completely ignorant of how it is organized, how it functions, who is on its Board of Directors, how its policy is made and who supports it financially.

Item: Mr. Powell does not know (or has chosen to forget) that the NAACP Board at its meeting February 14, 1955, voted all-out endorsement of the Powell amendment in the following language:

"BE IT RESOLVED: That any new Federal legislation in aid of education in the states at whatever level or of whatever character should contain corrective and safeguarding features which make such aid available only to such states as comply fully with the spirit and purpose of the Constitution."

The white members of the Board present voted for this endorsement.

Mr. Powell does not know (or chooses to forget) that at the NAACP Board meeting on May 9, 1955, the Board voted to maintain its position as stated at the February meeting, despite a letter signed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. (Mrs. Agnes Meyer, named by him as a participant in this move, is not now and never has been a member of the NAACP Board.)

The white members of the Board present in May voted to let stand the February resolution supporting the Powell amendment; they did not vote "solidly" against Powell as he has charged repeatedly.

Item: But while the NAACP was giving 100 percent support to that amendment, Mr. Powell does not want the public to remember that he, Adam Clayton Powell, ran out on his own amendment in 1961.

Not only did he run out on it and refuse to introduce it, but he promised to "take the floor and fight against" any such amendment if any other Congressman proposed one.

One Congressman, Peter Frelinghuysen (R., N.J.), did propose such an amendment to HR 7300 in 1961 and Mr. Powell opposed it in committee, thus helping to kill the amendment before it reached the floor.

The Congressional Quarterly Almanac *for the 87th Congress, First Session, 1961, records on page 223 that Congressman Powell, as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, led within the committee the opposition to Representative Frelinghuysen's amendment which would have denied Federal funds to states which discriminate. The amendment was killed by a vote of 16-13.*

In an April 13, 1961, dispatch from Washington, the Associated Press reported that Congressman Powell ". . . promised today to withhold his anti-segregation amendment from pending school aid legislation.

"He said that if anyone else offered an anti-segregation amendment — and some Congress members have indicated they will — he would lead the opposition to it."

So, the record shows that the Congressman's big to-do about the NAACP Board of Directors fighting the Powell amendment is not true.

And the record also shows that he did run out on his own amendment and that he did oppose a similar amendment proposed by another Congressman.

Item: Mr. Powell does not know that the NAACP has been in the thick of the sit-in, picketing protest movement.

Of the hundreds arrested in the State of South Carolina, notably at Orangeburg and Columbia, all but a dozen or so were NAACP youth, organized into NAACP units, working under direction of the NAACP. Two recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions reversed the convictions of South Carolina NAACP young people.

The Savannah, Georgia, NAACP selective buying campaign against downtown merchants was one of the many successful ones over the country.

The successful Memphis, Tennessee, public library and lunch counter desegregation campaigns were exclusively NAACP Youth Council efforts under the general direction of the Memphis Branch, largest in the South. The San Antonio, Texas, movement was that of NAACP youth and adult units. In Louisville, out of 267 arrested, more than 250 were NAACP youth. Other organizations were and are at work, but the NAACP was not on the sidelines, nursing its "legal approach." When the sit-ins and Freedom Riders had rough going, it was NAACP attorneys and NAACP bond money that came to their aid.

So, it is not true that the NAACP is "nit-picking" about other organizations and is refusing to use sit-ins and picketing and other active methods of protest. Representative Powell is wrong again.

Item: All members of the NAACP Board have been elected in annual balloting by NAACP Branches in at-large, regional and youth voting.

The nominations are made by delegates to the Annual Convention or by a committee of seven, four of whom are elected by the Convention.

In addition, independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by the requisite number of members in good standing.

Of the present 52 members, 11 are white. Is Mr. Powell serious

in suggesting that these 11 "control" the other 41? Especially since the 41 (and the 11) are elected by the people in the NAACP Branches?

Item: Most NAACP Board members have come up through the ranks of the Association. The Board Chairman is a former president of the District of Columbia Branch. The treasurer is a former officer of the Greenwich, Connecticut, Branch.

For 27 years, until the NAACP could afford its own legal staff, the president, now 85, gave his services without fee in legal cases as chairman of the one-man legal department. Other Board members include NAACP state presidents in North Carolina, New York, Pennsylvania, Northwest Area (Oregon-Washington), Georgia, Missouri, Michigan and Maryland. Also Branch presidents, ex-presidents or other officers in Fort Worth, St. Louis, Richmond, Camden, Philadelphia, Detroit, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Columbia, S.C., Norfolk, San Francisco, Baltimore, Meridian, Miss., Wichita, Chicago, Nashville, Boston, Cleveland, Sacramento, Oklahoma City, East Orange, N.J., and Miami.

So, NAACP Board members are elected by the membership. The vast majority comes up through the ranks, serving the Association effectively on the state and local levels. They are not designated or hand-picked by an Adam Powell or someone else because they are identified with some other organized group; they are elected by NAACP members on the basis of their service to the NAACP and to the general cause of civil rights.

No color line is drawn. No quotas are assigned. No tokenism (like Mr. Powell's "four or five") is used. Negro Americans have been fighting quotas and tokenism all their lives and now the Congressman wants to apply them to people whose skin happens to be white!

Item: No one knows the exact percentage of white membership in the NAACP. No records are kept by race and color. For years we have been estimating the white membership at 10 percent. We do know that the overwhelming majority of the membership is Negro.

No one knows the exact amount of financial support given by white people, but we do know that the overwhelming bulk of the funds (85% to 90%) is contributed — in one form or another — by the NAACP members themselves, not by outsiders, or by big givers or by funds or foundations.

"White" money does not "control" the NAACP. The Association is controlled by its membership. Its national policy is laid down by the elected delegates to its annual conventions in the form of resolutions. Its funds are raised in large degree by its members.

No one owns the NAACP except its members.

The white and Negro members and officers work in partnership, not only nationally, but locally, for Branches and state organizations also have white members and officers. This is the way it has been since

the NAACP was organized in 1909. The late Arthur Capper, U.S. Senator from Kansas, was once president of the Topeka, Kansas, Branch and helped fight the showing of "The Birth of a Nation" back in 1917.

The late Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior under FDR, was once president of the Chicago Branch. John R. Shillady, an early white national secretary of the NAACP, was beaten badly by an Austin, Texas, mob in 1919.

After the Supreme Court decision of 1954, local units of the National Urban League were thrown out of Southern Community Chests because their leadership — white and black — supported desegregation.

In the CORE Freedom Rides it was a white CORE leader, James Peck, who was unmercifully beaten in Birmingham in May, 1961.

When Powell's conduct was criticized on the floor of the Senate by Senator John J. Williams (R., Del.), the only man who spoke up against such criticism of a fellow legislator was a white vice-president of the NAACP, Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.).

White NAACP members and officers have been insulted and slandered for their loyalty to the Association, accused of being everything from a prostitute to a communist. The late Mary White Ovington, a gentle and cultured aristocrat, a founder of the NAACP, was called a "degenerate" because she ate with Negroes in a Brooklyn restaurant. We all know the filthy names hurled at white sit-in students, Freedom Riders, and sympathizers by white Southern elements during recent years.

Adam Powell wants to take the membership money of these people, assign them a quota, set a ceiling on their participation and bar them from office — all because of skin color! They believe in justice and equality. They serve the cause with their talents, their money and sometimes their blood. But Mr. Powell says that is not enough.

We of the NAACP say it is. We say so in the name of John Brown and of the other white martyrs for Negro human rights. We say so in the name of the record of advancement against heartbreaking odds that this NAACP interracial partnership of freedom fighters has achieved. The goal is not yet won, but the fight goes forward.

But in our NAACP fight for decency, we believe black racism is as bad, inherently, as white racism or yellow racism or brown racism. We will have none of it.

If Adam Clayton Powell, an elected national legislator in a nation whose historic Declaration of Independence includes "all men," will have some of racism, then democracy (for all men) is betrayed.

If Adam Clayton Powell, minister in the Christian church whose most famous minister, Paul, wrote on bigotry to the church at Rome, "What then, are we better than they? No, in no wise . . ." will have

some of racism (even in behalf of a sorely tried race) then prayers should be said for the Powell ministry.

The prophet Isaiah, put it this way in the fifth verse of the sixty-fifth chapter:

[A people] "Which say, stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou. These are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day."

To which the NAACP says a fervent "Amen!"

Negro Public Reaction

The Negro press and other spokesmen for the Negro public have almost unanimously rallied to the support of the NAACP and rejected Mr. Powell's racist appeal. The following are some of their published statements:

Philadelphia Tribune, March 26:

> What Congressman Powell has suggested, if he doesn't realize it, is that Americans of color should turn their backs on men and women who have suffered criticism from other white people because of their advocacy of constitutional rights withheld from Negroes. Must we at this late date turn our backs on the Spingarns, Mary White Ovingtons, Louis Marshalls and Eleanor Roosevelts, just to name a few of America's distinguished citizens who have thrown the full weight of their influence into the struggle to make democracy more than a word in the United States of America?
>
> Congressman Adam Clayton Powell is confused. How in the name of heaven can he logically advocate segregation within the ranks of the NAACP which has as its basic purpose the ending of segregation in America?

Atlanta Daily World, March 27:

> Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., has made an unfortunate attack on the NAACP in criticizing the presence of whites in responsible positions. His position is extreme, irrational and vindictive. It is not becoming for the New York solon to take such a narrow, restrictive and irresponsible attitude toward an organization which has practiced the principles in which it affirms for the nation . . .
>
> The NAACP Board of Directors is fully capable of seeing that qualified persons carry out its policies without influence or interference from Congressman Powell.
>
> At the same time it will require Negroes and whites, working in partnership, to break down the barriers which have handicapped our national and racial development.

California Eagle, March 28:

> Adam Clayton Powell opened the spring silly season last week with advice to Negroes to boycott the NAACP until it ousts white officials. He sounds as if he had been reading and giving credence to literature of the White Citizens Councils . . .
>
> The important thing about the NAACP is not whether it is composed of Negroes alone or of whites and Negroes but what it does relative to

fighting for and securing the rights of Negroes. As long as it voices the aims and aspirations of Negroes it deserves the support of Negroes.

St. Louis Argus, March 29:

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, who has had his share of headlines recently, has run into a veritable buzz-saw from Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young in reply to his reported boycott plea.

According to dispatches, Powell at a rally up in Harlem last Saturday, called for a boycott by Negroes of all organizations not controlled by or without the presence of white persons. Wilkins of the NAACP immediately . . . said that Powell was "talking through his hat." Young, a little more of a diplomat, called the Powell plea "unfortunate."

We deplore the idea of separation, whether proposed by Talmadge, Eastland, Hitler or Malcolm X. We deeply regret that Congressman Powell would lend the prestige of his name to such an idea . . . We wished he hadn't said it.

Kansas City (Mo.) Call, March 29:

When Rep. Powell attacks the NAACP because it has white members on its national board of directors, we know that something has happened to Adam. The NAACP, principal champion of the Negro's fight for first class citizenship for the last 50 years, has always had an interracial board . . .

Surely, Rep. Powell cannot be serious when he urges Negroes to boycott the NAACP because of the interracial make-up of its board.

Powell's blast at the NAACP fell on deaf ears as far as most American Negroes are concerned but it's sweet music to the ears of the Black Muslims whose sect is built around the "black supremacy" theme.

Michigan Chronicle, March 30:

We cannot attribute Mr. Powell's inappropriate, unwarranted, and untimely criticism of our major civil rights organizations to ignorance of the history of the Negro's struggle for freedom in this country. We are certain that he is aware of the tremendously influential role of white abolitionists, before and after the Civil War, in fighting, and in the case of John Brown, dying for the freedom of the American Negro.

We are more inclined to believe that Congressman Powell gains great satisfaction and self-esteem from being controversial. However, we would suggest to the colorful congressman that he not sell our bread and butter organization down the Mississippi River for self aggrandizement; that he not crown himself as a supreme judge of who is to participate in the civil rights movement, and that Powell be careful in the future about letting his expenditures of speech transcend his income of logical ideas.

The Carolina Times, March 30:

Outside of Harlem, Powell's appeal to the Negroes of this nation to boycott the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be about as effective as a gnat kicking against the Rock of Gibraltar. In fact, we suspect that in some sections of the country his attack on the NAACP will help the organization financially and numerically. Every Negro in the United States, with an ounce of sense, should be against practically everything Powell is for.

It is hard to rationalize a lawmaker of the greatest democracy in the world, to say nothing of a minister of the gospel, advocating the NAACP or any other organization fighting for the rights of an oppressed people, closing its doors in the face of another human being merely because he is

white and referring to those of the same race as "crackers." This is not only conduct unbecoming a Christian minister but a congressman as well. It is the same method employed by southern demagogues in their attacks on Negroes.

New Jersey Herald News, March 30:

Surely the spectre of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell berating, downgrading, and generally maligning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People . . . gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the Negro everywhere.

Houston Informer, in column by Carter Wesley, editor, March 30:

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell broke into headlines the other day by saying that he wanted to boycott, or wanted to see the NAACP boycotted, because it has whites in it. I don't agree with Congressman Powell's stated position of boycotting all of our higher institutions that have whites in them in high places. If the NAACP was organized by white and colored at its initial effort at improving situations, what sense would it be to turn around now and put all of the whites out, because there may be a certain number of whites in high positions. It seems that Congressman Powell is not sincere, or he is full of prunes.

The Pittsburgh Courier, April 6:

It was not as paradoxical as it seemed that Representative Adam Clayton Powell and Muslim Minister Malcolm X should speak from the same Harlem outdoor platform recently for the delectation of 2,500 of their followers.

The Congressman used the occasion to score such organizations as the NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and to call upon the Negroes to boycott them because of alleged white leadership and support.

It is the essence of demagoguery to attack that which is established, stable and constructive in order to destroy and thus create a vacuum into which demagogues may march with whatever program they are promulgating.

The Afro-American, April 13:

Favorite target of two extremist groups, the White Citizens Councils and the Black Muslims, is the NAACP.

This is not surprising since both organizations are dedicated advocates of racial segregation.

But it comes as a surprise to see Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, no segregationist in the past, adding his voice to the shrill chorus . . .

We have come to Mr. Powell's defense on numerous occasions. We have not hesitated to speak out when we felt he was right and his attackers wrong.

But this time Mr. Powell errs . . .

We know the reason these two organizations [White Citizens Councils and Black Muslims] so bitterly oppose the NAACP.

Mr. Powell, what's yours?

Jackie Robinson in a syndicated open letter to Congressman Powell, March 28:

I write it because it is my sincere belief that you have grievously set back the cause of the Negro, let your race down and failed miserably

in the role which our people justly expect you to play as an important national leader of the Negro in this nation.

I refer to your vicious attacks upon the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, your intemperate and ill-advised suggestion that the Negro people boycott the NAACP because of the participation in its affairs of white people and your rallying call to the Negro people to support Malcolm X and the Black Muslims.

You know, Adam, that the NAACP, whatever shortcomings it may have, has been and still is the greatest organization working in behalf of all those principles of freedom and human dignity for the black man in America which was ever put together in this nation.

Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League, in an address before a Brooklyn chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, March 31:

Mr. Powell did attack our major organizations. And in so doing called for a purge of white citizens which would result in all-Negro institutions. When he made this attack he confused the Negro masses, and endeared himself to the Barnetts, the Eastlands, and every southern or northern racist who has been advocating separatism for generations on the grounds that Negro citizens prefer to be segregated.

If these were normal times we could dismiss this as "racism — Negro style." But these are not normal times. The Negro citizen stands today at a most critical point in relation to his economic future.

Frank R. Crosswaith, labor leader, in a letter to the New York *Amsterdam News,* April 6:

The NAACP should be judged by its policy and program, not by who are the people working to make that program a reality. Mr. Powell did not say what he thought was wrong with the program of the NAACP and until he does so his attack should be disregarded by right-thinking people. He might as well have attacked the Supreme Court's decisions because the judges are white.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Secretary-Treasurer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in interview over Radio Station WTVD as reported in *The Carolina Times,* March 30:

However, at this point I disagree with him [Powell] whole-heartedly because I am not concerned — and he must not be — and none of us who believe in social justice must not be — with any particular race.

Beulah Lodge, Grand United Order of Oddfellows, Columbia, S.C., in resolution as reported in the *Afro-American,* April 6:

The work of the NAACP under the present leadership and its open membership are more in keeping with the democratic principles and ideals for which colored persons are striving in their drive for political and economic equality.

The Carver Democratic Club (New York City), J. Raymond Jones, leader, in a statement issued, March 25:

As we approach the ninth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing discrimination in schools during the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, we must be very mindful of the dominant role of the NAACP in the fight for equality, school desegregation as well as integra-

tion in other areas of American life. This fight has been fully supported by members of the NAACP regardless of their race or religion.

The resolution further reaffirmed the conviction "that the NAACP is an effective medium through which full attainment of the aspirations of Negroes and other minority groups can be achieved." It called upon the members of the Carver Club of the Harlem community to reinforce their support of the NAACP through full participation in the New York Branch's current membership drive.

Mr. Jones announced at the meeting that he would purchase a life membership for his oldest grandson.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

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ATTORNEYS ASK ALABAMA SUPREME COURT
FOR STAY OF JAIL SENTENCES FOR
NEGRO LEADERS IN BIRMINGHAM

May 15, 1963

NEW YORK -- NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys Arthur D. Shores and Norman Amaker asked the Supreme Court of Alabama today to stay the sentences, issued April 26th by a Birmingham Circuit Court, of Dr. Martin Luther King and ten of his aides. An appeal was filed Monday with the Alabama high court.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference officials are scheduled to begin serving five day jail terms tomorrow. They were also fined $50 each. They were convicted of criminal contempt by Judge W. A. Jenkins for violating his injunction against anti-segregation demonstrations which was issued April 10th. The injunction prohibited unlawful picketing, parading and other forms of demonstrating.

SCLC officials who face sentence, in addition to Dr. King, are Ralph Abernathy, F. L. Shuttlesworth, Wyatt T. Walker, Andrew Young, James Bevel, T. L. Fisher, J. W. Hayes, A. D. King, John T. Porter and Nelson H. Smith, Jr.

The brief filed by Legal Defense Fund attorneys argues, among other things, that the "injunction [of April 10th] is void as a denial of due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Fund attorneys are representing all of the more than 2,000 Negro citizens who have been convicted in Birmingham for demonstrations during the last month. The attorneys are Arthur D. Shores and Orzell Billingsley, Jr. of Birmingham, and Norman C. Amaker, Leroy Clark, Jack Greenberg and Mrs. Constance Baker Motley of New York City.

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strated that "it can happen here," and that not only are the Communists pushing, striving, and trying to take over, but, perhaps in a somewhat less redical way, perhaps not so well organized, although I think they are pretty well organized; perhaps not financed by the Government, but certainly financed by a number of misguided individuals who can provide that kind of financing—we are also faced with the dangers of an ignorant or perhaps a calculated, radical right.

I think it has been most helpful to the ntry to have this pointed out. It is icularly timely at this moment, when e facing such grave dangers of vio- r other acts of desperation which aracterize our terrible mistakes— n we are paying now—in the field racial relationships. At such n the name of law and order, asy to characterize as "Com- nything which one does not like one fears. In such circum- is so easy to take extreme our society we face threats radical left and the radical ll the facts are known, it rent that we face these arily because of the stub- plicity, the cupidity, and alings which emanate from munist society itself; and when ilar presentation of the subversive aracter of the radical left is not made by such extremists, it is all too easy for them to emphasize their views as members of the radical right.

So, Mr. President, I think the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] has rendered a marked service by both the timing and the content of his speeches, and also by giving us the benefit of the editorial comments—both the overwhelmingly great number of commendatory and approving editorials, and also the very small number of disapproving editorials—which his remarks have generated in the press of the country.

Inasmuch as a Member of this body almost necessarily has to be a specialist, almost as a matter of natural selection, I hope very much that the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] will be encouraged by the satisfaction to his own conscience and by the public interest displayed, as well as by the approval of his colleagues. I highly approve of his action. I hope he will continue his efforts in this field and will remain a permanent sentinel to warn and to point out the abyss which lies at our very feet while e maintain our struggle against communism, which is so active in many parts the world.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I wish to speak in support of the remarks of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] in commending the action of the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] for bringing to our attention and to the attention of the country this serious problem.

A little more than a year ago it was my privilege to visit California, together with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], who, with me, spoke at a meeting of persons who were deeply concerned about the radical right in that part of the country. Those who sponsored the meeting said they had the highest regard for the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and for his understanding of the issues involved.

I mention this matter because I think it important to have the country understand, in fairness to the State of California, that it was before his recent reelection, not after it, that his position on this issue became so well known, and that it is not true that it is politically dangerous in California to be as outspoken a supporter of decency as is the Senator from California—although I am sure he did not take this position in any sense because of political motivation. However, it is obvious that it is an advantage politically to be on the right side of issues of this sort in California, as it is elsewhere in the country; and I am very glad that the Senator from California has taken the floor of the Senate to speak on these occasions.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL]. Coming from New England, where we have a smaller quantity of hatemongerers than seem to be prevalent in other parts of the country, I realized my blessings as I listened to the thoughts of my colleague. I believe that if there is one way of truly protecting our country from weaknesses from within, it is by ventilating and exposing the diatribes of the hatemongers and letting the people of the country as a whole be aware of what they are doing, so that those who hear an individual hatemonger will not thing that he alone is being honored by his attentions.

NAACP SUIT TO ENFORCE CONSTITUTIONAL REDUCTION OF REPRESENTATION OF STATES WHICH DENY THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Interpoint Org. NAACP

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the Federal Government has fallen far behind in the march toward progress on civil rights.

As a result of the failure to enact meaningful civil rights legislation, we have forced the victims of discrimination to resort more and more to self-help. Those who have insisted upon watering down or obstructing every attempt to provide the Federal Government with the authority it needs to deal effectively with deprivations of constitutional rights cannot complain now that more drastic action is necessary.

A vacuum has been created by the inability or refusal of Congress and the executive branch to respond to the urgent demands of the situation. Ignoring the injustices and inequities which have existed for so many years has only served to aggravate them and develop a greater insistence upon action now.

It was almost 7 years ago when I was a Member of the other body—at that time the ranking minority member of the House Committee on the Judiciary—that a determined effort was made by the chairman and myself and others, to give the Department of Justice authority to initiate suits for preventive relief in all cases involving denials of constitutional rights. We succeeded in maintaining this provision in the 1957 Civil Rights Act which passed the House, only to witness its elimination in the Senate. Those who thought they won a great victory by their successful insistence that this provision be stricken as the price for any action on civil rights bear a heavy responsibility for the crisis in civil rights which has since become evident.

It should be apparent to everyone now that the longer these problems are allowed to exist without solution, the longer resentment against second-class citizenship is allowed to fester without remedy, the longer denials of constitutional rights are condoned without action, the more likely it is that impatience will turn to outrage and demonstration to riots. We must come to our senses before it is too late. I am not suggesting that we act out of fear, but I am pleading that we act out of a new awareness of our obligations to the Constitution, the heritage of freedom we so proudly proclaim, and the understanding of the mood and determination of fellow Americans who have struggled for so many years against intolerance and oppression.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today has initiated a legal action to enforce the provisions of the 14th amendment requiring the reduction of representation of States which deny or abridge the right to vote. I have always been more concerned with removing impediments to the free exercise of the franchise than with reducing the number of Representatives from particular States. But it must be conceded that the Constitution is clear on this point. It says that the basis of representations shall be reduced in States which do not permit qualified citizens to vote. The fact that this provision has not been enforced has not eliminated it from the Constitution, and it continues to have the same force today which it had almost a hundred years ago when it was written into the fundamental law.

We can expect the action of the NAACP to be greeted by the same outbursts which have been vented against other attempts to enforce the provisions of the Constitution. The same cries of states' rights which were raised against the school desegregation decision and the State reapportionment cases will be heard. Well, there are such things as states' wrongs as well as states rights. How about State responsibilities? After a hundred years, is it not time that the 14th Amendment was enforced either by compliance with its standards or by implementation of its sanctions?

The action of the NAACP would be unnecessary if Congress had taken steps before now to make certain that citizens of the United States were not denied the right to vote. If the Supreme Court now holds that the 14th Amendment has been violated by the unfair apportionment of representatives, can it be fairly said that it is usurping legislative powers? In my judgment the answer is no, because Congress has forfeited the opportunity to act and the Constitution

cannot be ignored indefinitely. Let those who would condemn the courts consider the conditions which they have created. In truth, they have forced resort to the courts for the vindication of Constitutional rights by their own successful exploitation of the many devices for blocking legislative action in the Congress. If the anti-civil rights claims of victory in the past now have a hollow ring, they have no one to blame but themselves.

The suit initiated by the NAACP is of historic significance and is destined to rank with the school desegregation suit and the State reapportionment cases in importance. I commend this organization for pressing its efforts to enforce the Constitution and to give authority to its eloquent commands.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the suit which is being started today by the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to enforce the 14th amendment provision which requires reduction in the congressional representation of any State which denies the right to vote arbitrarily in violation of the Constitution.

The suit signalizes the relative roles of the judiciary and the Congress in the struggle for equality, which is so rapidly coming to a head at this time. In 1945, in *Saunders* v. *Wilkins*, 152 F. 2d 235, a suit brought in Federal court in Virginia to enforce this section of the Constitution because of the disenfranchisement of 60 percent of the voters because of the poll tax, the court stated:

> It is well known that the elective franchise has been limited or denied to citizens in various States of the Union in past years, but no serious attempt has been made by Congress to enforce the mandate of the second section of the 14th amendment, and it is noteworthy that there are no instances in which the courts have attempted to revise the apportionment of Representatives by Congress.

The court dismissed the suit as raising a "political question" which the court could not adjudicate.

Since Congress has continually defaulted on such "political questions" the Supreme Court has been increasingly pressed to resolve them. The Court has accepted the responsibility. In 1961, in the case of Gomillion against Lightfoot, the Court rejected the "political question" rationale which had been used by the district court in Virginia and held the virtually total exclusion of Negro voters from the city limits of Tuskegee, Ala., was a violation of the 15th amendment guarantee against discrimination on grounds of race, creed, or color.

This decision was followed by the Tennessee apportionment case, Baker against Carr, which completely put to rest the "political question" doctrine in regard to apportionment.

Because of this display of understanding of the legal doctrine involved by the Supreme Court, the legislatures of the Nation are now stirring with long overdue action toward reapportionment to reflect the enormous changes in population which have occurred in this century, only a fraction of which had been reflected by the legislatures themselves.

The case now filed by the NAACP legal defense fund is of the same order. Congress has failed to take account of even the unanimous findings of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its 1961 report on voting that "substantial numbers of Negro citizens are, or recently have been, denied the right to vote on grounds of race or color in about 100 counties in 8 Southern States" through literacy tests and other qualification tests, arbitrary and discriminatory registration procedures, threats and intimidation, or the fear of retaliation.

The response of the Congress has been rejection of even the mild sixth-grade literacy test bill and passage of only the antipoll tax constitutional amendment, which is still wending its way through State legislatures and which, I believe all agree, is hardly a major step toward eliminating flagrant denials of the right to vote, though I welcome it.

Section 2 of the 14th amendment to the Constitution provides a clear remedy for denial of the right to vote: Reduction of the representation of the State in the House of Representatives. The NAACP legal defense fund suit lays the groundwork for such reduction by ordering the Secretary of Commerce and the Director of the Bureau of the Census to compile the figures as to the denial of the right to vote at the next census and to submit the proper apportionment of Representatives to Congress in accordance with the 14th amendment provision.

Again the issue is clearly posed: Will Congress fulfill its responsibility, or will the courts be required to take the lead?

The NAACP action to which I have referred is now pending in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, with a long list of plaintiffs, and is directed against the Secretary of Commerce and the Director of the Bureau of the Census.

This is a real first, and will be looked at with the greatest of interest by all of us. As one who has fought in the Senate for 7 years for the so-called part III of the Civil Rights Act, granting power to the Attorney General to sue in representative civil rights cases, I welcome very much this initiative of the NAACP. I point out that it represents a direction which, had it been taken sooner, might have prevented the dread national crisis now confronting us, and to which, many of us are determined, there must be brought national attention and national legislation. However, this initiative is most useful and most worthwhile, and I am delighted that the NAACP is taking the initiative, knowing that it will be pushed with vigor and effectiveness, as, indeed, it is the same type of approach which brought about the landmark decision in the Brown against Board of Education School desegregation case in 1954.

THE WHEAT REFERENDUM, THE FARMER, AND THE FARM BUREAU

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, a week ago today the U.S. wheat farmers decided they did not want a certificate plan for the 1964 wheat crop. They rejected a carefully designed program which sought to reduce the burden of surplus stocks and the cost of the farm program while at the same time protecting the income of farmers. Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, one of the most dedicated and able men in public life today, worked long and hard with his department advisers and the Congress to develop a program that would balance the interest of farmers, taxpayers and consumers.

A major share of credit for the rejection of this plan is being given to the leadership of the American Farm Bureau Federation, which, as we know, led the campaign for a "No" vote in th referendum.

Farm Bureau officials have not b reluctant in accepting this credit, they should not be. They condu vigorous campaign, largely alo negative lines in which they have increasingly skilled.

There was, however, one positiv to the Farm Bureau's effort t a "no" vote. Wheat growers time and time again, by the tion's spokesmen, from Pres man on down to clerks in c Bureau offices, that if t plan were voted down would replace it with a n and more constructive prog

This pledge, this promis day after day, night after the fact that the referendu spelled out the alternate program event wheat growers rejected the cert cate plan.

All through the Farm Bureau's written and spoken pleas for "no" votes, the words "new" and "better" and "constructive" appear in descriptions of the promised legislation.

On May 7, just 2 weeks before the referendum of last Tuesday, President Shuman of the Farm Bureau Federation testified on the new feed grain bill before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and devoted a great deal of time to criticism of the proposed Certificate Plan for wheat.

At that time, as a member of the committee, I specifically asked Mr. Shuman—a man for whom I bear no personal malice and, in fact, one with whom I enjo cordial personal relations—if he believe new legislation would be passed to give our wheat farmers a better income at less cost to the taxpayers should th referendum fail. He answered with definite, unqualified "Yes."

Now, this consistent reference of the Farm Bureau to new legislation placed upon the organization responsibility t submit to the Congress a proposal for new wheat bill.

Within a few days after the refere dum, the American Farm Bureau r sponded to this challenge.

But the response is a pathetic delusion.

It does not uphold the promise contained in the word "new" that was used so liberally in the antireferendum propaganda. It is, in fact, a slightly warmed over version of the extravagant Farm Bureau land retirement bill that has been floating around the Halls of Congress for years without being taken seriously by the Congress.

It does not uphold the promise contained in the words "better" or "constructive." It, in fact, cuts total farm

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

SECOND NEGRO ADMITTED TO

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

May 29, 1963

New York — N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund attorneys won admission to the University of Mississippi for a second Negro student this week.

Cleve McDowell, 21, won the right to enter the university's law school for the summer semester beginning June 5th when District Court Judge Sidney Mize issued on May 28th a Temporary Restraining Order against the Board of Trustees of state universities and the Registrar and Chancellor of the university.

Attorneys Constance Baker Motley and Derrick Bell filed suit before Judge Mize yesterday. The judge issued the restraining order in open court. He set a hearing on a Preliminary Injunction in the case for June 3rd.

Mr. McDowell had applied to law school last fall and was reportedly accepted by law school officials without the formal filing of case. His scholastic record at Jackson State College, from which he graduated this week, is excellent. The suit became necessary when the Board of Trustees voted to reject McDowell's application because of campus "unrest." Judge Mize said in issuing his order "in every respect, he has been shown to be qualified."

Mr. McDowell is a close friend of James Meredith, who hopes to complete his work at the university this summer. Mrs. Motley on May 28th also asked Judge Mize for an order requiring the university to grant Mr. Meredith married-student quarters for the summer term so that this wife and son can join him. Judge Mize set June 3rd as the date for a hearing on this motion.

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CONFERENCE ON PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS
CALLED BY LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

May 31, 1963

WASHINGTON -- This weekend for the first time in a single meeting the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and its 80 cooperating southern attorneys will meet with representatives of all the principal direct action organizations to outline the legal contours of the protest against segregation in months to come.

The meeting was called by Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund. It will be held June 1st and 2nd at the Howard University School of Law. Special emphasis will be given the Supreme Court's sit-in decisions, and what protest demonstrations can do within their limits.

Mr. Greenberg stated, "We will try to project the extent to which demonstrations will develop in months and years to come and to advise protest demonstrators what actions they may take which ultimately will be upheld by the courts.

"The decisions on what to do and how to do it, however, will be entirely those of the organizations and their members. Our role will be instructional only.

"Our lawyers will prepare and frame a course of action in the courts to enjoin the type of laws and practices which the courts just have held unconstitutional. We also are preparing a handbook of constitutional law setting forth the rights of the demonstrators.

"We reiterate the pledge made by Thurgood Marshall when he was Director-Counsel, to defend every nonviolent demonstrator who requests our aid. The cases we handle now number more than 6,000 but we will continue to handle all such cases as long as our resources hold out and the public supports us."

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Associate Counsel

COURT RULES TO SPEED-UP DESEGREGATION IN SCHOOLS
STATEMENT BY DIRECTOR-COUNSEL JACK GREENBERG

June 3, 1963

NEW YORK -- The United States Supreme Court unanimously reversed this morning two school desegregation plans from Knoxville and Davidson County, Tennessee.

The cases were brought on appeal from the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and argued before the Supreme Court March 19th by Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg.

The Court held unconstitutional the 'racial option' transfer system as applied by the two school boards. Under this plan, children assigned to schools which previously served the other race are permitted to transfer to schools where their race is in the majority; they may also transfer if they are assigned to any school or grade where their race is in the minority.

Mr. Greenberg contended before the court that the plan operated to perpetuate segregation rather than further desegregation.

He said of today's decision: "This decision closes another loophole for those who have been trying to avoid the ruling of May 17, 1954.

"Along with the Memphis Park case of last week which held that delays in desegregation will not be tolerated, today's case represents a substantial advance.

"We now have pending more than 60 school cases, and in all of them we will be filing papers based on these two decisions to speed up the desegregation process."

Intergroup Org. N.AACP

DISUNITY & UNITY IN N

By Ralph McGill
Publisher of the Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA

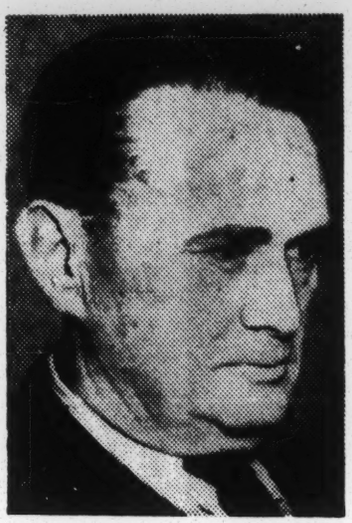
In "John Brown's Body," the compassionate and moving epic of the Civil War, Stephen Vincent Benet said of the man who had led the foredoomed raid on Harper's Ferry, and who was hanged by the State of Virginia: "Sometimes an image that has stood so long it seems implanted as the polar star is moved against an unfathomed force that suddenly will not have it any more. That force exists and moves. And when it moves it will employ a hard and actual stone to batter into bits an actual wall and change the actual scheme of things."

Bull Connor and Birmingham, Alabama, were such a stone. And it was true of them as it was of John Brown more than a century before that the sparks struck off by this stone "fell like live coals on every state in the Union." Precisely why Birmingham became this stone of fate and decision may not be dissected out of the whole. But that it did may not be denied. Almost a decade had passed since the U. S. Supreme Court ruled against segregated education. The turmoil of Little Rock was in 1957. The screaming, cursing mothers of New Orleans, the mobbing of freedom riders in Anniston, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Oxford, where two men had been murdered by snipers in the mob seeking to prevent James Meredith from registering at the University of Mississippi—all these, and more, had come and gone without a nation-wide commitment at the grass roots level. Birmingham was the catalyst.

BULL: DOGS, HOSES

When the historians of the future research the story they likely will make Birmingham's Commissioner of Police the symbol of grass roots fire. His show was not snipers firing in the dark. He gave a day-time performance of police dogs attacking persons, of children being hustled into patrol wagons, of a policeman with his foot on a Negro's neck, of fire hoses sweeping elderly men and women off their feet along with the young. Whether it was this or whether Birmingham was simply the final straw breaking the back of the segregation camel will never be known. But Birmingham and its Bull Connor were the hard and actual stone that began to batter into bits an actual wall and change the scheme of things.

It all seemed to happen so quickly (though actually it did not), that no over-all plan of strategy or tactics existed. The Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; the Urban League, the NAACP, and individuals led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King jr. spoke and acted. There was unity. Yet, the more mature knew that even though civil rights were won after a long hard fight, this, too, would be but a step. There would still be need for implementation. There were others who knew that because of the isolation of the Negro from American life, a cultural and educational lag existed which would make it difficult for many Negroes—especially those in the



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rural South and those who had gone from it, untaught and unskilled, to the industrial cities of the East and West—to take advantage of the rights attained.

There were knowledgeable persons who were aware that for many Negroes in the North jobs were of more immediate emotional appeal than civil rights. A poor, unemployed Negro can see that discrimination lies more heavily on him than on a skilled wage earner of the middle class or a professional man of major income. In fact, the poorer Negro can look about him and see a certain economic kinship, at least, with the long-jobless white man, who, also, more often than not, is a product of the segregated educational system that has cheated both.

NAACP: ZEAL, CLAIMS

So, while the organizations and those who spoke for them all were commonly agreed, they all suffered from a lack of communication, co-ordination and planning. The oldest organization, and the one on which all were the most dependent—the NAACP—had, and has, the most difficult role. It must defend them all. And it often finds itself with clients who have no basis for defense. The direct action groups were, in the main, enormously productive. They operated generally in fields where there was little or no "law." In their competitive zeal, direct action groups also indulged occasionally in what might be described as "claim jumping" and found themselves competing with one another in the field of action and in appeals for money. Frequently, the NAACP found itself with clients who had organized and acted with such carelessness as to make it expensive, if not impossible, to defend them. Yet, the NAACP could not fail to take all clients. This was its job. Sometimes these action groups complained that the NAACP, the legal arm, was not active enough in propaganda, or that it did

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w York Herald Tribune Sunday, June 23, 1963

N NEGRO EQUALITY FIGHT

A WAY OF LIFE is changing in the South as events move like a whirlwind, raising the dirt of racial conflict in every corner of the land. Trying to ride the whirlwind, control its fury, are the Negro organizations of old and recent vintage. But their views differ. Some need demonstrations to get direct action. Some need planning to achieve a stable future. All need money. Their conflicts, their startling impact on the old way of doing things—the whole picture—is here presented by Ralph McGill, a distinguished Southerner, a prize-winning journalist, a perceptive human being.

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not seem to know all the myriad inequities tucked away in the crannies of ghettos or isolated rural towns. Some of the students, meeting with frustration, also complained the NAACP was not aggressive enough, and that it was not always standing at the jail door with bail. But always it was the great rock in the weary land.

The NAACP, however, could not complain—even had it wished so to do. Its task was many times multiplied. Its expenses grew like Jack the Giant Killer's bean stalk. The direct action groups were on stage and in a world spotlight. They were on the streets, in the picket lines, in boycotts, and in demonstrations. This cost money. Their appeals for funds were answered.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, illustrated the problem familiar to all, in a speech at Alexandria, Va., on June 16. He explained to his audience that while the direct action groups, such as CORE, were in the publicity spotlight, everyone should keep in mind that it was the NAACP that had not merely to pay the final bill, but to steer the myriad cases growing out of demonstrations in many Southern cities through the lower courts to the higher ones—and on to decision.

Mr. Wilkins said, with truth, that the NAACP is the only organization that can handle a long, sustained fight. As an example, there are the several cases involving trespass which the U. S. Supreme Court has accepted and scheduled for argument in the fall term. These are extremely important. And the cost of getting these cases to the court is substantial—and cannot be paid in full until they are argued next autumn.

CORE and other direct action groups, whose value and purpose may not be minimized, none the less have been single-purpose groups. They have as an objective the end of segregation. But the NAACP must be multi-minded. If the others have no blueprint beyond that end, the NAACP must. If there is no legal and social planning for what comes after Jim Crow, then there will be no real victory. There must be a legislative push behind employment laws; adequate, low rental housing, and job opportunity—to name but three areas with which the future must contend.

An end to housing discrimination would not create housing. There is, in most cities, including New York, an oversupply of medium and high rental housing. But there is, in most urban areas, a decline in housing within the means of the low income groups. Automation steadily is decreasing the number of jobs in industrial areas, where most of the present-day Negro skills exist. There will be need for the NAACP for years after the immediate objectives have been attained.

Meanwhile, those persons committed to defiance, and who somehow see the Negro's campaign for civil rights as something inspired by the Kennedys or a few overly ambitious Negroes seeking financial contributions, are being stimulated to renewed efforts by the promised filibuster of the die-hard Southern Senators. But, in the main, there is a growing realization that the issue has been settled. That is why there is an increasing belligerency, anger, and occasional hysteria in the voices and letters of the die-hards, which are most revealing. The vice-president of a bank sends a long, dictated letter on stiff, crackling bond which wanders in irrelevancy and recriminations to a final conclusion that what the Negro wants most he will never attain—respect of the white race. One thinks of the banker in his paneled, air-conditioned office, with perhaps an autographed picture from Governor Wallace on his desk, and turns to a scrawled, penciled message on tablet paper insisting that intermarriage and destruction of the white race is the one objective. In between are those who conjure up the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and predict a like end for a desegregated U. S. A., but one reads between all the lines an awareness that a citizen cannot longer be deprived of justice and a full participation in all public aspects of citizenship and of opportunity in his country's economic future merely because he has a dark skin.

U. S.: FEAR, DEFIANCE

There are an estimated 185 million Americans, and one of the features of the present desperate plight of the Negro that will interest the historian of the future is the fact that many of the 167 million of them were so fearful and defiant about doing the moral, just, and right thing in behalf of a mere 18 million. That such an action should be difficult is a testimonial to the enduring qualities of myth, prejudice and custom. But, assuredly, generations of the future will shake their heads in wonder that 167 million had so much trouble with what, after all, was a simple decision.

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FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
ALD TRIBUNE Sunday, June 23, 1963

VJ, PA, ML, JT on Telegram org. NAACP 6/25/63

Medgar Evers Offered His Life, His Fortune, His Sacred Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1963

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the funeral of Medgar Evers at Arlington National Cemetery was a solemn tribute to an American hero in mankind's struggle for freedom. Charles W. Bailey, correspondent for the Minneapolis Tribune, captured the mood and significance of the event in his report in the Tribune for June 20:

AT BURIAL IN ARLINGTON—"HE WAS CUT DOWN LIKE A FLOWER," EULOGIZER SAYS

ARLINGTON, VA.—The humid haze of early summer lay hot and heavy on Washington, D.C., but here across the river, under the oak trees, the air was fresh and cool.

The little girl sat on a folding chair, her mother on one side and her older brother on the other. The child's face was blank and bemused, almost dazed. Around her stood a thousand others. Closer in, a score of men with cameras crept and scuttled and snapped their shutters at her.

In the center of the crowd, just in front of the girl and her brother and her mother, stood six soldiers. They held an American flag stiffly over the casket in which the little girl's father was to be buried.

All around stood the small white headstones. Closest to the new grave, they marked men from New Mexico, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Minnesota, North Carolina.

"In the midst of life," the preacher said, "we are in death * * * he cometh up and is cut down like a flower." A big airliner, just airborne from the nearby field, drowned out the rest of the prayer, and the little girl twisted her feet and looked up, trying to see the plane.

Something touched the girl's hand and she looked down. It was her mother's hand, seeking hers and enfolding it.

The words went on, but the little girl seemed not to be listening. She sat still in her wide-skirted white dress, its color seeming brighter in contrast to the black clothes of all around her.

A man's voice snapped out a muted command, higher up on the hill, and there was the rattle of rifle bolts, a warning in the quiet. But neither the child nor her mother seemed to have heard this, for the crash of the three volleys shattered their composure.

Then, from above, came the long sad sweet notes of taps, just 24 notes in all. The bugler stood over the crest of the hill, out of sight of graveside, and it was probably just as well. Surely no man could play those notes every day, as this one must, if he had also to look at those who have to listen.

The little girl wept for the first time now, as did her mother. The boy gave his sister a clean handkerchief. She twisted it in her hands as other men spoke at the graveside.

There were two men from the American Veterans Committee, which had long known the girl's father as a worker and a companion, and which only a fortnight ago had elected him to its national board. Their words seem not to touch the girl or her family, despite the sorrow in them and in the speakers.

Then another man, the director of the organization for which her father worked, began to speak, and the little girl began to listen.

This man did not pray or read from scriptures, as others had earlier. Instead, he spoke the words of the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

He said that the man being buried "believed in those principles" and that when the time came, he had put on his uniform and gone "far from Decatur, Miss. * * * to help a strange people who, like those he left behind, were threatened by racism."

He told how the little girl's father came home to Mississippi—to "the land he refused to disown"—and how he turned down opportunities to move elsewhere.

The speaker referred again to the Declaration of Independence, this time to its closing sentence. "Every time he left his family," he said, "he too was offering his life, his fortune, his sacred honor. That offering was finally accepted. He believed in his country. It now remains to be seen whether his country believes in him."

When the speaker finished, another man stepped forward and led the crowd in a hymn—the only one sung. It was a song the little girl's father had often led at home:

"We shall all be free;
We shall all be free;
We shall all be free;
Oh, deep in my heart
I do believe
We shall all be free—someday."

Now the little girl wept again, and then, looking at her mother and seeing her weeping too, sobbed aloud and clung to her uncle's arm. He lifted her into his lap.

The six soldiers at the grave, moving for the first time in a half hour, silently and in intricate pattern folded the flag. Silently they passed it to a chaplain; silently he took it to the widow. She hugged it to her, seeing nothing as the chaplain saluted her and turned away.

Then the little girl and her brother and her mother were taken away, leaving their father and husband under the oak trees with the others who, like him, earned in war their right to lie there.

In a few weeks, he too will have a little headstone, with an inscription like all the thousands of others on the hills and in the hollows under the trees. His will say: Medgar Evers, Mississippi.

Full Justice to the Negro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1963

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday the Minneapolis Star expressed the overwhelming sentiment of the people of Minnesota in favor of President Kennedy's civil rights program.

Yesterday my colleagues from Minnesota, Congressmen ALEC OLSON, JOHN BLATNIK, and JOE KARTH, and I backed up the President by each introducing the Civil Rights Act of 1963.

Let us hope that the debate on these proposals will be dignified and orderly as suggested by the Star editorial. Let us proceed with the crucial business of guaranteeing full justice to the Negro.

The editorial follows:

J.F.K. ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil rights program which Mr. Kennedy submitted to Congress Wednesday is a far-reaching one. It contains many elements of controversy. Ideally it should be considered in an atmosphere purged of emotion; the debate should be dignified and orderly, the background one of national restraint, if not of calm.

There are two possibilities which weigh most heavily against this ideal situation. The first is the threatened filibuster by southern Senators. This could tie the Senate into knots for weeks. Old wounds would be opened, new ones created, passions inflamed, relationships embittered.

The second disturbing possibility lies in the threats of some Negroes to carry their street demonstrations into the Halls of Congress. This would not help their cause; it would, in our opinion, seriously harm it. The resentment of Congress against coercive action of this sort would be wholly justifiable. The President's warning against "unruly tactics or pressures" is quite in order.

The civil rights program extends to many areas. These include voting, education, employment, equal access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc., and vocational training. The equal access proposals may provoke some of the angriest debate.

We believe that most Americans favor the objectives of this program. We think that they sense, with the President, "the growing moral crisis" in race relations and that they share his hope that Congress, setting aside political and sectional ties, will proceed with the crucial business of guaranteeing full justice to the Negro.

Is Congress Becoming Nonessential?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 25, 1963

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the great strength of the system of government adopted by our Founding Fathers was in the constitutional powers of three distinct branches of Government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

There is a grave danger that Congress may become so ineffective through the delegation of its constitutional responsibilities that the people may, indeed, determine it is not an essential part of our Government. If this day comes to pass, we, the Members of Congress, must bear the responsibility because we will have failed to stop the erosion of the powers and the responsibilities invested in the legislative by the Constitution. In the past 3 years Congress has, on repeated occasions, abrogated its authority and given unconstitutional powers to the President in such fields as spending, tariffs, and in areas going to the very heart of legislative responsibility. The Congress has wrung its collective hands, but has taken no action to halt the raid on legislation powers by the Supreme

6/29/63

Resolved, That the President is urged to invite the United Kingdom, France, and any other interested nations to join with the United States in a collective defense agreement with Israel, and any other Middle East state which is willing to join and carry out its obligations under such an agreement, and to provide such military and other assistance and cooperation as may be necessary to protect the territorial integrity and political independence of any nation in the Middle East which is a party to the agreement against armed attack by any other nation.

In Europe and in Asia we have joined with other free nations to mutually guarantee the defense of our common interests. These agreements have served to prevent aggression. And when aggression did occur in one or two instances, the United States has immediately come to the aid of her ally. Such an agreement with Israel would serve notice that we will not countenance any attack upon her and that, in addition, we are mindful of our responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace.

But Nasser's ambition does not end with the liquidation of Israel. He has ambitions which encompass all the Middle East. At the moment, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, are being subjected to subversion, threats and invective. In Yemen, Egyptian troops are engaged in wholesale massacre. Eyewitness reports charge that Egyptian bombers have been using poison gas against helpless villagers. Despite the fact that Nasser agreed some months ago to withdraw all his troops from Yemen, Egyptians are still actively engaged there.

Nasser obtains the armaments for his campaign in Yemen and for his buildup against Israel from the Soviet Union. But it is our foreign aid which allows him to purchase quantities of sophisticated Soviet weapons. Our aid may be for economic development—it may consist in great part of surplus foods—but the fact is that our aid does ease the economic burden at home so that Egypt can afford to buy the armaments for aggressive adventure abroad.

The immediate need in the Near East is stability and an agreement which will guarantee the peace.

But the real key to peace in the Near East does not lie with security agreements or with limiting the acquisition of arms. To achieve a lasting peace and to spread development and a higher standard of living throughout the whole region, Israel, and Arab leaders must sit down and negotiate their differences.

I have introduced a resolution calling upon our delegation to the United Nations to introduce and support a resolution favoring direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States "as an indispensable condition toward the attainment of peace and cooperation." The text of the resolution is as follows:

Whereas warlike threats in the Middle East, accompanied by increased arms shipments to the area from the Soviet Union are taking place; and

Whereas continuing Arab-Israel conflict is a threat to the peace, menacing the security of all the peoples of the Middle East and disrupting their progress and development because of the wasteful diversion of their resources for armaments; and

Whereas article II, section 3 of the United Nations Charter provides that "all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means"; and

Whereas the United Nations should be strengthened in its efforts to uphold that provision of the United Nations Charter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States delegation to the United Nations introduce and support a resolution favoring direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States as an indispensable condition toward the attainment of peace and cooperation and the settlement of all outstanding disputes between them.

Two weeks ago, at his first press conference, the new Prime Minister of Israel, Levi Eshkol, reiterated Israel's willingness to meet with President Nasser "or any other Arab leader at any time, anywhere * * * without making any prior conditions." It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that our Government should do everything in its power to bring about such a meeting. I urge that in the next session of the U.N. General Assembly our delegation call for efforts to lead the Arab leaders to the peace table.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I wish to insert some pertinent excerpts from recent statements of the American Jewish Committee:

The United States, as leader of the free world, must assume a primary and continuing responsibility, both directly and through the United Nations, for the maintenance of peace and security in this turbulent region. * * * The United States should vigorously pursue all avenues of negotiation, particularly with the Soviet Union, to remove the Middle East from the cold war arena. * * * A peace settlement between Israel and the Arab States is essential to the creation of a stable and secure Middle East. We urge our Government steadfastly to continue its efforts toward this prime objective.

The American Jewish Committee believes that implementation of U.S. policy requires our Government to (1) clearly define what it would consider aggression; (2) intensify efforts to end the arms race in the area, meanwhile assuring that the balance of arms is not upset; (3) provide a formal guarantee, upon request, of the independence and integrity of any state in the region; (4) vigorously discourage the violent hate campaign against Israel conducted by the Arab States; and (5) reevaluate the present U.S. policy of impartiality toward peaceful nations and those nations pursuing belligerent policies inimical to the peace and stability of the Middle East.

Blue Island, Ill., Issues Captive Nations Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1963

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during Captive Nations Week, 1963, Governors of most of our States and mayors of major cities issued proclamations directing the interest of their citizens to commemorations of Captive Nations observances.

The National Captive Nations Week Committee is especially pleased to note the participation of municipalities throughout the country. Typical of the proclamations is one issued by Hon. John M. Hart, mayor of the city of Blue Island, Ill., on the occasion of Captive Nations Week, which I am pleased to insert into the RECORD at this point:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America have by resolution requested and authorized the President of the United States to designate the week of July 14 through July 20, 1963, as Captive Nations Week; and

Whereas we Americans are proud that many refugees from the oppressed countries have found asylum in the United States; and

Whereas the citizens of the United States are linked by bonds of family and principle to many of the captive nations peoples; and

Whereas it is appropriate and proper to manifest to these people of the captive nations the support of the Government and the people of the United States for their just aspirations for freedom and national independence; and

Whereas the citizens of the city of Blue Island are fully aware of and grieve for the plight of those made captive under the heavy yoke of Russian communism: Now, therefore,

I, John M. Hart, mayor of the city of Blue Island, do hereby designate the week of July 14–20, 1963, as Captive Nations Week in the city of Blue Island, and urge the widest possible cooperation in the observance of this week.

JOHN M. HART,
Mayor.

Interlocking org. NAACP

Subversive Character of NAACP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1963

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, February 23, 1956, I spoke under special order on the subject of the "Subversive Character of NAACP." Records from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, of quite a number of the officers, members of the board of directors, legal, health, and other committees, as well as certain members of the executive staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were incorporated at that time. Since only a few copies of this particular RECORD are available today, I have been requested to ask permission to again incorporate a good portion of this material into the RECORD, so that the same may be made available to anyone who may desire it.

A copy of "NAACP in Action—Report for 1961," the most current copy of this booklet which is available at this time, has been used as a guideline in checking over the current members of the staff of officials, board of directors, and various committees of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Out of the 77 persons listed as officials of the NAACP in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 23, 1956, 59 are still

active and serving in an official capacity as of 1961. All of those who are not at this time associated with the NAACP as revealed by this publication have been deleted from the material which is being incorporated herewith.

Remarks made by me with respect to the original founder of the NAACP, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, together with a statement with reference to or regarding the history and development of the American Negro movement in the United States, are also included herewith. The colloquy on the floor of the House between various Members is not being made a part of the current extension of remarks.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include certain material contained in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 23, 1956, which came from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, regarding various officials of the NAACP, as of 1961, together with a brief statement made by me with respect to the history of the American Negro movement in the United States:

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Roy Wilkins, national administrator and executive secretary, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of July 15, 1949 (p. 5), in an article datelined Los Angeles, July 14, reported that 'Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a press conference * * * he voted for Benjamin J. Davis, Negro Communist, at the last election. Davis is now on trial for his Communist beliefs, along with 11 other national Communist Party leaders in New York City. Wilkins, however, refused any comment on the trial itself.' The same information appeared in the Daily People's World of July 13, 1949 (p. 1).

"Mr. Wilkins was a member of the national committee, International Judicial Association, as was shown on the leaflet entitled 'What is the IJA?' and a letterhead of the group dated May 18, 1942; he was identified as being from New York State. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Judicial Association as 'a Communist front and an offshot of the International Labor Defense' (report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as having 'actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line' (report dated September 17, 1950, p. 12.)

"A letterhead of the Conference on Pan American Democracy dated November 16, 1938, contains the name of Roy Wilkins in a list of sponsors of that group, cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on his consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Conference as a Communist-front organization which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International (report 1311 of March 29, 1944; also cited in report dated June 25, 1942).

"According to the Daily Worker of September 24, 1937 (p. 6), Roy Wilkins was one of the sponsors of a joint meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of Chinese People.

"The American League Against War and Fascism was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also consolidated list of April 1, 1954); it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as a 'Communist-front organization' (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10); and as 'established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union.' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Septembr 24, 1942, p. 7683.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League * * * as 'completely under the control of Communists' (reports of March 29, 1944; January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; and June 25, 1942). American Friends of the Chinese People was also cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization (report of March 29, 1944).

"The Daily Worker of January 23, 1937 (p. 8), reported that Roy Wilkins spoke for the International Labor Defense in Brooklyn. The International Labor Defense was cited by the Attorney General as the legal arm of the Communist Party and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7686; and press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the ILD as the legal arm of the Communist Party (reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944); the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the group in a report released September 2, 1947.

"Roy Wilkins spoke at a New York State convention of the Workers Alliance, as reported in the Daily Worker of February 11, 1939 (p. 1), and February 7, 1939 (p. 5). The Workers Alliance was cited as a Communist-penetrated organization and later as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7684; and press releases on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited the Workers Alliance as among the successes in the Communist-front movements (report dated January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

"In an article by Blaine Owen which appeared in the Daily Worker of June 17, 1936 (p. 1), entitled '1936 Communist Party Convention Significant to Negroes,' he stated: 'The greatest significance undoubtedly attends the 1936 convention of the Communist Party,' Roy Wilkins, assistant national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of the Crisis, said today. 'It must be patent to anyone who has kept track of the news that the political leftwing—and especially the Communist program—has been an important factor in bringing the plight of the Negro people, along with other underprivileged groups, more sharply to the attention of those parties which have been in power. * * * Nevertheless, there is no doubt in my mind that the program and demands of the Communists have had a very wholesome effect of the Negro people themselves. They have been emboldened by the basic and basically right demands put forth.' This, it was pointed out to Wilkins, is what the Communist Party means when it bases its entire campaign on the proposal for and toward the realization of the broad People's Front. He nodded.

To understand the civil rights movement as propagated by the NAACP, I feel that a person must know something of the history and development of the American Negro movement here in the United States subsequent to the reconstruction period.

In 1895, Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, was selected to speak for the southern Negro at the Atlanta Exposition. Dr. Washington stated his position clearly and with great effect. I would like to quote several paragraphs from Booker T. Washington's address which I feel sum up the entire philosophy enunciated by him and his group:

"The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."

Also:

"Cast it down in agricultural, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put brains and skills into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."

There was an entirely different school of thought, however, which was headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlantic University. Dr. DuBois was a very bitter critic of the Washingtonian movement, which he referred to as "the Tuskegee machine." Dr. DuBois was the leader of the leftwing element of American Negro Society which, in 1905, met at Niagara Falls, N.Y., and devised plans whereby complete social equality could be attained. This group was subsequently called the Niagara movement.

The Niagara movement was not very effective, because it was hampered by lack of funds. However, in 1908, a race riot occurred in Springfield, Ill., the home of Abraham Lincoln, which aroused the interest of the dormant abolitionist movement in the North. As a result of the feeling which was aroused by the Springfield race riots, William English Walling made a strong appeal for the emancipation of the American Negro in the fields of political and social equality. This appeal later became the clarion for the formation of a new organization, called National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which joined the white liberals of the northern abolitionist traditions with the Negro liberals of the Niagara movement.

Dr. DuBois was one of the founding fathers of the present-day NAACP, which was founded in 1909. This Dr. DuBois, who broke away from the Booker T. Washing-

ton group, was the leader of the Niagara movement. His record of citations from the House Committee on Un-American Activities takes up on nine pages single spaced:

"FEBRUARY 21, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, founder NAACP, leader Niagara movement.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Worker (Sunday edition of the Communist publication, the Daily Worker) on April 27, 1947, reported that "almost 100 Negro leaders, headed by W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, and Roscoe Dunjee, last week called upon President Truman 'to repudiate decisively' steps to 'illegalize the Communist Party.' * * * As Negro Americans * * * we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our Federal Government professes grave concern over the democratic rights of peoples in far distant parts of the world" (p. 8 of the Worker).

"Dr. DuBois sponsored a statement attacking the arrest of Communist Party leaders (Daily Worker, Aug. 23, 1948, p. 3); he sponsored a 'Statement by Negro Americans' on behalf of the Communist leaders (the Worker of Aug. 29, 1948, p. 11); he filed a brief in the Supreme Court on behalf of the 12 Communist leaders (Daily Worker, Jan. 9, 1949, p. 3); he signed statements on behalf of Communist leaders, as shown in the following sources: Daily Worker, January 17, 1949 (p. 3); February 28, 1949 (p. 9); Daily People's World, May 12, 1950 (p. 12); Daily Worker, September 19, 1950 (p. 2); and in 1952, he signed an appeal to President Truman, requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (Daily Worker, Dec. 10, 1952, p. 4); also an appeal on their behalf addressed to President Eisenhower (Daily People's World, Nov. 17, 1954, p. 2). Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the National Non-Partisan Committee To Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders, as shown on the back of their letterhead dated September 9, 1949.

"A statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, a Communist, contained the signature of Dr. DuBois, identified as an educator (Daily Worker of May 5, 1950, p. 2); he signed a telegram of the National Committee To Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, greeting Eugene Dennis on his 48th birthday (Daily Worker, August 11, 1952, p. 3); Eugene Dennis was formerly secretary general of the Communist Party.

The Daily Worker of August 2, 1949 (p. 2), disclosed that Dr. DuBois endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., well-known Communist leader; he was honorary chairman of the Committee To Defend V. J. Jerome, chairman, cultural commission of the Communist Party, United States of America (letterhead dated June 24, 1952). A leaflet of the Civil Rights Congress (dated March 20, 1947) named Dr. DuBois as having defended Gerhart Eisler, Communist. He was one of the sponsors of the Committee To Defend Alexander Tractenberg, former member of the national committee of the Communist Party (Daily People's World of April 17, 1952, p. 7; and the Daily Worker of April 18, 1952, p. 6).

"The Daily Worker of February 16, 1948 (p. 16), reported that some '80 leading New York civic leaders, trade unionists, and professionals yesterday joined Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, president emeritus of the citizens union, to demand the prompt seating of Simon W. Gerson to the city council seat made vacant by the death of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist. * * * The civic leaders' statement is directed to Mayor O'Dwyer and city council majority leader Joseph T. Sharkey. It is a reprint of a letter to the New York Times by Dr. Schieffelin in which he charges that the real reason for the refusal to seal German (sic. Gerson) is "the current anti-Communist hysteria."' Dr. DuBois was named as having signed the statement. (See also advertisement in New York Times of February 19, 1948, p. 13.)

"Dr. DuBois was a member of a committee formed to protest the arrest of Pablo Neruda, Communist Chilean senator and world famous poet; he signed a statement of the organization in support of Neruda. (Daily Worker of April 7, 1948, p. 13, and April 10, 1950, p. 2, respectively.) He was sponsor of a reception and testimonial for Harry Sacher, defense attorney for the Communist leaders. (Daily Worker of December 5, 1949, p. 2.)

"When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his furadulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder (special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General of the United States had cited the Citizens' Committee as Communist (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687, and press release of Apr. 27, 1949). Dr. DuBois was a member of the Citizens' Committee * * * in 1942, as shown on their letterhead dated February 11, 1942; he sponsored a dinner of the group, according to the Daily Worker of February 5, 1942, and signed the call to the National Free Browder Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 25, 1942, pages 1 and 4.

"A 1950 letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born carries the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors of that organization; the same information appears on an undated letterhead of the group, distributing a speech of Abner Green at the conference of December 2–3, 1950; a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born dated April 30, 1951, names him as a national sponsor of the organization. He signed the group's statement opposing the Hobbs bill (Daily Worker, July 25, 1950, p. 4); he signed their statement opposing denaturalization (Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, p. 5); and signed a telegram prepared and dispatched by the organization to the Attorney General of the United States, protesting holding nine noncitizens without bail under the McCarran Act. (Daily Worker of November 24, 1952, p. 3.) He was also listed in the Daily Worker of October 21, 1954 (p. 2) as one of 95 sponsors of the National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans, to be held December 11, through 12 in New York City by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"The special committee cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as 'one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States' (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in report of June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, see consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

"'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control' (Special Committee's Report 1311 of March 29, 1944). Dr. DuBois spoke at a State conference of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of December 12, 1950, p. 5); he spoke at a dinner, April 18, opening the presidential campaign in New York City (Daily Worker of April 14, 1952, p. 8, an advertisement; and the Daily Worker of April 21, 1952, p. 1); he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, May 13, held under the auspices of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of May 8, 1952, p. 8, an advertisement; and May 14, 1952, p. 1); and he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, October 27 (Daily Worker of October 22, 1952, p. 8, an advertisement; and October 29, 1952, p. 2).

"The Daily Worker of March 29, 1948 (p. 7), named Dr. DuBois as a member of the executive board and of the Policy Committee, Council on African Affairs; he signed the council's petition to the United Nations as shown in the Daily Worker of June 5, 1950 (p. 4); drafted their statement against the policy of the United States in Korea (Daily Worker of July 25, 1950, p. 3) and spoke at the council's conference on April 24 at Friendship Baptist Church in New York City (Daily Worker, April 23, 1954, p. 8 and April 26, 1954, p. 6). The Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

"The Attorney General cited the Jefferson School of Social Science as an 'adjunct of the Communist Party' (press release of Dec. 4, 1947); also redesignated—consolidated list of Apr. 1, 1954); the Special Committee reported that 'at the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science.' (Report 1311 of Mar. 29, 1944.) Dr. DuBois was honored at the Jefferson School, as shown in the Daily Worker on Feb. 1, 1951 (p. 2); it was announced in the Daily Worker on Jan. 2, 1952 (p. 7), that Dr. DuBois was scheduled to conduct a seminar on 'Background of Africa Liberation Struggles' at the Jefferson School; the Jan. 26, 1952, issue of the same publication (p. 7), named him as a faculty member of that school, as did the Worker, October 4, 1953 (p. 10) and the Daily Worker, Oct. 14, 1953 (p. 8)—advertisement. He signed statements on behalf of the Jefferson School as shown in the Daily Worker, Nov. 25, 1953 (p. 2) and the Daily People's World, July 6, 1954 (p. 7).

"In a report of the special committee, dated Mar. 29, 1944, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as having been, in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian (report dated Mar. 29, 1944); the organization has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948; also redesignated consolidated list of Apr. 1, 1954). Dr. Dubois signed a statement of the national council in 1947 (Daily Worker, Oct. 17, 1947, p. 4); he signed the organization's statement protesting the Iron Curtain, as reported in the Daily People's World on May 20, 1948 (p. 5); he signed a statement of the council, praising Henry Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin in May 1948 (from a pamphlet entitled 'How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace,' p. 9); he signed their statement calling for a conference with the Soviet Union (Daily Worker, June 21, 1948, p. 3); he signed their Roll Call for Peace (Daily Worker of Aug. 31, 1948, p. 5); he sent greetings through the national council on the 31st anniversary of the Russian Revolution (Daily Worker, Nov. 10, 1948, p. 11); he signed the council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled 'End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace,' dated December 1948); he spoke at the Congress on American-Soviet Relations, Dec. 3–5, 1949, arranged by the national council and signed

the council's letter to the American people, urging that a unified democratic Germany be established (Daily People's World, Aug. 13, 1952, pp. 4 and 6).

"A letterhead of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated Aug. 21, 1949, lists the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as having signed an open letter of the organization, addressed to Senators and Congressmen, urging defeat of President Truman's arms program; he answered a questionnaire of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in favor of recognition of Chinese Communist Government, as shown in Far East Spotlight for December 1949-January 1950 (p. 23).

"The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was cited as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D.C., and as having been instigated by 'Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow campaign' (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 378 on the Communist Peace Offensive dated Apr. 1, 1951). The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General (press release of Apr. 27, 1949); also redesignated-consolidated list of Apr. 1, 1954.

"A page of signatures from the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, 'sponsored by American friends of the Soviet Union, and signed by hundreds of thousands of Americans' was published in the November 1937 issue of Soviet Russia Today (p. 79); the Golden Book was to be presented to President Kalinin at the 20th anniversary celebration. The page carried the title, 'I hereby inscribe my name in greeting to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic,' and a facsimile of the name, W. E. B. DuBois, appeared on that page.

"The Golden Book of American Friendship was cited as a 'Communist enterprise' signed by 'hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travels' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

"A letterhead of the New York Committee To Win the Peace, dated June 1, 1946, contains the name of W. E. B. DuBois in a list of New York committee members. The National Committee To Win the Peace, with which the New York committee is affiliated, was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General. (Press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated consolidated list of April 1, 1954.)

"Dr. DuBois sponsored a petition of the American Council for a Democratic Greece, as disclosed by the Daily People's World of August 23, 1948 (p. 2); he signed a statement of the same organization, condemning the Greek Government, as reported in the Daily Worker of September 2, 1948 (p. 7). The American Council for a Democratic Greece has been cited as subversive and Communist, an organization formerly known as the Greek-American Council (Attorney General of the United States in press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

"Dr. DuBois was a sponsor of a conference of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9–10, 1948, as shown in a leaflet entitled 'To Safeguard These Rights,' published by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council; a letterhead of the National Council (received for files January 1949) named him as a member-at-large of that organization; he was named as vice chairman of the group on the leaflet, Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention, 1950; a letterhead of the same organization's southern California chapter, dated April 24, 1950, lists him as a member-at-large of the national council; he was elected vice chairman of the group in 1950 (Daily Worker, May 1, 1950, p. 12); a letterhead of the group dated July 28, 1950, names him as vice chairman of the group; he endorsed a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts, sciences, and professions sponsored by the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Daily Worker, November 9, 1951, p. 7); the call to the conference contained the same information. A letterhead of the national council, dated December 7, 1952, named him as vice chairman.

"The call to a Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, issued by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions for New York City, March 25–27, 1949, as well as the conference program (p. 12), and the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949 (p. 9), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of that conference; he was a member of the program committee of the conference, honorary chairman of the panel at cultural and scientific conference (program, p. 7), and spoke on the Nature of Intellectual Freedom at that conference (p. 78 of the edited report of the conference entitled 'Speaking for Peace').

"The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, released April 19, 1949; in the same review, the Scientific and Cultural Conference was cited as a Communist front which 'was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations.'

"The Daily People's World of October 28, 1947 (p. 4), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of a national conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21–23, 1947; he sponsored their Freedom Crusade (Daily Worker, Dec. 15, 1948, p. 2); the call to a Bill of Rights Conference, called by the Civil Rights Congress, for July 16–17, 1949, in New York City, named him as one of the sponsors of that conference; the program of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, January 18–19, 1949, called by the Civil Rights Congress, lists him as one of the conference sponsors; he was chairman of a conference of the Congress, as reported in the Worker of January 2, 1949 (p. 5); Dr. DuBois was defended by the Civil Rights Congress (Daily Worker, Feb. 13, 1951, p. 3); he signed the organization's open letter to J. Howard McGrath, U.S. Attorney General, on behalf of the four jailed trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York (advertisement paid for by contributions of signers which appeared in the Evening Star on Oct. 30, 1951, p. A–7); he participated in the organization's sixth anniversary dinner in New York City, March 26, 1952 (Daily Worker, Mar. 28, 1952, p. 4).

"The Civil Rights Congress was formed in 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it is 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it' (Rept. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated Sept. 2, 1947); the Attorney General cited the congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of Dec. 4, 1947 and Sept. 21, 1948); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

"Dr. DuBois spoke in Washington, D.C., on May 9, 1947, under the auspices of the Washington Book Shop, as shown by a leaflet of the Book Shop, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General; it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as follows: 'Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organization' (press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948; also redesignated—consolidated list of Apr. 1, 1954; and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7688, respectively). The special committee cited the Washington Book Shop as a Communist-front organization (report of Mar. 29, 1944).

"The Workers Book Shop catalog for 1948 (p. 5), advertised Dr. DuBois' 'The World and Africa' for sale; the 1949–50 catalog (p. 11) advertised his 'Black Folk Then and Now; the Worker for March 1, 1953 (p. 16), carried an advertisement of Dr. DuBois' books, 'The Battle for Peace' and 'Black Reconstruction' on sale at the Workers Book shop, New York City. The Workers Book Shops are a chain of Communist bookshops which are official outlets for Communist literature.

"As shown on the following sources, Dr. DuBois was a member of the advisory council of Soviet Russia Today: Letterhead of the publication dated September 8, 1947; a letterhead of September 30, 1947; and an undated letterhead received April 1948. The Daily People's World of November 6, 1952 (p. 7), reported that Dr. DuBois had written an article for the November issue of New World Review; and his article entitled 'Normal United States-China Relations' appeared in the issue of August 1954 (pp. 13–15). He was also shown by the Daily Worker of October 20, 1954 (p. 7), as one of those who attended the annual banquet held by New World Review on October 14 at which special tribute was paid to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Robeson. Soviet Russia Today has been cited as a Communist-front publication by the special committee in reports of March 29, 1944, and June 25, 1942; the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited it as a Communist-front publication in a report dated October 23, 1949. Soviet Russia Today changed its name to New World Review, effective with the March 1951 issue.

"The Daily Worker of July 6, 1951 (p. 7), reported that Dr. DuBois was author of the pamphlet, 'I Take My Stand for Peace,' published by the New Country Publishers, official Communist Party publishing house which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively. (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of May 11, 1948.)

"In 1947 and 1948, Dr. DuBois was contributing editor on the staff of New Masses magazine and later, of Masses and Mainstream. (New Masses, July 22, 1947, p. 2; Masses and Mainstream, Mar. 1948, vol. 1, No. 1; and issue of August 1950, p. 1; June 1954, inside front cover.) He contributed articles to the following issues of New Masses and Masses and Mainstream-New Masses for September 10, 1946 (p. 3) and June 10, 1947 (p. 20); Masses and Mainstream for April 1951 (pp. 10–16); and February 1952 (pp. 8–14).

"In 1940, Dr. DuBois signed New Masses' letter to President Roosevelt as shown in New Masses for April 2, 1940 (p. 21); he was honored at a dinner in New York City, January 14, 1946, arranged by New Masses and at which awards were mad for greater interracial understanding (Daily Worker of Jan. 7, 1946, p. 11, cols. 1 and 2); he endorsed New Masses, as reported in the Daily Worker of April 7, 1947 (p. 11): he sponsored a plea for financial support of New Masses, as disclosed in the issue of that publication for Apr. 8, 1947 (p. 9); he received the New Masses award for his contribution in pro-

moting democracy and interracial unity at the publication's second annual awards dinner (New Masses of Nov. 18, 1947, p. 7); the February 1953 issue of Masses and Mainstream carried a chapter from Dr. DuBois' book, 'The Soul of Black Folk,' written 50 years ago (Daily Worker, Feb. 23, 1953, p. 7); he was author of 'In Battle for Peace,' described as the story of his 83d birthday, and which was published by Masses and Mainstream (the Daily Worker of June 18, 1952, p. 7; Daily People's World of Sept. 17, 1952, p. 7; the Daily Worker of Sept. 23, 1952, p. 7; and the Worker of Dec. 21, 1952, p. 7).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited New Masses as a Communist periodical (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 24, 1942, p. 7688); the special committee cited it as a nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942.) Beginning with the March 1948 issue, New Masses and Mainstream (Marxist quarterly) consolidated into what is now know as Masses and Mainstream, with the announcement that 'here, proudly, in purpose even if not in identical form, is a magazine that combines and carriers forward the 37-year-old tradition of New Masses and the more recent literary achievement of Mainstream. We have regrouped our energies, not to retire from the battle but to wage it with fresh resolution and confidence' (Masses and Mainstream for March 1948, p. 3).

"A letterhead of the Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg case, dated March 15, 1952, carried the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors; he joined in a request of that committee for a new trial for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (Daily Worker of June 2, 1952, p. 6); he participated in a rally October 23 in New York City, to demand clemency for the Rosenbergs (Daily Worker, Oct. 27, 1952, p. 8); he signed an amicus curiae brief presented to Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., urging a new trial for the Rosenbergs (Daily Worker of November 10, 1952, p. 3; and the Daily People's World of November 13, 1952, p. 8). He wrote an article entitled 'A Negro Leader's Plea To Save Rosenbergs' (The Worker of November 16, 1952, p. 3M); and the Daily Worker of January 21, 1953 (p. 7), reported that he had urged clemency for the Rosenbergs.

"The Daily Worker of April 11, 1949 (p. 5), reported that Dr. DuBois was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the World Peace Congress in Paris; he was cochairman of the American Sponsoring Committee of the Congress, as disclosed on a leaflet entitled 'World Congress for Peace, Paris,' April 20–23, 1949, he was proposed as a candidate for the World Peace Prize, awarded by the World Peace Congress (Daily People's World of December 7, 1951, p. 4); he was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of September 14, 1950, p. 5); he was one of the sponsors of the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England (Daily Worker of October 19, 1950, p. 3); he was elected to the Presiding Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of November 17, 1950, p. 1); he was a member of the World Peace Council of that Congress (Daily Worker of November 24, 1950, p. 9); a mimographed letter dated December 1, 1950, contains his name in a list of sponsors of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress.

"Dr. DuBois was a member of U.S. Sponsoring Committee of the American Intercontinental Peace Conference (Daily Worker of December 28, 1951, p. 2, and February 6, 1952, p. 2); the Peace Conference was called by the World Peace Council, formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw; he was awarded the International Peace Prize for "six world figures" by the World Peace Council (Daily People's World of January 29, 1953, p. 7; the Worker of February 8, 1953, p. 5; and Daily People's World, November 25, 1953, p. 4). He awarded the Stalin Peace Prize for 1953 to Howard Fast in ceremonies held in the Hotel McAlpin in April 1954. (See Daily Worker, April 26, 1954, pp. 3 and 6 and the Worker, May 9, 1954, p. 9.)

The Daily Worker of June 20, 1950 (p. 2), reported that Dr. DuBois signed the World Peace Appeal; the same information appears on an undated leaflet of the enterprise, received by this committee September 11, 1950. A mimeographed list of individuals who signed the Stockholm World Appeal To Outlaw Atomic Weapons, received for filing October 23, 1950, contains the name of Dr. DuBois. He was Chairman of the Peace Information Center where the Stockholm peace petition was made available. (Daily Worker of May 25, 1950, p. 2; and August 16, 1950, p. 5.)

"The World Peace Congress which was held in Paris, France, April 20–23, 1949, was cited as a Communist front among the 'peace' conferences which 'have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense pact' (Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of April 19, 1949; July 13, 1950; and April 1, 1951). The World Peace Council was formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and was 'heralded by the Moscow radio as the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace.' (Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated April 1, 1951.)

"The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; it 'received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy' and was 'lauded in the Communist press, putting every individual Communist on notice that he "has the duty to rise to this appeal."' (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 1, 1951.)

"The American Peace Crusade, organized in January 1951, was cited as an organization which 'the Communists established as a new instrument for their "peace" offensive in the United States' (Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of Feb. 19, 1951, and Apr. 1, 1951); Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the crusade (Daily Worker of Feb. 1, 1951, p. 2); minutes of the sponsors meeting which was held in Washington, D.C., March 15, 1951 (p. 4), named him as one of the initiators of the crusade and also as having been proposed as cochairman of that meeting; he was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, which was held in Chicago, June 29–July 1, 1951, called by the American Peace Crusade to advance the theme of world peace (Daily Worker, Apr. 22, 1951, p. 2; May 1, 1951, p. 11; the American Peace Crusade, May 1951, pp. 1 and 4; the Daily Worker of May 9, 1951, p. 4; Daily Worker of June 11, 1951, p. 2; a leaflet of the congress; Daily Worker of July 1, 1951, p. 3; a leaflet entitled "An Invitation to American Labor To Participate in a Peace Congress"; the call to the American People's Congress; the Daily Worker of July 3, 1951, p. 2). He signed a petition of the crusade, calling on President Truman and Congress to seek a big-power pact (Daily Worker, Feb. 1, 1952, p. 1); he attended a meeting of Delegates Assembly for Peace, called by the crusade and held in Washington, D.C., April 1 (Daily Worker, Apr. 3, 1952, p. 3); he was one of the sponsors of a peace referendum jointly with the American Peace Crusade to make the end of the Korean war a major issue in the 1952 election campaign (Daily People's World of Aug. 25, 1952, p. 8).

"Dr. DuBois issued a statement on the death of Stalin which read in part as follows: 'Let all Negroes, Jews, and foreign born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance remember Joseph Stalin' (Daily Worker of Mar. 9, 1953, p. 3); the Daily Worker of January 18, 1952 (p. 8), reported that he had renewed his fight for a passport in order to attend the American Intercontinental Peace Conference in Rio de Janeiro; it was reported in the Washington Evening Star on May 10, 1952 (p. B–21), that Dr. DuBois was refused admission to Canada to attend the Canadian Peace Congress because he refused to undergo an examination by the Canadian Immigration Service. On September 14, 1952, the Worker (p. M6) reported that Dr. DuBois had experienced passport difficulties when leaving the United States; and on May 4, 1953 (p. 2), the Daily Worker reported that U.S. Delegate Betty Sanders told the opening session of the Continental Cultural Congress in Santiago, Chile, that DuBois would have attended in person 'as well as in spirit,' if he had not been denied a passport."

According to Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, "subversion" means "act of subverting, or a state of being subverted; overthrow; utter ruin; destruction. That which subverts."

The time element would prevent my reading all of these citations on the various individuals who compose the high echelon of this organization. I will, however, read excerpts from some of them and would like to ask later for permission to incorporate each of them in full in the RECORD.

"OCTOBER 13, 1955.

"Subject: Arthur B. Spingarn, national president, member of board of directors, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Arthur B. Spingarn is listed as an individual participating in the Conference on Africa, held by the Council on African Affairs in New York City, April 14, 1944, according to the Council's pamphlet, for a New Africa (p. 37).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

"An undated leaflet, 'The Only Sound Policy for a Democracy' and the Daily Worker of March 18, 1945 (p. 2), listed Arthur Spingarn, president NAACP, New York, N.Y., as one who signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions * * * to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party. An advertisement in the New York Times, April 1, 1946 (p. 16), listed Arthur B. Spingarn as a signer of a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties opposing use of injunctions in labor disputes.

"The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as part of what Lenin called the solar

system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation * * * as among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"An undated letterhead of the Public Use of Arts Committee listed Arthur B. Spingarn as a sponsor of the organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 112), cited the Public Use of Arts Committee as a Communist front which was organized by the Communist-controlled Artists Union."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Grace B. Fenderson, national vice president, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The pamphlet, 'For a New Africa' (p. 37), proceedings of the Conference on Africa held under auspices of the Council on African Affairs, April 14, 1944, named Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson as a conference participant.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: A. Philip Randolph, national vice president, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow travel unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of September 12, 1950 (p. 2), reported that A. Philip Randolph, president, AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, opposed the jailing of the Communist leaders.

"The Attorney General of the United States reported that A. Philip Randolph, president of the National Negro Congress, refused to run in April 1940 'on the ground that it was "deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists"' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688).

"Walter S. Steele, in testimony in public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947 (p. 92), referred to A. Philip Randolph as follows:

"'A. Philip Randolph, one-time president of the National Negro Congress, resigned his position because of the Communist control thereof. At the time of his resignation, at a meeting held in Washington, D.C., he charged that the congress was controlled by the Communist Party, through which he found it was chiefly financed.'

"George K. Hunton, testified in public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 13, 1949 (p. 451), concerning the Communist infiltration of the National Negro Congress with reference to A. Philip Randolph as follows:

"'In the National Negro Congress they did make progress. That was a sound, constructive organization started about 10 years ago. It was a good organization, with a sound, constructive program, and the Commies moved in, and within a year and a half the white Communist members completely outnumbered the Negro members and took over. Be it said to his credit that the then president, A. Philip Randolph, roundly denounced them and then resigned, and said no longer would the National Negro Congress represent the feeling of the Negro people who organized it * * *.'

"Manning Johnson testified in public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 14, 1949, as follows concerning the National Negro Congress and A. Philip Randolph:

"'Mr. TAVENNER. What was the relationship of that commission (Negro Commission of the Communist Party) to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and the National Negro Congress?

"'Mr. JOHNSON. The Negro League was formed by the Communist Party, and its program was identical with the program of the Communist Party for the Negro.

"'The majority of members of the American Negro Labor Congress were Communists or fellow-travelers. It was a very narrow, sectarian organization, and the party decided to change its name and broaden its activities, so the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. * * *

"'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights was never successful in penetrating any broad sections of the Negro people. It remained a very narrow and sectarian organization. So the party, after having received the open letter, which was really drawn in Moscow and called for breaking away from narrow organizations, in line with this open letter, at a meeting of the national committee which, as I recall, was in the latter part of 1934 or early part of 1935, we discussed the general situation among Negroes, and the conclusion was that there was considerable unrest among them and that the time was historically right for the formation of a broad and all-inclusive organization.

"'As a result of that discussion and that conclusion, the national committee of the party, upon the recommendation of one of the members of the Negro commission present at that meeting, decided to set up the National Negro Congress. The national committee gave James W. Ford the responsibility, along with the Negro commission of the national committee, to form that congress.

"'We were fishing around for someone to head the congress, and we found there was no finer person to get who was not a member of the party than A. Philip Randolph. He was approached and agreed.

* * * * *

"'The third—and fatal—National Negro Congress was held in Washington, D.C. The Communists had become so drunk with power, and they felt they had such strong control over the congress, that they thought they could walk roughshod over the liberals, and they antagonized A. Philip Randolph and he began to fight James W. Ford and others.

"'James W. Ford and others insisted I fight A. Philip Randolph, and I refused to do so, and at that time I predicted they were on the road to breaking up the congress.

"'The fight widened to such an extent that Randolph began to speak openly against Communist domination. I used to wonder how Randolph could be so naive as to not know it was a Communist-front organization.

"'Before the third congress met, we got wind that Randolph was going to resign. We had Communists go to that congress representing various paper organizations so as to give them control in voting.

"'When Randolph saw the congress was packed with Communists, Randolph resigned and walked out * * *.' (Pp. 510–512.)

"A Philip Randolph supported a statement to Congress issued by the American League Against War and Fascism against neutrality measures as reported by the Daily Worker of February 27, 1937 (p. 2). The Daily Worker of April 22, 1938 (p. 2), reported that A. Philip Randolph was one of the signers of a letter urging open hearings on the neutrality act which was sent to Congress under auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy. A Philip Randolph was nominated as a member of the National Labor Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy at the American Congress for Peace and Democracy held in Washington, D.C., January 6–8, 1939, as shown by the pamphlet, '7½ Million * * *' (p. 32). Letterheads of the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated May 18, 1938, and June 11, 1938, name him as a sponsor of the council. He was a sponsor of the Easter drive of the China Aid Council of the American League * * *, as shown by the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 2). A photostatic copy of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 6, 1939, listed A. Philip Randolph as a national sponsor of that organization.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front organization (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 53), cited the American League Against War and Fascism as 'organized at the First U.S. Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26–28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. * * * It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before.'

"The Attorney General cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the group previously as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism 'in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union * * * The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684). The special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the Ameri-

can League for Peace and Democracy as 'the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States.'

"A letter head of the organization, Commonwealth College, dated January 1, 1940, listed A. Philip Randolph as a member of the National Advisory Committee. He endorsed the reorganization plan of Commonwealth College, as shown by the August 15, 1937, issue of Fortnightly, a publication of the college (p. 3).

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited Commonwealth College as a Communist enterprise in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 76 and 167). The Attorney General cited the Commonwealth College as Communist in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"An undated leaflet of the League for Mutual Aid listed A. Philip Randolph as a member of the executive committee of that organization. He was a guest of honor at the 17th annual dinner of the League for Mutual Aid held February 1, 1937, as shown by New Masses, January 26, 1937 (p. 37).

"The League for Mutual Aid was cited as a Communist enterprise by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 76).

"A. Philip Randolph was a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, as shown by letterheads of the organization dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939. The Daily Worker of June 2, 1938 (p. 5), reported that A. Philip Randolph was a supporter of a meeting of the Medical Bureau * * *.

" 'In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for, in support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report Mar. 29, 1944, p. 82.)

"New Masses for October 26, 1937 (p. 11), reported that A. Philip Randolph was chairman of the National Negro Congress. A. Philip Randolph was president of the National Negro Congress, as shown by the Daily Worker of January 1, 1938 (p. 4), January 13, 1938 (p. 3), April 19, 1938 (p. 3), and the pamphlet, Second National Negro Congress, October 1937. He was president of the Third National Negro Congress, as reported by the June 1940 issue of the Communist (p. 548). The official proceedings of the 1936 National Negro Congress (p. 41), listed A. Philip Randolph as a member of the national executive council of the organization. He spoke at a gathering of the congress, as reported by the Daily Worker of March 8, 1938 (p. 3). The Daily Worker of February 15, 1938 (p. 7), reported that A. Philip Randolph contributed to the official proceedings of the Second National Negro Congress.

"The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front group (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *.'

"A. Philip Randolph was a consultant of the Panel on Citizenship and Civil Liberties of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown by an official report of the organization, dated April 19–21, 1942. The call to the second conference, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, April 14–16, 1940, listed A. Philip Randolph as a sponsor of that conference.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'

"The Daily Worker, issues of March 28, 1938 (p. 3) and April 4, 1938 (p. 3), listed A. Philip Randolph as a sponsor of the World Youth Congress. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 183), cited the World Youth Congress as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College.

"A. Philip Randolph signed a petition of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embargo as shown by the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the American Friends of Spanish Democracy as follows: 'In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy.'

"A. Philip Randolph is listed as a sponsor on a letterhead of the American Relief Ship for Spain dated September 3, 1938. The American Relief Ship for Spain was cited as 'one of the several Communist Party front enterprises which raised funds for Loyalist Spain (or rather raised funds for the Communist end of that civil war).' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities Report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 102.)

"The proceedings of the Congress of Youth of the American Youth Congress, July 1–5, 1939 (p. 3), listed A. Philip Randolph as a signer of the call to the congress.

"A Philip Randolph was a sponsor of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy (letterhead, Nov. 16, 1938). The booklet, These Americans Say, published by the Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo, named him as a representative individual. He was a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (program of conference, Feb. 12, 1940).

"The Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy) was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the organization as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 137 and 138), cited the Coordinating Committee To Lift the (Spanish) Embargo as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish civil war by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.

"The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights was cited as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (special committee report, Mar. 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"A. Philip Randolph was a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, as shown by the back cover of a pamphlet, Children in Concentration Camps. He signed the call to a United May Day conference, according to the Daily Worker of March 17, 1937 (p. 4). An undated letterhead of the United May Day Committee listed him as chairman.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Spanish Refugee Campaign as a Communist-front organization (report, Jan. 3, 1940, p. 9).

"The United May Day conference was cited as 'engineered by the Communist Party for its 1937 May Day demonstrations' and also organized by the party in 1938 (special committee report, Mar. 29, 1944, pp. 124 and 139).

"The Attorney General cited the United May Day Committee as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which seeks 'to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.' (Letter released December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.)

"The Daily Worker of January 23, 1937 (p. 3), announced that A. Philip Randolph was scheduled to speak at the Southern Negro Youth Congress, Richmond, Va., February 12–14. 'The People Versus H.C.L.' listed him as a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation. He was shown as a sponsor of the Public Use of Arts Committee on an undated letterhead of that organization.

"The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means. (Attorney General, letter released December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on April 1, 1954, consolidated list.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as 'surreptitiously controlled' by the Young Communist League.

"The Consumers National Federation was cited as a Communist-front group by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

"Public Use of the Arts Committee was cited as a Communist front by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 112)."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: L. Pearl Mitchell, national vice president, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of April 18, 1936 (p. 3), named L. Pearl Mitchell, identified as national director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as chairman of a committee for a benefit dance which was held by the Joint Scottsboro Defense Committee, Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of raising money to be sent to New York.

"The Scottsboro Defense Committee was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of January 3, 1939 (p. 82); and March 29, 1944 (p. 177).

"Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, of Cleveland, Ohio, was one of the endorsers of the National Negro Congress, as shown by the call for National Negro Congress, Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936.

"The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in the Attorney General's consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities stated that 'the officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists' (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; March 29, 1944, p. 180; and included in the Attorney General's consolidated list of April 1, 1954)."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Bishop W. J. Walls, national vice president, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"As shown in Soviet Russia Today for December 1942 (p. 42), W. J. Walls was a sponsor of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. He was named as a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship on a letterhead of the group dated March 13, 1946, and a memorandum issued by the organization March 18, 1946.

"The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council * * * (in a report dated March 29, 1944) as having been 'in recent months, the principal front' of the Communist Party.

"Bishop W. J. Walls, Chicago, Ill. supported the National Negro Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 3, 1936 (p. 2). The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the Attorney General had previously cited the National Negro Congress as 'sponsored and supported by the Communist Party' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687–7688). The special committee cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes' (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

"A petition to the United Nations, drafted and circulated by the Council on African Affairs, contained the signature of Bishop W. J. Walls, according to the Daily Worker of June 5, 1950 (p. 4). The Attorney General cited the council as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

"Bishop Walls also signed a statement of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt (anti-Communist) Bill, according to the Daily Worker of April 3, 1950 (p. 4). The national committee * * * was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as 'a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation' (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, released December 7, 1950).

"Identified as secretary of the board of bishops, A.M.E. Zion Church, Bishop W. J. Walls was named as having endorsed the World Peace Appeal (undated leaflet received by the committee September 11, 1950), and the Daily Worker of August 14, 1950 (p. 2). The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having 'received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy'; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting 'every individual Communist on notice that he "has the duty to raise to this appeal" '; and as having 'received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. * * *' (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951).

"Bishop Walls was one of the sponsors of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress, as shown on a mimeographed letter of December 1, 1950; he was a delegate to the World Peace Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 7, 1950 (p. 2); he signed a protest made by the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress (Daily People's World of Nov. 20, 1950, p. 2). The protest was made against exclusion by the British Government of more than 50 Americans, five-sixths of the U.S. delegation to the World Peace Congress. In the latter two sources, he was identified as secretary of the board of bishops of A.M.E. Zion Church.

"The World Peace Congress was cited as a Communist front among the 'peace conferences' which 'have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact' (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 1, 1951).

"According to the Daily Worker of October 28, 1949 (p. 2), Bishop W. J. Walls, of Chicago, endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist, and urged his reelection to the New York City Council. Benjamin J. Davis was 1 of the 11 leaders of the Communist Party on trial."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: John Haynes Holmes, national vice president, NAACP, 1954–61.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Rev. John Haynes Holmes was shown to be a member of the advisory board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on a letterhead of the organization dated April 27, 1938, on a letterhead dated January 1940, and in the call to the third annual conference. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report, March 29, 1944, p. 155; also cited in report, June 25, 1942, p. 13).

"In a bulletin, Spot News (p. 1), John Haynes Holmes was listed as a sponsor of the American Committee to Save Refugees, which was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944 (pps. 49, 112, 129, 133, 138, 167, 180).

"A letterhead dated November 18, 1936, showed John Haynes Holmes to be a member of the general committee of the medical bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy. 'New Masses' (January 5, 1937, p. 31) also listed John Haynes Holmes as a member of the general committee of that organization. 'In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy' (special committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 82).

"The Daily Worker (January 11, 1937, p. 2) reported that John Haynes Holmes was a sponsor of the New York City Conference Against War and Fascism. The Daily Worker (February 23, 1938, p. 2) reported that he signed a letter which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. A contribution from him appeared in Fight (September 1935, p. 2), a magazine published by the American League Against War and Fascism; he was identified as minister, Community Church, New York. The following is quoted from an editorial comment on the article:

" 'In a recent sermon Dr. Holmes made an eloquent appeal for unity of Christians and Communists in opposition to the forces of reaction driving toward war and fascism, and in struggle for the achievement of a better world based on brotherhood and cooperation among men.

" 'If churchmen will unite with Communists, Socialists, trade unionists, and everyone else opposed to war and fascism, our forces will be tremendously strengthened, and war and fascism will not be inevitable. Already the American League Against War and Fascism has brought together in its ranks people of diverse political and religious beliefs, liberals, radicals, and revolutionists, of all races and creeds * * *.

" 'The American League Against War and Fascism was organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26–28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. There was, however, no fundamental change in the character of the organization. It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before' (special committee report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 53; also cited in reports, Jan. 3, 1939, pp. 69 and 121; Jan. 3, 1940, p. 10; June 25, 1942, p. 14). The Attorney General of the United States cited the league as subversive and Communist (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954). The Attorney General cited it as a 'Communist-front Organization, in re Harry Bridges,

May 28, 1942 (p. 10) and said it was 'established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7683).

"The Daily Worker (Sept. 24, 1940, p. 5) reported that an open letter sponsored by the Communist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union, demanding discharge of Communist Party defendants in Fulton and Livingston Counties, was signed by John Haynes Holmes.

"The Daily Worker of February 13, 1937 (p. 2), reported that 'aroused by the Fascist tactics displayed by the Brazilian Government in its treatment of hundreds of political prisoners held without trial since November 1935, outstanding among them Luiz Carlos Prestes, leader of the liberation movement of the Brazilian people, and Arthur Ewert, ex-deputy in the German Reichstag, outstanding Americans have signed their names to a cable of protest forwarded to President Vargas of Brazil.' Among those named as signers was Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church. A letterhead dated November 16, 1938, of the conference on Pan American Democracy, listed John Haynes Holmes as a sponsor. The Attorney General cited this organization as subversive and Communist (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and Sept. 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International (report, Mar. 29, 1944, pp. 161 and 164; also cited in report, June 25, 1942, p. 18).

"The Daily Worker of February 13, 1939 (p. 2), reported that Dr. John Haynes Holmes was a member of the Descendants of the American Revolution. The Daily Worker (Jan. 21, 1938, p. 2), also referred to him as a sponsor and as a member of the advisory board of that organization. A pamphlet, Descendants of the American Revolution (back page), listed him as a member of the advisory board of the organization. The special committee (report, June 25, 1942, pp. 18 and 19) cited the Descendants of the American Revolution as 'a Communist-front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party. * * * The educational director * * * is one Howard Solzam, an instructor at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York.'

"A program of the conference (February 12, 1940), named John Haynes Holmes as a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights. This conference was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (report, March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129). It was also cited by the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3).

"An open letter to the U. S. Senate, initiated and distributed by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, in protest of the Dempsey deportation bill and the McCormack rider attached to the Walter espionage bill, was signed by the Reverend John Haynes Holmes (photostat of open letter). 'It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi Pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties' (Committee on Un-American Activities, report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 12). The special committee cited the National Emergency Conference * * * as a Communist front in the report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and 102).

"The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 7), reported that John Haynes Holmes was contributor to a booklet published by the League of American Writers. The league was cited as a Communist-front organization in three reports of the special committee (report, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 48). It was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to Loyality Review Board, released June 1, and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). Previously, the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686) stated that the overt activities of the league 'leave little doubt of its Communist control.'

"An undated letterhead listed John Haynes Holmes as a sponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee, which was cited as a Communist front by the special committee (report, March 29, 1944, p. 154).

"An undated leaflet published by the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder named Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church, New York City, among those who appealed to President Roosevelt for justice in the Browder case. The Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the U.S. Attroney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687; letter to Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). 'When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * *' (special committee report, March 29, 1944).

"Soviet Russia Today for December 1933 (p. 17) listed John Haynes Holmes among the endorsers of the National Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union. A pamphlet issued by the Friends of the Soviet Union entitled 'Welcome. "Land of Soviets" Moscow-New York 1929' listed John Haynes Holmes as a member of the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers. The Attorney General cited Friends of the Soviet Union as Communist (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited it as 'one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States' whose purpose 'is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government' (report, January 3, 1939, p. 78).

"Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York, N.Y., was shown to be a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace on the call to that conference. The conference was cited by this committee at a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been 'aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda' (report 378, April 25, 1961, p. 58).

"A letterhead dated March 16, 1937, listed John Haynes Holes as a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst, cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a subsidiary organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which was described on page 2 of this report (report, June 25, 1942, p. 16).

"A letterhead dated March 20, 1926, listed Rev. John Haynes Holmes as a member of the advisory board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., cited by the special committee as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor (report, March 29, 1944, p. 76).

"New Masses for March 31, 1936 (p. 2) named John Haynes Holmes as a member of the League for Mutual Aid, cited as a Communist enterprise by the special committee (report, March 29, 1944, p. 76).

"According to the Daily Worker of February 16, 1958 (p. 16) Rev. John Haynes Holmes signed a statement to the mayor and city council in behalf of Simon Gerson, a Communist. An advertisement in the New York Times (February 19, 1948, p. 13), listed him as a supporter of the Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government, supporting the seating of Gerson.

"The following was reported in the Daily Worker on September 22, 1948 (p. 5): 'Prof. Ralph Sarton Perry of Harvard University released yesterday the names of 93 prominent educators, churchmen, and individuals in other cultural fields, who have formed a committee of welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D.D., dean of Canterbury Cathedral. Dean Johnson had been invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship for a countrywide tour under its auspices. A visa was refused him on the ground that the sponsoring organization was on the Attorney General's list. The Committee of Welcome had extended to Dean Johnson an invitation to come to the United States under its independent auspice in November and December of this year and to speak at public gatherings.' The article named Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister, the Community Church, New York, among the members of the committee.

"The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited the National Council * * * as 'the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian' (report, March 29, 1944, p. 156).

"The Daily Worker of February 19, 1951 (p. 2), reported that Rev. John Haynes Holmes was a signer of a statement addressed to the Attorney General, urging withdrawal of contempt of Congress proceedings against a number of persons who had been indicted for refusing to answer questions before congressional committees.

"The Daily People's World of August 1, 1951 (p. 2), reported that the Rev. John Haynes Holmes endorsed a statement attacking the Smith Act, which was anti-Communist legislation. It was reported in the Daily Worker of January 15, 1953 (p. 8), that Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister-emeritus, the Community Church of New York, signed a letter to President Truman asking for amnesty for 11 leaders of the Communist Party arrested under the Smith Act.

"In testimony before this committee on July 7, 1953, Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the Communist Party, said: 'Before the creation of the front organizations, the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers. The outstanding ones among them were * * * Rev. John Haynes Holmes * * *' (Communist Activities in the New York Area, p. 2077).

"The Daily Worker of January 1, 1953 (p. 1), reported that Rev. John Haynes Holmes signed a petition for clemency for the Rosenbergs. The same newspaper on January 13, 1953 (p. 2), published a list of 'the clergymen of various faiths and other religious leaders who have urged President Truman to use his power of clemency to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.' The name of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, New York, appeared on the list. The Rosenbergs had been convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and sentenced to death."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: William Lloyd Imes, national vice president, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"William Lloyd Imes was one of those who signed a statement on December 14, 1939 (the day before the 148th anniversary of the Bills of Rights), 'warning against denying to the Communists, or to any other minority group, the full freedom guaranteed by the Bills of Rights' (letter signed by Dashiell Hammett dated January 1940, attached to the statement).

"A pamphlet entitled 'The People vs. H.C.L.' which was dated December 11–12, 1937, named William Lloyd Imes as one of the sponsors of the Consumers National Federation, publishers of the pamphlet.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the Consumers National Federation as a Communist-front organization.

"He supported the National Negro Congress (Daily Worker, Feb. 3, 1936, p. 2); spoke at the Second National Negro Congress in October 1937 (program of the congress); and supported a conference of the congress to push passage of the antilynch bill (Daily Worker, Mar. 17, 1938, p. 4).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *'

"William Lloyd Imes sponsored a dinner-forum called by the Protestant Digest Associates on the subject, Protestantism answers hate, which was held in New York City, February 25, 1941.

"Protestant Digest was cited as 'a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal' (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 48).

"He signed a petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, as shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead dated January 17, 1940; and sponsored a citizens rally of the same organization, on April 13, 1940, in New York City (according to a leaflet announcing the rally).

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1944 (p. 13), cited the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.

"William Lloyd Imes sponsored the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown on a letterhead of the conference which was held in Washington, D.C., March 2 to 3, 1940.

"The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversives and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as 'one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States.'

"Dr. Imes contributed to Fight magazine, official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism (Fight for August 1935, p. 4); he was chairman of a rally of the American League which was held in Harlem (Fight for September 1935, p. 14); he spoke at the National People's Committee Against Hearst of the American League (Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1936, p. 4); he supported a statement of the League, addressed to the United States Congress (Daily Worker, Feb. 27, 1937, p. 2); he was a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst (letterhead of Mar. 16, 1937); he spoke in New York City at a joint meeting of the American League and American Friends of the Chinese People (Daily Worker, Sept. 23, 1937, p. 2); and was one of the sponsors of the China Aid Council of the American League, as shown on a letterhead of the council dated May 18, 1938. As shown by the Daily Worker of April 6, 1937 (p. 5), Rev. William Lloyd Imes, pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church, was guest of honor at a dinner of the American League Against War and Fascism, April 6, 1937, New York City.

"The Attorney General cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a 'Communist-front organization' in (re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10); and 'established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7683). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 53), cited the American League Against War and Fascism as 'completely under the control of Communists.'

"A letterhead dated November 3, 1937, lists William Lloyd Imes as a member of the national executive committee, People's Congress for Democracy and Peace; he sponsored the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy, February 5, 1938 (Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 1938, p. 2); he signed a letter of the American League, as was shown in the Daily Worker of February 23, 1938 (p. 2); he signed a statement of the league concerning the international situation (New Masses, Mar. 15, 1938, p. 19); a letterhead of the New York City Division of the American League named him as a member of the advisory board as of that date (Sept. 22, 1938); a letterhead of the City Executive Committee, New York City Division, American League for Peace and Democracy, dated September 26, 1938, contained the name of the Reverend William Lloyd Imes in the list of members of the advisory board; he endorsed the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, January 6–8, 1939, in New York City, as shown on a letterhead dated December 7, 1938. A letterhead of the New York City Division, American League for Peace and Democracy, dated March 21, 1939, listed him as a member of the advisory board of the league. A letterhead of the Baltimore Division, American League for Peace and Democracy, dated May 18, 1939, contained the name of Dr. Imes in the list of members of the national committee; a letterhead of the league, dated July 12, 1939, furnished the same information, and also a pamphlet entitled '7½ Million * * *,' which was published by the league.

"The Attorney General cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism 'in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as 'the largest of the Communist front movements in the United States.'

"The Daily Worker of August 13, 1940 (p. 5), named Dr. Imes as one who endorsed the Emergency Peace Mobilization; he was one of the sponsors of the Greater New York Committee of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, as shown on an undated letterhead.

"The Attorney General cited the Emergency Peace Mobilization as follows: 'The American Peace Mobilization was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7684). The special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the Emergency Peace Mobilization as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American warmongering efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940.

"Dr. Imes sponsored the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, as shown on the call to the conference, June 7, 1940; he signed a letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to Attorney General Jackson, in defense of ballot rights of minority parties (Daily Worker, Sept. 24, 1940, p. 1); he signed a statement of the federation, opposing use of injunctions in labor disputes, according to an advertisement which appeared in the New York Times of April 1, 1946, in which source he was identified as president of Knoxville College.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America as 'an important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organizations' (Report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 102). The Attorney General cited the conference as one as a result of which was established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687).

"The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesigned April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.'

"Dr. Imes signed an open letter of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (Daily Worker, May 13, 1940, pp. 1 and 5); he was one of the sponsors of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy, as shown on a letterhead of that group dated November 16, 1938.

"The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was cited as a Communist front organization by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and

102). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 12), cited the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights as follows: 'It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.'

"The Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy) was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

"Dr. Imes was one of the sponsors of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, as shown on the program of the conference, February 12, 1940. He spoke before the American Youth Congress (Daily Worker, Jan. 29, 1938, p. 3); and endorsed the American Youth Act, as shown on a press release of the American Youth Congress.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its March 29, 1944, report (pp. 96 and 120), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The organization was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Sept. 2, 1947, p. 3), as among a 'maize of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as 'originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7685). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the American Youth Congress as 'one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party' and 'prominently identified with the White House picket line * * *.'

"According to the proceedings and report, and to 'Equal Justice' for July 1939, he sent greetings to the National Conference of the International Labor Defense. He signed a letter to President Roosevelt, defending the publication, New Masses (issue of April 2, 1940, p. 21).

"The Attorney General cited the International Labor Defense as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as the 'legal arm of the Communist Party' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7686). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 75–78), cited the International Labor Defense as 'the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States.'

"New Masses was cited as a 'Communist periodical' by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7688). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and 75), cited New Masses as a 'nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * *.'"

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. W. Montague Cobb, chairman of the national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"According to the Bookshopper for July 1948 (p. 2), Montague Cobb, professor, Howard University, lectured at a membership meeting in January 1948 of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, 916 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

"The Attorney General of the United States found that 'evidence of Communist penetration or control [of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop] is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * * certain of the officers and employees of the bookshop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7688); subsequently, it was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as a Communist front (report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

"Dr. W. Montague Cobb, identified as professor of anatomy, Howard University, spoke at the 1947 convention of the Association of Internes and Medical Students, according to their official organ, the Interne (January 1948, p. 61); the same publication (February 1950, p. 27) reported that he had spoken at a convention of the organization; the printed program of the 16th Convention of the Association of Internes and Medical Students which was held in December 1950, revealed that he had spoken at the convention.

"The Association of Interns and Medical Students was cited as an organization which 'has long been a faithful follower of the Communist Party line,' and which supported the International Union of Students' Second World Student Congress in Prague in August 1950 (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Communist Peace Offensive, dated April 1, 1951).

"An advertisement which appeared in the Washington Post of May 18, 1948 (p. 15), disclosed the name of Dr. W. Montague Cobb as having signed a statement against the Mundt (anti-Communist) bill."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Westley W. Law, Savannah, Ga., national board of directors, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"An undated press release, General Youth Statement (p. 3), listed W. W. Law, Savannah, Ga., as an endorser of the Youth Statement of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace (May 29–30, 1950).

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 58), cited the Mid-Century Conference for Peace at a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been 'aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda.'

"The Daily Worker of June 23, 1949 (p. 2), reported that W. W. Law, past national chairman, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, youth division, Savannah, Ga., signed a statement against the North Atlantic Pact."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. J. M. Tinsley, national board of directors, national health committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"As shown by the official proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936 (pp. 5, 41), Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Virginia, was a member of the presiding committee and a member of the national executive council of the organization. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, was treasurer of the National Negro Congress (Daily Worker, Apr. 7, 1936, p. 3).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations designated previously pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front group (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *.'

"J. M. Tinsley endorsed the Southern Negro Youth Congress (Daily Worker, Feb. 25, 1938, p. 3).

"The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (letter released Dec. 4, 1947; redesignated Apr. 27, 1953, and included on Apr. 1, 1954, consolidated list). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as 'a surreptitiously controlled' by the Young Communist League."

"FEBRUARY 14, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia, Pa., national board of directors, national health committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be

noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"On the call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America at Washington, D.C., June 7–9, 1940, the name of Dr. Harry J. Greene of Philadelphia, Pa., appears in a list of the sponsors; he was one of the sponsors of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown on their letterheads dated September 10 and November 6, 1940, in which sources he is shown as being from Philadelphia.

"The printed program of a National Action Conference for Civil Rights which was scheduled to be held in Washington, D.C., April 19–20, 1941, named Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia, as one of the sponsors of that conference, called by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (formed as a result of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7–9, 1940), as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations * * * by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their programs'; and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687; and press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948, respectively; also included on consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party' (report of Mar. 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942, and Jan. 2, 1943). The Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in a report released September 2, 1947.

"Dr. Harry J. Greene was chairman of a discussion group on 'Denial of Citizenship Rights' at the Second National Negro Congress, October 15–17, 1937, in Philadelphia, as shown on the printed program of that congress (p. 19) in which source he is identified as being from Philadelphia, Pa., and president of the Philadelphia branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A booklet of the National Negro Congress entitled 'We Are Rising' (April 1939, p. 2) named one Harry Green as vice president, Philadelphia council of the congress.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes' (report of Jan. 3, 1939; also cited in reports of Jan. 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and Mar. 29, 1944). The Attorney General cited the Congress as 'an important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688); later, the Attorney General cited the congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of Dec. 4, 1947 and Sept. 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954).

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Roscoe Dunjee, national vice-president, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker for April 16, 1947 (p. 2), reported that Roscoe Dunjee, attorney, Oklahoma City, Okla., was one of the signers of a statement defending the Communist Party. He was one of the signers of a statement condemning 'punitive measures directed against the Communist Party' as shown by the April 20, 1947 issue of the Worker (p. 8). The Daily Worker for April 27, 1947 (p. 24), shows Roscoe Dunje as one of the signers of a statement against the ban on the Communist Party. Roscoe C. Dunjee, publisher of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, was a sponsor of a statement attacking the arrest of the Communist Party leaders, according to the Daily Worker, August 23, 1948 (p. 3). He sponsored the 'Statement by Negro Americans' in behalf of the arrested Communist leaders as shown by the August 29, 1948, issue of the Worker (p. 11). The Daily Worker for March 7, 1950 (p. 4), reported that Roscoe Dunjee attacked Judge Medina in the case of the Communist leaders.

"Roscoe Dunjee was a member of the initiating committee, of the Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit, Mich., April 27 and 28, 1946, as shown by the summons to the congress. The Daily Worker of April 16, 1947 (p. 2), reported that Roscoe Dunjee, of Oklahoma City, Okla., was one of the signers of a statement released by the Civil Rights Congress defending the Communist Party. The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, 1947 and 1948; included in consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954). The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as being 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it' (report No. 115, Sept. 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19).

"The pamphlet Seeing Is Believing, 1947, and the testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947 (p. 135), show Roscoe Dunjee as a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc. The Council on African Affairs was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. He redesignated the organization on April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954.)

"Roscoe Dunjee was a sponsor of the Win the Peace Conference of the National Committee To Win the Peace, as shown by the Daily Worker March 5, 1946, a letterhead of the organization dated February 28, 1946, and the call to a win-the-peace conference, National Press Building, Washington, D.C., April 5–7, 1946. The National Committee To Win the Peace was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released in 1947 and 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

"The Daily Worker for October 19, 1948 (p. 7), reported that Roscoe Dunjee was one of those who signed a statement released by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The council was cited as a Communist front by this committee in its review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (April 26, 1950—original release date April 19, 1949, p. 2).

"Roscoe Dunjee was a signer of the call to the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Chattanooga, Tenn., April 14–16, 1940. A letterhead of the conference, dated June 4, 1947, shows Roscoe Dunjee as vice president and a member of the national committee of that organization. He was also shown as vice president of the organization in an undated leaflet, The South Is Closer Than You Think, and the testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, page 139. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 147.) In its report of June 12, 1947, the Committee on Un-American Activities described the conference as a Communist-front organization 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South,' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'

"The New York Times of October 9, 1944 (p. 12), reported that Roscoe Dunjee was one of the signers of an open letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey for the pardon of Morris U. Schappes, which was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee. The Schappes Defense Committee was cited as a Communist organization by the United States Attorney General (letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953). The special Committee on Un-American Activities described the Schappes Defense Committee as 'a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York.' Morris U. Schappes 'was on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of 13 years. In 1956 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged agitation by the Communist Party' (report, March 29, 1944, p. 71).

"Roscoe Dunjee was a member of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress according to a letterhead of that organization dated June 12, 1947, the testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947 (p. 97), a letterhead dated August 11, 1947, and a page from a leaflet published by the organization. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., 'which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means' (U.S. Attorney General, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The Committee on Un-American Activities said it was 'surreptitiously controlled' by the Young Communist League (report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 14). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the organization as a Communist front (report, January 3, 1940, p. 9).

"According to the Daily Worker for April 1, 1945 (p. 6m), Roscoe Dunjee was asked what he thought of New York's new anti-discrimination law, and was quoted as replying: 'It shows a trend in the direction which the United States as a nation must take if we rise to the level of Russian morality * * *.'

"Photographs of Roscoe Dunjee are found in the Daily Worker, issues of December 9, 1941 (p. 7), and April 1, 1945 (p. 6m).

"Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla., was quoted in the March 28, 1944, issue of New Masses (p. 15), as follows:

" 'I attended a Lincoln and Douglas meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party, February 12 * * * Most assuredly Americans should stop and listen to what Communists have to say. The Russian experiment as expressed today in Soviet life is too effective for anyone to attempt to overlook this. As president of the State conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I have every year for the past 10 invited the Communist to address our meeting. Alan Shaw, secretary of the Communist Party in Oklahoma, addressed our State conference at

Tulsa last November * * * personally I endorse the idea of an international State * * * as espoused by the Communist Party.'

"The following is quoted from the Daily Worker of April 8, 1952 (p. 2):

" 'Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Oklahoma Black-Dispatch, leading Negro newspaper in the Southwest, has hailed in a long editorial the victory won by William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, in securing acquittal on a contempt of Congress charge.'

"(Note citation of Civil Rights Congress on p. 1 of this rport.)

"Roscoe C. Dunjee, Oklahoma City, was listed as one of four sponsors of a statement which appeared in the Sunday Worker, August 29, 1948 (p. 11), from which the following is quoted:

" 'THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

" '(Statement by Negro Americans to the President and Attorney General of the United States)

" 'We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of national leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities.

" 'We raise here no defenes of the principles of the Communist Party. Our concern is to defend the right of political and other minorities, especially the Negro people, to fight for the kind of society which they consider necessary to give full expression to the principles of American democracy * * *

" 'The obvious purpose of these Gestapo-like arrests of Communist leaders is to frighten people away from the Wallace movement and progressive people's organizations generally, practically all of which have been slandered as Communist or subversive * * *

" 'We call upon our Government to halt its Fascist-like attacks upon opposition minorities, and to act for the protection of minority rights * * *' "

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The program of the fifth national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Atlantic City, N.J., March 29–30, 1941, listed S. Ralph Harlow as a sponsor.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as 'one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States.'

"S. Ralph Harlow was an endorser of the Committee for Citizenship Rights as shown by a letterhead dated January 10, 1942. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 95), cited the Committee for Citizenship Rights as an organization which defended the 'interests of the Communist Party.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the Committee for Citizenship Rights as among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"Prof. S. Ralph Harlow signed a statement calling for international agreement to ban use of atomic weapons attached to a press release of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, December 14, 1949 (p. 9). He was identified in this instance as associated with Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 54), cited the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; and to further the cause of Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign.

"As shown by Soviet Russia Today of November 1937 (p. 79), S. Ralph Harlow was a signer of the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union, cited as a 'Communist enterprise' signed hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers:

" 'January 23–25, 1948, New York City' conference call of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, listed Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, Smith College, as a sponsor of the conference. The Attorney General cited the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East as Communist, and a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in a letter released July 25, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"A news release of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties dated December 26, 1941, listed S. Ralph Harlow as a signer. He signed the organization's 1943 message to the House of Representatives (leaflet, attached to undated letterhead); and the group's statement supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party (undated leaflet, 'the only sound policy for a democracy * * *' and Daily Worker, March 19, 1945, p. 4).

"The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a maze of organizations which were spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.

"As shown by the Daily Worker of September 17, 1940 (pp. 1, 5), S. Ralph Harlow signed a telegram of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson in behalf of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union defendants. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights as a Communist-front group.

"S. Ralph Harlow sponsored the call for the Protestantism Answers Hate dinner-forum held under auspices of the Protestant Digest, New York, February 25, 1941, as shown by a leaflet. He was identified in this instance as professor of sociology, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 48), cited the Protestant Digest as 'a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.'

"According to the New York Times, October 9, 1944 (p. 12), S. Ralph Harlow, chairman, department of religion, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., signed an open letter of the Schappes defense committee to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey asking a pardon for Morris Schappes."

"The Schappes defense committee was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as 'a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York.' (Report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 71).

"Prof. S. Ralph Harlow endorsed the World Peace Appeal as shown by an undated leaflet, Prominent Americans Call for * * * (received Sept. 11, 1950), and the Daily Worker, August 14, 1950 (p. 2).

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 34), cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having 'received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy'; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting 'every individual Communist on notice that he "has duty to rise to this appeal" '; and as having 'received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist parties throughout the world.' "

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Robert C. Weaver, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Robert C. Weaver, identified from Washington, D.C., as an economic adviser to the Secretary of Interior, was discussion leader of a panel on 'The Federal Housing Program and the Negro' at the Second National Negro Congress as shown by the program of that congress which was held in Philadelphia, October 15–17, 1937.

"The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The special committee in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes.' The Attorney General had cited the group previously as follows: 'From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little

doubt that it has served what James M. Ford, Communist vice presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: "An important sector of the democratic front," sponsored and supported by the Communist Party' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688).

"The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 2), listed Robert C. Weaver, identified as Assistant Housing Administrator of the Department of Interior, as one of the signers of the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy letter to lift the Spanish embargo. The special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 180), cited the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as a Communist-front organization.

"Robert C. Weaver, Washington, D.C., contributed financially to Social Work Today as shown by the January 1941 issue of that publication (pp. 16–18). Social Work Today was cited as a Communist magazine by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 129).

"R. C. Weaver, 1206 Kenyon Street, Washington, D.C., was listed as a member of the Washington Book Shop on a 1941 membership list of the organization subpenaed by this committee. The Washington Book Shop Association was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as showing 'evidence of Communist penetration or control' according to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942 (p. 7688). The special committee in report of March 29, 1944 (p. 150), cited the organization as a Communist-front organization.

"Robert C. Weaver was the author of The Negro Ghetto which was reviewed by Herbert Aptheker in the August 1948 issue of Masses and Mainstream (p. 85). The congressional committee, in its report on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950 (p. 75), cited Masses and Mainstream as successor to New Masses, a Communist magazine."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Lewis Gannett, national board of directors, NAACP, national vice president, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"On December 18, 1934, the Daily Worker (p. 5) reported the following: 'A reception to mark the 10 anniversary of International Publishers took place * * * December 14, in * * * the new school for social research * * * Scores of prominent writers, artists, and editors were present to pay tribute to International Publishers' decade of achievement * * * Among those present were * * * Lewis Gannett, book-review columnist of New York Herald Tribune * * *'

"The Attorney General of the United States cited International Publishers as 'The (Communist) Party's publishing house,' headed by Alexander Trachtenberg (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7686); and as the 'publishing agency of the Communist Party' (brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 145). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited International Publishers as an 'official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States' (Reports of January 3, 1940, and June 25, 1942); the Committee on Un-American Activties cited the organization as the 'Official American Communist Party publishing house' (Report No. 1920 dated May 11, 1948).

"Lewis Gannett, Harvard, was a member of the sponsoring committee of dinner sponsored by the American Student Union for 'alumni of the student movement and present members' as shown in Student Advocate for February 1937 (p. 2). The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front which 'the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists' in 1935. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the organization (Report of the special Committee on Un-American Activties dated Jan. 3, 1939; also cited in reports of Jan. 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1949).

"A letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 6, 1939 contains the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of the Writers' and Artists' Committee of that organization; the same information is shown in public hearings before this committee July 21, 1953 (p. 3639). The American League was cited by the Attorney General as 'designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International'(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684); and subsequently, as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as 'a bold advocation of treason' (reports of January 3, 1939; Jan. 3, 1940; Jan. 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and Jan. 2, 1943).

"The special committee cited the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers (report of June 25, 1942; also cited in report of March 29, 1944); a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, dated May 26, 1940, contains the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of the organization's national executive committee.

"A letterhead of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union, Inc., contains the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of its board of directors; the letterhead was dated July 14, 1938. The Attorney General cited the American Russian Institute as Communist (press release of April 27, 1949; also included on consolidated list dated April 1, 1954).

"Lewis S. Gannett was a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Public Service, as shown on a photostat of their letterhead dated September 8, 1930. The 'American Fund for Public Service was established by Charles Garland, son of the wealthy James A. Garland. Young Garland, conditioned against wealth through radical acquaintances at Harvard, declined to accept his inheritance for his own personal use. Instead, he established, in 1922, the American Fund for Public Service with the sum of $900,000 which consisted largely of conservative securities. During the lush twenties, the fund grew to some $2 million.

" 'A self-perpetuating board of directors was set up for the purpose of handing out this easy money. Sidney Hillman was among them. Associated with Hillman as directors were Roger N. Baldwin, William Z. Foster, Lewis Gannett, * * *.' (From report 1311 of the special committee dated March 29, 1944.)

"An undated booklet of Friends of the Soviet Union contains the name of Lewis S. Gannett in a list of members of the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers, under auspices of that organization; he contributed a review of Maxim Gorki's 'A Book of Short Stories to Soviet Russia Today' (September 1939, p. 26). The Attorney General cited Friends of the Soviet Union as Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the special committee cited the organization as 'one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States' (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). Soviet Russia Today was published by Friends of the Soviet Union.

"Soviet Russia Today for November 1937 (p. 79) published a list of individuals who signed the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union under this statement: 'I hereby inscribe my name in greeting to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic.' The Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union was cited as a 'Communist enterprise' signed by hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers (Report 1311 of the special committee dated March 29, 1944).

"The Daily Worker of January 18, 1939 (p. 7) reported that Lewis Gannett was a committee sponsor of the League of American Writers, cited as a Communist-front organization by the special committee (reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). The Attorney General cited it as being under 'Communist control' and as subversive and Communist (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686; and press releases of June 1, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

"New Masses for March 16, 1937 (p. 26) named Lewis Gannett as one of the sponsors of a sendoff dinner for the ambulance corps under the auspices of the American Artists and Writers Committee, Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; an undated letterhead of the Writers' and Artists' Committee for Medical Aid to Spain also contains his name in a list of sponsors; the letterhead also carries the notation 'Affiliated with the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy'; he signed a petition of American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embargo, as shown in the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4).

"During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, 'recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy' (Report 1311 of the special committee dated March 29, 1944).

"Another such organization which was cited by the special committee (see last paragraph above) was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy; their letterhead of July 6, 1938, contained the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of the Writers' and Artists' Committee.

"The Liberator for September 1921 (p. 11) contained Lewis Gannett's interview with 'Bill Haywood in Moscow'; he also contributed an article to the July 1922 issue of the same publication (p. 30). The special committee cited the Liberator as a 'Communist magazine' (report of June 25, 1942).

"Lewis Gannett contributed articles to New Masses for February 16, 1937 (p. 21) and August 10, 1943 (p. 20); he signed New Masses' Letter to the President of the United States, as shown in New Masses of April 2, 1940 (p. 21), which source identified him as literary editor, New York Herald Tribune. New Masses has been cited by the Attorney General as a 'Communist periodical' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7688); the special committee cited it as the 'nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942).

"A letterhead of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, dated April 11, 1928, contains the name of Lewis S. Gannett in a list of members of that organization's national committee. The Attorney General cited the

All-American Anti-Imperialist League as a 'Communist-front organization' (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10); the special committee cited the group as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944)."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"According to the Communist publication, the Daily Worker of April 13, 1936 (p. 3), Buell G. Gallagher, identified as president of Talladega College, endorsed a peace strike of 500,000 students who planned a demonstration for April 22, 1936. The strike was sponsored by the American Student Union which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports dated January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

"The Daily People's World, the Communist journal on the west coast, listed Dr. Buell Gallagher as a member of the Draft Cross Committee, in connection with a move to draft Mayor Laurence L. Cross, of Berkeley, Calif., as candidate for Congress from the Seventh District of California. (See Daily People's World of January 28, 1948, p. 3.) In the February 17, 1948, issue of the Daily People's World (p. 3), we find that 'the committee originally formed to draft Mayor Laurence Cross for Congress has resolved to stay together in support of the candidacy of Dr. Buell G. Gallagher in the Seventh District.' According to Judge Louis J. Hardie, committee chairman, 'In Dr. Gallagher, we feel that we have found a congressional candidate who possesses those qualities of intelligence, integrity, and idealism which we admire in Dr. Cross. His deep acquaintance with social and economic problems and his broad experience in community activities insure the voters of the Seventh District a candidate who will honestly and ably serve them in the 81st Congress' (ibid).

"In the March 10, 1948, issue of the Daily People's World, we note that the 'Alameda County CIO Council voted endorsement last night for Dr. Buell Gallagher, pro-Wallace candidate for Congress in the Seventh District. Dr. Gallagher, endorsed previously by the AFL Central Labor Council and Building Trades Council, will run in the Democratic primary in June against Dyke Brown, the Truman candidate. Congressman from the Seventh District now is Republican John J. Allen, who voted for the Taft-Hartley law' (p. 3).

"Under date of February 10, 1951, Dr. Gallagher addressed a letter to the chairman of this committee detailing an analysis of the information reflected in the public files of the committee, and stating, 'at no time have I ever been a member of, or sympathizer with, the Communist Party; nor a member of, or sympathizer with, any organization which I knew or believed to be a front for communism.' The chairman, in a letter to Dr. Gallagher dated March 3, 1951, advised him that his analysis would be made a part of the committee records and quoted in any future releases."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Judge Hubert T. Delany (also spelled Delaney), national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Hubert T. Delaney was a member of the Council on African Affairs, as shown in the following sources: Pamphlets entitled 'Africa in the War,' 'Seeing Is Believing' (1947), 'For a New Africa,' (p. 36), '8 Million Demand Freedom' (inside back cover); leaflets headed 'The Job To Be Done' and 'What of Africa's Place in Tomorrow's World' (June 26, 1944). New Africa for December 1943 (p. 4) and a letterhead of the council dated May 17, 1945, contained the same information. Mr. Walter S. Steele testified in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities July 21, 1947 (p. 135), that Judge Delany was a member of the Council on African Affairs. According to the Daily Worker of March 29, 1948 (p. 7), Judge Hubert T. Delaney was a member of the executive board of the council. The Daily Worker of April 26, 1947 (p. 12), named him as having signed a statement issued by the council.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

"A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, which was made available to the special Committee on Un-American Activities, contains the name of one Hobert T. Delany, 30 Broad Street, New York City. The name of Hubert T. Delany appeared on a letterhead of the guild dated May 28, 1940, as director ex officio. The New York Guild Lawyer for September 1950 listed him as vice president of the New York chapter of the guild. A list of officers of the National Lawyers Guild (as of December 1949) contains the name of the Honorable Hubert T. Delaney in a list of members of the organization's executive board; he is so named in a list dated May 1950. Both of these lists were printed in a report on the National Lawyers Guild, prepared and published by the Committee on Un-American Activities September 17, 1950.

"Convention News of May 1941 (pp. 2 and 4), issued by the fifth annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild which was held May 29–June 1, 1941, in Detroit, Mich., named Hubert T. Delany as a member of the convention resolutions committee; he was also named in the same source as a member of the national executive board, National Lawyers Guild. Judge Delaney presided at an annual convention of the guild in Chicago, Ill., in 1951 (Daily People's World, October 18, 1951, p. 2); he also spoke before the guild in 1951, as reported in the Daily Worker of April 10, 1951, page 5. In the latter three sources, he was identified with the domestic relations court of New York City.

"The Daily Worker of October 7, 1952 (p. 3), reported that Judge Delany was to lead a workshop at the national conference on civil rights legislation and discrimination to be held in New York City, October 10–12, under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild; a letterhead of the New York City chapter of the guild dated October 17, 1952, listed Hubert T. Delany as vice president. The Daily Work of February 20, 1953 (p. 6), announced that he would speak at a panel session on civil rights and liberties, February 22, at the annual convention of the guild, February 20–23, in New York City. According to the Daily Worker of May 27, 1953 (p. 8), Hubert T. Delany was reelected vice president of the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild at the annual membership meeting May 26. He was elected one of the vice presidents of the National Lawyers Guild, New York City chapter, for the years 1954–55, as reported in the Daily Worker of May 26, 1954 (p. 8).

"The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report No. 1311 dated March 29, 1944. In a report on the guild, prepared and released September 17, 1950, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, it was shown that the National Lawyers Guild 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"Hubert T. Delany was a member of the Lawyers' Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, as shown on their letterhead dated April 6, 1939. The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; consolidated list of April 1, 1954); he had previously cited the organization as 'established in the United States * * * in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American league as 'the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States' (report of January 3, 1940).

"The catalog of the George Washington Carver School (winter term, 1947) contains the name of Judge Hubert T. Delany as a member of the board of directors of that school, cited by the Attorney General as 'an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party' (press release of December 4, 1947; included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

"Hubert T. Delany was named as a representative individual who advocated lifting the arms embargo against Spain in a booklet entitled 'These Americans Say,' which was prepared and published by the coordinating committee to lift the embargo, cited as one of the number of groups set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. (From a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.)

"A letterhead of the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain dated March 5, 1938, and a prospectus and review of the organization both name him as a member of that group.

"In a report dated March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities had the following to say concerning the Lawyers' Committee on American Relations with Spain: 'When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain, the lawyers' committee * * * supported this movement.'

"A letterhead of the medical bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy dated July 6, 1938, contains the name of Judge Delany in a list of members of that group.

"During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party wholeheartedly campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and setting up so-called relief organizations such as the medical bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy. (From report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.)

"Hubert T. Delany was one of the sponsors of a testimonial dinner in honor of Ferdinand C. Smith, Communist Party member and national secretary of the National Maritime Union; identified as tax commissioner, New York City, Judge Delany was listed by Labor Defender (issue of October 1935) as one of the individuals who signed a petition for the freedom of Angelo Herndon, a Communist."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Norman Cousins, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be constructed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise inciated.

"In an article which appeared in the Daily Worker of January 13, 1948, it was reported that 'Thirty-five well-known authors, editors, clergymen, and other public figures today called on the new Federal Employees Loyalty Review Board to prevent injustices to individuals in the Government loyalty check.' Norman Cousins was one of those who signed the letter, addressed to Seth W. Richardson, board chairman. This article also appeared in the New York Times on the preceding day, January 12, 1948 (p. 10).

"In a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled 'Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace,' dated April 19, 1949, we find the following statement concerning a speech of Norman Cousins before that conference:

" 'In answer to this totalitarian philosophy of dragooning culture, Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review of Literature, declared amid a great deal of hissing and booing, that "Democracy must mean intellectual freedom, that it must protect the individual against the right of the state to draw political and cultural blueprints for its painters and writers and composers or to castigate them, or to enter into those matters of mind in which the individual is sovereign." ' (See p. 13 of the Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference.)"

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. Algernon D. Black, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Dr. Algernon D. Black was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, March 25–27, 1949 (conference program, p. 12, and conference call). The Daily Worker of February 21, 1949 (p. 2), announced that he was a member of the program committee of that conference. Speaking of peace, edited report of the conference, March 25, 26, 27, 1949, listed Algernon Black as a speaker on A Warning Against Sectarian Prejudice, and gave biographical data concerning him (pp. 121, 139).

"In 1948 and 1949, Dr. Black signed statements of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Daily Worker, Dec. 29, 1948, p. 2; letterhead received in January 1949; New York Star of January 4, 1949, p. 9, an advertisement). He spoke before the group in February 1949 (Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1949, p. 2).

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, April 26, 1950, cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization. In this same report the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the scientific and cultural conference as actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations.

"The call to a national conference on American policy in China and the Far East, held in January 1948, included the name of Dr. Algernon Black in the list of sponsors (Call, January 23–25, 1948, New York City); the conference was called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. In the December 1949–January 1950 issue of Far East Spotlight, which is the official organ of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Dr. Black answered a questionnaire issued by that committee, favoring recognition of the Chinese Communist government.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy as a Communist organization in a letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board and release to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

"The Daily Worker of June 21, 1948, reported that Algernon D. Black had signed a statement of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, calling for a conference with the Soviet Union; he signed an appeal of the same organization to the U.S. Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled 'End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace' which was dated December 1948); he signed a statement in praise of Henry Wallace's open letter to Stalin (May 1948), as shown in the pamphlet How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace (p. 9), prepared and released by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

"The Attorney General cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as 'in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian.'

"Dr. Black contributed an article to the pamphlet We Hold These Truths (p. 22), which was issued by the League of American Writers. He was named as a member of the executive committee of Film Audiences for Democracy in the June 1939 issue of Film Survey, official organ of Film Audiences, cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 150).

"The Attorney General cited the League of American Writers as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U.S. Civil Service Commission June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as 'founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its reports of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), June 25, 1942 (p. 19), and March 29, 1944 (p. 48), cited the League of American Writers as a Communist-front organization.

"A letterhead of the nonpartisan committee for the reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, dated October 3, 1936, listed the name of Algernon D. Black as a member of that committee. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 122), cited the nonpartisan committee for the reelection of Vito Marcantonio as a Communist-front organization.

"Algernon Black was a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union, as shown in a pamphlet entitled 'Presenting the American Student Union.' The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated January 3, 1939 (p. 80), cited the American Student Union as a Communist-front organization.

"A letterhead of the Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York, dated May 11, 1946, listed the name of Algernon Black as one of the public sponsors of that organization. The Attorney General cited the Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York as subversive in a letter released December 4, 1947; included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"Mr. Black signed an open letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown in the booklet '600 Prominent Americans' (p. 16). The Attorney General cited the National Federation as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program.' The Special Commitee on Un-American Activities, in its reported dated March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation as among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"The printed program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, February 12, 1940, reveals the name of Algernon D. Black as vice chairman of the group. A letterhead of the American Russian Institute, received July 26, 1949, contains the name of Dr. Black as a member of the interchurch committee of that institute. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 96 and 129), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist front organization. The Attorney General cited the American Russian Institute as a Communist organization in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"Dr. Black was a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (letterheads dated March 13, 1931, and February 21, 1938); and described as a representative individual in a booklet entitled "These Americans Say" which was published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the American Friends of Spanish Democracy as a Communist front organization. The Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 137 and 138), as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.

"In a pamphlet entitled 'News You Don't Get' (dated Nov. 15, 1938), Algernon

Black was named as one of those who signed the call to a conference on pan-American democracy; a letterhead of the organization dated November 16, 1938, named him as one of the sponsors of the conference. The Attorney General cited the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as a Communist front organization.

"Algernon Black signed a declaration of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee honoring Dimitrov, as shown in the New York Times of December 22, 1943 (p. 40). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 112 and 156), cited the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee as a Communist front organization.

"Dr. Black signed an open letter in defense of Harry Bridges. (See Daily Worker of July 19, 1942, p. 4.) Letterheads of the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges dated June 8, 1943, and January 10, 1944, listed Algernon Black as a committee member or sponsor of that group. The open letter in defense of Harry Bridges was cited as a Communist front organiation by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 87, 112, 129, 166). The Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 90 and 94), cited the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges as a Communist front organization.

"The Daily Worker of March 29, 1951 (p. 9), reported that Dr. Algernon D. Black signed a letter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born attacking the McCarran Act. Algernon D. Black was shown as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in the Daily Worker, April 4, 1951 (p. 8), a leaflet: 'Call—Mass Meeting and Conference,' October 27, 1951, Dearborn, Mich., and a photostatic copy of an undated letterhead of the 20th anniversary national conference * * *, U. E. Hall, Chicago, Ill. (Dec. 8–9, 1951). The Daily Worker of August 10, 1950 (p. 5), reported that Dr. Algernon Black signed a statement of the American Committee Against Denaturalization.

"The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as 'one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States.'

"On June 13, 1949, the Daily Worker reported that Dr. Black was one of the sponsors of an organization formed to oppose the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill; a press release of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, dated June 15, 1949, revealed the same information. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt bill dated January 2, 1951, cited that organization as 'a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation.'

"A letterhead of the Voice of Freedom Committee dated June 16, 1947, listed Algernon D. Black as a sponsor of that organization. An invitation to a dinner held under the auspices of the group, January 21, 1948, listed him as a member of the dinner committee. He signed a petition of the organization as shown by a leaflet published by the Voice of Freedom Committee. The Attorney General included the Voice of Freedom Committee on his April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

"Algernon D. Black, New York Ethical Culture Society, signed an open letter of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact to Senators and Congressmen urging defeat of President Truman's arms program, as shown by a letterhead dated August 21, 1949.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 56), cited the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D.C., and as having been instigated by Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow campaign.

"The Daily Worker of December 10, 1952 (p. 4), listed Dr. Algernon D. Black as a signer of an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. Ralph Bunche, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this commmittee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Dr. Ralph Bunche was a member of the executive board of the Washington committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on their letterhead of June 4, 1947. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization in its report of March 29, 1944. In 1947 the Committee on Un-American Activities released a report on the conference, in which it was cited as a Communist-front organization which sought to 'attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South,' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare' was 'simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States' (Report No. 592 of June 12, 1947).

"Ralph Bunche was a sponsor of the Conference on Civil Rights of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, April 20–21, 1940, as shown by the conference call, page 4. A letterhead of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action dated April 26, 1940, named Dr. Bunche as one of the sponsors of that group.

"The Washington Committee for Democratic Action was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included in the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Attorney General had previously cited the group as an affiliate or local chapter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7688 and 7689). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as successor in Washington to the American League for Peace and Democracy and an affiliate of the national federation (reports of June 25, 1942, and Mar. 29, 1944).

"Official proceedings of the National Negro Congress for 1936, pages 5 and 40, named Dr. Ralph Bunche, Washington, D.C., as a member of the presiding committee and a member of the national executive council of that organization.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Negro Congress as a Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes, and reported that 'the officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists' (report of January 3, 1939). The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as a Communist-front organization (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688; press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; consolidated list of cited organizations, dated April 1, 1954).

"The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 29, 1954, p. 6, reported that 'A Federal loyalty board announced today that it has unanimously cleared Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of any and all charges,' the article quoted the official announcement as follows:

" 'The full board had its second meeting with Dr. Bunche yesterday following which it unanimously reached the conclusion that there is no doubt as to the loyalty of Dr. Bunche to the Government of the United States.

" 'This conclusion has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for transmittal to the Secretary General of the U.N. At the same time it has been informally transmitted to Dr. Bunche.'

"Reference to the loyalty board's clearance of Dr. Bunche is found also in the Washington Evening Star, May 28, 1954, p. A–1."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. H. Claude Hudson, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily People's World of May 2, 1947 (p. 8), listed Dr. H. Claude Hudson as a sponsor of the Los Angeles chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it.' "

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Alfred Baker Lewis, national board of directors, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following in-

formation concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or finding of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"On July 11, 1942, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed an open letter to the President of the United States urging him to reconsider Attorney General Francis Biddle's order to deport Harry Bridges; the letter also stated that: 'It is equally essential that the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party be rescinded.' Alfred Baker Lewis, executive board, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and executive board member, Union for Democratic Action, New York, N.Y., signed the open letter, as shown in the pamphlet entitled '600 Prominent Americans Ask President To Rescind Biddle Decision,' published September 11, 1942, by the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties and incorporating the open letter in full. The open letter, together with a list of individuals who signed it, appeared in the Daily Worker on July 19, 1942 (p. 4).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as 'Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program,' and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687; and press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, respectively; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the federation as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942, and January 2, 1943). It was also cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law (Report No. 1115 of September 2, 1947).

"An undated letterhead of the League for Mutual Aid, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City, contained the name of Alfred Baker Lewis in a list of members of the organization's advisory committee. The league was cited as a Communist enterprise by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944.

" 'Greetings and best wishes for success to the second national Negro congress' were contained in the printed annual program of that congress, sent by A. Philip Randolph, chairman, and Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary, Negro Work Committee of the Socialist Party. (Printed annual program, second national Negro congress, Philadelphia, Pa., October 15, 16, and 17, 1937, p. 61). The National Negro Congress was cited as an important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party; and later, as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Congress as the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944)."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Dr. James J. McClendon, national board of directors, national health committee, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of March 18, 1945 (p. 2), and an undated leaflet, The Only Sound Policy for a Democracy, named Dr. James J. McClendon as one of the signers of a statement, sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which supported the War Department's order on granting commissions to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party. Dr. McClendon was identified as president of the Detroit National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Dr. J. J. McClendon was one of the sponsors of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown by the program, Action Conference for Civil Rights, held in Washington, D.C., April 19–20, 1941; and on letterheads dated September 11, 1940, and November 6, 1940.

"The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in press releases dated December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in his consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The Attorney General described the organization as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities stated that 'There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party' (special committee report, March 29, 1944, p. 50); also cited in reports, June 25, 1942 (p. 20), and January 2, 1943 (pp. 9 and 12).

"Dr. James J. McClendon was named in the Daily Worker of March 16, 1942 (pp. 1 and 4), and on a letterhead dated April 2, 1942, as one of the sponsors of the National Free Browder Congress.

"The National Free Browder Congress was cited as a Communist front which arranged to meet March 28–29, 1942. Earl Browder was general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America, who had been convicted and sentenced to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for passport fraud. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944 (pp. 69, 87, and 132.)

"Dr. James McClendon was one of the sponsors of the sesquicentennial bill of rights celebration, held under the auspices of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation, Detroit, Mich., December 1–2, 1939, as shown by the call of conference. Dr. James J. McClendon was one of the sponsors of a statewide conference, held under the auspices of the Michigan federation in Detroit, Mich., September 12, 1943, as shown by call of the conference. He was identified as president of the Detroit chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The Michigan Civil Rights Federation was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as 'an affiliate of the Communist front, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and as subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan chapter of the Civil Rights Congress' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687; and press releases of December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also including in his consolidated list of organizations, dated April 1, 1954). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Michigan Civil Rights Federation as a Communist-front organization. (From Report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944; and Report No. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947, p. 3.)"

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: James Hinton, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"James M. Hinton, identified as president of the State conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for South Carolina, was one of the sponsors of a Congress on Civil Rights, as shown on the call to the congress which was held in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946. (See pp. 21 and 22 of Rept. No. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Civil Rights Congress, September 2, 1947.)

"The Civil Rights Congress was founded at a conference in Detroit April 27 and 28, 1946, effectuating the merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The Civil Rights Congress was 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it' (pp. 2 and 19 of Rept. No. 1115).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Theodore M. Berry, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild which was made available to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 1939, contains the name of Theodore M. Berry, 308 West Fifth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, as a member.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.' "

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Earl B. Dickerson, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"According to the Daily Worker of February 28, 1949 (p. 9), Earl Dickerson, attorney, Illinois, was one of the signers of a statement defending the 12 Communist leaders. He signed a statement in behalf of the attorneys in the Communist cases as shown by the July 31, 1950, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 9). This same information was shown in the February 1, 1950, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 3). As shown by the Daily People's World of May 12, 1950 (p. 12), Earl B. Dickerson was a signer of a statement to the United Nations in behalf of the Communist cases.

"Earl B. Dickerson protested approval of the Smith Act by the Supreme Court as 'having a disastrous impact upon * * * struggle of Negro people' (Daily Worker, October 1, 1951, p. 1). He filed a petition with the clerk of the United States Supreme Court supporting the pending application for a hearing on the constitutionality of the Smith Act as shown by the Daily Worker, October 4, 1951 (p. 15). Mr. Dickerson was identified in this source as a Negro attorney in Illinois. He spoke against the Smith Act according to the February 12, 1952 issue of the Daily People's World (p. 3), and was coauthor of a memorandum to the Supreme Court 'on the menace of the Smith Act to the Negro people' (Daily People's World, July 15, 1952, p. 1). Earl B. Dickerson, president, National Lawyers Guild, Chicago, was a signer of an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, p. 4). As shown by the Daily Worker, December 29, 1953 (p. 8) and the Worker, January 3, 1954 (p. 6), Earl B. Dickerson was one of 39 prominent Midwest citizens signing a plea for Christmas amnesty for Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, which was wired to President Eisenhower. He was one of the initiators of an appeal for reduced bail for Claude Lightfoot, Illinois Communist leader, indicated under a section of the Smith Act as shown by the September 12, 1954, issue of the Worker (p. 16).

"According to the December 25, 1952 issue of the Daily Worker (p. 8), Earl D. Dickerson was a signer of an open letter to President Truman asking clemency for the Rosenbergs. The Daily People's World of March 13, 1953 (p. 3), reported that Earl B. Dickerson contributed a statement to the pamphlet, The Negro People Speak Out on the Rosenbergs, distributed by volunteers for the East Bay Committee To Save the Rosenbergs, Oakland, California.

"Earl B. Dickerson was a signer of an appeal to the Greek Government protesting the court marital of Greek maritime unionists as shown by the Daily Worker, August 19, 1952 (p. 1).

"Earl B. Dickerson was listed in the spring 1943 (p. 22) and fall session 1943 (p. 27) catalogs of the Abraham Lincoln School as a member of the board of directors. He was named in the same source as a guest lecturer at the school (p. 19).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Abraham Lincoln School as an adjunct of the Communist Party in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947. The Attorney General redesignated the school April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the Abraham Lincoln School as successor of the Workers School as a Communist educational medium in Chicago.

"A pamphlet entitled 'For a New Africa' (containing the proceedings of the conference on Africa, New York, April 14, 1944) names Earl B. Dickerson as a member of the National Negro Congress.

"The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front group (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes.'

"He was a member of the Council on African Affairs, as shown in a pamphlet entitled 'Eight Million Demand Freedom,' and the pamphlet For a New Africa (p. 36). Earl B. Dickerson is listed as a member of the Council on African Affairs in a leaflet, issued by the organization, The Job To Be Done, a leaflet entitled 'What of Africa's Place in Tomorrow's World?' a pamphlet entitled 'Seeing Is Believing' (1947), and a letterhead of the group, dated May 17, 1945, and a pamphlet, Africa in the War.

"The Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"The name of Earl Dickerson, of 35 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill., appears on a 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers' Guild on file with this committee. In 1949 he was president of the Chicago chapter of the guild and chairman at a meeting on anti-Communist legislation, as shown in the Daily Worker of March 15, 1949 (p. 6); in the same year he attacked the Marshall plan as shown in the Daily Worker of July 19, 1949 (p. 5), in which source he was identified as president of the Chicago chapter of the guild; he participated in a discussion entitled 'Status of Civil Liberties' fifth annual convention, National Lawyers' Guild, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29–June 1, 1941, as shown by the convention program printed in Convention News, May 1941 (p. 2), published by the guild. This same Convention News (pp. 3 and 4) listed him as a member of the convention nominations committee of the fifth national convention of the National Lawyers' Guild. He submitted a report of the guild, denouncing lynching and discrimination, as shown in the Daily Worker, November 30, 1942 (p. 1). As shown by the October 15, 1951, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 1), Earl B. Dickerson was president of the Chicago chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild; he spoke at the national convention of the organization in Chicago. The October 18, 1951, issue of the Daily People's World (p. 2), reported that Earl B. Dickerson was elected president of the National Lawyers' Guild. He was shown as president of the National Lawyers' Guild in the Daily Worker, January 25, 1952 (p. 1), and February 20, 1953 (p. 6), and the Daily People's World, January 25, 1952 (p. 8). The January 18, 1952, issue of the Daily People's World (p. 3) reported that Earl B. Dickerson was to speak on the Smith Act, the Constitution, and You, at a gathering of the San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild on February 1, 1952. The Daily Worker of February 24, 1953 (p. 6), reported that Earl Dickerson, president of the National Lawyers' Guild, addressed the annual convention of the group held February 20–23, at the Park-Sheraton Hotel, New York City, and stated that 'a new foreign policy is needed if the drive against liberties is to be halted.' The Daily People's World of July 6, 1953 (p. 3), announced that he was to be honored by the Los Angeles-Hollywood chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild at a luncheon. The Daily Worker of August 28, 1953 (p. 2), reported that Earl B. Dickerson, president of the National Lawyers' Guild, issued a statement opposing the American Bar Association's call for disbarment of Communist lawyers. As shown by the September 6, 1953, issue of the Worker (p. 6), Earl Dickerson protested the placing of the National Lawyers' Guild on the list of subversive organizations by the Attorney General.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Nations Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the group as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"One Earl Dickerson (with no middle initial shown) spoke at the morning session of the Congress on Civil Rights which was held in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946, as shown in the program, Congress on Civil Rights (p. 1); Earl B. Dickerson signed a statement of the Civil Rights Congress which was in defense of Gerhart Eisler, according to the Daily Worker of February 28, 1947 (p. 2); he was one of the sponsors of the National Emergency Conference for Civil Rights which was held in New York City on July 19, 1948, according to the Daily Worker of July 12, 1948 (p. 4); a photostat of a letterhead of the Civil Right Congress, Illinois, dated December 18, 1948, listed Earl Dickerson as a sponsor. As shown by the Daily Worker of November 1, 1950 (p. 4), Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress. A handbill, 'Dodge Local 3 Supports FEPC Rally,' listed Earl B. Dickerson as one of those who would speak at a rally to be held under partial auspices of the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan on April 16, 1950.

"The Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it.'

"According to the printed program of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (p. 14), Earl B. Dickerson was one of the sponsors of this conference which was held in New York City, March 27–27, 1949, under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; he signed a statement of the council which was reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 14, 1949 (p. 9620). Earl B. Dickerson was a signer of a Resolution Against Atomic Weapons as shown by a mimeographed list of signers attached to a letterhead of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and

Professions dated July 28, 1950. Mr. Dickerson signed a statement to the American people, 'We uphold the right of all citizens to speak for peace' released by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, as shown by the handbill, 'Halt the Defamers Who Call Peace Un-American', He spoke at a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts held by the New York Council of the National Council of the Arts, New York City, November 10, 1951, according to the November 7, 1951 (p. 3) and November 14, 1951 (p. 7), issues of the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker of June 2, 1952 (p. 3), listed Earl B. Dickerson as one of the endorsers of the national council resolution calling for a hearing on Tunisia's demands in the United Nations. He spoke at a conference for equal rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences, and Professions held by the Southern California Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, on June 14, 1952, in Los Angeles (Daily Worker, June 20, 1952, p. 7).

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization. In this same report the committee cited the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace as a Communist front which 'was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations.'

"Earl B. Dickerson was a national sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, as shown by letterheads of the group dated February 26, 1946, February 3, 1948, May 18, 1951, and January 5, 1953. He signed an open letter of the organization to President Truman on Franco Spain as shown by a letterhead and mimeographed letter of April 28, 1949. He signed a petition of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to President Truman 'to bar military aid to or alliance with fascist Spain' as shown by a mimeographed petition, attached to a letterhead of the group dated May 18, 1951.

"The Attorney General cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 174), cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a Communist-front organization.

"Mr. Dickerson was chairman of the Illinois Legislative and Defense Committee of the International Labor Defense, as shown in Equal Justice, September, 1939 (p. 3). He spoke before the International Labor Defense, together with Earl Browder, according to the Daily Worker of October 1, 1942 (p. 5); October 6, 1942 (p. 5); and October 11, 1942 (p. 3). The pamphlet Victory in Oklahoma, October 1943, back cover, listed Earl B. Dickerson as a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense.

"The Attorney General cited the International Labor Defense as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as the 'legal arm of the Communist Party,' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 1 and 2), cited the International Labor Defense as 'part of an international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers.'

"Earl B. Dickerson was a speaker at the Conference on Constitutional Liberties, the founding conference of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown in the printed program, Call to a Conference, page 2, June 7, 1940.

"The Attorney General cited the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America as a conference as a result of which was established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 102), cited the conference as 'an important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organizations.'

"The program and call to a national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947, listed Earl B. Dickerson as one of the sponsors of the conference; he was one of the sponsors of the sixth national conference, which was held in Cleveland, May 9 and 10, 1942, as shown in a leaflet of the conference, page 4. In the latter source, Mr. Dickerson was identified as a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. Earl Dickerson was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as shown by a 1950 letterhead, an undated letterhead (received for files, July 11, 1950), an undated letterhead (distributing a speech of Abner Green at the conference of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born of December 2–3, 1950), and a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (April 30, 1951). Mr. Dickerson, identified as president of the Chicago Urban League, was a sponsor of a dinner given by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born for Pearl Hart (Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1950, p. 4). A letterhead of the sixth annual conference of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born dated May 16, 1954, Chicago, listed Earl B. Dickerson as a sponsor.

"The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as 'one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States.'

"In 1942 Earl B. Dickerson was a patron of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, as shown on a letterhead of the congress, dated October 27, 1942; he was named in Soviet Russia Today (December 1942 issue, p. 42) as one of the sponsors of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; the call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 6–8, 1943, listed Earl B. Dickerson among the sponsors. He signed a statement of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, praising Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948, as shown in a pamphlet, How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace, page 9. He was identified in the last-named source as an attorney at law, Chicago. A photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated September 17, 1951, listed Earl B. Dickerson as a sponsor of that group. A photostat of a letter of the national council dated March 19, 1952, listed Mr. Dickerson as a sponsor.

"The Attorney General cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council as 'in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian.'

"The Daily Worker of October 21, 1942 (p. 1), named Earl B. Dickerson among the list of members of the National Emergency Committee To Stop Lynching. He signed an appeal to lift the Spanish embargo, which appeal was made by the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to the Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 2). He contributed to the June 22, 1943, issue of New Masses (p. 9). He signed a petition of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, as shown in an official leaflet of the organization.

"The National Emergency Committee To Stop Lynching was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Negro Communist-front organization, whose secretary was Ferdinand C. Smith, high in the circles of the Communist Party (report, March 29, 1944, p. 180).

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 180), cited the Negro People's Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy as a Communist-front organization.

"New Masses was cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7688), and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1955, pp. 48 and 75).

"The Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter dated April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist organization (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 6 and 55), cited the Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder as follows: When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder.

"An open letter demanding discharge of Communist Party defendants in Fulton and Livingston Counties contained the name of Earl B. Dickerson in the list of persons who signed according to the Daily Worker of September 24, 1940, page 5. He was attorney for Eugene Dennis, general secretary, Communist Party, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 19, 1947, page 7, being identified in this source as a former member of the city council, Chicago. Reference to Earl Dickerson as attorney for Eugene Dennis appears in the Worker, November 30, 1947, page 4; the Daily Worker of January 15, 1948, page 5; and the Daily Worker of October 27, 1948, page 10, in which source he is identified as a Negro leader, of Chicago.

"Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade, Illinois assembly, as shown by a letterhead dated April 12, 1951, the Illinois Peace Crusade, May 1951 (p. 4), and a photostat of a letterhead dated June 21, 1952. He was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, held by the American Peace Crusade in Chicago, Ill., June 29, 30, and July 1, 1951, as shown by a leaflet, An Invitation to American Labor To Participate in a Peace Congress, the Call to the American People's Congress, and the leaflet, American People's Congress * * * Invites You To Participate in a National Peace Competition, June 20, 1951, Chicago, Ill. He was a sponsor of a contest

held by the American Peace Crusade for songs, essays, and paintings advancing the theme of world peace as reported in the Daily Worker, May 1, 1951 (p. 11).

"The Attorney General included the American Peace Crusade on his January 22, 1954, list of organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and report on the Communist Peace Offensive April 1, 1951 (p. 51), cited the American Peace Crusade as an organization which the Communists established as a new instrument for their peace offensive in the United States and which was heralded by the Daily Worker with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives.

"Masses and Mainstream for February 1952 (pp. 52–56) listed Earl B. Dickerson as coauthor of an amici curiae brief to the Supreme Court supporting an appeal for a rehearing of its decision upholding the Smith Act, dated September 27, 1951.

"According to the April 30, 1950, issue of the Worker (p. 15), Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the Midcentury Conference for Peace, cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been 'aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda' (report on Communist peace offensive, Apr. 1, 1951, p. 58).

"Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill as shown by the pamphlet, Hey, Brother, There's a Law Against You (p. 2); a release of June 15, 1949 (p. 2), and a photostat of a letterhead dated May 5, 1950. He signed a statement of the organization according to the Daily Worker of April 3, 1950 (p. 4).

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, December 7, 1950, cited the organization as 'a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation.'

"Earl B. Dickerson signed a letter defending the 12 Communist leaders, as shown on a letterhead, dated January 7, 1949; he later signed a statement asking for the release of the Communist leaders, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 8, 1949 (p. 6). He signed a brief on behalf of the attorneys who represented the Communist leaders, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 2, 1949 (p. 2); he signed a statement on behalf of the attorneys, as shown in the Daily Worker of December 7, 1949 (p. 5); he represented the attorneys who represented the 11 Communist leaders, according to the Daily Worker of January 24, 1950 (p. 3)."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Benjamin E. Mays, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker, March 4, 1948 (p. 2), named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of a letter in behalf of Communist deportation cases, which was sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. A letterhead of the group contained his name as one of the sponsors (letterhead December 11 and 12, 1948).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U.S. Civil Service Commission June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated by the Attorney General April 29, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the committee as 'one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States.'

"Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, was a member of the initiating committee for a Congress on Civil Rights which was held in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946. (See, Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights.) He was an honorary national chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, New York, as shown by an undated letterhead concerning a conference held October 11, 1947. He signed a call for a national conference of the Civil Rights Congress to be held in Chicago (Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1947, p. 5).

"The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it.'

"Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., signed a statement by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in praise of Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948 (pamphlet, How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace, p. 9). A leaflet, 'End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace' (December 1948), named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of the National Council's appeal to the U.S. Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee on Education, as shown by a bulletin of the group, dated June 1945 (p. 22).

"The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as 'in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian. * * *'

"Dr. Mays signed an open letter sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties denouncing U.S. Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges (Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4); booklet, 'Six Hundred Prominent Americans,' p. 25). He also signed a statement sponsored by this organization hailing the War Department's order on commissions for the Communists, as shown by the Daily Worker, March 18, 1945 (p. 2).

"The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the federation as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the federation as among a maze of organizations which were spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.

"Letterheads, dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, list Dr. Mays as a member of the advisory board. A leaflet of the organization (exhibit 46, public hearings, July 22, 1947, Steele) also contained the name of Dr. Benjamin Mays.

"The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means by the Attorney General in a letter released December 4, 1947. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special committee in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the organization as a Communist front. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as surreptitiously controlled by the Young Communist League.

"The Daily Worker, April 27, 1947 (p. 24), reported that Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Georgia, signed a statement against the ban on the Communist Party. He signed a statement against the North Atlantic Pact, according to the Daily Worker of June 28, 1949 (p. 2). He spoke at a conference on 'Jim Crow in the Nation's Capital' (Daily Worker, December 21, 1950, p. 8)."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: A. T. Walden, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of October 7, 1952 (p. 3), reported that A. T. Walden, Georgia, was to lead the National Lawyers Guild workshop discussions at a national conference on civil rights, legislation, and discrimination, New York City, October 10, 11, and 12.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in 'ts report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the group as a Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party; its front organizations and controlled unions and which since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

"A mimeographed letter addressed to the House of Representatives, May 12, 1948, included a list of signers opposing the Mundt anti-Communist bill. Austin T. Walden, Georgia, was one of those signers."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Arthur D. Shores, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"According to letterheads of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, dated June 12 and August 11, 1947, Arthur D. Shores was a member of the advisory board of this organization. A page from an undated leaflet of the organization also listed Mr. Shores as a member of the advisory board. Arthur Shores, Negro attorney, was associated with Nesbitt Elmore in the defense of Senator Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho, who was fined $50 and ordered a 180-day suspended jail sentence for defying Birmingham's segregation laws at a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress in Alabama (Daily Worker, May 6, 1948, p. 4).

"The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as 'surreptitiously controlled' by the Young Communist League (report 271, Apr. 17, 1947, p. 14). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated January 3, 1940, page 9, cited the Congress as a Communist front. The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America, which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, Dec. 4, 1947); the Attorney General redesignated the congress pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450 of April 27, 1953, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

"Arthur D. Shores, prominent Negro attorney, told the Daily Worker that 'outlawing the Communist Party would "pave the way for a one-party dictatorship in this country"' (Daily Worker, March 19, 1947, p. 5).

"The Worker for December 14, 1947 (p. 8, southern edition), reported that Arthur Shores, identified as a leading Negro civil-rights lawyer, was assisting in the case of Mrs. Ruby Jackson Gainor, 'outstanding Negro teacher fired by the Jefferson County Board of Education. * * * Mrs. Jackson is the leading petitioner in contempt-of-court proceedings against the board for its refusal to equalize salaries of Negro teachers in accord with a Federal court decree * * *.' The article, which identified Mrs. Gainor as president of the Birmingham teachers' local of the United Public Workers, also reported: 'The outcome of Mrs. Gainor's case has become the keystone of the fight of all the Negro teachers in Jefferson County for equal pay. The United Public Workers nationally is supporting the fight * * *."

It is noted that the United Public Workers of America was formed in 1946 by a merger of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America and the United Federal Workers of America. Both of these unions were cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 18 and 19), as among the CIO unions in which the committee found Communist leadership strongly entrenched. The Congress of Industrial Organizations, by vote of the executive board, February 15, 1950, expelled the United Public Workers of America, effective March 1, 1950, on charges of Communist domination (press release, 12th CIO convention, November 20–24, 1950)."

OCTOBER 13, 1955.

"Subject: Lloyd Garrison, chairman, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Lloyd K. Garrison was a member of the National Committee of the International Judicial Association according to a letterhead of the organization dated May 18, 1942, and the leaflet, "What is the I. J. A.?" Lloyd K. Garrison, dean, University of Wisconsin Law School, commended the International Juridical Association bulletin in that pamphlet.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the International Juridical Association as a 'Communist front and offshoot of the International Labor Defense.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (p. 12), cited the International Juridical Association as an organization which 'actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line.'

"The Daily Worker for March 18, 1945 (p. 2), and an undated leaflet, 'The only sound policy for a Democracy,' listed Lloyd K. Garrison, National War Labor Board, as one of the signers of a statement sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing the War Department order on commissions for the Communists. A photograph of Mr. Garrison is found in the Daily Worker reference.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"Lloyd K. Garrison, Madison, Wis., former Chairman of NLRB, was listed as a member of the Committee on Legal Research and Legal Education of the National Lawyers Guild and his book was reviewed in the newsletter of the National Lawyers Guide, July 1937 (pp. 2–3). Convention News, May 1941 (pp. 3 and 4) published by the National Lawyers Guild for the fifth annual convention, listed Lloyd K. Garrison as a member of the convention nominations committee of the fifth annual convention, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29 to June 1, 1941.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

"The pamphlet of the Second National Negro Congress, October 1937, listed Lloyd Garrison as one of those who sent greetings to the congress.

"'The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited in reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180). The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as a Communist-front organization as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 24, 1942 (pp. 7687 and 7688).

"The Daily Worker for February 23, 1939 (p. 3) reported that Lloyd Garrison spoke at a conference of the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation, Madison, Wis., February 18, 1939. The Attorney General cited the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Sidney A. Jones, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Sidney A. Jones, attorney, was an endorser of the National Negro Congress as shown on the call for National Negro Congress, in Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687–7688). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes. * * *'

"It was reported in the Daily People's World of December 2, 1947 (p. 4), that Sidney A. Jones, Jr., was vice president of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, and was further identified as being associated with the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Urban League, Chicago. Mr. Jones was shown as an executive board member of the National Lawyers Guild from Chicago as of December 1949 and May 1950 in the Committee on Un-American

Activities report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (pp. 18–19).

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the group as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"The Daily Worker of April 3, 1950 (p. 4), listed Sidney A. Jones, attorney, Chicago, Ill., as one who signed a statement of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill. A photostat of a letterhead of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill (Chicago chapter), dated May 5, 1950, listed Sidney A. Jones as a Chicago sponsor of the organization.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, December 7, 1950, cited the organization as 'a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation.'

"Sidney Jones, vice president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, sent greetings to Paul Robeson according to the Daily Worker of April 29, 1947 (p. 12). He signed Labor Day greetings to the Daily People's World, which appeared in the August 29, 1947 (p. 4), issue of that paper; signed statement by Negro Americans, in behalf of arrested Communist leaders (the Worker of August 29, 1948, p. 11); and he signed a statement on release of Communist leaders, and was identified as a Negro attorney in Chicago as noted in the Daily Worker of November 8, 1949 (p. 6).

"The Daily Worker of December 25, 1952 (p. 8), listed Sidney Jones, attorney, Chicago, as a signer of an open letter to President Truman asking clemency for the Rosenbergs."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: W. Robert Ming, Jr., national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"An election campaign letter of the National Lawyers Guild, dated May 18, 1940, listed Robert W. Ming, Jr., as the candidate for delegate to the national convention, Washington, D.C., chapter. Robert Ming, Jr., Washington, D.C., was a member of the convention nominations committee, fifth annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29 to June 1, 1941.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"A 1941 membership list of the Washington Book Shop listed Robert W. Ming, Jr., Howard University, Washington, D.C., as a member.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Washington Book Shop Association as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously cited. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 150), cited the Washington Book Shop Association as a Communist-front organization."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Arthur J. Mandell, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The News Letter of the National Lawyers Guild, July 1937 (p. 2), named Arthur Mandell, Houston, Tex., as a member of the Guild's committee on American citizenship, immigration, and naturalization; and a copy of the 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, made available to the special Committee on Un-American Activities by the organization, contained the name of Arthur Mandel, Shell Building, Houston, Tex.

"The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149); and it was the subject of a separate report by the Committee on Un-American Activities (H. Rept. No. 3123, Sept. 21, 1950), wherein it was cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"Arthur J. Mandell, attorney, Houston, Tex., was shown in the Call to the First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish American Peoples of the United States, March 24–26, 1939, Albuquerque, N. Mex., as one of the signers of that Call. The Congress of the Mexican and Spanish American Peoples * * * was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 120).

"A leaflet, attached to an undated letterhead of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, named Arthur J. Mandell, attorney, Houston, Tex., as a signer of the organization's January 1943 message to the House of Representatives. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited as being subversive and Communist (Attorney General letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450, see consolidated list, April 1, 1954); as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program' (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687); as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party' (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in reports, June 25, 1942, and Jan. 2, 1943); and as being among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law' (Committee on Un-American Activities, report, Sept. 2, 1947, p. 3).

"Arthur Mandell was a member of the resolutions committee at the Congress on Civil Rights in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946, as shown by a mimeographed release issued by the congress; and Arthur J. Madell, Houston, was listed as a sponsor of the National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21–23, 1947, in the printed program, Let Freedom Ring. The Civil Rights Congress has been cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General (letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated, see consolidated list, April 1, 1954; and, as an organization formed in April 1946 by merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties), 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party,' and 'controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 1115, Sept. 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19)."

"OCTOBER 26, 1955.

"Subject: Robert W. Kenny, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Reference to Robert W. Kenny is found in the appendix to this committee's public hearings regarding communism in the United States Government, part 2, September 1950 (pp. 2991–2992), as follows:

" 'Robert W. Kenny: Kenny, attorney general of State of California during the years 1943–47 and president of the National Lawyers Guild during the years 1940–48, has been associated with the defense of a number of Communist cases. He was also one of the attorneys for the Hollywood 10. He sent greetings to the Biennial National Conference of the International Labor Defense held April 4–6, 1941; this organization was cited by the former Attorney General Francis Biddle as the 'legal arm of the Communist Party.'

" 'The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has specialized in the legal defense of foreign-born Communists such as Gerhard Eisler. Kenny was a sponsor of its national conference held in Ohio on October 25–26, 1947, and again in 1950. He spoke in behalf of Communists held for deportation, according to the Daily People's World, Communist publication, dated March 8, 1948.

" 'On repeated occasions, Mr. Kenny has attacked the trial of the 11 Communist leaders convicted for teaching and advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, particularly as reported by the Daily People's World of July 22, 1948, and the Worker of October 30, 1949.

" 'He signed a statement in behalf of arrested leaders of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, according to the Daily Worker of October 19, 1949, and the Daily People's World of November 7, 1949. Statements opposing the outlawing or restricting of the

Communist Party have been signed by Robert W. Kenny and have appeared frequently in the Communist press. Mr. Kenny has opposed Government loyalty procedures on various occasions.

" 'On the eve of the 1947 May Day celebration, Pravda, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, hailed Robert W. Kenny as a "friend of the Soviet Union in the United States." Another Communist government, namely that of China, selected Mr. Kenny to defend its legal interests, according to the Daily People's World of April 26, 1950 (p. 4).

" 'Robert W. Kenny has a number of affiliations and associations with Communist-front organizations. These include the American Youth for Democracy (formerly known as the Young Communist League), the National Committee To Win the Peace, of which he was vice chairman, Civil Rights Congress, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, California Labor School, Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and the American Slav Congress.'

"Subsequent to this committee's release which contained the above reference to Robert W. Kenny, he had served as counsel for 66 witnesses before this committee."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Milton R. Konvitz, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A membership list of the National Lawyers Guild contains the name of Milton Konvitz, 744 Broad Street, Newark, N. J. (List in committee files.) The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149). The organization was cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents' (Committee on Un-American Activities, report on the National Lawyers Guild, Sept. 21, 1950)."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Loren Miller, national vice president and national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"One Loren Miller, 837 East 24th Street, Los Angeles, Calif., was a signer of Communist Party election petition No. 120 in California in 1932.

"An article entitled 'Why I Will Vote "Red"' written by Loren Miller appeared in the Daily Worker of July 11, 1932 (p. 4). In a note which accompanies this article, the following information is given concerning the author: 'Loren Miller, until recently city editor of the California Eagle, Los Angeles, Calif., largest and oldest of western Negro newspapers, is now en route to the Soviet Union.' Excerpts from this article follow:

"I regret very much that I will not be present to take an active part in the struggle that Negroes must wage to pile up a huge vote for William Z. Foster and James W. Ford, Communist candidates for President and Vice President.

* * * * *

"It must be evident to anybody who thinks through the things about which I have been talking that the Communist Party is our party. It is fighting our fights, warring against our enemies, struggling for our welfare. Commonsense dictates that we should support our party with every means at hand."

Loren Miller wrote an article for the Daily Worker while he was traveling in the Soviet Union with a group of Negro writers, workers, etc., observing conditions. This article concerned the equality of races in the Soviet Union and appeared in the Daily Worker of September 24, 1932 (p. 4). Mr. Miller compared racial equality in the Soviet Union and the United States, stated that the Communist Party in the United States was the only political party which promised equality, and concluded as follows:

" 'Only the Communists with their straightforward platform on relief for the por (sic) farmers and workers, their demand for self-determination for Negroes in the Black Belt, and with a Negro, James W. Ford, as nominee for the Vice Presidency deserve the vote of the Negroes of the United States. It is for these reasons that I wish to renew my plea to Negroes everywhere in the United States to vote Communist.'

"The Daily Worker of January 26, 1948 (p. 10), reported that Loren Miller, attorney, Los Angeles, defended Claudia Jones, Communist. He signed a statement opposing the Mundt anti-Communist bill as shown by the Daily People's World of May 12, 1948 (p. 3). According to the Daily People's World of July 22, 1948 (p. 3), Loren Miller, attorney, Los Angeles, attacked the arrest of the Communist Party leaders.

"In the Daily Worker of December 24, 1931 (p. 3), Loren Miller was named as a reporter for the Worker. Reference to Loren Miller as a reporter for the Worker appeared in the Daily Worker of December 21, 1935 (p. 3). Loren Miller has been a contributor to the Daily Worker as shown in the issue of May 4, 1938 (p. 7), as well as the two issues already cited.

"The Worker is the Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, which was cited as 'official Communist Party, U.S.A., organ' by the Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1920, dated May 11, 1948. The publication was cited as 'chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party' by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311 of March 29, 1944; it had previously been cited as a Communist publication in reports of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, January 3, 1941, and June 25, 1942.

"Loren Miller was named as editor of New Masses in the issue of August 20, 1935 (p. 5), and as associate editor in the issue of January 14, 1936 (p. 5). He was shown as contributing editor in the following issues of New Masses: June 2, 1936 (p. 5), January 5, 1937 (p. 22), May 11, 1937 (p. 9), September 7, 1937 (p. 9), January 11, 1938 (p. 9), and September 20, 1938 (p. 14). He was a contributor to New Masses, as shown in the issue of August 20, 1935 (p. 26), and was named as a contributor to New Masses in the Daily Worker of April 3, 1963 (p. 3).

"New Masses was cited as a 'Communist periodical' by the Attorney General of the United States (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). It was cited as a 'national circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party' by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311 of March 29, 1944. New Masses had been cited previously as a Communist publication in reports of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, and June 25, 1942.

"As shown by an undated letterhead of Book Union, Inc., Loren Miller was a member of its advisory council. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in report 1311 of March 29, 1944, cited Book Union as 'distributors of Communist literature.'

"According to a letterhead of August 24, 1939, Loren Miller was a member of the Harry Bridges defense committee, southern division.

"In report 1311 of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944, the Harry Bridges defense committee was cited as one of the Communist fronts formed to oppose deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member and leader of the San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party.

"As shown in the Call for the National Negro Congress held in Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936, Loren Miller, Los Angeles, Calif., was one of the endorsers of the National Negro Congress.

" 'From the record of its activities and the composition of its (National Negro Congress) governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist vice presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: "An important sector of the democratic front," sponsored and supported by the Communist Party' (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687–7688). The National Negro Congress was cited as a Communist front in reports of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944. The Attorney General cited the group as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"Loren Miller, author, was a signer of the open letter to American liberals, as shown in Soviet Russia Today, issue of March 1937 (pp. 14–15).

" 'In March 1937 a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators published an open leter bearing the title given above. The letter was a defense of the Moscow purge trials' (report of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942).

"As shown in the proceedings of the Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Chicago, Ill., September 28, 29, 30, 1934, under auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism, the report of the publications committee was presented by Loren Miller. (See public hearings, appendix, vol. 10, p. 22.)

" 'The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program' (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7683).

"The American League Against War and Fascism was 'established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union' (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7683). The Attorney General cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board,

released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front in reports of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

"In connection with the testimony of Harper L. Knowles and Ray E. Nimmo before the special Committee on Un-American Activities on October 25, 1938, a brief releating to activities of the Communist Party among professional groups was presented and incorporated in the record. In this brief Loren Miller is described as 'contributing editor to New Masses and a member of the Communist Party' (public hearings, p. 1997). According to this same source, he was a participant in the Western Writers Congress, cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311 of March 29, 1944.

"A pamphlet, 'Equality, Land and Freedom' published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, December 1934 (p. 44), listed Loren Miller as a member of the national council of that organization.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the League of Struggle for Negro Rights as follows: 'The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the same group of leaders directing this directed the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which was, until 2 years ago, the name of the Communist front for Negroes. The name was later changed * * * in 1936 to the National Negro Congress.'

"It was reported in the Daily People's World of September 28, 1950 (p. 5) that Loren Miller was one of a group of Los Angeles lawyers who signed a brief against a Communist registration ordinance. The brief was presented in connection with the case of Henry Steinberg, county legislative director of the Communist Party, who was charged with failing to register with the sheriff's office in accordance with provisions of the ordinance. Reference to Loren Miller as one of the attorneys who signed a brief charging Los Angeles County's Communist registration ordinance with being 'basically unconstitutional' also appeared in the Daily People's World of October 9, 1950 (p. 3). The brief was filed in connection with a hearing on a demurrer against the ordinance filed by attorneys for Gus Brown, Furniture Workers Local 576 business agent.

"The Daily People's World of May 17, 1950 (p. 3), listed Loren Miller as one who signed a statement against the loyalty oath."

"OCTOBER 26, 1955.

"Subject: Morris L. Ernst, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"In testimony of Walter S. Steele before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 15, 1938, Morris Ernst was named as a member of the board of the American Fund for Public Service (public hearings, p. 388). The following issues of New Masses named Morris L. Ernst as treasurer of the American Fund for Public Service, November 1930 (p. 19), November 1931 (p. 31), and January 2, 1934 (p. 2). He was named as treasurer and a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Public Service on a letterhead (photostat dated September 8, 1930).

"The American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) was 'established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprise' such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the party, served on the board of directors of the fund (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76).

"A letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy (a photostat dated April 6, 1939) carried the name of Morris L. Ernst as a member of the lawyer's committee of the league. The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. It was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism 'in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union.' (Attorney General of the United States, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the league as 'the largest of the Communist front movements in the United States' (report of January 3, 1939).

"The Daily Worker of February 19, 1937 (p. 4), reported that Morris Ernst spoke at a meeting of the American Youth Congress in Washington, D.C. The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list). The Attorney General cited the organization as 'originated in 1934 and has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7685). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Youth Congress as 'one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party' (report of June 25, 1942, p. 16).

"Mr. Ernst spoke at a meeting of the League of American Writers in New York City, as was revealed by the Daily Workers of December 5, 1936 (p. 5). He spoke for the League for Mutual Aid on 'Dethroning the Supreme Court,' February 1, 1937, as shown in New Masses of January 26, 1937 (p. 37).

"The League of American Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948) and was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953; and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The League of American Writers previously had been cited as a Communist front by the Attorney General and by the special committee. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686; and reports of January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944, respectively.) The special committee cited the League for Mutual Aid as a Communist enterprise (report of March 29, 1944, p. 76).

"Morris L. Ernst was named on a letterhead of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, dated July 6, 1938, as a member of the lawyers' committee of that organization. 'In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations' such as the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy (report of the special committee dated March 29, 1944, p. 82).

"Morris L. Ernst, identified as treaturer, American Fund for Public Service, was shown as a stockholder of New Masses on a photostatic copy of the statement of ownership of that publication, dated October 1, 1930. New Masses was cited as a 'Communist periodical' by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7688) and as the 'nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party' by the special committee (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75).

"The Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Vito Marcantonio was cited as a Communist front by the special committee in the report of March 29, 1944 (p. 122). Mr. Ernst was chairman of the Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Vito Marcantonio, as was shown on a letterhead of the organization dated October 3, 1936.

"A newsletter of the National Lawyers Guild, dated July 1937 (p. 2), listed Mr. Ernst, of New York City, as chairman of the guild's committee on the relation of government to business. The Daily Worker of February 10, 1939 (p. 2), reported that he spoke at a meeting of the National Lawyers Guild; a letterhead of the guild, dated May 28, 1940, named Mr. Ernst as director ex-officio of that group; a membership list (1939) of the guild, on file with this committee, contains the name of Morris L. Ernst, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City.

"On September 17, 1950, the Committee on Un-American Activities released a report on the National Lawyers Guild in which it was cited as a Communist front and the 'foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions.' An earlier report of the special committee (report of Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149) cited the guild as a Communist front.

"An editorial in the Daily Worker of December 10, 1947 (p. 9), criticized Morris Ernst for his proposed legislation to register front organizations. Morris L. Ernest, of New York City, testified voluntarily before the Committee on Un-American Activities, February 11, 1948, regarding legislation before the committee which would seek to curb or outlaw the Communist Party. He stated, in part, as follows:

" 'Mr. KERSTEN. Would you say we would have to have the freedom of expression on the parts of teachers in our schools, professors in our universities, the freedom of expression to the extent that the president of this particular institution could, if he wants to, permit his teachers to teach to the students, for example, the tenets of communism?

" 'Mr. ERNST. Well, may I state my position on that? I have got to cut down underneath it a bit.

* * * * *

" 'I think the Communists or the Klan have a right to elect the Government of the United States. Not having elected the Government of the United States, I take it to be the mandate of the people to the officials elected to make sure that neither Klan nor Communist policy is infiltrated or injected into the Government.

" 'Under those circumstances, it seems to me I would say that no klansman should be in the Bureau of Education of the United States Government even though on an open debate an and election with nightshirts off, they may elect the Government, that's what we are gambling on.

" 'Now, I have got faith that they are not going to elect the Government, if they take their shirts off.

" 'Mr. KERSTEN. The question is, however, do you think a university president has the right or teachers have the right in that university, if they wish to exercise it, to teach the student the tenets of communism?

* * * * *

" 'Mr. ERNST. I should say that if it is an avowed Communist or a teacher said this is what communism is, I would like to see that taught in the schools without nightshirts, yes. I would like to see it taught.

" 'Now that doesn't mean that I am at all in favor of a school being sneaked upon, as our schools were in New York by Communists sneaking their perfidious stuff underground. I am not afraid of the thesis of communism aboveboard, not at all. Americans will beat down at every point. We are not afraid of them at all, haven't got the least fear of that crowd, and they are not all crackpots. They are fanatics, maybe, but not crackpots, but I have great fear of any secret group for this reason.

" 'Up to now the problem of America has been the protection of minorities against majorities, oppression by majority or minority. From now on in, I suggest our problem is reversed, because a tightly regimented controlled minority in a labor union, in any place in life with the complexities of modern life can oppress a majority, and that is what the Communists are doing to the decent part of the American labor movement today.' (Public hearings, pp. 291, 292.)

"Reference to Mr. Ernst was made by Maj. Gen. Charles Willoughby, a witness during public hearings before this committee, August 22, 1951, as follows:

" 'Without going into details which are in this file, the International Red Aid, Soviet-Comintern sponsored, becomes the International Labor Defense, and the American Labor Defense becomes the Civil Rights Congress. And, incidentally, again Weiss, as an organizer, develops other agencies, such as the American Committee for the Defense of the Foreign Born, and several other organizations, all of which have been analyzed and commented on adversely by Mr. Morris Ernst, a reputable New York lawyer, who resented, apparently, ever having been mixed up with this group.' (American Aspects of Richard Sorge Spy Case, p. 1188.)"

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Z. Alexander Looby, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, on file with this committee, contains the name of Alexander Looby, 419 Fourth Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 23, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions,' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"The Daily People's World of April 25, 1948 (p. 11), reported that Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn., had spoken before the Southern Negro Youth Congress. The Worker of May 16, 1948 (p. 2), disclosed that Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn., had spoken before the same organization.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947). The Attorney General redesignated the group April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the organization as 'surreptitiously controlled' by the Young Communist League."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Karl N. Llewellyn, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Prof. K. N. Llewellyn, Columbia Law School, spoke at a conference of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as shown by the program, February 12, 1940.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 96 and 129), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'

"A letterhead of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio dated October 3, 1936 listed Karl N. Llewellyn as vice chairman of the organization.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 122), cited the Non-Partisan Committee for the reelection of Vito Marcantonio as a Communist-front organization.

"An undated letterhead of the International Juridical Association listed Prof. Karl Llewellyn, New York, as a member of the national committee.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the International Juridical Association as 'a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (p. 12), cited the International Juridical Association, as an organization which 'actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line.' "

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Shad Polier (Isador Polier), national legal committee, NAACP, 1961

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Who's Who in America (vol. 25, 1948–49, p. 1971) shows that Justine Wise Polier married Shad Polier in 1937. Who's Who in American Jewry (vol. 3, 1938–39, p. 818) shows that Justine Wise Polier is the daughter of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and that she married Isadore Polier, March 26, 1937, New York City. It is noted further that Max Lownethal, a witness during public hearings before this committee, September 15, 1950, when asked if he were acquainted with Shad Polier, stated: 'Yes, he was Rabbi Wise's son-in-law.' (Communism in the U.S. Government, pt. 2, p. 2984.) Therefore, this report includes references from the public records, files and publications of this committee which appear under the name, Shad Polier, and references which appear under the name, Isadore Polier.

"Shad Polier was named in the election campaign letter of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, dated May 18, 1940, as a candidate for delegate to the national convention of the Guild. Convention News for May 1941 (p. 3) listed Shad Polier, New York City, as a member of the nominations committee of the National Lawyers Guild Fifth Annual Convention at the Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29–June 1, 1941. Shad Polier is shown as the writer of an article in the Lawyers Guild Review, vol. VI, pp. 490–491.

"The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Rept. 1311, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149), and was the subject of a separate report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, September 17, 1950, in which it was cited as a Communist front that 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"A letterhead of the International Juridical Association, dated May 18, 1942, carries the name of Shad Polier, New York, as a member of the organization's national committee. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as 'a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense' (report of Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as an organization which 'actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line' (Rept. 3123, Sept. 21, 1950, p. 12).

"A 1941 membership list of the Washington Book Shop, on file with this committee, contains the name of Shad Polier, 3610 Idaho Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 'The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name "The Book Shop Association," was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938. * * * It maintains a bookshop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D.C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures held. Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations.' (United States Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). The Attorney General also included the Book Shop on lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948) and redesignated it pur-

suant to Executive Order 10450 (memorandum of April 29, 1953, released by the Department of Justice); and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the Washington Bookshop as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944, p. 150).

"The newsletter of the National Lawyers Guild for July 1937 (p. 2) named Isadore Polier, New York City, as chairman of the guild's committee on constitutional and judicial review. A leaflet, What Is the IJA?, contains the name of Isadore Polier as a member of the National Committee of the International Juridical Association. An undated letterhead of the group listed him as executive director, and this committee's report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (p. 13), reported that Isadore Polier was executive director of the International Juridical Association at 'the time of its inception.' See citation on page 1.

The Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4), reported that Isadore Polier signed a petition, sponsored by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, to lift the arms embargo. 'In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy' (report of the special committee dated March 29, 1944, p. 82).

"The booklet, These Americans Say (p. 8), compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo, named Isadore Polier among the representative individuals who advocated lifting the Spanish embargo. The Coordinating Committee To Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited by the Special Committee as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138)."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Jawn Sandifer, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of April 10, 1951 (p. 5), reported that Jawn A. Sandifer was a speaker for the National Lawyers Guild. The October 7, 1952, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 3), reported that Jawn L. Sandifer, New York, was to lead workshop discussions at the national conference of the National Lawyers Guild on civil rights, legislation, and discrimination to be held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City on October 10, 11, and 12, 1952.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front, which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'"

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Sidney R. Redmond, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"S. R. Redmond signed the open letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties denouncing the Attorney General's attack on the Communist Party and decision in the Harry Bridges case as shown by the Daily Worker of July 19, 1942 (p. 4), and the booklet, '600 Prominent Americans' (p. 27). Sidney R. Redmond, editor, National Bar Journal, St. Louis, Mo., signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions 'to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party' according to an undated leaflet, 'the only sound policy for a democracy' and the Daily Worker, March 19, 1945 (p. 4).

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as 'part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as 'one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.' The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation * * * among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'"

"Subject: George M. Johnson, national legal committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"George M. Johnson, Washington, D.C., was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild as of 1949. (See the committee's report on the National Lawyers Guild, p. 18.)

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist-front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'"

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Edward P. Lovett, National legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild listed Edward P. Lovett, 615 F Street NW., Washington, D.C., as a member of that organization.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'"

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Louis L. Redding, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers' Guild listed Louis Redding, 1002 Franch St., Wilmington, Del., as a member of the organization. Louis L. Redding, a member of the Delaware bar, was among the speakers at a panel session on Civil Rights and Liberties as part of the National Lawyers' Guild annual convention, February 20–23, 1953, New York City, according to the Daily Workers, February 20, 1953 (p. 6).

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"The official proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936 (pp. 5, 6, 41), listed Louis L. Redding, Delaware, as a member of the National Executive Council and a member of the presiding committee and general resolutions committee.

"The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953 and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes.'"

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Joseph B. Robinson, national health committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or

findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"One Joseph B. Robinson signed the call for the National Emergency Conference, Washington, D.C., May 13 and 14, 1939.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 49), cited the National Emergency Conference as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 12), cited the National Emergency Conference as follows: 'It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.' "

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Dr. Edward L. Young, national health committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Dr. Edward L. Young was an initial sponsor of the American Peace Crusade as shown by letterheads dated February 1951 and February 1953. He signed a petition of the American Peace Crusade calling on President Truman and Congress to seek a big-power act as reported by the Daily Worker of February 1, 1952 (p. 1), in which source he was identified with the Harvard University Medical School. The Daily Worker of February 1, 1951 (p. 2), listed Dr. Edward L. Young, Committee on Physicians for Improvement of Medical Care, Brookline, Mass., as a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 51), cited the American Peace Crusade as an orangization which 'the Communists established' as 'a new instrument for their peace offensive in the United States' and which was heralded by the Daily Worker 'with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives.' The Attorney General of the United States designated the American Peace Crusade January 22, 1954 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

"Dr. Young was a United States sponsor of the American Continental Congress for Peace as shown by an official leaflet published by the Congress.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 21), cited the American Continental Congress for Peace as 'another phase' in the Communist 'peace' campaign, aimed at consolidating anti-American forces throughout the Western Hemisphere."

"According to a statement attached to a press release of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated December 14, 1949 (p. 10), Dr. Edward L. Young, Committee of physicians for Improvement of Medical Care, Brookline, Mass., signed a statement calling for international agreement to ban use of atomic weapons.

"The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; and to further the cause of 'Communists in the United States' doing 'their part in the Moscow campaign.'

"A mimeographed petition, attached to a letterhead of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee dated May 18, 1951, listed Dr. Edward L. Young, Brookline, Mass., as one who signed a petition to President Truman 'to bar military aid to or alliance with Fascist Spain.'

"The Attorney General cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 174), cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a Communist-front organization.

"Dr. Edward L. Young was shown as a member of the board of directors of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions on a leaflet, Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention, 1950, a letterhead dated July 28, 1950, and a letterhead dated December 7, 1952 (photostat). He was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, March 25–27, 1949, as shown by the conference program (p. 13), the conference call, and the Daily Worker, February 21, 1949 (p. 9). As shown by the conference program (p. 10), he spoke at the conference, and according to Speaking of Peace, edited report of the conference (p. 49), Dr. Young introduced the discussion on psychiatric aspects of today's international crisis. He signed a statement supporting a rehearing of the case of the Communist leaders before the Supreme Court and protesting the Smith Act as shown by We Join Black's Dissent, a reprint of an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 20, 1951, by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The Daily Worker of February 28, 1949 (p. 2) reported that Dr. Young was a speaker for the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. He signed a statement of the organization as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 14, 1949 (p. 9620). He signed a resolution against atomic weapons released by the National Council as shown by a mimeographed list of signers attached to a letterhead of July 28, 1950. He signed a peace appeal in a drive of the National and New York Councils of the Arts, * * *, as reported in the Daily Worker of May 16, 1952 (p. 2).

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization. In this report, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, the committee cited the conference as a Communist front which 'was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations.'

"As shown by an undated leaflet, 'Prominent Americans Call for * * *' (received by this committee September 11, 1950), and the Daily Worker of August 10, 1950 (p. 1), Dr. Edward L. Young signed the World Peace Appeal.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1954 (p. 34), cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the permanent committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having 'received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy'; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting 'every individual Communist on notice that he "has the duty to rise to this appeal"; and as having received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world.'

"The following is quoted from a 'Statemen of Principles for the Defense of Democracy Against McCarthyism,' as reported by the Daily Worker of March 31, 1954 (p. 8):

" 'Minority opinion is being suppressed by such devices as blacklisting, dismissal from employment, and even jailing.

" 'Teachers, lawyers, doctors, writers, artists, actors, and other professionals should be free to practice their professions without discrimination because of their political beliefs or associations, whether they be Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Communist.'

"The Daily Worker article reported that 'the signers of the statement urge support for an eight-point program, including abolition of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, reinstatement of teachers dismissed in recent inquiries, and amnesty for those in jail on charges of "conspiracy to teach and advocate" their political views.' Dr. Edward L. Young, Brookline, Mass., was named as a signer.

"The call to a bill of rights conference New York City, July 16 and 17, 1949, named Dr. Edward L. Young, Massachusetts General Hospital, as a sponsor. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, in writing about the conference for her column in the Daily Worker (July 25, 1949, p. 8), stated that one of the highlights of the conference was the fight for the 12 defendants in the current Communist cases. She reported that seven of the defendants were present and participated actively. The New York Times (July 18, 1949, p. 13) reported that 'the 20 resolutions adopted unanimously by the 2-day conference registered opposition to the conspiracy trial of the 11 Communist leaders, the Presidential loyalty order * * * deportation for political belief * * * among others. The conference also called for an end to the investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into political, rather than criminal, activities.' "

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Viola Bernard, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

"The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4), listed Viola Bernard as one who signed a petition of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embago.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the American Friends of Spanish Democracy as follows: 'In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy.' "

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Dr. Russell L. Cecil, national health committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A pamphlet, 'Relighting the Lamps of China,' listed Russell L. Cecil as a medical sponsor of the China Aid Council.

"The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the China Aid Council as a 'subsidiary' of the American League for Peace and Democracy, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism 'in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union * * *' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as ' the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States * * *.' "

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, national health committee, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A membership list of the American League for Peace and Democracy which was compiled by the special Committee on Un-American Activities from original records of the organiation, subpenaed in 1939 by the committee, contains the name of one C. Herbert Marshall, of 2712 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism 'in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democrary as 'the largest of the Communist front movements in the United States. * * *'

"C. Herbert Marshall was shown as a sponsor of the Washington Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder in an advertisement of the organization which appeared in the Washington Post of May 1942 (p. 9). 'When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * * Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the few outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in this country, headed it' (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 6 and 55). The Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated Apirl 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"The call to a conference on civil rights, April 20–21, 1940 (p. 4), lists C. Herbert Marshall, M.D., as a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, under whose auspices the conference was held. A letterhead of the organization, dated April 26, 1940, also shows C. Herbert Marshall as a sponsor. In 1941, Dr. C. Herbert Marshall was a member of the executive committee of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, according to a letterhead dated May 23, 1941.

"The Attorney General cited the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as an 'affiliate' or 'local chapter' of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. 'The program of the Washington committee followed that of the national federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist front organizations' (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7688 and 7689). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 22), cited the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as follows: 'When the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940 its successor in Washington was called the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.'

"As shown by an advertisement in the Washington Post, May 18, 1948 (p. 15), Dr. C. Herbert Marshall signed a statement against the Mundt anti-Communist bill."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Gloster Current, director of branch department, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Gloster Current and his orchestra were scheduled to play at the Independence Day picnic to be held July 3–4, 1938, under the auspices of the Communist Party of Michigan, according to a leaflet entitled 'Where's Everybody Going?' which announced the picnic.

"The Civil Rights Federation (affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties) issued a call to a statewide conference, September 12, 1943, in Detroit, Mich.; the name of Gloster Current appeared on the call in a list of sponsors and he was identified as secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit chapter.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Michigan Civil Rights Federation as an affiliate of the Communist front, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and as a subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan chapter of the Civil Rights Congress. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687; and press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, June 1 and Sept. 21, 1948; also included on his consolidated list of organizations.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Michigan Civil Rights Federation as a Communist-front organization. (From Report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated Mar. 29, 1944; and Report No. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated Sept. 2, 1947.)

"In July 1947 Mr. Walter S. Steele testified in public hearings before this committee, at which time he named Gloster Current of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a council member from the United States to the World Federation of Democratic Youth (from Steele testimony, p. 81).

"The World Federation of Democratic Youth was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. From the outset, the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. (From Report No. 271 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated Apr. 17, 1947.)"

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Ruby Hurley, southeast regional secretary, Birmingham, Ala., NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Ruby Hurley was a sponsor of the World Youth Festival, Prague, July–August 1947, as shown by the World Youth Festival, page 7, and the booklet, "The Bright Face of Peace," published by the U.S. Committee for the World Youth Festival. As shown by the call to World Youth Festival (p. 3), the festival, held in Prague from July 20 to August 17, 1947, was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (pp. 12 and 13), cited the World Federation of Democratic Youth as follows: 'The AYD (American Youth for Democracy) is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. * * * From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth.'

"The International Union of Students was cited as follows by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 13): 'The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Students, which held

a meeting in Prague on August 17–31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee of whom 12 were known Communists.' "

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Thurgood Marshall, director counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund and Educational Fund, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Thurgood Marshall was a member of the national committee of the International Juridical Association, as shown in the pamphlet, What Is the I.J.A.? The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as 'a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense' (Rept. No. 1311, dated March 29, 1944). In a report on the National Lawyers Guild, prepared and published September 17, 1950, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the International Juridical Association was cited as an organization which 'actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line.'

"A list of officers of the National Lawyers Guild, as of December 1949 (printed in the committee's report on the National Lawyers Guild, p. 18) contains the name of Thurgood Marshall, New York City, among the members of the executive board. He was shown to be an associate editor of the Lawyers Guild Review in the issue of May–June 1948 (p. 422). It was reported in the Daily Worker of November 30, 1942 (p. 1), that Mr. Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was one of those who submitted a report denouncing lynching and discrimination which was adopted by the national executive board of the National Lawyers Guild. It was also reported in the Washington Evening Star (February 8, 1948, p. A–22 and February 12, 1948, p. A–82), that Mr. Marshall, identified as special counsel, NAACP, criticized the loyalty program in a public forum held under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild in Washington, D.C.

"The National Lawyers Guild was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front in Report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944 (p. 149). In the committee's report on the organization, released in 1950, the guild was cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"The Daily Worker of November 24, 1947 (p. 4) reported that Thurgood Marshall was among a group of attorneys who sent a telegram to New York Congressmen asking them to oppose the contempt citations in the case of the so-called Hollywood 10."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Clarence M. Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individaul. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or finding of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Clarence Mitchell, a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities, May 3, 1950, in opposition to H.R. 7595, at which time he stated that he was not then and had never been a member of the Communist Party. He stated that the question as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party 'is an unfair question, because it immediately precludes from appearing before this committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind (H.R. 7595). Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party, but they may want to come here and object to this bill, but I suppose if they had to answer that question they very likely would not come.' (Public hearings, pp. 2296–2302.)

"It is noted by the Daily People's World of February 12, 1952 (p. 2) that Clarence Mitchell, director of Washington bureau of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, 'blasts civil rights record of presidential hopeful.' The Daily Worker of February 15, 1952 (p. 1) reported that Clarence Mitchell, director of Washington bureau, NAACP, appeared before the Senate Armed Forces Committee in protest of universal military training."

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"'Subject: Henry Lee Moon, director, public relations department, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"A membership list of the Washington Book Shop which was subpened by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1941 contains the name of Henry Lee Moon with address shown as 1206 Kenyon Street NW., Washington, D.C.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the Washington Book Shop Association as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list or organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 150), cited the Washington Book Shop Association as a Communist-front organization.

"Henry Lee Moon, New York, was a member of the national executive council of the National Negro Congress, as shown on the official proceedings of the congress for 1936 (p. 40).

"The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 'on the ground that it was "deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organization members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists." Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and fellow travelers have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress, * * * according to A. Phillip Randolph. John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed $100 a month to its support.' (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687, 7688.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes.'

"A review by Abner W. Berry of Henry Lee Moon's book, Balance of Power: The Negro Vote, was published in the Daily Worker of May 28, 1948 (p. 12). The review reads, in part:

"'As a newspaperman who spent the war years in Washington and later was associated with the CIO Political Action Committee, Henry Lee Moon has written, in balance of power a helpful survey of Negro suffrage in America. He defends the Negro voter against the charge of venality and corruptibility with the materials of history, and traces the long fight for the franchise.

* * * * *

"'It is the only volume brought to our attention which gives a detailed national picture of the Negro vote. It is too bad the author felt impelled to defend the two-party system and the Negro. And it is worse that he chose this otherwise useful contribution as the bearer of his offering of fuel for the cold war.'

"A photograph of Henry Lee Moon was published in the June 16, 1932, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 2).

"The Daily Worker of June 17, 1946 (p. 2), reported that one Henry Moon (no other identification shown) was one of the signers of a statement of the Action Committee To Free Spain Now which protested the delay in breaking diplomatic relations with Franco Spain.

"The Attorney General cited the Action Committee To Free Spain Now as Communist in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

"The Daily Worker of February 16, 1949 (p. 13), reported that Henry Moon was nominated as commentator of the Voice of Freedom Committee.

"The Attorney General included the Voice of Freedom Committee on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450."

"OCTOBER 25, 1955.

"Subject: Clarence A. Laws, regional director, New Orleans, La., NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"An undated letterhead (1947) of the Committee for Louisiana, affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, listed Clarence A. Laws as a member of the executive committee of the organization.

"The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of

funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference * * * as a Communist-front organization 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"Robert L. Carter wrote an article which was published in the Lawyers Guild Review (vol. VI, pp. 553–54, and 599–601). The Lawyers Guild Review was cited as 'an official organ of the National Lawyers Guild' by the Committee on Un-American Activities, report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950 (p. 13).

"The National Lawyers Guild was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front organization in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149). It was cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.' (Committee's review on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950.)

"It was reported in the Times Herald of April 28, 1948 (pp. 1 and 4) that Robert L. Carter, of the American Veterans' Committee, was a sponsor of a conference against anti-Communist legislation.

"FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

"Subject: Torea Hall Pittman, assistant field secretary, NAACP, 1961.

"The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

"The official proceedings of the National Negro Congress for 1936 (p. 6) listed Mrs. Torea Pittman, of California, as a member of the general resolutions committee of the National Negro Congress.

"The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 'on the ground that it was "deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists." Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and fellow travelers have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the congress * * * according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed $100 a month to its support.' (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as 'the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes.' "

The American Theater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 29, 1963

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, because of rising costs, declining sponsorship and other grave problems, the visual and performing arts in the United States are tending to concentrate more and more in the largest cities, leaving the rest of the country with limited opportunity to enjoy and participate in them on the professional level. The shrinkage of the legitimate theater in particular is threatening to curtail sharply the expression and influence of the dramatic arts. Support from private sources alone has proved inadequate, and I deeply believe that some form of government cooperation is essential. Many countries are already providing some governmental help with considerable success in encouraging cultural development, and I believe that it is becoming increasingly evident that some government help is essential in the United States. Legislation for a U.S. Arts Foundation, which I have sponsored for years now, would encourage live performances of theater and exhibits of art in cities and towns which could not otherwise receive and support them.

One of the great impresarios of our times, S. Hurok, recalls what he considers the heyday of the American theater and contrasts it with its present decline in a recent feature article. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article by S. Hurok entitled, "The Glory That Was New York," which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune, July 14.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GLORY THAT WAS NEW YORK

(By S. Hurok)

Do you remember when 42d Street was lined with legitimate theaters, when the Manhattan, Lexington, and Century opera houses, the Hippodrome, and nearly 90 theaters catered to a public that ranged through every strata of society? You may not, but I do.

Granted, the subject matter on these many stages differed somewhat from today's. Surely, some goodhearted—and a few not so goodhearted—prostitutes were to be seen from time to time; there were occasional hints of incest and what were politely termed "social diseases." Every second serious play, however, wasn't about homosexuality, and I don't seem to recall any cannibalism or some of the odder perversions we have been subjected to lately. People's private lives may have been just as unpleasant as today's theater and literature tell us they are, but on the stage things were a good deal more pleasant.

FUN AND GIRLS

There was lots of galety and boisterous fun and pretty girls, not just in one show, but all over the place. There were the adventures with the new playwrights, Eugene O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, Robert Sherwood, Elmer Rice. There were the great producers, Charles Frohman, Florenz Ziegfeld, Charles Dillingham, David Belasco, George White, Arthur Hopkins. New York was a place where Max Reinhardt could stage "The Miracle" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

Let us say that all this was prior to the thirties prior, perhaps, to the depression, prior, certainly, to television. Anyway, it was only some 30 years ago, and New York was a theater town beyond compare.

Is 30 years a long time for you? Well, then. The other day I was walking past the new apartment building at Seventh Avenue and 59th Street, and paused to remember with nostalgia how only a few short seasons ago I used to spend fascinated hours backstage at the now vanished Century Theater watching the skilled wardrobe people of the Kabuki endlessly folding and unfolding with infinite care their elaborate and fanciful costumes.

Where are all the theaters? They are movie houses, parking lots, television studios, office and apartment buildings. And where is the New York theater? It has dwindled into something resembling a trickle and not a very distinguished trickle at that.

Why, in these few short years, has this happened? Television, wildly rising costs, the move of the middle class to the suburbs—I've heard and thought about all the answers that one can find for this question. We all know the many contributing factors.

I also know, as I've said for 50 years, that when the public is offered the best, it is a pretty fair bet to say that it will come. Witness the Royal Ballet, opening at the Met in the late spring and taking in $700,000 in less than 5 weeks.

It seems to me that recently I have spent a goodly number of my waking hours addressing groups from university students to Rotarians, talking to newspapermen and local managers and always finding myself alternately extolling the extraordinary talent to be found everywhere in this country, the eager audiences for the best, and then, the other side of the coin, decrying the disappearance of theaters all across the country.

It isn't only New York. The Boston Opera House is now a parking lot. There is no place to present ballet or other spectacular productions in our Nation's Capital. This spring we couldn't take the Royal Ballet to one of the country's most cultivated cities, San Francisco, because the only possible place to present it, the War Memorial Opera House, was completely involved with musical comedy.

In Washington there were only 8 or 10 theaters, now there is only 1. In Boston there were some 10, now 2. In San Francisco there were some 12, now 2.

I say, give us more theaters, many, many more. Certainly I praise the splendid new buildings in Chicago, Toronto, Montreal, the rising Opera House in Los Angeles; Lincoln Center is fine, too; but these are not enough.

Can a man with a family of five take them out to the theater in New York unless he

can afford a whopping sum? He used to be able to do so. Will Lincoln Center solve that problem? Of course not.

What the theater needs, and the ballet and the opera, is subsidy from city, State, and Federal sources. And the performing arts need many theaters, everywhere.

I am weary of hearing our Representatives in the Congress and the State legislature talking about "culture" as if it were a seven-letter dirty word.

I'm also weary of hearing how subsidy would hamper the arts. One need only point to Britain, where the Arts Council began to function at the end of World War II, to find an answer.

SOME RESULTS

In London, then provincial as far as ballet and opera were concerned, there are now two ballet companies and a major opera company and partially subsidized theaters flourishing with the classics and with experimental plays. A Benjamin Britten, a William Walton has been encouraged to write for the lyric theater, for the ballet. Major painters have contributed sets. Major poets and playwrights have turned librettists.

I've often said that if I had a 4,000-seat theater I could keep it running 52 weeks a year to capacity business and be able to sell seats at prices the average man could afford. I shouldn't fill it with foreign attractions alone, although these would certainly figure, but with the best that American writers, composers, choreographers, and directors could achieve. I might even show a profit. I always like a profit. Maybe it's not too late to try.

Swiss National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 8, 1963

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Swiss people are known throughout the world for their individualistic love of freedom and their readiness to defend their nation; for their careful attention to the obligations of citizenship, and for their success in maintaining a harmonious and stable country. We all know neutral Switzerland as a country where Latin and Teuton, Catholic and Protestant, worker and banker can live together in peace and harmony. Not so many of us realize that this remarkable combination of diversity and harmony has a history which dates back almost seven centuries. Today we have an opportunity to salute the gallant people of Switzerland, because August 1, 1963, is the 672d anniversary of the Swiss Confederation.

On August 1, 1291, the citizens of three cantons within what is now Switzerland—Uri, Schwyz, and Lower Unterwalden—banded together into a defensive league. During the next several centuries more cantons were added to this league, and in 1798, after considerably more territory had been acquired, a unified Helvetic Republic was formed. In 1803 Napoleon Boneparte gave the Swiss a new constitution and the number of cantons—the confederate parts of Switzerland—increased to 19. Switzerland acquired two further constitutions during the 19th century, of which the second survives to the present day. Despite domestic crises and foreign interventions, the Swiss Confederation has remained intact through almost seven centuries. Today, as we note the anniversary of the founding of the Swiss Confederation, we greet all friends of Switzerland everywhere.

Americans have long enjoyed a special bond of friendship with the Swiss people. One reason may be that our countries respect many of the same principles of government. The Swiss people, who have been called the most democratic in the world, exercise a direct voice in their government, and have been able to reconcile the interests and ideas of diverse groups.

Some have suggested that the remarkable success with which the Swiss have preserved their national independence through the centuries is a reflection of the physical characteristics of the country. Formerly the traditional isolation of the Swiss mountain folk was only partly tempered by the mountains and rivers that link Switzerland with the outside world. But in the 20th century, when rapid means of transportation and communication have reduced the importance of natural barriers between peoples, the Swiss continue to defend their national independence and neutrality, despite the cataclysms of war that have taken place around them. One suspects that mountains have been less important in preserving Swiss independence than the steadfast determination of the Swiss people. I am happy to salute Switzerland and her friends around the world on the anniversary of the founding of the Swiss Confederation.

Commonwealth Day—11 Years of Fulfillment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 25, 1963

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, on July 25, 1952, a concept unique in all the America's—indeed in all of man's history—became a reality. On that day the Governor of Puerto Rico, with the blessing of the U.S. Government, proclaimed the establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Slightly less than a State in stature, but more autonomous than all other Territories, Puerto Rico was accorded all but the last full measure of political maturity while retaining the economic concessions so vital to an experiment that promised to dismay the collectivists and inspire the free.

Politically, a precise definition of the island's status has yet to be coined. Neither an independent entity, a State, nor an incorporated Territory, Puerto Rico reflects the dignity of a free people; its citizens, who are citizens of the United States, enjoy practically all the privileges of statehood, save that of national suffrage, while being free of Federal taxation; and, in local affairs self-rule is complete. In Puerto Rico the Governor is popularly elected; this privilege was never enjoyed by the people of either Alaska or Hawaii until these incorporated Territories became States. What, then, is the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico? Actually, it is an inspired design for living adapted to the needs of a people not yet fully prepared to meet the economic demands of statehood, but who merit the right to rule themselves. They cannot vote for President, and they have a nonvoting Resident Commissioner to represent them in the Congress; but for all local offices, as well as problems, they are the final arbiters. It might well be that the Puerto Rican definition of status captures the essence of this political and social phenomenon: Associated Free State.

Mr. Speaker, the men of Puerto Rico have the same military obligations as their fellow citizens on the mainland. They have followed the Stars and Stripes in battle since World War I, long before the attainment of Commonwealth status. More than 91 percent of the Puerto Ricans engaged in the Korean conflict were volunteers. In terms both of patriotism and valor their record has been a distinguished one.

The standard of living on the island has risen spectacularly; the millenium, however, will be some time in arriving. Although per capita income is four times larger than it was 20 years ago. Net Commonwealth income continues to rise at a phenomenal rate; in fiscal 1962 it attained a level 11 percent higher than that recorded the previous year.

Measured in terms of mainland figures, Puerto Rican progress is less than overwhelming; when contrasted with pre-World War II conditions the advance is staggering. In 1940 family income totaled only $660; in 1961 it climbed to $3,003. Net income from manufacturing rose from $26 million in 1940 to $384 million in 1962.

Progress in other areas has been even more remarkable. Life expectancy at birth in 1940 was only 46 years; in 1960 it was 70 years—precisely the same as it was in the continental United States. The death rate in Puerto Rico from tuberculosis in 1940 per 100,000 persons was 260.2; in 1961 it was approximately 26.0. The death rate from all causes in the island in 1961 was 6.8 per 1,000 population; in the States it was 9.3.

Mr. Speaker, these magnificent achievements are attributable in very large measure to the vision, talents, and industry of one of America's greatest statesmen, Luis Muñoz-Marín. In the middle 1940's he and a coterie of dedicated associates instituted "Operation Bootstrap," a daring program of economic reform by which the island was to be

VJ✓ SB✓ Intergroup Org. NAACP

THREATS: NEGROES' LATEST WEAPON IN RIGHTS DRIVE

A mass march on Washington . . . a sit-in at the Capitol . . . a nationwide campaign of civil disobedience . . . demonstrations in one city after another . . . a reign of terror and violence . . .

These are what Negroes threaten if they don't get what they are demanding.

To President Kennedy's appeal for a truce, Negro leaders reply, "Demonstrations will go on."

Threats have become a major weapon for Negroes in their campaign against racial discrimination.

It was under pressure of spreading violence—and warnings of still more violence to come—that President John Kennedy on June 19 asked Congress for broad new legislation on civil rights.

Congress is being threatened with a mass march on Washington, a "sit-in" by Negroes in the nation's Capitol, and a nationwide campaign of civil disobedience if a filibuster against the President's proposals is attempted.

"We will tie up public transportation by laying our bodies prostrate on the runways of airports, across railroad tracks and in bus depots," said the Rev. George Lawrence, regional director in New York of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., national head of the SCLC, warned that there will be a nationwide reign of "violence and terror" unless civil-rights legislation is passed by Congress.

In State after State and city after city—North and South—officials are threatened with mass demonstrations unless Negro demands are met.

President Kennedy appealed to Negroes for a curtailment of demonstrations while Congress is considering his civil-rights program. He warned:

"Unruly tactics or pressures will not help and may hinder the effective consideration of these measures."

"No" to President. Numerous Negro leaders immediately rejected the President's appeal.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), declared:

"We do not intend to call off demonstrations and we would not if we could. We do not agree that demonstrations for freedom will damage the chances of the passage of civil-rights legislation. On the contrary, such peaceful demonstrations should help persuade the legislators of the urgency of the situation."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, described demonstrations as part of America's tradition of freedom to protest, and said:

"I am certain Negro Americans will be guided by their reactions to conditions existing in their own communities."

In New York City, only a few hours after the President's appeal, there came a new threat from Herbert Hill, national labor secretary of the NAACP. He said there would be "mass protest demonstrations" in New York if the city administration does not respond to demands for an end to job discrimination.

Other NAACP representatives demanding more classroom integration in New York City served this notice:

"Unless our demands for greater integration are met, at least in part, we will institute a program of civil disobedience next fall."

In Gadsden, Ala., where Negroes have been demonstrating for weeks, this defiance of the President's appeal came from Marvin Robinson, of CORE:

"The President's plea is symbolic of his entire attitude toward the civil-rights problem. What he doesn't understand is that we want to be free—and now. If the President wants us to stop demonstrating in Gadsden, let him do something about the problem here."

Julian Bond, administrative assistant of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta, Ga., said:

"We cannot in good conscience ask

(continued on next page)

—UPI Photo

IN THE NORTH—A riotous clash between Negroes and police followed a Negro rally in New York City's Harlem.

—Wide World Photo

IN THE SOUTH—Negroes lay down on sidewalks of Gadsden, Ala. Hundreds were arrested, but demonstrations continued.

[continued from preceding page]

THREATS: NEGROES' LATEST WEAPON

American citizens who have been denied their rights for 300 years to refrain from voicing their demands in any way they choose."

The Rev. G. R. Haughton, a leader in the Negro protest movement in Jackson, Miss., said, "We are trying to go along with the President," but warned, "We cannot guarantee there will be no demonstrations at all."

Negro leaders in Charleston, S. C., served notice that they intended to continue their demonstrations.

Negro demonstrations did continue in many cities.

On the night of June 19, in Savannah, Ga., Negroes staged a massive demonstration that was broken up by police using tear gas. Police called it a near riot. State patrolmen went to the aid of police. Hundreds of Negroes were arrested.

On the same day—the day of the President's appeal for peace—Negroes broke a three-day truce in Danville, Va. They paraded, singing and shouting, through the downtown area in defiance of a new city ordinance and a court injunction. Twenty-nine were arrested.

Negroes also renewed their demonstrations in Gadsden, Ala. To break up a protest there, police were aided by 100 riot-trained State troopers using electrified prods of the type normally used on cattle.

Preview for Washington? Two State capitals have been given small-scale samples of the type of protest threatened for Washington, D. C.

In Sacramento, Calif., Negroes sat down in the State capitol, demanding passage of a "fair housing" bill.

In Columbus, Ohio, demonstrators for civil-rights legislation chained themselves to seats in the House gallery of the State capitol, then lay on the floor of the Governor's outer office. On June 19, a House committee killed the housing bill that the demonstrators were supporting.

In a few areas, Negroes calmed down as the Kennedy Administration and local or State authorities moved toward granting their demands.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy personally intervened in Cambridge, Md. Hundreds of Maryland National Guardsmen had been called out to patrol the streets of that city when weeks of demonstrations threatened to precipitate a showdown battle between whites and Negroes.

After a conference at the Justice Department in Washington, the Negro leaders in Cambridge called off a scheduled mass demonstration and interracial negotiations were resumed.

Attorney General Kennedy also tried —with less immediate success—to work out a peaceful settlement of the disturbances in Danville, Va.

President Kennedy himself joined his brother Robert in telephone efforts to quiet the situation in Jackson, Miss. There the mayor and Negro leaders began working out a tentative agreement for ending months of racial tension.

In North Carolina, Governor Terry Sanford stepped in to head off the threat of a racial crisis. He invited Negro leaders to a conference, and NAACP officials then called for a cessation of demonstrations.

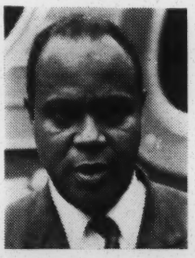
In most places over the country the racial situation threatened to get worse, instead of better.

Negro demonstrations were staged or planned in such widely scattered cities as St. Louis, Mo.; Detroit, Mich.; Wichita, Kans.; Fayetteville, Ark.; Clarksdale, Miss.; San Antonio, Tex.; Cairo, Ill.; St. Augustine, Fla.; Seattle, Wash.; and Fresno, Calif.

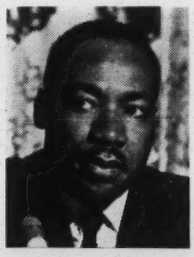
On June 20, CORE announced plans for "intensified" programs of "direct action" would be developed at its annual convention in Dayton, Ohio, June 27-30.

Roy Wilkins
NAACP

A SPLIT IN THE RANKS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS PUSHING INTEGRATION



James Farmer
CORE



Martin Luther King
SCLC

A long-smoldering feud between Negro organizations now has broken out into the open.

Their leaders are disputing: Which organization is really leading the Negro movement against racial discrimination? Which deserves the credit for the victories won? And which should get the money donated to the Negro cause?

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—NAACP —made the feud public on June 16. In a speech at an NAACP rally in Alexandria, Va., Mr. Wilkins said:

"The other organizations furnish the noise and get the publicity while the NAACP furnishes the manpower and pays the bills."

The "other organizations" singled out by Mr. Wilkins are:

- The Congress of Racial Equality—CORE—headed by James Farmer.
- The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, headed by James Forman.

These organizations have played highly publicized roles in "freedom rides," mass demonstrations and "sit in" campaigns. Their leaders privately have criticized the NAACP for some time as being too "conservative."

Mr. Wilkins took public notice of such criticism by complaining that Negroes are being "brainwashed" into believing that the NAACP is fighting for civil rights for Negroes only in court, while other groups risk arrest or violence in public demonstrations of protest.

Describing other organizations as Johnny-come-latelies, Mr. Wilkins declared: "There is only one organization that can handle a long, sustained fight—the NAACP. All the rest start a little, and then rush off somewhere else. They are here today, gone tomorrow."

Mr. Wilkins complained that the other organizations are siphoning financial support away from the NAACP. He told his NAACP audience: "Don't go giving them your money when it should be given to us. . . . To give them your money is like a Baptist giving money to the Presbyterian Church."

Integroup org.
NAACP

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF COAHOMA

NO. 13,622 CHANCERY COURT

TO THE SHERIFF OF COAHOMA----COUNTY------GREETING:

You are hereby commanded to summons

Aaron Henry
R. L. Drew
Vera Pigee
John Melchor
H. Y. Hackett
J. D. Rayford
Tom Gaither
Lafayette Surney
Charles Evers
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Rev. James Bevel
Rev. A. Dudley Ward
Rev. Grover Bagby
Rev. Eugene Smith
Rev. Walmsley
Dale A. Fiers
Bishop Golden
Coahoma County, Mississippi, Branch of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Congress of Racial Equality

Coahoma County Council of Federated Organizations, comprised of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Congress of Racial Equality

if to be found in your County, to be and personally appear before the Chancery Court of Coahoma County, at the Court House of said County, in the City of Clarksdale, Mississippi, on the Third Monday in November, 1963, then and there to plead, answer or demur to the original bill of complaint this day filed against them by the City of Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Herein fail not, and have you then and there this writ.

(Attached hereto a copy of temporary injunction).

Issued under my hand and seal of said Court, at my office in Clarksdale, Mississippi, this the 8th day of July, 1963.

(Signed) T. F. Logan Jr.
Chancery Clerk

(Seal)

IN THE CHANCERY COURT OF COAHOMA COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

CITY OF CLARKSDALE, A Municipal Corporation of the State of Mississippi, — COMPLAINANT

No. 13622

VS.

AARON HENRY, ET AL.

WRIT OF TEMPORARY INJUNCTION

TO AARON HENRY, R. L. DREW, VERA PIGEE, JOHN MELCHOR, H. Y. HACKETT, J. D. TAYFORD, TOM GAITHER, LAFAYETTE SURNEY, CHARLES EVERS, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., REV. JAMES BEVEL, REV. A. DUDLEY WARD, REV. GROVER BAGBY, REV. EUGENE SMITH, REV. WALMSLEY, DALE A. FIERS, BISHOP GOLDEN, THE COAHOMA COUNTY MISSISSIPPI BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, A CORPORATION, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, A CORPORATION, COAHOMA COUNTY COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS COMPRISING DEFENDANTS, THE COAHOMA COUNTY MISSISSIPPI BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE and CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, and SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, THEIR AGENTS, MEMBERS, EMPLOYEES, ATTORNEYS, SUCCESSORS, AND ALL OTHER PERSONS IN ACTIVE CONCERT WITH THEM:

WHEREAS, the City of Clarksdale, a municipal corporation of the State of Mississippi, has filed its Bill in the above Court against you and others, praying for an injunction in the matters hereinafter set out; and

WHEREAS, The Chancery Court of Coahoma County, Mississippi, has directed a temporary injunction to issue as therein prayed, its fiat therefor being endorsed on said Bill, directing the temporary injunction to issue upon the execution by the City of Clarksdale of a bond conditioned according to law in the sum of Two Thousand Five Hundred ($2,500.00) Dollars; and

WHEREAS, said bond has been given and approved;

NOW, THEREFORE, you are hereby commanded and temporarily enjoined, until further order of this court, from engaging in, sponsoring, inciting or encouraging mass street parades or mass processions, or like demonstrations

without a permit, unlawful blocking of the public streets or sidewalks, trespassing on private property after being warned to leave the premises by the owners or person in possession of said private property, congregating on the streets or public places as mobs, and unlawfully picketing business establishments or public buildings in the City of Clarksdale, Coahoma County, Mississippi, and from performing acts calculated to cause breaches of the peace in the City of Clarksdale, Coahoma County, Mississippi, and from conspiring to engage in unlawful street parades, unlawful processions, unlawful demonstrations, unlawful boycotts, unlawful trespasses, and unlawful picketing, and from doing any acts designed to consummate conspiracies to engage in said unlawful acts of parading, demonstrating, boycotting, trespassing and picketing or other unlawful acts and from engaging in acts and conduct customarily known as "kneel-in's" in churches in violation of the wishes and desires of said churches.

You will refrain from doing any of the foregoing acts until the further order of this Court, upon penalty of contempt.

WITNESS THE SIGNATURE AND SEAL of the undersigned, this 8th day of July, 1963.

(signed) T. F. Logan Jr.
T. F. LOGAN, JR., CHANCERY CLERK

TO THE SHERIFF OR ANY LAWFUL
OFFICER OF COAHOMA COUNTY,
MISSISSIPPI:

You will execute the above writ of temporary injunction and make return to the next term of this Court.

(signed) T.F.Logan,Jr
T. F. LOGAN, JR., CHANCERY CLERK

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
July 24, 1963

SUGGESTED POSITION CONCERNING
"COMMERCE-CLAUSE-FOURTEENTH-AMENDMENT-CONTROVERSY"
AS PREFERABLE BASIS FOR PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS BILL

1. A controversy has arisen over the best constitutional predicate for the public accommodations part of the President's civil rights package (Title II). While there are hopeful signs that the controversy is already on the road toward settlement by a combination of the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment, this memorandum concerning that controversy is submitted at the request of organizations attending the Leadership Conference meeting last week.

2. The Commerce-Clause-Fourteenth-Amendment controversy has deep political and substantive roots. The Republicans quite naturally feel a proprietary interest in the Fourteenth Amendment; they took the lead in its enactment after the Civil War. The Democrats have a somewhat similar feeling towards the Commerce Clause; President Roosevelt and the New Deal gave this clause real meaning as the basis for social and economic legislation in the 1930s. Both parties also have important substantive arguments in favor of their constitutional approach. It would seem best for those whose only interest is the enactment of effective public accommodations legislation to accept both parties' predilections and arguments in respect to those constitutional issues and work toward a combination solution which permits both parties to act in accordance with their own best interest and judgment.

3. Commerce Clause: Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution gives the Congress power "to regulate commerce...among the several states..." It is certainly a regulation of "commerce among the several states" to regulate the service at places of public accommodations which utilize supplies or personnel from outside the state. Can anyone seriously argue that Congress has power to regulate the color of the margarine that goes on the restaurant table but may not protect a citizen of color who seeks to sit at that table?

4. The recent cases under the Fair Labor Standards Act and other laws predicated upon the Commerce Clause make clear that minimal crossing of state lines is sufficient to bring the Commerce Clause into play. Furthermore the Supreme Court's decisions on "affecting commerce"--highlighted by its 1942 decision that Congress can regulate the growing of wheat fro consumption right on the farm (Wickard v. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111) --support regulation of public accommodations without any crossing of state lines; discriminatory public facilities, which might otherwise be deemed local, adversely affect other establishments clearly in interstate commerce. There can thus be little doubt that the Commerce Clause is one very certain and broad basis of Congressional power in the area of public accommodations.

5. The Fourteenth Amendment: Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that "Congress shall power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." Section 1 of the Amendment provides that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Thus, Congress clearly has power to enforce the equal protection clause.

6. The argument against the power of Congress to act under the Fourteenth Amendment in the area of public accommodations is that discrimination by a restaurant, hotel or movie is the action of the private owner and not of the state and the equal protection clause applies only to state denials of equal protection. But this argument would no longer appear valid in the face of continuing Supreme Court decisions like the restrictive covenant cases (Shelley v. Kraemer, 333 U. S. 1) and the Delaware restaurant case (Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority, 365 U. S. 715) where a limited degree of state involvement was deemed adequate to bring the Fourteenth Amendment into the picture. These and similar cases point the way toward invoking the Fourteenth Amendment wherever the state authorizes, licenses, protects or regulates private facilities open to the public.

7. Nor need the 1883 Civil Rights Cases (holding unconstitutional the 1875 public accommodations law) frighten one off from this position. That case was decided at a time when the concept of state action was narrow and property rights were deemed practically inviolable. The underpinnings of that case have been swept away be the ever broadening concept of state action and by the ascendency of the public interest over property rights (as, e.g., in the 1934 milk regulation case, Nebbia v. N.Y., 291 U. S. 502). The probabilities favor a distinguishing or overruling of the 1883 case, quite likely with the same unanimity that the Supreme Court overruled another product of this same era, Plessy v. Ferguson.

8. Some concern has been expressed that the Fourteenth Amendment approach might be rendered nugatory by a state repealing all its laws dealing with authorizations, licenses, protection or regulation of private facilities open to the public. It is not believed that such a total abnegation of state responsibility is a very real possibility. At any rate, the inclusion of the Commerce Clause as an equal predicate for the bill would remove any incentive for such state repeal of laws in this area.

9. If any matter of constitutional law can be stated with certainty, it is that the Supreme Court will find the public accommodations bill constitutional on one or both of the above bases. The Court will attach great weight to findings by Congress under the Commerce Clause and equally so to a finding by Congress that there is adequate state involvement under the Fourteenth Amendment wherever the state authorizes, licenses, protects or regulates private facilities open to the public. It becomes almost ludicrous to suggest that the Supreme Court, which has so long protected the rights of Negroes while Congress stood idly by, should now, when Congress at long last does begin to move, find constitutional deficiencies in its action.

10. The Administration bill, as initially drafted, was predicated on the Commerce Clause alone. Because of pressure from those who relied in whole or in part upon the Fourteenth Amendment, findings were inserted in the bill concerning the Fourteenth Amendment (Section 201(h)(i). But the operating sections of the Administration's public accommodations bill are drafted solely in terms of the Commerce Clause. The operating sections use such terms as "traveling in interstate commerce", goods and services "provided to a substantial degree to interstate travelers", and activities which "substantially affect interstate travel or the interstate movement of goods." These varying commerce concepts have caused some confusion at the hearings to date. Both to avoid this confusion and to make full utilization of the Fourteenth Amendment underpinning of the bill, it would appear preferable that the bill rely equally upon the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment in its findings and that the operating section of the bill (Section 202) be rewritten to eliminate Commerce Clause limitations. Section 202 should simply forbid discrimination in all facilities open to the public except those which Congress deems it necessary to exempt. Reliance would be placed upon both constitutional bases, but neither would serve as a limitation on public facilities covered by the bill.

11. There is very direct precedent for combining the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment as the constitutional underpinning for the President's civil rights program. The Tennessee Valley Authority was based on three constitutional powers--the war power, the navigation power, and the right to dispose of property. The Holding Company Act and the Securities Exchange Act were both based on the commerce and postal powers of the Constitution.

12. As we favor the broad coverage spelled out above, so we question the need for exceptions. There is no possible warrant for an across-the-board dollar limitation on what is covered by the bill. It is just as immoral for a little place to discriminate as it is for a big one; a person seeking service at a small lunch counter may be just as hungry as one seeking service at Howard Johnson's.

13. The question of Mrs. Murphy's guest house has created something of a political problem. It should be noted, however, that the reason for excluding Mrs. Murphy's guest house, if there is one, is not the small size of her place, but rather her right to privacy. If Congress deems it necessary to exempt an owner-operated home in which there are few guests, that should be done on the basis of the right of privacy of one's home. In this way, Mrs. Murphy does not become a precedent for exempting a small restaurant, motel or place of amusement. Incidentially, owner-operated rooming houses with a few guests have been exempted from fair housing laws on this same principle of the right of privacy.

14. Suggested Position: At this stage of the legislative battle, it would seem best for the organizations to urge that:

(i) the public accommodations bill be predicated upon both the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment,

(ii) that the operating section not be written in terms of the Commerce Clause as at present but instead be written in terms of covering everything that is open to the public.

(iii) that, if any exceptions must be made, they be predicated on the right of privacy and not on size.

(iv) that there is no basis for a dollar limitation on the public accommodations covered by the bill.

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

SUIT AGAINST TENNESSEE MOTEL
CRACKS URBAN RENEWAL BIGOTRY

July 31, 1963

NEW YORK -- The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. today announced victory in a suit that establishes the legal path for challenging discrimination taking place in any urban renewal program.

The decision, handed down against a Tennessee motel chain, goes further than President Kennedy's executive housing order of November 20 1962, and used the Constitution as its legal foundation.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, said that the U. S. Federal District Court ruling "denies the right of Holiday-Inns of America to decline accommodations to Negro citizens since it is situated on a federally underwritten urban renewal site.

"The implications of the decision are vast," Mr. Greenberg continued, "for all the urban renewal projects constructed before President Kennedy's housing order and not expressly covered by it.

"This decision also makes specific judicial relief available in instances of discrimination by urban renewal projects built since the Presidential order.

"This will affect rental housing, homes for sale, commercial property and every other facility which has been built with urban renewal aid," the Legal Defense Fund's chief counsel said.

The complaint was filed in the U. S. Federal District Court for the Middle District of Tennessee in February by Avon N. Williams and Z. Alexander Looby, NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys in Nashville; A. W. Willis, Memphis; Mr. Greenberg, Constance Baker Motley and Frank Heffron, of New York City.

They represented Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., a Negro dentist from Memphis, who was denied accommodations at the Holiday Inn-Capitol Hill motel on December 4, 1962.

The motel was built on land acquired from the Nashville Housing Authority in 1958 and 1959. The Nashville Housing Authority had condemned the redevelopment project area in 1952, of which 90% of the land was owned or occupied by Negroes.

The area is being redeveloped through a 1952 contract between the Nashville Housing Authority and the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Under this, the Federal Government agreed to pay two-thirds of the net cost of the project. The City of Nashville paid the remaining one-third.

Legal Defense attorneys pointed out that "defendants serve the public purpose of providing lodging, dining and recreational facilities to motorists visiting the capital of the State of Tennessee, while at the same time enjoying the opportunity to pursue private gain."

They added that "there are no adequate, first-class motel facilities open to Negroes in the central commercial district of Nashville."

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PRESS RELEASE

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President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

FOR RELEASE: Monday A.M., August 5, 1963

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND WINS VITAL ALBANY, GEORGIA VICTORY

ALBANY, GA.--The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund today announced the first major breakthrough in the long-stymied racial crisis here.

The U. S. Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, has ordered a lower court to issue an injunction against city officials here that will allow Negro citizens to enjoy many of the goals sought during months of peaceful demonstrations.

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Legal Defense Fund Associate Counsel, who was chief counsel during the long proceedings, pointed out that Albany officials have been busily selling the city's swimming pool facilities to private individuals.

"We shall have to go back to court to test the validity of these sales. But the decision is clear that all public facilities sought to be desegregated by this suit must be open to Albany's Negro citizens," she said.

Albany flared into the nation's headlines during the summer of 1962. The Albany Movement was under the leadership of Dr. W. G. Anderson. Dr. Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference also participated in the demonstrations.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys stressed that Albany's Negro citizens sought:

* the end of state enforced racial segregation in all public parks, libraries and city auditorium;
* the end of city laws requiring segregation in taxicabs, theatres and on buses;
* the end of arrests for attempting to use public recreation, transportation, and library facilities on an integrated basis.

Mrs. Motley, flanked by C. B. King of Albany and Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, pointed out that Dr. Anderson and other leaders of the Albany Movement had met with the Mayor and suggested appointment of a biracial committee to improve the situation before the demonstrations began.

The Mayor never responded.

Arguments of NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys were turned down after three hearings in the District Court on ground that the individual Negro plaintiffs were not segregated against personally while seeking use of public facilities.

The District Court also reasoned that the named Negro plaintiffs were not representative of Albany Negroes in general.

The U. S. Appeals Court disagreed and ordered the lower court to issue the injunction sought by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
AUGUST 6-8
WASHINGTON STATLER-HILTON HOTEL

* * * * * * * * * *

Tuesday, August 6, 1963

9:00 a.m.	REGISTRATION	FOYER 2
10:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.	BRIEFING (Congressional Room) (Presiding-Clarence Mitchell (Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP)	Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Washington Attorney-Vice Chairman for Civil Rights-Civil liberties, ADA Herman Edelsberg, Director, Anti-Defamatio League B'nai B'rith
12:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.	ORGANIZATIONS SESSIONS	State Delegations in Congressional Room Republican and Democrati Leadership Groups in California Room
1:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m.	LUNCHEON BREAK	
2:00 p.m. -	Room 457-Old Senate Office Building	Meeting with Democratic Senators
3:15 p.m. -	East Front Conference Room of Capitol (S-207)	Meeting with Republican Senators
8:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m.	Congressional Room (STATLER HOTEL)	Meeting of all delegates SPEAKER-Walter P. Reuthe President, UAW-CIO and National Board Member of NAACP PANEL-Building Grass Roots Action
	MODERATOR	Gloster Current-Director of Branches, NAACP
	PARTICIPANTS	Mr. James Hamilton National Council of Churches

PARTICIPANTS (Cont.)

Dr. H. B. Sissal, United Presbyterian Church, USA

Mr. Floyd Agostinelli, Office of Urban Renewal, Catholic Archdiocese of Washington

Herman Edelsberg, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7

9:00 a.m. Visits to Congressmen and Senators by Delegates

* SPECIAL STATE MEETINGS

1. Maryland-Caucus Room-Old Senate Office Building
2. Massachusetts-(Place to be designated by Speaker McCormack)
3. Pennsylvania **
4. New York **
5. Michigan **

2:30 p.m. PRESIDING — Dr. John Morsell, Assistant to the Executive Secretary

Delegates Assemble in President Room of Statler for Reporting

8:00 p.m. Meeting in Presidential Room

CONGRESSIONAL SPEAKERS

Chairman Emanuel Celler, House Judiciary Committee
The Honorable Charles Diggs
Senators Douglas, Javits, Hart, Keating, Scott, Clark

THURSDAY, AUGUST 8

9:00 a.m. Continued Congressional Visits

10:00 a.m. Reports in Congressional Room

11:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m. Follow-up Strategy Meeting-California Room (Statler)

*BECAUSE OF THE SIZE OF THESE DELEGATIONS IT WAS NECESSARY TO HOLD MEETINGS OUTSIDE OF OFFICES OF SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN.

**TO BE ANNOUNCED

LWD, VJ, PA, WB, BP Intergroup org. NAACP

PRESS RELEASE

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CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE --August 16, 1963

Mass Demonstrations: The New Legal Challenge

by

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Since most street demonstrations invariably end in a courtroom and since hundreds of school and public accommodations cases remain to be filed and won, The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. has been expanding its activities to continue to serve, as in the past, the legal arm of the civil rights movement.

We now represent more than 7,500 demonstrators involved in 125 civil rights actions across the country. These comprise members of all the major civil rights organizations.

The current crisis has caused a vast increase in civil rights litigation. Two factors are primarily responsible:

a) the wave of peaceful protest demonstrations that began with the sit-ins in 1960, and capped off by Birmingham and its aftermath.

b) sharpened opposition to court orders requiring desegregation, characterized by increasing complex legal activity, on part of the southern white community, to counter our legal efforts.

For obvious reasons, almost no southern white lawyers will handle race relations cases. In many places, there are no Negro attorneys with training adequate to cooperate with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Tallahassee, for example, the capital city of Florida, does not have one practicing Negro lawyer. C. B. King of Albany, Ga. is the lone civil rights attorney in southwestern Georgia. There are only three Negro civil rights lawyers in the entire State of Mississippi.

There are virtually no Negro lawyers anywhere in the most crucial parts of the rural South.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, through long and short-range planning, is moving to cope with the present crisis in four ways:

I. Julius LeVonne Chambers, brilliant graduate of the University of North Carolina's law school, where he became the first of his race to be editor-in-chief of the North Carolina Law Review, will join our staff in September.

He will be our first legal intern.

Mr. Chambers, and other participants in our legal intern program were and will be chosen with the understanding that they eventually practice law in southern communities where there is an acute shortage of attorneys qualified to handle civil rights cases.

The interns will work in the Legal Defense Fund's New York office, under supervision of our legal staff. They will assist in research, litigation, and preparation of briefs.

Internship will be completed in one year. They will then go to a community in the South where a civil rights lawyer is needed, and where reasonable prospects exist for an eventual private practice. For the first three years of their practice we will assist them in getting started.

Another young attorney will join Mr. Chambers during the first phase of our program, which is being underwritten by an initial $25,000 grant from the Field Foundation. We expect this program to expand to six lawyer-interns by next year.

II. In keeping with our pledge to defend all civil rights demonstrators seeking our assistance, the staff of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has doubled during the past year.

We had five attorneys working in this office in October 1961. In October 1962, we had nine. We plan to have 17 by the end of this year, and we are bringing them in just as fast as we can absorb them.

In addition, we now have 100 cooperating attorneys throughout the South, an increase of 25 per cent during the past three years.

Expansion of our staff legal talent is essential since most of the research and brief writing is done in our New York office. There are some 70 school integration cases on our current docket. However, this number would be more than doubled if we had four or five additional lawyers on our staff at this time.

III. Our physical facilities were doubled by our move to new offices three weeks ago. This was made possible by our expanding budget. We projected a $650,000 budget in 1962 and secured it. We projected a $750,000 budget for this year, but if the current trend of contributions continue, we will budget $1,100,000 for 1963.

IV. We will hold practicing law institutes, to share the latest legal knowledge with our cooperating counsel, in three southern cities -- Washington, D. C., Atlanta, and Dallas -- this fall. They will be conducted by professors from Columbia, Yale, Howard and other Law Schools.

These seminar-like sessions will cover crucial legal areas such as: constitutional law, including freedom of speech; school and public facility desegregation; federal procedure; criminal law; evidence.

We will then publish manuals which will serve as a continuing guide to civil rights attorneys.

Through these steps, plus the continued devotion of Legal Defense Fund attorneys, legalism will continue to be a potent weapon in the Negro's march for dignity.

New Republic
8/17/63

LWD, VJ, PA, HC, BEP, BP

The Angels Are White

Who Pays the Bills for Civil Rights?

Intergroup org. N.AACP

by Reese Cleghorn

"Our Boston millionaires give money when it is solicited (properly), and they all include in their wills some bequests to Harvard and to Massachusetts General Hospital. That is all."
– Review of Reviews, 1893.

Marcus Garvey is said to have collected $10 million within two years half a century ago by creating Dukedoms of the Nile and the Niger, operating a black nationalist industrial and military empire and disclosing that both God and the angels are black. In those times a new and smaller power called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was gleaning in the fields of Manhattan for enough money to stay alive; most of its angels were white.

Since then, more and more angels have been on the side of reform. In June some of these banded together to finance a new Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, and endowed it with $800,000. Another $700,000 is expected by the end of the summer, and those sums can probably be duplicated in the future.

We apparently have become so accustomed to announcements of million-dollar funds that this one did not seem very newsworthy. But $1.5 million is more than the NAACP budgeted nationally for 1963, and four times as much as Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference will spend.

The leading angel behind these silver linings is Stephen Currier, who was briefly mentioned in one news story as "a young and hitherto little-publicized man of wealth." That was only a whisper of the full truth; Stephen Currier has been as dedicated to anonymity as some men are to mammon. He now has emerged only to the extent of serving as co-chairman (with the Urban League's Whitney Young) of the new Council.

Even the mention of Currier's name was a little startling to those who had known of his civil rights interests. His modesty is suggested by the fact that his office tells reporters with blunt finality: "Mr. Currier does not speak with newspaper people." When he does speak it is usually softly, though he can be tart and he has a highly developed critical faculty. He is a young man out of Harvard, in his early 30's, of medium height and pleasant disposition. He wears spectacles and careful clothing. His business identification is Currier and Co., an ownership firm, and he is president of the Taconic Foundation, which has quietly engaged in various philanthropies but most recently in a widely-noted study of unemployment among young workers. The foundation has not participated primarily in civil rights work, though it has helped finance the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project.

Wealthy in his own right, Currier is married to an heiress of the Mellon fortune. In the world of philanthropy, that is all that need be said. Having concluded that competition for funds was at the root of the discord apparent in recent months among rights groups, he began to produce the solution: money. For three months now, rounding up cash has been his calling. "He is at it at 5 or 6 in the morning, and sometimes when I poop out around 10 that night he is still going," says his designated spokesman. (He, too, insists upon being anonymous.) Undoubtedly a substantial sum of his own money is involved, but the first $800,000 was raised among 96 corporation and foundation leaders who ate breakfast at Currier's expense on June 19 at the Carlyle Hotel in New York.

Since then Currier has moved resolutely about the city calling upon people of wealth. Besides these excursions, his path these days is principally that between his mid-Manhattan apartment, where he does some of his work, and his foundation's office on the 35th floor of the Tishman Building. Lately there has been little time to spend on his estates in Vermont and Virginia, and little to devote to his art interests. "He is dedicated," his anonymous spokesman says. "He is spending all his time at this now. And this is the first time he has ever asked anyone for money. Usually, it has been the other way around."

Perhaps because of his youth and a gentler bearing often associated with men who have inherited money instead of seizing it, one long-time acquaintance has said of him: "He is not exactly the type who would bowl over the board of Inland Steel." But he has been obviously effective, and the leaders of the civil rights

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REESE CLEGHORN *is an editorial associate with the* Atlanta Journal.

organizations regard him as no dilettante. Two of these recently chose the same words: "Currier really understands what is going on."

It seems significant that most of the donors he has aroused are, though wealthy men, not members of the old wealthy families whose names would be widely recognized. Some have never given to such a cause before. Why this time? "Many people he talks to are just ashamed of some of the things happening in the South, and in the North," says the Fund's spokesman. "We go to people who have money, say this is what the civil rights groups are doing, and they need money." Then he adds what may be the best explanation of all: "I really think the photographs of Bull Connor and the police dogs did it."

Whatever the immediate inspiration, those interested in civil rights often have been moved less by the Emancipation Proclamation than by the Revenue Act of 1935. This seldom-memorized and scarcely-grandiloquent document began a change in American society that one day may rank it with Disraeli's Reform Act: it firmly established the enduring principle that private charities are of such social value that donations to them may be deducted from taxable income. The effect was so salubrious that corporations multiplied their charitable gifts by nine times between 1939 and 1945, and individuals five times. Besides giving life to the great foundations, the effect was to persuade such "non-deductible" organizations as the NAACP to assign their "deductible" functions, in this case legal defense and education, to separate organizations which might secure those blessings to which the Internal Revenue Service might entitle them.

One of the most impressive results of Currier's footwork is that of the first $800,000, donors of $300,000 agreed to give it to "action" groups which the Internal Revenue Service has not made deductible. The NAACP will get $125,000; the Congress of Racial Equality, $100,000; King's SCLC, $50,000; the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC – an independent offshoot of King's group), $15,000 with a promise of more later. Among the "deductibles," the Urban League will get $125,000; the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, $100,000; the National Council of Negro Women, $50,000. That left $235,000 unassigned, with more coming in every day.

It was a case of "to each according to his need," the Fund's spokesman said. There apparently was a determination not to leave out any of the seven chosen organizations if each would make any effo t at all to meet the basic requirements for financial statements and explanation of program. The fact that Dr. King received only $50,000 – and that his recently-established Gandhi Society is not included at all – may or may not be indicative. The Gandhi Society is SCLC's version of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, and some regard it as an unnecessary competitor for funds. As to why SCLC did not receive a bigger share, King is said to have told the other participants that his own fund-raising efforts this year have gone especially well (perhaps thanks, again, to Bull Connor's dogs) and other organizations might be in greater need.

The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership thus seems to be under way with a certain generosity of spirit and a minimum of discord. For non-deductible gifts, the council has opened an office at 10 East 44th Street, New York. For deductible gifts, it has established an allied Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense (WELD, in the spirit of the times) at 10 Columbus Circle. Possibly attesting further to the orthodoxy of this revolution, WELD is being incorporated in Delaware. If there be any Marxists in the streets, that should send them back to their looms.

The suspicion will grow that this new council of unity is actually the seed of a great new community chest of the future. Its sponsors repeatedly emphasize its role as a fund raiser; yet it is obvious that all the participants were professionals at this already. It is known that at the Carlyle there was some discussion of working toward a United Fund approach for civil rights organizations.

Wilkins, King and others have talked of this before, contemplating the effectiveness of the United Jewish Appeal. Surely it has crossed their minds that such a mass organization as the NAACP, with 400,000 members in 1,500 units, and such an orator as King, with moral imperatives to support the efficacy of equality, would be a great combination with the collection plates. All that the sponsors of the unity council will say about this now, however, is that such talk is premature.

Each of the participants in the council now has a different base of support. In the NAACP's budget of $1.2 million (expected now to rise by at least $100,000 before the year is over), the members themselves bear the burden in systematic fashion, through dues, life membership fees, subscriptions and the like. This is the

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months,
The New Republic will not appear on:

August 24 *September 7*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 14

only one of the "action" groups so supported.

Dr. King's SCLC, with a current budget of $375,000 to $400,000, is only fractionally supported by its affiliate organizations. Its true base of support is King himself, whose personal appeal brings in most of the money through the mail and at benefits. (Professional fund raisers have said they know of no one who has better results in mail appeals.) CORE also relies heavily upon benefits, for a budget of $789,000. While the NAACP budget has remained stable in recent times, King's has burgeoned from $60,000 in 1960, and CORE's also has had great growth, both reflecting the restlessness of the times.

For rapid expansion, however, no one can better the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Founded under King's auspices during the 1960 college sit-ins, the Atlanta-headquartered committee went its own way and now has far more full-time staff workers in the South than any other organization. A late count shows 193 workers. Except for about 35 summer helpers from various colleges, they are full-time regulars. SNCC spreads amoeba-like; when one of its numerous field secretaries finds a likely prospect, he forthwith employs him by sharing his own pay until the main office can provide approval and finish the paper work. The "Snicks'" austerity is legend. Most of the paid field workers receive $10 to $20 a week, and some turn in expense accounts with notations such as "15 cents for bread." For these dwellers in the cotton fields, and for other purposes, SNCC has a current budget of $267,000. It is expected to receive much more of the unity council's fund: its initial $15,000 allocation was based upon a 1962 budget of only $72,000.

More Workers, Less Violence

While SNCC's parsimonius young students may be multiplied by the new fund, the NAACP expects to increase the number of older professionals less spectacularly. Its new staff members, rather than working out of farmers' unpainted houses as SNCC workers do, probably will operate from the main office in Freedom House on West 40th Street. "This all developed too fast for us to be certain how it will be worked out," said Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to Wilkins. But he expects an increase in "task force" operations, such as sending out professionals quickly to assist local units when something comes up. The NAACP and other organizations have been flooded by requests for help, sometimes from groups that know they want to protest but have not even decided how or against what.

In encouraging funds for the "action" organizations, especially, Currier is said to have had his eye upon the demonstrations taking place, often without firm direction. Much of this money will be used to add to the professional staffs of the participants. It is not truly a case of infiltrating the revolution with money, the sponsors insist; it is just that money, as President Kennedy might say, is "a part of the great American tradition." If you are going to have a revolution, it might as well be solvent, and imbued with American know-how.

Soon after the new fund was announced, someone said for the press that this money would provide more professional leadership to prevent violence. Roy Wilkins snapped a little at this idea, as if to say this was no attempt to slow anything down. (The NAACP spares no effort these days to prove that it never lagged behind Martin Luther King in its belief in demonstrations. One NAACP field secretary was heard telling a young sign-bearing staff worker during a recent march: "If you see a photographer, you just make sure that sign is up front.")

Yet it seems obvious that prevention of mayhem is one idea involved here. Another is that additional professional staff will enable those leading these protests to define and achieve their goals more intelligently.

The need for money in another realm, legal defense, is perhaps of even greater urgency. The Legal Defense Fund now has nine lawyers and suddenly there are 6,000 civil rights cases in Southern courts. The unity fund is expected to finance the addition of six more lawyers very soon. Wilkins was complaining not long ago that other organizations rush people out to get arrested and the NAACP has to get them out of jail; that has been the pattern. For each lawyer, some $25,000 is required for salary, secretary and logistical support.

So far no one has complained about receiving the new money. Though such gifts often were denounced in the 1930's as bones thrown down from the Olympian heights of capitalist treachery, no one this time seems to fear the boodle. Heywood Broun said of Andrew Mellon's offer to give the federal government his Old Masters, as well as a museum in which to house them: "It is a thumping gift, but it is not enough to justify the existence of swollen fortunes." The civil rights organizations seem ready to accept even the strings attached to these latest spoils, which consist almost entirely of a stuffy demand for programming and orthodox audits. The capitalists are not trying to inject Adam Smith into the revolt, just Price Waterhouse.

There is another aspect. One close to the bullion observed: "Obviously this makes for more rapport between whites and Negroes. It is an answer to the increasing go-it-alone feeling on the part of the Negroes down in the ranks. It will have a tendency to diminish the prospect of racial polarization."

Then he had another thought that suggests genuinely enthusiastic rapport. "I have an idea," he said, "that there is a lot more money where this came from."

Intergroup org. NAACP

An N.A.A.C.P. Lawyer Answers Some Questions

Mr. Greenberg, director of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People travels constantly, arguing court cases, making speeches and discussing integration with community groups. In the informal cross-examinations that he encounters, certain questions invariably recur. The following are the nine questions most often asked by whites, together with his answers.

By JACK GREENBERG

Q. *Shouldn't the sit-ins, pickets and marchers obey the law like anyone else?*

A. Yes, they should, and with few exceptions, they do. None of the responsible organizations has advocated or defended breaking the law.

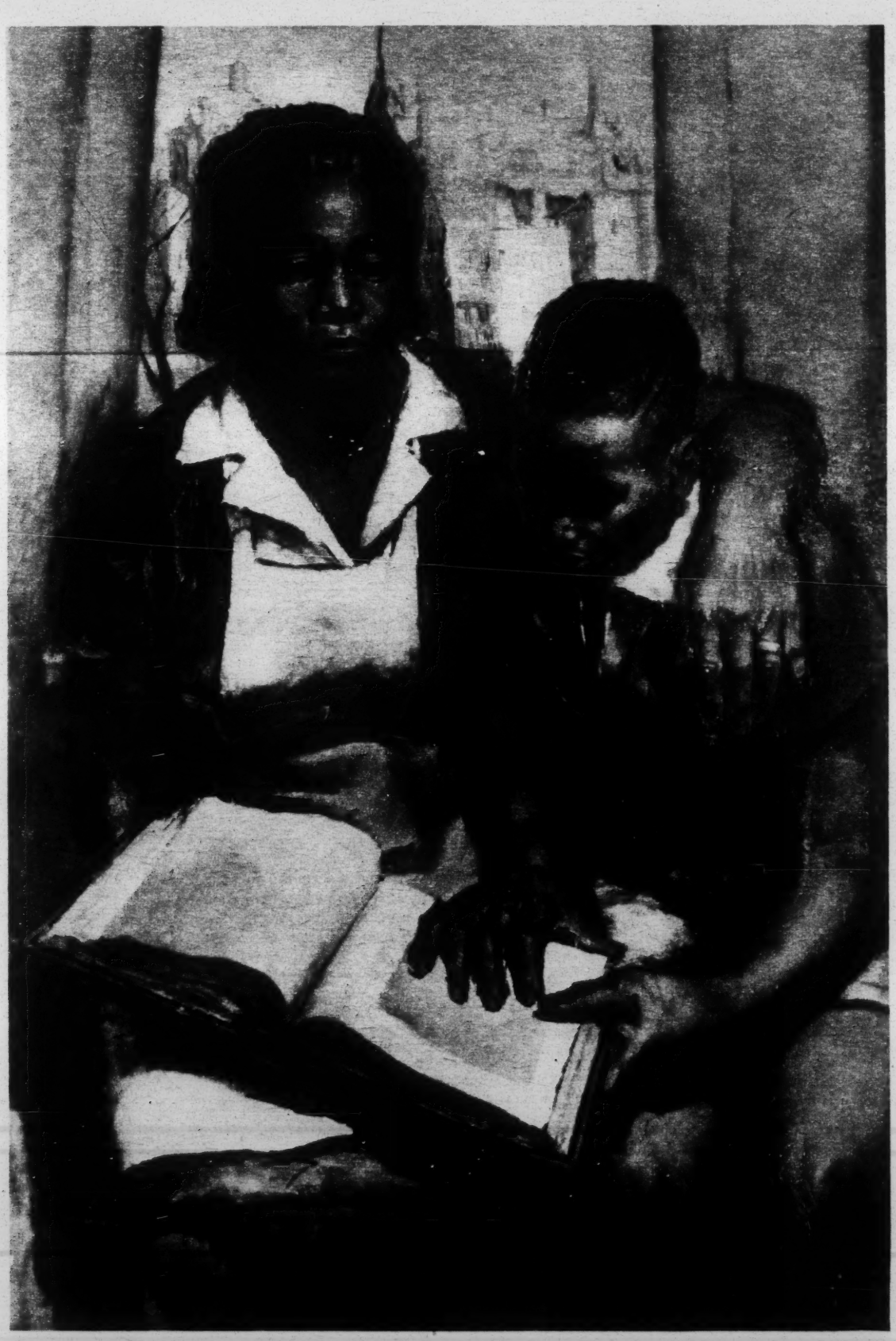
But violation of state segregation laws or rules that stifle free speech are not violations of the law as determined by the United States Constitution. Dr. Martin Luther King's advocacy of "civil disobedience" has as a practical matter amounted to no more than that. In the "Letter From Birmingham City Jail," his most recent and perhaps fullest discussion of the question, he describes only two types of American laws he believes should be disobeyed: "segregation laws" and laws that "deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest."

He calls these laws "unjust". A lawyer would call them unconstitutional. (But last year, for example, Dr. King obeyed a Federal court injunction in Albany, Ga., until it was vacated by the Court of Appeals.)

His philosophical position means disobedience of unjust laws such as Hitler's Nuremberg Laws, even though they were perfectly legal within the Nazi system. Most Americans ought to agree with him. In Germany, there was no redress within the law. Here the contrary is true.

The N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense Fund represents more than 7,500 demonstration defendants. While many cases, of course, are still pending, every one that has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States has been reversed. Judgments against sit-ins in half a dozen cities already have been struck down; others have been returned to state courts for reconsideration; Freedom Riders have been freed; the convictions of hundreds of protest marchers have been set aside. Legal Defense lawyers are arguing more cases before the Supreme Court this fall. Fundamentally, if a protestor is acting nonviolently to oppose racial discrimination, he is acting in the main stream of American constitutional freedom and should expect favorable hearing by the courts.

Violence is something else again. It has usually broken out when hostile whites attacked demonstrators; the ensuing disorder has given the demonstrations an aura of lawlessness. However, the courts have often held that the right to free speech can't be taken away because of mob violence. The man who starts the violence should be arrested—no matter which side he is on.



"The Negro protest, if it causes the country to come to grips with its fundamental problems — which must be solved to integrate successfully — will benefit the nation as a whole and not merely its underprivileged colored citizens."

"Mother and Child," a painting by John Wilson.

Q. *Don't protest marches and demonstrations create unrest and race hatred? Aren't they delaying integration by stiffening the opposition?*

A. Few real civil rights gains, especially in the South, have come without lawsuits or protest demonstrations. The white majority has rarely given up privilege without a vigorous showing by the minority that it wants equality. White leaders who want discrimination ended are often strengthened when they can show opponents that a court order or the need for community peace requires that something be done. Some racial unrest is stirred up by demonstrations, of course. But this rarely slows integration. It merely brings to the surface attitudes that need recognition and exposure, and this is the first step toward changing them.

The white community is sometimes annoyed by interorganizational friction that may accompany demonstrations—though one wonders why similar disfavor had not been voiced at the underlying injustices that gave rise to the protests. But the course of a demonstration does not always run smoothly. It may start without the knowledge of national officers. Personalities become deeply engaged and mistrust sometimes flourishes. A recurrent irritation often arises when a member of a group accuses its leaders of softness and threatens to call in another "tougher" outfit. White community intransigence promotes escalation of this sort.

Q. *Is there antipathy to all white people in the civil rights drive? Will this lead to an upsurge of violence?*

A. It would be strange if racial resentment did not play a part in the demonstrations, but it is not dominant. The overwhelming factor is a desire to belong on an equal basis to the community at large. The spirit of nonviolence, which the direct action groups avow, is characterized by Christian love to an extent not present in any other nationally organized activity. Despite some who decry it, the civil rights movement is well integrated; indeed, more so than ever before. This shows that hostility is directed more (*Continued on Page* 85)

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"—A church-sponsored rally, chorusing the integration anthem, demands more construction jobs for Negroes and protests jailing of pickets at a nearby Queens housing project.

An N. A. A. C. P. Lawyer Answers Some Questions

(Continued from Page 16)

against prejudice and apathy than against members of the other race.

Louis Harris's recent poll shows that most Negroes want to live an integrated life — hardly an expression of racial animosity. If prompt progress is made to correct injustices there will be no violence, barring unpredictable, isolated instances that may occur despite all the efforts of civil rights leadership. But if progress is not made, the irritation of recurrent clashes presents a real danger.

In Birmingham, for example, protest marches began generally in a cheerful, adventurous atmosphere. Many Negro onlookers laughed and applauded as they might at a parade. But when the police brought out dogs and fire hoses the mood turned grim and angry almost instantly. Later, the bombing of Gaston's Motel provoked retaliation that was contained only after great effort by leaders of the movement.

Q. ***Shouldn't the civil rights effort aim at getting out the Negro vote? Once you have the vote, won't everything else follow easily?***

A. The vote is extremely important. But it is not easy to get it out over the obstacles put up in many Southern communities. The Civil Rights Commission reports, "In some 100 counties in eight Southern states there is reason to believe that Negro citizens are prevented — by outright discrimination or by fear of physical violence or economic reprisal — from exercising the right to vote."

Full exercise of the franchise will, even with total effort, be a long time in coming. In any event, the franchise can't be exercised effectively without education. School desegregation must go on at the same time. Further, the right to vote is not fully effective without economic strength. Political organization and campaigning are ineffective unless backed by money. Therefore, full and nondiscriminatory employment are crucial to meaningful exercise of the ballot.

Poor housing (as well as unemployment) and the family demoralization that accompanies it are hardly a solid base from which children can be educated effectively and go on to successful careers. Greater electoral strength will help schooling, jobs and housing, but each advance feeds others.

Q. ***Are Negroes ready for integration? Shouldn't they first concentrate on their education?***

A. No single approach is the magic key to the entire problem. A generation of fighting in the courts for equal education demonstrates that it cannot be achieved without integration across the board. Proper education cannot occur without nondiscriminatory employment. Higher schooling is expensive and elementary and high school achievement reflect a family's economic and social situation. Housing and voting are linked, too.

There is an interesting correlation between "readiness" and the demand for equality. Generally speaking, Negroes don't, because they can't, push hard for equality until they *are* "ready," in an educational, organizational and financial sense. When education has reached a level that permits full perception of the harmfulness of segregation, when there is a sufficient number of lawyers, and other leaders, when there is a good political base and sufficient resources to mount a legal or demonstration campaign, the Negro community is "ready" and acts. Revolutions prosper on hope and success, not on apathy and defeat.

Q. ***Don't storekeepers have property rights too? Shouldn't they be allowed to serve whom they want and make others get out?***

A. The legal, social and moral issues can't be solved by using a catchword like "property." Instead, we must look at the whole picture. The Fourteenth Amendment makes individuals equal before the law without regard to race. The Government has a variety of different controls of business, such as licensing. The social damage done by excluding Negroes from all eating facilities in a downtown business section is clearly recognized. There are other fundamental interests, such as the right of privacy, that must be considered. A department store that serves everyone at all counters, but bars Negroes from its lunch counter is different, legally and morally, from someone's livingroom.

Storekeepers can't segregate in the more than 30 states that now have civil rights laws. Yet, few would suggest that in New York or in any of these other states — now including some border ones — the owner's "property" has been taken away. Business must keep certain hours, pay certain wages, not sell certain products; zoning, inheritance, usury and other laws limit what a man can do with what he owns. Southern states have *required* segregation on private property. Weighing all these factors, it seems reasonable to forbid the storekeeper a choice of customers on a racial basis; this does not deprive him of "property."

And there is the further question: can prejudiced storekeepers call on the police and the courts to arrest and jail those who peacefully persist in demanding service? Over recent years the uninterrupted trend of court decisions has

(Continued on Following Page)

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MADEMOISELLE WRITES ABOUT VENT-AIR COSMETIC LENSES ON PAGE 243 AUGUST ISSUE

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

been to forbid enforcement of private racial bias. While it is risky to predict the outcome of particular cases, it seems safe to say the trend will continue.

Q. ***Won't school desegregation lower the quality of education?***

A. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has reported that, based on the experience of Washington, D.C., Oklahoma City, Baltimore, Louisville and the state of West Virginia, these fears are not justified. "Standards . . . need not be lowered as a result of desegregation, but it may be necessary to find some way of coping with the wider spread between individual achievement when white and Negro children are brought together."

The disparity rests on the fact that lower-income families (a large proportion of them Negroes) have, as indicated in a recent book by Dr. Patricia Sexton, "Education and Income Inequalities in Our Public Schools," inferior facilities, teachers and few opportunities to advance economically and socially.

Nevertheless, the commission points out that there are various techniques to deal with the problem of low achievers. Ability grouping by schools, programs or classes is one, and supervised home study another. In St. Louis, the Banneker group of schools, attended largely by Negroes, raised the number of its students in Track I (the highest group) from 7 per cent to 20.7 per cent over a period of three years at very little expense.

This was done, the commission reports, by admonishing teachers "to stop 'teaching by supposed IQ'; parents were told of the poor performance of their children, urged to cooperate with the school on homework assignments, and instructed how to do so. Children were spurred by assembly programs, field trips, pep talks, honor assemblies and posters."

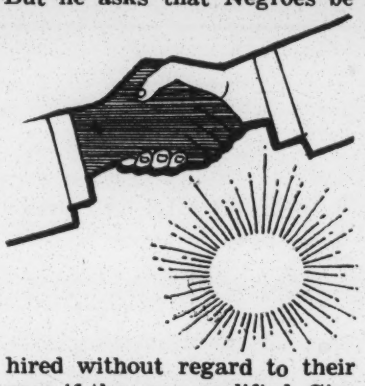
NEW YORK has its Higher Horizons program and other cities have devised other techniques. Unless school boards act, there may be a temporary drop in quality for white children who are given a taste of the inferior schooling once reserved for Negroes. But schools can handle the problem, they should, and they do. Indeed, one bonus of integration is that many whites will not permit their children to get the kind of education Negroes had been compelled to take. In this sense, integration raises the quality of education. Apart from eliminating segregation, it is a pro-educational achievement in itself.

There is a fear that white families will move to the suburbs to escape desegregation. But the move to the suburbs started well before the integration issue faced the country and it continues for independent reasons. To the extent that suburban schools are an attraction because they may be better — without regard to race — Negroes with comparable incomes will move there, too, though it is obvious that more whites than Negroes can afford to move.

But school segregation either in law or as a matter of fact cannot be maintained in the suburbs either. When white families realize that integration needn't affect the quality of city schools and that suburban schools are integrated, too, they won't move merely for racial reasons.

Q. ***Won't some whites lose their jobs if employers are forced to hire Negroes?***

A. No one in responsible leadership advocates firing whites to hire Negroes. Whitney Young of the Urban League, whose primary concern is discrimination in employment, points out that his group does not demand the firing of any white persons, or the use of racial quotas. But he asks that Negroes be



hired without regard to their race if they are qualified. Given the discriminatory job market of years past and the fact that Negroes have lacked opportunity and incentive to train for jobs from which they were excluded, there is a need for affirmative action to involve them in currently all-white employment.

Where a white man and a Negro are equally qualified, given the need to compensate for past discrimination, the Negro ought to get the job. Though some would extend the principle of compensatory employment to unqualified workers, such a solution would boomerang in a brief time. Negroes would not have the same incentive to train properly as whites; white workers would not respect less competent fellow employes who were hired solely because of race; society would suffer from a job not well done.

Wherever possible, Negroes should be trained for jobs from which they have been barred. It should not be hard to produce fully qualified Negro countermen for hamburger stands if the employer wants to hire without regard to race. A rough rule of thumb in terms of numbers or percentages can help determine when the affirmative approach no longer will be needed.

To the extent that Negroes move into once all-white jobs, whites will not have those jobs. But there is no reason why in a time of unemployment whites should control the job market. The solution is not to discriminate but to provide full employment. Eliminating discrimination should contribute to this goal by increasing Negro purchasing power and equipping Negroes to participate on a skilled basis in the economy as a whole.

Q. ***Can successful integration be forced by law? Doesn't there have to be a change in the hearts and minds of men first?***

A. From the beginning of time law has regulated *conduct* quite apart from attitudes. Actually, more than any thing else, law has been changing the hearts and minds of men.

People's feelings have had nothing to do with the fact that hundreds of thousands of Negroes have voted for the first time as a result of the white-primary cases. The armed forces were rapidly desegregated by Presidential order. Transportation has been desegregated with almost complete success by I.C.C. orders and lawsuits.

Litigation has brought about some, often substantial, desegregation of every Southern state university system. Court-ordered school desegregation is now under way in some of the deepest Southern areas and has been more extensive in border states. State F.E.P.C.'s and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity have provided job integration.

Private and parochial schools have *followed,* rather than taken the lead, in these events. Those who, as a result of law, have rubbed shoulders for the first time on a basis of equality have learned they can get along well with their peers, no matter what their race.

Moreover, had it not been for the enlightened climate created by the 1954 school cases, we would not be witnessing the protest demonstrations of today. Law works, too, so that people who want to do the right thing have been able to fend off criticism by saying the law requires them to act. Some mayors and school superintendents have privately asked to be sued so that they can desegregate with impunity.

BUT where there is a housing or job shortage, or where education is deficient, law requiring integration can't make up *that* difference. And in such cases law requiring integration is less likely to be successful. You can't integrate housing very well if it is in short supply, and there is no room for anyone to move about. It is not easy to integrate jobs in an era of substantial unemployment.

The Negro protest, therefore, if it pushes the country to grips with its economic, housing, educational and other fundamental problems, which must be solved to integrate successfully, may well save the nation as a whole — not merely its underprivileged colored citizens.

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUdson 6-8397

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Integroup org. N.AACP

TO: Editors

FROM: Jesse DeVore, Jr.
Director of Public Information

The attached release covers what should be an historic case in the whole area of public accommodations. It is filed on the eve of the March on Washington.

There are several unique factors in this brief:

(1) The pin pointing of state responsibility in the maze of arguments on private property rights, etc.

(2) Assistance of four noted legal scholars in preparing the brief, including Richard R. Powell, leading authority on property.

(3) Citing of attitudes of 14 other nations.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. is now defending 7,500 demonstrators in 124 separate actions.

This is the third year that the Legal Defense Fund, a separate corporation, has taken sit-in cases to the Supreme Court.

- 30 -

** Editors note: For further information during non office hours:

James Nabrit, III - RE 2-7129 (N.Y.C.)

Jesse DeVore, Jr. - SC 4-0697 (N.Y.C.)

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PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, President
JACK GREENBERG, Director-Counsel
CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY, Associate Counsel

FOR: RELEASE TUESDAY, August 27, 1963

PER: Jesse DeVore, Jr.
Director of Public Information
Office - JUdson 6-8397
Home - SC 4-0697

NEW APPROACH CONTAINED IN SIT-IN BRIEF FILED IN U.S.SUPREME COURT

Noted Scholar on Property Rights Backs Sit-Inners

WASHINGTON---Attorneys of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund today filed a public accommodations brief in the U.S. Supreme Court which, if successful, would vindicate thousands of sit-in demonstrators.

In a unique legal move, a battery of 18 attorneys seeks to make southern states take an affirmative obligation to protect Negroes protesting laws and customs brought about by state action.

The brief points out the improbability of punishment for sit-in type conduct in any of the Western European democracies or in England or any of the British Commonwealth nations.

This brief is a combination of three cases involving student sit-in demonstrations, two in South Carolina, the other in Maryland.

Legal Defense Fund attorneys further point out that the states have affirmative responsibility to protect equal rights of citizens and argue that the southern states have not met this responsibility when they allow lunch counter segregation.

The brief also urges that constitutional prohibitions against racial discrimination must be applied to the public life of the community, but need not apply to the private and personal lives of citizens.

Three patterns, by which southern states (South Carolina and Maryland in this instance) deny Negroes equal justice, are summarized:

* State courts and public officials "are employed to enforce a scheme of racial discrimination originating in a nominally 'private' choice."

* "Where a nominally 'private' act or scheme of racial discrimination is performed...because of the influence of custom, and where such custom has been, in turn, in significant part, created or maintained by formal law."

* Where laws are maintained that place "a higher value on a narrow property claim" than it does on the claim of Negroes "to move about free from inconvenience and humiliation of racial discrimination."

The latter is one of the new points of law that hopefully will be decided by the court.

The Legal Defense Fund is urging that southern states have improperly decided to back store owners who cite local custom and state laws calling for jim crow treatment of Negroes.

The attorneys said "maintaining a 'narrow' property right, which consists of nothing but the exclusion of Negroes" should not be allowed "to justify a state in knowing support of public discrimination."

The brief further stated that "it is scandalous that states impose the burdens of state citizenship on Negroes, and benefiting from the imposition on them of the duties of federal citizenship, not only should fail to protect them in their right to be treated equally in fully public places, but should instead place the weight of law behind their humiliation."

It was stressed in the brief that "the records in these cases affirmatively establish that no private or personal associational interest is at stake."

"This is obvious on the face of it: the relation involved is that of a restaurant-keeper to a casual customer."

The attorneys continued saying that "the events and the issues in these cases are in the fully public rather than in private life.

"A restaurant is a public place, contrasting totally with the home and other traditional citadels of privacy."

Moving to the charge that the sit-ins students provoked breach of the peace, the brief said "there was no showing of any act of violence and there was no showing of any act 'likely to produce violence."

The Legal Defense Fund lawyers took exception to the theory that the "possibility that the mere presence of Negroes in a place customarily frequented only by white persons is punishable as a threat to peace."

They quickly added that such could not be so, due to the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

Joining the NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys were four internationally noted legal scholars: Professor-Emeritus Richard R. Powell, Columbia University Law School, and author of the widely acclaimed and used treatise "Real Property".

He was also reported on property for the American Law Institute's "Restatement of Property." Long recognized as a leading expert in this legal speciality, Dr. Powell now teaches at Hastings College of Law, San Francisco, California.

Also assisting was Professor Hans Smit of Columbia University, a Member of the Bar, Supreme Court of the Netherlands; Professor Charles L. Black, the Henry R. Luce Professor of Jurisprudence, Yale University; and Louis L. Pollak, Professor of Law, Yale University.

NAACP Legal Defense lawyers included Jack Greenberg, Constance Baker Motley, James M. Nabrit, III, Derrick A. Bell, Leroy D. Clark Michael Meltsner and Inez V. Smith, all of New York.

Also Juanita Jackson Mitchell, and Tucker R. Dearing, Maryland; Joseph L. Rauh and John Silard, Washington, D.C; William T. Coleman, Jr., Pennsylvania; Matthew J. Perry and Lincoln C. Jenkins, South Carolina.

Intergroup org. NAACP

From MORNING until NIGHT...

"humiliation stalks them"

The text of the testimony of Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, July 22, 1963, in supporting the public accommodations section (Title II, S.1731) of the proposed civil rights bill being considered by the Senate Commerce Committee

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

PRESS RELEASE

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DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND LAWYERS
ADVANCE AMERICUS, GA. CASES

October 18, 1963

ATLANTA, GA.--Two new moves were made here yesterday to secure release of a group of student civil rights workers jailed in Americus, Ga. since August 8th.

Donald Hollowell, attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, filed two actions in the Georgia State Supreme Court on October 16th:

* an appeal of a petition for writ of habeas corpus against Americus's Sheriff Chappell, which was denied in Sumter County Superior Court.

* a motion for immediate admission to "reasonable bail".

Mr. Hollowell, of Atlanta, and C.B. King of Albany are working with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in defense of four of the five students.

These are Donald Harris, John Perdew, Ralph Allen and Thomas McDaniel. Messrs. Harris, Perdew and Allen, all 21 years old, are field workers for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Another student, Zev Aelony, a representative of the Congress of Racial Equality, is being represented by Mr. King and other attorneys.

They are among more than 250 persons arrested and jailed on numerous "charges" growing out of antidiscrimination demonstrations in that part of the state since July.

The four youths being defended by NAACP Legal Defense attorneys were in the midst of a voter registration drive to increase Negro voters in Sumter county. They were also seeking to expand the use of jim crow public facilities.

Negroes outnumber whites 12,980 to 11,672 in Sumter county.

NAACP Legal Defense attorneys also filed a suit in Federal District Court on October 11 asking that white leaders in Americus

be stopped from "intimidating, discouraging...and preventing" Negroes from "exercising their rights...guaranteed by the Constitution...."

This complaint was signed by Mr. King, Jack Greenberg, Constance Baker Motley and Michael Meltsner, of the Legal Defense Fund.

If this action is successful, legal precedent will be established to block misuse of the law by local communities to thwart civil rights efforts.

Defendants named in the Legal Defense Fund federal court suit include the Solicitor General of the state of Georgia for the Southwestern Judicial District, State Director of Police, the Mayor of Americus, the Vice Mayor, the City Council, Chief of Police and Sheriff Chappell.

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Intergroup org. NAACP

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

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DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND CARRIES CASE OF
INTERRACIAL PAIR TO SUPREME COURT

October 30, 1963

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, today released the following statement:

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund has taken the case of Dewey McLaughlin, Negro and Connie Hoffman, white, charged with living together in Miami Beach, Florida to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Legal Defense Fund, which was asked to take the case while the appellants were still in jail, seeks to strike down three Florida statutes.

Our jurisdictional statement, filed October 28th, asserts that use of these laws provokes three questions. Is the Fourteenth Amendment violated where:

(1) The State has created a crime expressly defined in terms of race which punishes Negroes and whites who engage in certain conduct together, but does not forbid such conduct engaged in by Negroes only or whites only?

(2) Common law marriage is a defense for a couple charged under Florida law, but was unavailable to appellants because Florida prohibits marriage between Negroes and whites?

(3) Florida's purported definition of "Negro" and "white" persons - an essential element of the crime - is so vague and indefinite as applied as to afford no fair warning to appellants or standard of criminality for the court or the jury?

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund brief further argues that, "stripped of emotional overtones, the case is simple indeed.

"Who would doubt that the equal protection clause would invalidate a scheme of laws providing that it was a crime for automobiles occupied by Negroes and whites to exceed 25 M.P.H. but providing no speed limit for any other automobiles.

Such a legal scheme - and innumerable hypothetical parallels -

would probably be laughed out of court with dispatch. But our hypothesized speeding law shares the same infirmity - it punishes an activity only if and because it is interracial.

It must also be stressed that we do not challenge "the state's power to regulate sexual immorality. But this law does not require any proof of sexual or other misconduct; it merely regulates who occupies a room.

There is some reason to doubt whether, aside from the racial dimensions of the law, Florida can justify punishing this conduct."

Intergroup NAACP

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

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DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday, October 30 at 12:00 Noon

AMERICUS, GA. CASES TAKEN TO
U. S. SUPREME COURT BY NAACP
LEGAL DEFENSE FUND ATTORNEYS

WASH., D.C.--The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund today took the cases of four youthful civil rights workers, jailed in Americus, Ga. since August 8th, to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, announced that a motion for bail was filed with the high Court.

Three of the student leaders are being held on a charge of insurrection against the State of Georgia for which they face the death penalty.

The fourth, Thomas McDaniel, is being held on charges including unlawful assembly, rioting, attacking an officer with intent to kill and aiding and assisting another in an attempt to escape.

His bail is $12,000.

The other students are Donald Harris, John Perdew and Ralph Allen, all field secretaries for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. These three face insurrection charges, punishable by death.

Another student, Zev Aelony of the Congress of Racial Equality, is being defended by other counsel.

The motion for release on bail states that it is being filed because it can be acted upon immediately, while a petition for writ of certiorari normally must wait 30 days for the state to answer.

The motion for release on bail points out to the court that there is also pending an action in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia.

more.

In this action Legal Defense Fund attorneys are seeking an injunction against the state court proceedings and a writ of habeas corpus.

The Supreme Court motion suggests that if the high court deems it inappropriate to grant the release itself, it may find it desirable to ask the District Court, which now has jurisdiction over the parties, to grant the release.

Chronology of Events in and Around Americus, Georgia

January 1963

Field workers for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee moved into Americus, Ga. to assist the Sumter County Movement in its drive to register voters and to encourage Negroes to utilize public accommodations.

March 18, 1963

Two Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) workers arrested and held incommunicado for two hours and threatened with charges for vagrancy.

April 25, 1963

Ralph Allen, a SNCC field worker, was beaten on the street after he had taken a Negro woman to register to vote at the Sumter County Courthouse.

July 1963

More than 100 Negroes arrested for attempting to gain admittance, through the front door, to the movie theater in Americus.

July 13, 1963

Ordinance enacted restricting picketing to certain hours of the day and limiting the number and spacing of participants.

July 19, 1963

Nineteen persons arrested for their participation in peaceful demonstrations.

August 9, 1963

Plaintiffs Harris, Perdew, Allen and McDaniel and Sallie Mae Durham a minor, arrested during peaceful demonstration called to protest the

more.

denial of civil rights of Negro citizens, including the right to vote.

August 9, 1963

* Negroes demonstrated peacefully before Americus police station to protest reported police brutality and intimidation during arrests the day before. Thomas McDaniel and Miss Durham, both local citizens, were jailed with bonds of $20,000 each. However, the judge refused to set bond for SNCC workers. In addition, 8 peace bonds totaling $120,000 were lodged.

* Police officers and state troopers are reported to have stopped demonstrators and bludgeoned them with 2-foot clubs and electric cattle prods.

August 11, 1963

* Approximately 25 persons, kneeling in prayer before Americus police station, were arrested. Further incidents of alleged police brutality were reported. Demonstrators were still protesting denial of the right to vote.

* Archie B. Porter, 18, was shot while walking home. Seventeen police officers had stopped him, then beat and arrested him. When his mother went to police headquarters to inquire about his condition she was also arrested.

* Police are reported to have visited the local drive-in theater that evening to harass Negroes by shooting into the crowd. No one was reported hurt.

August 12, 1963

Police arrested Sammy Joe Haynes, 13, while walking down the street. He was kicked and severely beaten reportedly because of his participation in demonstrations.

August 13, 1963

U. S. Justice Department reported that FBI investigation in Americus, Ga. had failed to uncover any evidence of police brutality.

August 17, 1963

* Mayor T. Griffin Walker and City Engineer Charles Wheatley announced that no white person would be interested in negotiations.

more.

Sumter County Movement had hoped for a biracial commission.

* A group of 35 people arrested who had peacefully demonstrated in protest against reported police brutality and general denial of the exercise of their civil rights, including the right to vote.

* Zev Aelony arrested and imprisoned solely because of his activities participating in and assisting at meetings called to instruct Negro citizens in securing their civil rights, including the right to vote. He was arrested and is held without bail.

August 20, 1963

* James Brown, 30, Korean War veteran, was shot through the back of the neck and killed by a local policeman.

* Walter Rugaber, reporter for Atlanta Journal, forced out of hearing room despite law saying that such hearings are open to the public.

September 3, 1963

* Driver's seat of the car of Legal Defense Fund attorney C. B. King burned with acid while he talked with Judge James W. Smith.

* John L. Barnum, Jr., treasurer of the Sumter County Movement, said the public school boycott had gotten almost 100% backing from 2,000 students in Americus. This was a protest against jailing and brutal treatment of other school children who were being held, or had been held in Leesburg, Dawson and Americus. More than 250 persons were arrested during the summer.

October 1, 1963

Hearing on petition for writ of habeas corpus against Sumter Count Police Chief Fred Chappell held in Superior Court, Sumter County, Ga. Relief was denied.

October 11, 1963

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys filed a complaint in Federal Court against city officials of Americus, Ga. asking that they be stopped from using the law to inhibit advocacy of civil rights.

October 16, 1963

Appeal of the denial of the petition for habeas corpus was filed in the Supreme Court of Georgia.

more.

October 21, 1963

Appeal was docketed in the Supreme Court of Georgia.

October 22, 1963

Application for admission to bail and for reduction of bail pending disposition of the appeal of the denial of habeas corpus and the motion to advance hearing on the writ of error were filed.

October 23, 1963

Application for admission to bail pending disposition of the writ of error was denied.

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND CRACKS
DIXIE HOSPITAL SEGREGATION

November 2, 1963

RICHMOND, Va.---Racial discrimination against Negro patients and doctors in federally assisted hospitals, a common practice in eleven deep south states, was struck down here this week by the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Jack Greenberg, director counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., which won the victory, said that this is the first major attack on the separate-but-equal provisions of the Hill-Burton Act.

This act was passed by Congress in 1946 and authorized federal financial assistance to help construct more than 2,000 medical care facilities in the South.

Racially segregated hospital facilities built with Hill-Burton money are located in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

All told, these states have received over 500 million dollars of the more than 1.5 billion dollars spent or obligated by the federal government, according to the Public Health Service.

The hospitals involved in this case, and many others in the South, have defended their racial policies on the ground that they were "private" and not subject to the Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourth Circuit decision rejected that argument.

In essence, Mr. Greenberg explained, "the court held that North Carolina elected not to build new public hospitals on its own but provided for hospital care through aiding so-called 'private' hospitals under the Hill-Burton Act.

"This meant that North Carolina secured federal money to continue its state policy of jim crow hospitals.

more.

"Our request for injunction asked that the Moses Cone and Wesley Long hospitals in Greensboro be prohibited from:

> 'Continuing to enforce the policy, practice, custom and usage of denying admission to patients on the basis of race and in any way conditioning or abridging the admission to and use, the said facilities...on the basis of race,'" he pointed out.

"The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals this week declared a principle as far reaching in the medical field as the 1954 school desegregation principle was in its field, "Mr. Greenberg said.

Dr. G. C. Simpkins, Jr., one of the plaintiffs, wrote to officials of both the Moses H. Cone Memorial hospital and the Wesley Long Hospital in March of 1960.

He pointed out that neither would admit Negro physicians and dentists. As a result, Negro patients desiring admission would have to discharge their Negro doctors or dentists.

Negro physicians, dentists and patients applied for positions and admission to the two hospital staffs and wards but were not accepted.

The Negro plaintiffs included A. V. Blount, Jr., Walter J. Hughes, Norman N. Jones, Girardeau Alexander, E. C. Noel, III, and F. E. Davis, all qualified medical doctors practicing in Greensboro.

Also, Dr. Simpkins, Milton H. Barnes, and W. L. T. Miller, all qualified dentists, practicing in Greensboro.

The patient-plaintiff was A. J. Taylor, who has a confirmed gastric ulcer of 35 years duration. It requires constant medical supervision, dietary restrictions, and administration of anti-cholinergic drugs.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys, responsible for the victory in addition to Mr. Greenberg, include Conrad O. Pearson, Durham, N. C.; James M. Nabrit, III and Michael Meltsner, of New York City.

Intergroup org.
NAACP

PRESS RELEASE

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NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE GAINS
FREEDOM FOR AMERICUS FOUR

November 2, 1963

AMERICUS, Ga.--NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys won release here this week of four youths jailed since August 8th. Three of them faced the charge of insurrection, a capital offense in this state.

The youths had been active in the drive to win voting rights and use of public accommodations for Negro citizens in this tension filled city.

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, which was representing the youths in four simultaneous court actions at the time of their release here November 1st, made the announcement.

He said that a three-judge Federal District Court, sitting in Americus, enjoined prosecution of the charges of unlawful assembly and insurrection, ruling them unconstitutional.

Mr. Greenberg also authorized dispatch of $12,000.00 bail bond money to Constance Baker Motley, Legal Defense Associate Counsel, who was on the scene.

The students, Donald Harris, John Perdew, Ralph Allen and Thomas McDaniel went free.

Legal Defense Fund attorneys C. B. King of Albany, Donald Hollowell of Atlanta, Mrs. Motley and Michael Meltsner of New York City, escorted the youths from jail.

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Editor's Note:
Full story was released October 30, including comprehensive background chronology

Research

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

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NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND
SCORES FOUR DECISIVE WINS

November 13, 1963

NEW YORK--Four major courtroom victories were won by NAACP Legal Defense attorneys in six brief days across the country last week.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, stressed release of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee field workers, jailed in Americus, Ga. since August 8.

"If Americus officials are permanently enjoined, civil rights attorneys will have a new technique of reigning in the city, county and state officials who use the law as a means of making life difficult for civil rights demonstrators," Mr. Greenberg said.

Legal Defense Fund lawyers secured the Americus victory on November 1.

Meanwhile, in Richmond, Va., the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down racial discrimination against Negro doctors and patients in 11 deep south states.

Some 2,000 jim crow medical facilities are affected in these states which have received more than 500 million federal dollars. This victory also came on November 1.

Thirdly, admission of Harold Franklin to the graduate school of Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama. The University argued that Mr. Franklin had not graduated from an accredited college.

However, Legal Defense Fund attorneys pointed out that no Negro college in the state was accredited, and that the Negro students had not been allowed to attend the white colleges which are accredited.

November 5 was the date of this win.

The fourth victory took place in Arlington, Virginia on October 31 where attorneys are mopping up the remains of that state's massive resistance program. In this case, Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal affirmed the right of Negro children to attend a completely integrated school system in that county.

(more)

In another development, Legal Defense Fund attorneys asked the Florida Supreme Court to release four teenage youths, jailed in St. Augustine since July 23rd.

This is their punishment for participating in a sit-in demonstration against lily white restuarants.

The attorneys are challenging the constitutionality of holding juveniles in jail without bail. Three of the youths are 16, the fourth is 14 years old. The hearing is slated for November 18th.

These are but a few of the 8,000 persons currently being defended by the Defense Fund in 130 separate actions, Mr. Greenberg said.

The 12 New York based attorneys of the Fund, plus the 100 cooperating lawyers throughout the south, defend members of all the major civil rights groups.

The Americus case, which is not finished, represented one of the most massive legal pushes in civil rights history. Eleven Legal Defense Fund lawyers worked a total of 81 man days, at long hours, during this drive.

The case was being argued in three different courts at the time the youths were finally freed. These courts included a U.S. District Court, the Supreme Court of Ga., and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Cooperating Attorney C.B. King of Albany, Ga. and Legal Defense Fund staff Attorney Michael Meltsner of New York City, worked one solid month each.

- 30 -

NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

November 14, 1963

NEW ORLEANS, La.---The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. and its executive director, James A. Dombrowski, filed a suit in Federal District Court on November 12th, attacking the constitutionality of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law. The plaintiffs are asking that a three-judge Federal District Court issue a Declaratory Judgement that the law violates the constitution of the United States.

Dr. Dombrowski and New Orleans attorneys Benjamin E. Smith and Bruce C. Waltzer were arrested and SCEF records seized on October 4th, under this law, and charged with managing a "subversive organization." Arrests and seizures were made by New Orleans and State police, at the instigation of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities.

The complaint maintains that "the sole purpose, intention and effect of threatening to enforce" the Louisiana law "is to deter, intimidate, hinder and prevent the plaintiffs and the members, friends and supporters of plaintiff corporation from exercising their fundamental constitutional rights guaranteed under the First and Fourteenth Amendments in their efforts to enforce the equality under the law guaranteed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."

An interlocutory injunction was also requested restraining State authorities from utilizing photostatic copies of the seized SCEF documents now in their possession. A hearing pertaining to this injunction, before Federal Judge Robert A. Ainsworth, has been set for November 20th in the Old County building, Royal Street, New Orleans.

Defendants in the suit are State Representative James H. Pfister, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities; Colonel Thomas D. Burbank and Major Russell R. Willie of the Louisiana State Police; Jimmie H. Davis, Governor of Louisiana; Jack P. F. Gremillion, State Attorney General; and Jim Garrison, District Attorney for Orleans Parish.

The October 4th conspiracy charges against Dombrowski, Smith and Waltzer were dismissed at an October 25th hearing before State Judge Bernard J. Cocke, for lack of evidence. But the confiscated documents have not been returned to SCEF, an organization dedicated to furthering racial intergration in the South.

On October 5th, SCEF's records were subpenaed by U. S. Senator James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and a number of them transferred to Washington, D. C. after Louisiana authorities had made copies for their own use.

On November 8th, the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities held a hearing on SCEF in Baton Rouge. At the three hour session, open to the press but closed to the public "to keep out agitators", copies of SCEF documents were used as "evidence" in an attempt to label the organization subversive.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund and executive director Dombrowski have also filed damage suits in New Orleans and Washington, D. C. against Louisiana officials and U. S. Senator Eastland.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs are Kunstler, Kunstler & Kinoy of New York; Milton E. Brener and, of counsel, A. P. Tureaud, both of New Orleans.

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PRESS RELEASE

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10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

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LEGAL DEFENSE FUND LAWYERS
BEAT DEATH DEADLINE IN GA.

November 15, 1963

ATLANTA, Ga.--A team of six NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys feverishly worked against a 33-hour-deadline here this week in a race to save a condemned Negro from the Georgia electric chair.

They were successful.

Isaac Sims, Jr., 27, of Folkston, Ga., was granted a stay of execution by Judge R.L. Carr of Glenville, Ga. at 4 pm on Tuesday, November 12th.

Young Sims was to have died the next day, Wednesday morning, at 9:00.

The lawyers made it with 17 hours to spare.

It all began at midnight, Monday, November 11, when a total stranger walked into the Jacksonville, Fla. office of Earl Johnson, one of the Fund's cooperating counsel. Jacksonville is just across the Georgia state line.

The stranger, who identified himself as a cousin of the condemned, asked Leroy Clark, if legal help could be secured. Attorney Clark phoned Legal Defense Fund Director-Counsel Jack Greenberg long distance in New York.

Greenberg immediately called Donald Hollowell, the Fund's noted attorney, in Atlanta and asked him to take charge of the case from that end.

Hollowell and William H. Alexander, youngest member of the Atlanta firm of Hollowell, Ward, Moore and Alexander, arrived at their offices early Tuesday morning, November 12.

(more)

Meanwhile in New York City, Greenberg was joined by Attorneys Constance Baker Motley and Michael Meltsner of the Legal Defense Fund staff.

Mrs. Motley and Meltsner drafted a motion which was relayed to the Atlanta attorneys via long distance telephone, for their on-the-scene consideration.

The lawyers had to:

* determine the basic facts of the crime...

* conduct a quick, but accurate, investigation of the previous trial proceedings---there was no time to secure the official courtroom record....

* determine what defenses had been raised (or not raised)...

* determine what legal steps to take, including what state court to file in, since there was no time for miscalculation....

They learned that Sims, sitting in death row in Reidsville Prison in Tatnall county, had been indicted by an all white grand jury in Charlton county.

They also learned that his white court appointed attorney had not appealed or attempted in any way to argue blatant constitutional abuses, such as the systematic exclusion of Negroes from Sims' jury.

Attorneys Horace Ward and Alexander spent the balance of Tuesday morning drawing up papers for a stay of execution and a petition for writ of habeas corpus.

They boarded a 1:55 plane for Savannah, rented a car and drove to Reidsville Prison, where they had their first talk with Sims.

Alexander then sped to Glenville, Ga. where Judge Carr signed the stay of execution. The youthful attorney then drove back to the prison where he served the warden with the life-saving papers.

The hearing, on charge of rape, is set down for November 19th in Reidsville. NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys will be there.

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ADDITIONAL $75,000 GIVEN
TO TRAIN RIGHTS LAWYERS

November 30, 1963

NEW YORK---The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund this week received a commitment for $75,000.00 from the Field Foundation in continued support of its Legal Intern Program.

Announcement was made by Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the Legal Defense Fund following communication with Maxwell Hahn, vice president of the Field Foundation, long time supporter of the civil rights struggle.

Mr. Greenberg announced the unprecedented Legal Intern Program in August of this year. The Field Foundation granted the initial $25,000.00 with which the Intern Program was started.

Julius LeVonne Chambers, honor graduate of the University of North Carolina Law School was the first intern.

He has been joined by others who are and will be working under supervision of the Legal Defense Fund staff in carrying out the full responsibilities of a civil rights attorney.

Mr. Greenberg pointed out that there is a dire need for civil rights attorneys in deep south states. The Legal Interns, after apprenticeship in the Fund's New York City headquarters, will set up practice in the south and assist in civil rights cases.

The Legal Defense Fund has expanded from staff of five New York based lawyers in 1961 to nine in 1962 to twelve at present. Plans call for 17 by the beginning of 1964.

These lawyers work with the Fund's 100 cooperating attorneys across the south, all under direction of Mr. Greenberg, and Constance Baker Motley, associate counsel.

This legal battery is presently representing close to 8,000 persons in more than 130 civil rights actions --- nearly 95 per cent of the South's civil rights litigation.

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JFK GREATEST RIGHTS PRESIDENT
OF CENTURY: CONSTANCE B. MOTLEY

November 30, 1963

NEW YORK---The loss of John Fitzgerald Kennedy has "deprived American Negroes of the greatest presidential advocate of equal rights this century has yet heard."

So spoke Constance Baker Motley, history making civil rights attorney and associate counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Mrs. Motley's statement was the highpoint of a two day Women of Conscience Civil Rights Conference sponsored by the National Council of Women of the United States, here this week.

The attractive attorney added that the nation's loss, "has not deprived us of the vision which he, (President Kennedy) encouraged, of a truly desegregated society...."

The NCW was founded in 1888 by Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others. Since then it has grown to include 56 Councils throughout the free world. It serves as a clearing house for women organizational activities.

Mrs. Motley said that "official resistance" to ending segregation has led to widespread disrespect for law and order. Moreover, "it has stimulated white citizen resistance in form of economic retaliation against Negroes," seeking freedom, she continued.

In conclusion, Mrs. Motley told NCW members and their President, Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, that the Negro vote is the key to lowering racial injustices.

"That is why current voter education and registration campaigns are a must. These efforts need sheer physical manpower.

"If every race relations conference would end with the dispatch of a corp of volunteers to a southern community for two or more weeks to help register Negroes, the picture would change," she said.

The NCW's first Women of Conscience Civil Rights Conference was planned and coordinated by Research and Action Associates, a team of social scientists.

- 30 -

-Leadership Conference on Civil Rights-

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION'S 1963 CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

This memorandum is intended to be of assistance to the groups considering what techniques to utilize and how best to work together to bring about the passage of the Administration's civil rights bill. The memorandum outlines the significant provisions of the bill and makes clear that what the President is asking from Congress is as moderate and restrained as it is necessary to the future of our country; it also sets forth some of the legislative problems in both the House of Representatives and the Senate and some of the immediate target areas for mobilization of opinion.

-A-

WHAT THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CONTAINS

The President's civil rights program has been introduced in the House by Congressman Celler as H.R. 7152 and in the Senate by Senator Mansfield and 45 others as S. 1731. It is the most comprehensive civil rights bill ever to receive serious consideration from the Congress of the United States.

The "Civil Rights Act of 1963" contains eight titles relating to voting rights, public accommodations, school desegregation, Community Relations Service, Civil Rights Commission, non-discrimination in Federal programs, Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and miscellaneous provisions.

TITLE I -- Voting Rights

The first title relates to voting rights. It repeats, without substantial change, the Administration's voting bill sent to Congress in February of this year. It would:

(1) Prohibit the application of any standard, practice or procedure in determining qualifications to vote in any Federal election different from those applied to individuals similarly situated who have been found qualified to vote by State officials.

(2) Prohibit denial of the right to vote in Federal elections because of immaterial errors or omissions in registration applications or other acts requisite to voting.

(3) Require literacy tests given in connection with registration to vote in Federal elections to be in writing or transcribed.

(4) Establish sixth-grade education as a presumption of literacy in connection with any test given to qualify to vote in a Federal election.

(5) Amend the 1960 Civil Rights Act to provide that, when less than 15 per cent of potential colored voters are registered in the area, the court shall issue orders entitling qualified Negro applicants to vote and may appoint temporary referees to take applications for registration pursuant to its order.

(6) Provide for expeditious handling of voting cases in which the United States is plaintiff.

These voting provisions constitute improvements in the operations of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts. But it is readily apparent that they are both moderate and limited and wholly within the spirit of the 1957 and 1960 Acts. Indeed, the first four provisions noted above apply only to Federal elections, although there would appear to be constitutional authority to apply them to state elections as well.

The first two provisions, although primarily declaratory of existing constitutional and statutory requirements, will help persuade some reluctant judges by making the constitutional requirements clear.

The requirement that literacy tests be in writing or transcribed would make proof of discrimination simpler in many instances.

The provisions relating to a presumption of literacy based on a sixth grade education would make arbitrary denials by state officials more difficult and, when any arbitrary denials are challenged in court, this provision would take effect and create a presumption of literacy in favor of the person applying to register.

The provision for court orders entitling qualified Negro applicants to vote when the complaint alleges that fewer than 15 per cent of the Negroes of voting age in the area involved are registered to vote, makes possible meaningful interim relief during the customary lengthy litigation period. And the provision for temporary voting referees, despite the failure to date of the referee provisions of existing law, may nevertheless help persuade some judges to move ahead on this front.

The provision for expediting voting cases brought by the United States cannot make hostile judges act quickly, but it can be useful in some situations and will expose those judges who deliberately slow down judicial proceedings in voting cases.

There are stronger proposals in the voting field than those contained in the Administration bill. One of these, for example, is the Federal

registrar system proposed by the Civil Rights Commission in 1959 and rejected by the Congress in the 1960 legislative battle. Administrative action of this character can provide mass enfranchisement which the court-centered programs never can accomplish. Yet every legislative advance cannot be obtained at once and the Administration proposals outlined herein will reenforce the 1957 and 1960 laws and give the Department of Justice additional tools in this important area.

TITLE II -- Public Accommodations

This is the most important title in the Administration bill. It would establish the right to service free from discrimination in places of public accommodation and business establishments. Included would be (i) any hotel, motel, or other public place furnishing lodging to transient guests from other states or traveling in interstate commerce, (ii) any motion picture house, theater, sports arena, stadium, exhibition hall or other public place of amusement customarily presenting entertainment which moves in interstate commerce, (iii) any retail shop, department store, market, drugstore, gasoline station, restaurant, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other public eating places, if goods and services are provided substantially to interstate travelers, or goods held out to the public have moved in interstate commerce, or the activities or operations substantially affect interstate commerce.

Those refused service would have the right to sue for preventive relief. In addition, the Attorney General could enter suit on receipt of a written complaint, if the complainant is unable to bring suit because of financial reasons or fear of reprisals. If successful, a complainant would be entitled to reasonable attorney's fees.

Before filing suit, the Attorney General would be required to refer the complaint to the Community Relations Service provided under Title IV of the Bill and to any appropriate state agency with authority to prohibit the discriminatory practice.

The bill relies on both the Fourteenth Amendment and the interstate commerce clause for its constitutional base, although the Attorney General in his June 26th testimony before the House Judiciary Committee relied almost exclusively on the interstate commerce power. Some Republicans prefer the Fourteenth Amendment route and it would probably be well to urge that the bill continue to be predicated on both constitutional bases. Added emphasis on the Fourteenth Amendment would also obviate the necessity of drawing lines between interstate and local facilities as does the Administration bill.

The President has acted decisively in meeting the problem of discrimination in places of public accommodation and this provision is certainly the most significant provision of the Administration's civil rights package. By the same token, it will inevitably engender the most opposition in Congress and the most efforts to compromise it.

One such compromise proposal is already being discussed -- namely, a limitation on the size of the establishment covered by the provision. It is true that a small rooming house in which the owner resides, the so-called "Mrs. Murphy rooming-house," retains many of the characteristics of a home and there may there be some reason for protecting the right of privacy of the home-owner. But there is no privacy in a store or restaurant or entertainment facility open to the public and, all such facilities, large or small, should be covered by the bill.

Even more dangerous - far more dangerous - is the compromise being suggested in some quarters to take the enforcement provisions out of the bill and leave it as entirely voluntary through conciliation. But conciliation is only valuable if there is ultimate enforcement behind it and anything that deprives the Administration package of an enforceable public accommodations title would be a tragic defeat for civil rights. What happens on the effort to take the enforcement provisions out of the public accommodations title will be a measure of success or failure for the Administration's bill.

TITLE III -- School Desegregation

Under this title, technical assistance, grants and loans would be made available to school boards to meet problems arising out of school desegregation or the adjustment of racial imbalance in schools.

The more important part of this title authorizes the Attorney General to institute civil actions for school desegregation upon receipt of complaints and a determination that the complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings.

As the Attorney General made clear in his testimony on June 26th, this title "would thus combine a program of aid to segregated school systems, which are attempting in good faith to meet the demands of the Constitution, with a program of effective legal action by the federal government . . . . these programs would smooth the path upon which the Nation was set by the Brown decision. The school desegregation title is second only to the public accommodations title in furthering civil rights in America.

As in connection with the voting provisions of Title I, the moderate and limited nature of the President's proposals on school desegregation should be noted. The school desegregation provisions contain no requirement that school districts begin compliance with the Supreme Court's decision in 1963 as was promised by the Democratic Platform and as is contained in S. 772 and H.R. 1766, the so-called Clark-Celler bills. Furthermore, the Attorney General is limited in the Administration's bill to bringing suits only where complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings, a restriction on his freedom in school desegregation cases which was not included in the 1957 grant of authority to act in voting cases. Finally, it should be noted that there is no provision in this title or elsewhere in the bill for an across-the-board Part III authorizing the Attorney General to bring suit, not only in school cases, but in all

situations where persons are denied their constitutional rights because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Such a provision (which could be offered as an amendment to the President's bill) would not only reach hospitals, libraries, parks and other recreational facilities, public buildings, etc., not covered by the Administration's bill, but would also give the Attorney General power to enjoin state interference with peaceful protests as in Birmingham and elsewhere. But moderate and limited as Title III is, it is a major step in the direction of integrated schooling and a vital and necessary part of any civil rights package.

TITLE IV -- Community Relations Service

A new agency, Community Relations Service, would be established under this title of the bill. Its purpose would be to help resolve problems arising from discriminatory practices by bringing together the people of influence in both races.

Such an agency would serve a useful function if the bill is finally enacted provides strong protection for the constitutional rights of minority group citizens. It could in no way be considered as a substitute for enforcement authority. As a complement to enforcement authority, it should have real value.

TITLE V -- Civil Rights Commission

Title V would extend the life of the Commission on Civil Rights for four years and authorize it to serve as a national clearing house to provide information, advice, and technical assistance to private and public agencies.

Because of its fine record, the Commission is deserving of support for extension and additional grant of authority. It could be hoped, however, that the agency could be made permanent in order to free it of the necessity of constantly revising its plans and to give it the stability it needs to conduct a continuing operation.

TITLE VI -- Withholding of Federal Funds

This title would authorize withholding of Federal funds from any program or activity that receives Federal assistance, directly or indirectly, by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, when discrimination is found in such a program or activity.

Again the moderate nature of the President's civil rights bill is evidenced by this provision. Many persons believe that the President already has the authority to withhold federal funds from any program or activity in which unconstitutional discrimination is found. Nevertheless, the President has asked for this authority from Congress, apparently to buttress with Congressional approval what he desires to do in this area. While the President would probably be in a position to act on his own

initiative, this provision would add Congresional support for his action and should have the full support of all the groups. Federal funds contributed by all the people should never be utilized in a way that discriminates against some of the people who contribute those funds.

TITLE VII -- Equal Employment Opportunity

Under this title, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity would be reestablished as a Commission and given statutory authority under which to operate.

The authority proposed should be granted. The present Committee is handicapped by limited funds and manpower. It is also apparent that it is reluctant to exercise its full authority because of fear of Congressional reprisals. A Congressional grant of authority with subsequent financial support could considerably strengthen the agency in fulfilling its mission.

The enactment of this provision is not, however, a substitute for national FEPC. Such a law with strong enforcement procedures, as promised in the 1960 Democratic platform, is one of the most necessary legislative requirements. Several bills establishing an FEPC are pending in Congress. The adoption of one of these as an amendment to the Administration's civil rights bill should be strongly supported and the President's message to Congress gives his stamp of approval to this effort.

TITLE VIII -- Miscellaneous

The last title authorizes necessary appropriations and provides a separability clause in the event any provision of the bill is held invalid.

* * * * *

As we have seen, the President's bill is wholly necessary if freedom and equality are to win out in America. It is a strong and a good bill. Yet, as we have also seen, it is far from an extreme or all-encompassing measure. There is no room for compromise or weakening. The task of the groups who are meeting and mobilizing is to see that neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate weaken this vital measure.

-B-

OBTAINING PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ADMINISTRATION BILL, H.R. 7152

The object of the pro-civil-rights organizations should be to obtain the passage through the House of Representatives of a bill at least as strong as H.R. 7152, and, if at all possible, a stronger bill. The stronger the bill that comes out of the House, the less the damage from any dilution

by the Senate. Certainly every effort must be made to safe-guard against any weakening of the Administration's bill in the House.

This will not be easy. Most of the public attention has been focused on the Senate because of the drama involved in a filibuster in that body. But there are many pitfalls in the House as well.

H.R. 7152 is presently before the House Judiciary Committee. The Attorney General testified in support of the Administration bill on June 26th and hearings will likely go on through July. Consideration should be given to having the strongest possible testimony presented to the House Judiciary Committee without unduly delaying the Committee's action reporting out the bill. Possibly some of the organizations will want to combine their testimony. Thus, for example, if the three religious faiths were to present joint testimony (for the administration's bill and possibly for strengthening amendments) this would have a real impact upon the Committee.

The first focal point of pressure must be upon the members of the House Judiciary Committee:

Democrats	Republicans
Emanuel Celler, New York	William M. McCulloch, Ohio
Michael A. Feighan, Ohio	William E. Miller, New York
Frank Chelf, Kentucky	Richard H. Poff, Virginia
Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana	William C. Cramer, Florida
Peter W. Rodino, Jr., New Jersey	Arch A. Moore, Jr., West Virginia
E. L. Forrester, Georgia	George Meader, Michigan
Byron G. Rogers, Colorado	John V. Lindsay, New York
Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts	William T. Cahill, New Jersey
Jack Brooks, Texas	Garner E. Shriver, Kansas
William M. Tuck, Virginia	Clark MacGregor, Minnesota
Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Maryland
John Dowdy, Texas	James E. Bromwell, Iowa
Basil L. Whitener, North Carolina	Carleton J. King, New York
Roland V. Libonati, Illinois	Pat Minor Martin, California
Herman Toll, Pennsylvania	
Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin	
Jacob H. Gilbert, New York	
James C. Corman, California	
William L. St. Onge, Connecticut	
George F. Senner, Jr., Arizona	

Concentration should be had on the Republicans (other than Lindsay who is extremely pro-civil-rights), as most of the non-Southern-Democrats will probably support the Administration's bill. All should be urged to support H.R. 7152 in full and to substitute an across-the-board Part III for the limited school-desegregation Part III in the bill.

Assuming that the Administration bill, as is or as strengthened, comes out of the House Judiciary Committee, the next major problem will be the Rules Committee. It is likely that Chairman Howard Smith will try to avoid

Committee meetings and thereby stall a rule on the bill. There is, however, a procedure for forcing a Committee meeting which requires the support of 8 members of the 15 member Rules Committee. There are only 5 certain supporters for such action (Madden, Delaney, Bolling, O'Neill and Sisk, all Northern Democrats). The other 5 Democrats are Southerners and it will therefore be necessary to get the support of 3 of the 5 Republicans on the Rules Committee for this maneuver. The 5 Republicans on the Rules Committee are Brown of Ohio, St. George of New York, Smith of California, Hoffman of Illinois and Avery of Kansas. Although this matter will not be before the Rules Committee until August, efforts to build support for H.R. 7152 and for a rule to bring it to the floor in the Districts of those five Congressmen should be undertaken immediately. Obtaining the support of the Republicans on the Rules Committee will not only make it impossible for Chairman Smith to stall interminably by avoiding meetings, but will also assure the necessary votes for the rule once the meeting is held.

Of course, there are alternative ways around the Rules Committee. One is a discharge petition of 218 signatures. The other is what is known as calendar Wednesday. But both of these procedures are difficult and time-consuming and a real mobilization of sentiment upon the 5 Republican members of the Rules Committee can render them unnecessary.

Sometime in late August, or more likely in September, the bill should reach the floor of the House. If the bill at that time is as strong as we hope it will be, the job will be one of defeating weakening amendments. If the bill is weaker than the present Administration bill, the job will be one of strengthening it. Unfortunately, strengthening amendments are subject to a strict germaneness rule, but this is a bridge which need not be crossed at this time.

The job of the organizations when the bill reaches the floor of the House will be to bring maximum pressure on 50 or 60 possible but not certain votes. There are about 150 Democratic votes from outside the South that can be counted on for the Administration's bill. There are some 10 to 20 Republican votes that can be counted on. The winning votes will have to come from approximately 10 questionable non-Southern Democrats and 40 to 50 Republican moderates. At an early date, these possible but uncertain votes must be identified and mobilization of opinion pinpointed upon their Congressional districts.

-C-

OBTAINING PASSAGE BY THE SENATE OF THE ADMINISTRATION BILL, S. 1731

It can be estimated that the House bill will most likely come to the Senate in September. But that by no means indicates that there is nothing that should be done in relation to the Senate at this time.

Only 46 Senators (37 Democrats and 9 Republicans) have signed the Administration bill, S. 1731. An immediate task is to get non-Southern Democrats and moderate Republicans to sign the bill, so that there is a

very clear and definite majority committed to the President's package. The non-Southern Democrats (and liberal Southerners) who have not signed are Anderson, Bartlett, Bible, Cannon, Edmondson, Gore, Hayden, Kefauver, Lausche, Monroney and Yarborough. The moderate Republicans who have not signed are Aiken, Allott, Boggs, Carlson, Miller, Morton, Prouty, Saltonstall and Smith. By immediate concentration on these Senators, it should be possible to get a majority of the total Senate in support of the bill at once. (On the technical question of how a Senator puts his name on a bill which has already been introduced, it is suggested that he ask Senator Mansfield to request unanimous consent that such Senator's name appear as a sponsor on the next printing of the bill).

The hearing situation in the Senate is more complicated than in the House where the Administration bill will undoubtedly be reported out in some form or other by the House Judiciary Committee. In the Senate, the normal Committee to handle this bill is also the Judiciary Committee, but because of its Chairman and its composition, the Senate Judiciary Committee is unlikely to report out a bill. Despite the unlikelihood of reporting out a bill, it is probable that the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee will hold hearings on the Administration bill. A strong record should be built by the organizations in support of the Administration's bill and strengthening amendments, as Senator Ervin, Chairman of the Sub-committee, will be using his remarkable talents to build a negative record.

Since the Senate Judiciary Committee has always been a roadblock to civil rights legislation, the Senate Commerce Committee, which has the public accommodations provisions of the Administration package before it, is holding hearings on those provisions (S. 1732). Certainly the pro-civil rights groups will want to testify and build a strong record in support of the public accommodations bill. It is important that as strong and favorable a report on this bill be made to the Senate as early as possible. The Senate Commerce Committee consists of the following:

Democrats	Republicans
Warren G. Magnuson, Washington	Norris Cotton, New Hampshire
John O. Pastore, Rhode Island	Thruston B. Morton, Kentucky
A. S. Mike Monroney, Oklahoma	Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania
Strom Thurmond, South Carolina	Winston L. Prouty, Vermont
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio	J. Glenn Beall, Maryland
Ralph W. Yarborough, Texas	
Clair Engle, California	
E. L. Bartlett, Alaska	
Vance Hartke, Indiana	
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming	
Philip A. Hart, Michigan	
Howard W. Cannon, Nevada	

Of these, Magnuson, Pastore, Engle, Hartke, McGee, Hart, Scott and Beall have already supported public accommodations by sponsoring S. 1731 and S. 1732 their full support.

Senate hearings will also be held on FEPC legislation (S. 773) by Senator Clark, a subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The groups will want to support this legislation with testimony and demonstrate strong support for strengthening the Administration's package with an FEPC amendment.

It is not clear yet what the strategy will be when the Administration bill comes over from the House to the Senate. The normal procedure would be for the House bill to go to the Senate Judiciary Committee, but this would likely be sending it to almost certain death. One possible alternative would be to stop the bill at the desk, as was done in 1957, and not refer it to the Senate Judiciary Committee at all. Another alternative would be to refer the House bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it to the Senate within a week or two weeks. Still another possible alternative would be for the Senate to take up the bill on public accommodations from the Senate Commerce Committee (S. 1732) and amend it with the additional provisions of the House bill; by changing the number of the House bill, it could then go to conference with the House bill. There are undoubtedly other possibilities as well, but this bridge need not be crossed at this time.

What should be understood at this time is that in one form or another the Southerners will try to water down the bill. They can filibuster against taking up the bill and they can filibuster against the bill itself. The filibuster against taking up the bill will be more difficult for the Southerners because they can only speak twice on a bill or motion and their time will run out. The filibuster against the bill is easier because they can speak twice not only on the bill but on all amendments. The answer to this, of course, is to table the amendments as fast as they come up. It is, therefore, important that at some stage we obtain the pledge of 51 Senators to round-the-clock sessions of the Senate and to the tabling of all amendments.

This discussion of the Senate situation is based on the assumption that cloture (2/3rds of those present and voting) will not be obtained. It is hoped that this assumption is incorrect and that cloture may be obtained. Sometime in September or October, it will be the role of the organizations to seek to obtain the 10 to 15 doubtful votes needed for cloture. If this can be done, round-the-clock sessions will not be necessary. If it cannot, however, round-the-clock sessions will be necessary and 51 determined Senators can break the filibuster.

The Administration wants no compromise; it is in this fight for its own bill for all it is worth. If the groups do their job of mobilization, there can be a total victory for the Administration bill. This is the year it can be done -- and must be done.

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

Rec'd 1963

Interpp

THE NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

ABERNATHY, ET AL. vs. ALABAMA • ADAMS vs. CITY OF NEW ORLEANS • ALABAMA vs. HAMILTON • ALABAMA vs. ROBERT SWAIN • ALABAMA EX REL. RICHMOND FLOWERS vs. MARVIN ROBINSON, ET AL. • ANDERSON AND BELTON vs. MARTIN • ANDERSON, ET AL. vs. ALABAMA • ANDERSON, ET AL. vs. CITY OF ALBANY (GA.) • ARKANSAS EX REL. BENNETT vs. NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND • ARMSTRONG vs. BIRMINGHAM BOARD OF EDUCATION • AUGUSTUS vs. ESCAMBIA CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • AVENT vs. N. C. • BAILEY vs. PATTERSON, ET AL. • C. M. BAKER vs. BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY & STEAMSHIP CLERKS • BARR vs. CITY OF COLUMBIA (S. C.) • BATES vs. SHERATON CORP. OF AMERICA • BECTON, ET AL. vs. GREEN CTY. (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • BELL vs. FULTON DE KALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY • BELL vs. MARYLAND • BELO vs. RANDOLPH CTY. (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • BIRMINGHAM DEMONSTRATION CASES • BLACKWELL vs. FAIRFAX CTY. (VA.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • BOHLER vs. CITY OF TAMPA (FLA.) • BOSON vs. RIPPY • BOUIE vs. CITY OF COLUMBIA (S. C.), ET AL. • BOYCE vs. HUMPHREYS CTY. (TENN.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • BRADLEY, ET AL. vs. CITY OF RICHMOND (VA.) SCHOOL BOARD • BRAXTON vs. DUVAL CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • BROOKS vs. ARLINGTON CTY. (VA.) SCHOOL BOARD • BROWN vs. CHARLESTON (S. C
BOARD • BROWN vs SOUTH CAROLIN
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SHELBY (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION •
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EDWARDS vs. ABERCROMBIE ENTERPRISES
• FARMER vs. GREENE CTY. (N. C.) BOA
FIELDS vs. CITY OF FAIRFIELD (ALA.) • FIE
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vs. DOUGHERTY CTY. (GA.) BOARD OF
GHIOTO vs. HAMPTON • GIBSON vs. GLY
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PARISH (LA.) SCHOOL BOARD • HENRY
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BY COMMITTEE ON OFFENSES AGAINS
SCHOOL BOARD • JAMES vs. CARNEGIE
ET AL. • KENNARD vs. BREAZEALE • K
KNIGHT • LAMPKIN vs. HODGES • LAW
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(TENN.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • MASO
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JACKSON (TENN.) BOARD OF EDUCATION
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(S. C.) HOSPITAL • RANDALL ET AL. vs.
OF VA. • REED vs. C.O.R.E., ET AL. • RO
• SAVANNAH (GA.) TRESSPASS CASE •
vs. DAVIS • SELMA (ALA.) DEMONSTRATI
vs. MOSES H. CONE MEMORIAL HOSPITA
vs. DAVIS AND WALTERS • SMITH vs. H
DISTRICT • STEELE, ET AL. vs. LEON CTY
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• THOMPSON vs. COMMONWEALTH OF
TION • TURNER, ET AL. vs. WARREN CTY
WOODALL AND ROBERT W. COLBERT •
B. WELLS AND ROBERT THOMAS • VICK
BAR vs. NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND •
WALKER, ET AL. vs. CITY OF BIRMINGHAM • WALTON, ET AL. vs. AMERICAN SYNTHETIC RUBBER CORP. • WATSON vs. MEMPHIS (TENN.) • WEAVER vs. BREVARD CTY. (FLA.) BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION • WHEELER vs. DURHAM (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION • WHITE AND CROMWELL vs. MARYLAND • WHITTENBERG vs. GREENVILLE CTY. (S. C.) SCHOOL DISTRICT • WILCOX vs. JACKSONVILLE (FLA.) TERMINAL CO., ET AL. • WOODS vs. KANSAS • WOODS, LINDA CAL vs. THEO WRIGHT • WRIGHT, ET AL. vs. STATE OF GEORGIA • ZELLNER, ET AL. vs. LINGO, ET AL. • ZIGLAR vs. REIDSVILLE (N. C.) BOARD OF EDUCATION •

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE and EDUCATIONAL FUND

1963 Annual Report

PRESS RELEASE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-8397

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday, November 20th * OR
Thursday, November 21st *

SUPREME COURT HEARS LOUISIANA VOTE CASE

WASHINGTON, D.C.---The U.S. Supreme Court was asked today to strike down a Louisiana law requiring publication of the race, on nomination papers or the ballot, of each candidate for public office.

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund, pointed out in the brief that "the statute unconstitutionally makes racial discrimination possible and encourages the practice."

(The high court will hear a half hour of argument from each side Wednesday, November 20th or Thursday, November 21st, depending on the pace of previous proceedings.) *

Louisiana is "requiring disclosure of information with no bona fide public purpose, much less a compelling interest," the Legal Defense Fund brief states.

James M. Nabrit, III was of counsel to Mr. Greenberg during the argument. He too is an attorney for the Fund.

Taking the point a step further, the brief states that Louisiana's constitution limits Negro participation in community life just as much as the more obvious forms of discrimination and physical segregation.

The evil of the practice is spelled out by the fact that "designation as a Negro (in Louisiana) identifies the candidate with a group that is...by state policy, unfit for office."

Louisiana, the Legal Defense Fund brief shows:

"has selected a single, highly prejudicial factor for universal publication. This denies the individual the liberty to seek office and campaign according to his own estimate of effective campaign tactics."

The case is being argued on behalf of Dupuy H. Anderson and Acie J. Belton, Negro citizens of East Baton Rouge parish.

Both were candidates for nomination to the school board in their home parish in the Democratic party primary election held June 8, 1962.

Wade O. Martin, secretary of state, who is charged with enforcement of the law in question, is named as defendant in the Legal Defense Fund complaint.

Joining Greenberg and Nabrit, in preparation of the case, were:

Attorneys Johnnie A. Jones, Baton Rouge; Murphy W. Bell, Bruce A. Bell, Leonard P. Avery, Samuel Dickens and Wilmon L. Richardson, all of Baton Rouge.

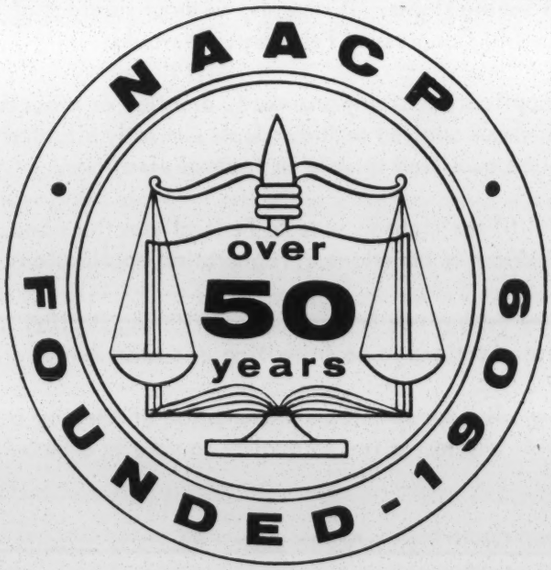
Michael Meltsner, Norman C. Amaker and Frank H. Heffron, of the Fund's New York City headquarters, were of counsel.

THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM:

What it provides,

What more it needs, and

How you can help.



The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

President Kennedy's civil rights proposals submitted to the Congress have justly and widely been acclaimed the most comprehensive such program ever submitted by a President of the United States. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations -- civil rights, labor, religious, fraternal, business and professional -- are supporting Mr. Kennedy's program.

However, the NAACP and other groups, while hailing the significance and worthiness of the President's program recognize that it is a moderate approach to the country's most pressing domestic issue. Because of the President's limited approach it is essential that civil rights supporters resist any effort to weaken or compromise the proposals. Not only must a fight be made against weakening amendments, but affirmative action must be made to strengthen the President's bill.

This program has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) as H.R. 7152 and in the Senate by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) as S. 1713. The bill contains eight titles covering voting rights, public accommodations, school desegregation, Community Relations Service, Commission on Civil Rights, non-discrimination in Federal programs, Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and miscellaneous provisions.

An analysis of the bill, title by title, prepared by J. Francis Pohlhaus, Counsel, NAACP Washington Bureau, follows:

TITLE I

This first title relates to voting rights. It repeats, without substantial change, the Administration's voting bill previously introduced in Congress in February. It would:

1.) prohibit the application of any standard, practice or procedure different from those applied to individuals similarly situated who have been found qualified to vote in Federal elections,

2.) prohibit denial of the right to vote in Federal elections because of immaterial errors or omissions in registration applications,

3.) require literacy tests given in connection with registration to vote in Federal elections to be in writing or transcribed,

4.) establish 6th grade education as a presumption of literacy in connection with any test given to qualify to vote in a Federal election,

5.) amend the 1960 Civil Rights Act to permit courts to appoint temporary voting referees in areas where less than 15 per cent of potential colored voters are registered, and

6.) provide for expeditious handling of voting cases in which the United States is plaintiff.

Although the President's bill would expedite the handling of problems in the courts, it does not supply the full solution to the problems of mass denial of the right to vote.

The first four provisions noted apply only to Federal elections, even though there is constitutional authority to apply them also to state elections.

The requirement that literacy tests be in writing or transcribed could make proof of discrimination simpler in some instances.

The provision relating to a presumption of literacy based on a sixth grade education marks a retreat by the Administration on this issue. The presumption now proposed would be a rebuttable one. In the 87th Congress, the Administration offered a bill creating a conclusive presumption of literacy based on a sixth grade education.

If the present literacy test provision is enacted into law, registrars will still be in a position to deny registration to applicants regardless of their educational qualifications. Only after such registrars are challenged in court, does the provision take effect and create a presumption of literacy in favor of the applicant.

As the President recognized in his February civil rights message, denial of voting rights does not result solely from the discriminatory practices of local officials. It is also rooted in economic and social pressures, harassment by law officers, threats of bodily harm and use of physical violence. These factors are likely to be most widespread in those counties where less than 15 per cent of the colored population is registered to vote.

The expedited handling of VOTING CASES may be of some help in breaking the logjam of voting cases in the court.

THE BILL'S VOTING SECTION NEEDS STRENGTHENING TO MAKE IT MOST EFFECTIVE IN MEETING THE PROBLEM OF MASS DENIAL OF VOTING RIGHTS. THE ADOPTION OF BILLS SUCH AS S.1214, WHICH WOULD REMOVE ALL ARBITRARY RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT TO VOTE, AND S. 1281, WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO CONDUCT AND SUPERVISE ALL FEDERAL ELECTIONS, WOULD MEET THIS NEED AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF SOUTHERN NEGRO CITIZENS TO VOTE.

TITLE II

This title would establish the right to service free from discrimination in places of public accommodation and business establishments. Included would be any hotel, motel, or other public places furnishing lodging to guests from other states or traveling in interstate commerce; any motion picture house, theater, sports arena, stadium, exhibition hall or other public place of amusement customarily presenting pictures, groups, teams, exhibitions or other sources of entertainment which move in interstate commerce; any retail shop, department store, market, drugstore, gasoline station, or other public selling place; any restaurant, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other public place engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises; and any other establishment servicing the public where:

1.) goods and services are provided substantially to interstate travelers, or

2.) goods held out to the public have moved in interstate commerce, or

3.) the activities or operations of which substantially affect interstate commerce, or

4.) which is an integral part of an establishment otherwise covered under the bill.

Those refused service would have the right to sue for preventive relief. In addition, the Attorney General could enter suit on receipt of a written complaint, if the complainant is unable to bring suit because of financial reasons or fear of reprisals.

Before filing suit, the Attorney General would be required to refer the complaint to the Community Relations Service (See Title IV) provided under the bill and to any appropriate state agency with authority to prohibit the discriminatory practice.

Courts would have jurisdiction of actions brought under this provision without the necessity of exhausting administrative remedies.

The bill relies on both the 14th Amendment and the interstate commerce clause for the constitutional authority to act.

The President, in asserting the full constitutional authority of the Federal Government and in attempting to use that authority for extensive coverage has acted decisively in meeting the problem of discrimination in places of public accommodations.

THE MOST APPARENT WEAKNESS OF THIS SECTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S BILL IS THE LIMITATION PLACED UPON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S RIGHT TO ACT. HE SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF INDIVIDUAL COMPLAINTS AND OF THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE COMPLAINANTS.

This title appears to be the most significant provision of the President's program. It will undoubtedly encounter the most Congressional opposition. Accordingly, there will be efforts to compromise it. The nature of the effort to weaken the public accommodations provisions is already evident - a limitation on the size of the establishment covered by the bill. The mythical "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" has become the symbol of opposition to elimination of discrimination.

Such a compromise is neither morally nor legally tenable. There is no more reason for a small store or restaurant to discriminate against Negroes than a large one. While one could agree to exemption from coverage of a small owner-occupied residence used for lodging, the reasons for such exemption do not carry over to stores, restaurants, or other business establishments open to the general public.

TITLE III

Under this title, technical assistance, grants and loans would be made available to school boards to meet problems arising out of school desegregation or the adjustment of racial imbalance in schools. This could be helpful to communities confronted with changing patterns in their schools.

The more important part of this title authorizes the Attorney General to institute civil actions for school desegregation upon receipt of a complaint and a determination that the complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings.

This provision is a revised version of the proposed Part III of the Civil Rights Bill of 1957. It gives the Attorney General authority to act to accelerate school desegregation.

In view of the fact that only 7.9 per cent of students in border and southern states now attend desegregated classes, this grant of authority is sorely needed.

The question has arisen whether this provision and Title II relating to public accommodations do not remove the need for an across-the-board Part III, reaching hospitals, libraries, parks, and other recreational facilities, public buildings, and all other aspects of publicly enforced discrimination. Recent developments have shown the need for protection of the rights to protest and picket peacefully in opposition to discrimination.

ANY GRANT OF AUTHORITY TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL SHOULD AUTHORIZE HIM TO PROTECT ALL CIVIL RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO SUPPORT AND ADVOCATE 14TH AMENDMENT RIGHTS IN THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS.

TITLE IV

A new agency, Community Relations Service, would be established under this title of the bill. Its purpose would be to help resolve, by voluntary action, problems arising from discriminatory practices.

Such an agency could serve a useful function provided the bill as enacted provides strong protection for the constitutional rights of minority group citizens. However, it could in no way be con-

sidered as a substitute for enforcement authority. Backed up with legislation including enforcement provisions, this agency would be able to negotiate for community changes favorable to civil rights.

TITLE V

The life of the Commission on Civil Rights would be extended for four years, under this title which would also authorize the Commission to serve as a national clearing house for civil rights information and to provide advice and technical assistance to governmental and private persons and organizations.

Because of its record, the Commission deserves longer life and the additional grant of authority. The agency should be made permanent in order to free it of the necessity of constantly revising its plans and to give it the stability it needs to conduct a continuing operation.

TITLE VI

This title would authorize withholding of Federal funds from any program or activity that receives Federal assistance, directly or indirectly, by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise.

The NAACP supports the withholding of funds under the circumstances covered by this provision, but contends that the President already has ample authority to act under his Constitutional powers. Apparently he feels the use of this authority would be easier to justify if supported by a Congressional mandate.

IN OFFERING SUCH A PROPOSAL, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD NOT CONSIDER ITS REJECTION IN ANY WAY A LIMITATION ON HIS CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO ACT.

In offering such a proposal, the President should make it clear that he would not consider its rejection in any way a limitation on his Constitutional authority to act.

TITLE VII

Under Title VII, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity would be re-established as a Commission and given statutory authority to operate.

Such authority should be granted. The present Committee is handicapped by limited funds and manpower. It is also apparent that it is reluctant to exercise its full authority because of fear of Congressional reprisals. A Congressional grant of authority with subsequent financial support could considerably strengthen the agency in fulfilling its mission.

THE ENACTMENT OF THIS PROVISION, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT ADEQUATELY MEET THE PROBLEMS OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION. A NATIONAL FEPC LAW WITH STRONG ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES, AS PROMISED IN THE 1960 DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, IS ONE OF THE MOST NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS. SEVERAL BILLS ESTABLISHING AN FEPC ARE PENDING IN CONGRESS. THE ADOPTION OF ONE OF THESE AS AN AMENDMENT TO THE PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS IS IMPERATIVE.

TITLE VIII

The last title authorizes necessary appropriations and provides a separability clause in the event any provision of the bill is held invalid.

SUMMARY

The President's bill is generally good so far as it goes. To meet more adequately the pressing problems of racial discrimination as presently practiced, it should be strengthened. Specifically the following actions should be taken to amend it.

Title I. The provisions of S. 1214, removing all arbitrary voting restrictions, and of S. 1281, providing Federal Supervision of Federal elections, should be substituted for, or added to, the existing provisions.

Title II. The limitations on the Attorney General's right to act should be removed. He should be empowered to initiate suits on his own and regardless of the ability of complainants to pay.

Title III. The authority of the Attorney General to act in civil rights cases should be extended to include all denials of rights based on race, creed, color, or national origin and to protect those advocating and supporting freedom from racial discrimination.

The school desegregation plan embodied in S. 772 and H. R. 1766 should be added. These bills would speed up school desegregation by requiring school districts to begin compliance with the Supreme Court's decision in 1963.

Title V. The Commission on Civil Rights should be established as a permanent agency.

Title VI. This title should be changed to make it clear the President has constitutional authority to act in withholding Federal funds regardless of Congressional action.

Title VII. This should be amended by the addition of a Federal FEPC law with adequate enforcement provisions.

HOW TO HELP

The NAACP and other civil rights organizations are supporting the President's bill and call upon their local units, members and friends to get fully behind this bill. There are many ways in which the branches and individual citizens can effectively support the big legislative push for civil rights. Among these are the following:

* Organize letter writing compaigns to the Representative from Congressional district and the Senators from your states. Letters and telegrams carry weight with legislators. The bigger the volume of such letters from organizations and individuals, the more attention they receive.

* Enlist the support of your local newspapers wherever possible. Have a small representative delegation visit the editors urging them to come out in support of the President's civil rights program.

* Get as many organizations and persons as possible to write letters to the editor in support of civil rights.

* Stimulate discussion of the bill on your local radio and television stations. Offer to supply informed speakers for panel discussions, interviews and public statements for the stations. Ask them to cover your rallies and other civil rights activities.

* Seek the support of political leaders of both parties for the civil rights bill.

* Try to get your City Council or other local legislative body to pass a resolution in support of the entire civil rights packet.

* Circulate petitions among your friends and associates to be sent to your representatives in Congress.

* Get church, labor, professional, fraternal and business organizations to which you belong to pass resolutions in support of civil rights and to engage in other activities to back up the bill.

* Participate in the March on Washington for Freedom and Jobs, August 28, 1963.

* Follow carefully how members of Congress from your district and state vote on each step in the legislative process and what they have to say. Let them know that you have your eyes on them.

ENACTMENT OF MEANINGFUL CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION THIS YEAR IS AN ATTAINABLE GOAL. BUT IT REQUIRES SUSTAINED WORK AND VIGILANCE ON THE PART OF ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS. A NEW LAW WILL NOT BE HANDED TO YOU AS A GIFT. YOU WILL HAVE TO WORK FOR IT.

This is the least that you can do for yourself, your children and your country.

Do not fail to do it.

Legal Defense
Intergroup Org. NAACP

LEGAL INTERN---Julius LeVonne Chambers, center, this week became the first legal intern of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. He is interviewed by New York City newsman, left, as Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the Fund, looks on. Mr. Greenberg said program will train selected young attorneys in civil rights law. In turn, they will eventually set up practices in parts of the South where civil rights lawyers are needed. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, which is currently defending 7,500 demonstrators in 125 civil rights actions, will have 17 full time attorneys by fall. These will continue to work with the Fund's network of 100 cooperating attorneys throughout the South. (Bagwell Photo)

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FOR: IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FROM: NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, N.Y.
JUdson 6-8397

NEWS BUREAU

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE DECRIES 'SNIPING' ATTACKS ON NATIONAL HOUSING EDICT; ASSERTS OPPONENTS SWAYED BY 'SHEER EMOTION AND FEAR' p. O.

NEW YORK -- The National Urban League this week took sharp issue with predictions of construction cutbacks, as a result of the President's anti-bias housing order, voiced by some of the country's home builders in an article published in the December 28 issue of The Wall Street Journal.

The article is based on an interview with 54 builders from all parts of the nation. The majority of the cities mentioned in the article were in the South. Of those queried, one-third contended they are preparing to curtail their 1963 plans as a direct result of the order. Six of the remaining 36 said they have not decided whether to revise their plans. Ten reported they were unaffected because they use conventional financing, and 20 declared they have no plans to cut back.

In a letter to Warren Phillips, managing editor of the Journal, Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director, deplored the resistance expressed by the builders as a "business-as-usual emotional response to sheer race prejudice and fears of the housing industry." He challenged the purported symposium as an "incomplete and obviously sniping" expression by a few stemming largely from a "survey" made by the National Association of Home Builders last summer.

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22222 ON HOUSING EDICT

"For the past ten years," said Mr. Young, "we have heard the 'business loss' story which presumably would result from state and city fair employment and housing legislation. None of those dire predictions has come true."

Mr. Young said that some builders and others in the housing business, "who have experienced a set-back for whatever the reason, will blame the Presidential order for their situation." Further, he declared, they will not attribute any of this "to inept business judgement, but wholly to the Executive Order."

"This order is too important to encourage mere emotional response to its effects," the NUL executive cautioned.

"Actually, housing is a product which should respond to supply and demand. A black and white market presents a free flow of that commodity. All that the order really does is to create a single market, more responsible to supply and demand."

Mr. Young took note of a presentation of research findings, made by the NUL to the White House in 1962 in answer to NAHB representations that the then long-awaited ban on racial discrimination in federally-aided housing would "wreck" the industry.

"There is no question that a substantial number of the responses that formed the current Journal article were influenced by the incomplete NAHB 'survey', rather than by good judgement backed up with sound economics," Mr. Young declared.

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333333 ON HOUSING EDICT

In an interview arising from his letter to the Journal, Mr. Young made this observation on what he characterized as "ill-advised and insupportable skirmish tactics" with reference to the Presidential action:

"Every law, every Executive Order designed to secure equal rights for Negro citizens, has been met with strong opposition from entrenched groups and the ill-informed. The first law in the nation -- enacted in New York State in 1945 -- barring discrimination in employment, was sharply criticized. Yet, over the years, the record shows definite progress in the elimination of discrimination and segregation in job opportunity. Today, twenty states have adopted law assuring fair employment practices.

"In banning discrimination in housing as 'inconsistent with the public policy of the United States', Presidential Order 11063 heralds the beginning of a national drive toward open occupancy of adequate family shelter."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE CAUTIONS CHURCHMEN TO WEIGH
THREE-FOLD CHOICE IN ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

CHICAGO, Jan. 14 -- A three-fold alternative to what he termed shortcomings of the church in facing up to "closing the gap" of racial injustice was spelled out here today by Whitney M. Young, Jr., of New York, executive director of the National Urban League.

Speaking as a panelist at the opening session of the National Conference on Religion and Race in the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Mr. Young cautioned that:

"It is not enough now to say our doors are open, or even to say our hearts are open. There must now be the same conscious and aggressive effort at inclusion (of Negro citizens in the main stream of national life) that so characterized our institutions, including the church, all of these years in their fanatic efforts at exclusion."

The NUL leader declared that:

"In our communities we have a choice between helping citizers become constructive, productive consumers, proud of their community and country - or through indifference and injustice we can make them chronic dependents, frustrated, bitter about their society and our American way of life;

"We have a choice between spending millions of dollars for programs of prevention, special programs and other compensatory activities - or spending billions for crime, welfare, dependency, and buying the loyalties of uncommited nations whose minds we cannot win through example.

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"We have a choice between greater support of responsible and intelligent planning and action agencies like the Urban League to enable them to provide greater leadership; or we will inevitably invite another kind of leadership which might well be irresponsible, emotional and nationalistic."

In addressing his remarks to a paper presented to the panel by Rabbi Abraham J. Henschel, also of New York, professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Mr. Young voiced both hearty endorsement and these additional observations:

"The compelling church and spiritual state in race relations which most truly religious people frequently reflect upon but rarely articulate is a feeling of disillusionment that the church and organized religion is an effective and useful instrument in achievement of social reform."

He decried the fact that it is no longer the atheist, the church as "eleven o'clock on Sunday morning as the most segregated hour in America."

"The fact that it is easier to integrate a chorus line at a burlesque than it is a choir line at many fashionable churches has become real and disillusioning to scholars, professional practitioners and ordinary citizens who have dedicated themselves to removal of racial injustices in our society," said Mr. Young.

"There is nothing noble in being superior to someone else. The only nobility that really matters is being superior to one's former self."

Mr. Young pointed out that the National Urban League's Religious Resources Committee under the leadership of Mrs. O. Clay Maxwell, chairman, and Mrs. Edith Macy, consultant, is constantly striving toward the goal of integration as a spiritual as well as economic cultural and social opportunity.

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"Exclusiveness is stagnating, self-defeating and required only by the dreadfully and tragically insecure," he said.

"We in the Urban League see in inclusiveness of all citizens a great opportunity for people to grow, to learn and to prepare their children for the kind of world in which they will be called upon to live."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE URGES MASSIVE CRASH PROGRAM FOR U.S. SCHOOLS;
PROPOSAL STIRS FAVORABLE WASHINGTON RESPONSE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24 -- A six-point recommendation for a crash program which, in the opinion of the National Urban League, would massively upgrade quality, scope and effectiveness of public education was submitted by the nationwide organization here today to the U.S. Office of Education.

The proposed action would also, the League asserted, go far to assure all youth, regardless of race, more equal opportunity for adequate education and help close the economic and cultural gap that blocks Negro citizens from full participation in the flow of American progress.

The recommendation drew favorable reaction from USOE Commissioner Francis Keppel, who scheduled another conference next week with NUL officials.

At today's meeting with Commissioner Keppel, Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director, and Otis E. Finley, Jr., associate director for education and youth incentives, presented a statement on behalf of the League that stressed these suggestions for immediate federal action:

1) That USOE establish a Department of Intergroup Relations in Education to assist and advise public school systems seeking help in democratizing their facilities.

2) That it develop a model for conducting community workshops for school board members, designed to point up the why-and-how of providing equal educational opportunity.

3) That it step up its interpretation of education problems and needs, to enable the public to make more intelligent decisions on what needs to be done in their communities. Some of the means suggested by the League for this step up were mass issuance by USOE of simple fact booklets, films and other graphic aids to help stimulate local community forces, including parents, toward greater support to efforts of professional educators.

4) That it promote and support educational research directed toward developing teaching approaches sensitive to the special needs of a largely segregated and alienated population.

5) That it encourage establishment of counselor training institutes, under the National Defense Education Act, to train prospective counselors, to be drawn from schools in large urban centers with a high proportion of socially, racially and economically disadvantaged young people. These institutes should be geared to the special needs of such children, involving practical labor force economics and information on manpower trends, the UL suggested.

6) That it convene as soon as practicable a national conference of textbook publishers and educational specialists to explore the frequently-voiced criticism that most text materials and vocational and counseling aids now used in public schools are written and produced from the perspective of an all white society. Thus, the NUL statement declared, they neither present an objective reflection of American life nor provide an incentive for all school children.

Mr. Young assured Commissioner Keppel that the Urban League stands ready to give federal officials, should they request, all the assistance it can supply through its network of Leagues in 64 key industrial urban centers of the nation.

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Commissioner Keppel welcomed the support and offer of assistance by the League and exhibited keen sensitivity to the educational needs and problems of Negro and other disadvantaged youth in the big cities.

He also expressed deep interest in the UL's previously announced position calling for establishment of a Presidential Commission on Education, pointing out that legislative framework for such a commission was enacted nearly a decade ago.

Commissioner Keppel scheduled a meeting for January 31 with Mr. Finley and Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson, director of the NUL Washington Bureau, to discuss further the initial League recommendations.

The presentation today stemmed from a resolution adopted by the NUL Delegate Assembly at the agency's National Conference last fall in Grand Rapids, Mich. In it, the UL urged immediate Presidential action toward establishment of the proposed National Commission on Education.

The resolution emphasized the fact that, of all major nations of the Free World, the United States is alone in lacking a national policy and standards in public education.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE ENDORSES NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAM;
STRESSES 'NO BIAS' PROTECTION

COLUMBUS -- A resolution endorsing in principle the establishment of a National Service program was adopted by the National Urban League Board of Trustees at its recent winter meeting here.

"We believe that this program could enhance immeasurably the efforts of the Urban League in obtaining adequate services for the nation's non-white population," the resolution stated.

It pointed up that "as the gap in services to the nonwhite population closes, the American community is vastly strengthened."

The Trustees also heartily acclaimed the National Social Welfare Assembly recommendation that participation in the service program be available to all who are qualified, regardless of race or creed, and that service program projects "should be available to all people who need service and to all communities without discrimination or segregation."

The Trustees expressed belief that a National Service program, properly established and administered, "will extend health, welfare and educational services" throughout the nation.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE STATEMENT ON
JFK CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE

NEW YORK, March 1 -- The following statement relating to President Kennedy's Special Message on Civil Rights, as presented to the Congress, was issued in behalf of the National Urban League by Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director:

"The President's message reflects a conviction that the time is urgent for taking massive action to dissolve remaining barriers which prevent Negro citizens from enjoying the fruits and discharging the full responsibilities of first class citizenship.

"It is the most comprehensive statement on this complex and sensitive subject ever presented in our time by a Chief Executive.

"However commendable as are many of the statements in his message, we view with some concern that there is no legislation recommended in the area of racial discrimination in employment to strengthen the program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

"In outlining his Administration's program for securing equal opportunity for Negro citizens, the President asked legislative backing in some areas which are of special concern to the Urban League.

"We hail the President's recommendations to extend and expand the scope of the Civil Rights Commission and to eliminate the 'separate but equal' clause from the 100-year-old Morrill Land Grant College Act.

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22222 President's Message

"We concur too, with the President's call for erasing outmoded restrictions on the right to vote, and his declaration that 'the right to vote in a free American election is the most powerful and precious right in the world'.

"We strongly endorse his request for establishing a program of technical assistance by the Office of Education to local communities in preparing and carrying out desegregation plans, including provision of information on ways and means that have proved successful in desegregating other schools.

"The program set forth by the President merits serious consideration as an important step to remedying a very harmful deficiency in our great country.

"It would seem clear that he means business. The Urban League now strongly urges the President to follow through with the full moral force of his Office and to provide the bold leadership by the White House that will be required to get the job done."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE TO PROPOSE 6 TRAINING PROJECTS
UNDER U.S. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT ACT

NEW YORK -- Proposals by Urban Leagues in six cities for establishment of federally-sponsored training and re-training "demonstration" programs in their communities, under provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1961, are nearing completion for submission later this month to U.S. Labor Department officials.

The presentations, recommending programs the League believes most urgently needed in the various communities, are an outgrowth of Washington consultations held in February among UL officials (national and local) and Labor Department representatives.

Under provisions of the Act, the Federal Government is empowered to select, approve and finance a number of demonstration projects, basing its approval on proposals offered by local community leadership across the country.

The six cities involved in the initial UL presentations are Akron, O.; Atlanta; Marion, Ind.; Milwaukee; Philadelphia, and Providence, R.I. Local League executives and staff from each city, along with Adolph Holmes, NUL assistant director for job development and employment, attended the February sessions with Labor Department officials.

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222222 UL Training Projects

The UL is among the first voluntary community organizations to propose setting up these specific demonstration projects. They would be federally financed, but conducted under the supervision of local ULs, working in concert with other civic organizations, public and voluntary.

Mr. Holmes is in charge of coordinating the overall League participation.

Mr. Holmes, previously in the office of the Newark UL's industrial relations department, recently joined the national staff in New York. He holds a BBA degree from Hofstra College, Hempstead, Long Island, and is presently taking graduate work at Rutgers University.

A veteran of 21 years' military service, Mr. Holmes is a retired Army major. He served four years in Germany as a personnel management officer for the Army and, from 1948 to 1950, conducted a German youth activities program at Nuremburg, in which 6,000 young persons participated.

He and his family presently live in Teaneck, N. J.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUER GETS KEY POST
IN ARMY'S MATERIEL COMMAND

SPRINGFIELD, Mass -- A testimonial banquet here, honoring Alexander B. Mapp for 16 years' service as local executive director of the Urban League was highlighted by presentation of a life membership in the Massachusetts State Parent-Teacher Association to Mr. Mapp.

The honor, conferred for "outstanding services and contribution to youth through the medium of PTA," was presented by Mrs. Elliott Anderson, president of the Massachusetts State Congress of PTA. Mr. Mapp had served as chairman of the statewide PTA Committee on Intergroup Relations.

He resigned his UL post to become chief of the Equal Employment Office, New York Procurement District, U. S. Army Materiel Command. The assignment covers responsibility for work with firms holding army contracts in New York, New Jersey and New England.

In his years with the League, Mr. Mapp was a leading exponent of the UL new program emphases on job development and employment; education and youth incentives; housing, and health and welfare.

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3/20/63

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FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, MARCH 31

NEW YORK, March 30 -- The tempo of the National Urban League's annual report, published today, reflects the new upsurge of dramatic and professional attention the League launched in 1962 to keep pace with the rapid rate of change in race relations in the nation, Henry Steeger, NUL president, said in announcing the publication.

Titled "1962: National Urban League's Most Successful Year," the 12-page illustrated report tells "the story of people helping people."

In an introductory statement to the report, Mr. Steeger and Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director, jointly declared:

"While progress can be measured in many ways, in the final analysis perhaps one of the best ways to measure it is in terms of a burden lifted, a new door opened, or an injustice removed in the life of a fellow being . . ."

They further stated:

"It (the document) is a story of literally scores of 'break-throughs' and significant accomplishment in every major area of Negro rights. All over the nation -- in the 65 cities where local Urban Leagues are located -- Negroes were placed in industries and unions which were never before opened to them. More and better housing, beyond the confines of the ghetto, was made available on a scale never before achieved.

"And in the nation's secondary schools, thousands of Negro youths were induced to remain in school and thus increase their chances of becoming responsible, productive citizens. Nor did the list of accomplishments stop there."

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That the Urban League was able to accomplish these and many other gains, the UL leaders emphasized, was due in large measure to the sharp increase in financial support it received -- more than twice the budgetary wherewithal provided for any previous year.

The report focuses on the complex needs and problems upon which the Urban League concentrated its attention in 1962 and continues to pursue similarly this year. These are the diverse problems stemming from service to:

An urban Negro population of 7 million or 78 percent of all American Negroes who reside in cities of 100,000 or more in which there are Urban Leagues.

A Negro school-age population of 1,426,000, or 76 percent of the Negro school-age population living in American urban areas.

A Negro labor force of 2½ million, or 83 percent of the entire labor force in cities of 100,000 or more population.

Negro family units totaling 1,700,000, or 77 percent of all Negro families in communities in that population bracket.

In combatting these problems, the report cites some 15 city-by-city examples through which local Leagues made notable gains in projecting the UL's five major program areas -- job development and employment; education and youth incentives; housing; health and welfare, and religious resources.

The report is being distributed throughout the 65 major urban centers served by the League across the nation, as well as in other areas where more than 8,925,000 Negro citizens live.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE EFFORT GAINS ANTI-BIAS EDICT
ON HOUSING LIST AT AIR FORCE BASE

OMAHA -- The most significant breakthrough to date in the long and multi-fronted fight against racial discrimination in military installation housing has been accomplished here as a direct result of an effort initiated three months ago by the National Urban League on behalf of its Omaha affiliate.

The Defense Department, as a result of the President's Executive Order on housing, has banned the practice by some military base commanders of maintaining separate listings of private off-base dwelling facilities available to Negro and white armed forces personnel

The practice, specifically pinpointing Offutt Air Force Base here, was brought to the attention of federal authorities last Jan 8, in a letter from Nelson H. Nichols, Jr., Omaha UL executive director, to Gov. David L. Lawrence, chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

In his letter, Mr. Nichols had called attention to information developed by the Omaha UL, jointly with the League's national office, that Negro personnel were being discriminated against in listings of private housing maintained by Offutt housing officers and thus were not securing equal treatment.

On March 13, Mr. Nichols was advised in a letter, signed by John J. Reed, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, that maintenance of such dual listings was to be abolished, not only at Offutt AFB but at any other installation where the practice was in effect. The letter states in part:

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"The Secretary of Defense, by issuance of an order on March 8, 1963, has precluded further listings of this type. The Secretary's order specifies that effective immediately, listings maintained by base housing offices of available private housing shall include only those units which are available without regard to race, color, creed or national origin."

Queried on March 17 by Mr. Nichols concerning the letter, an information spokesman at Offutt said the base had not received the order, but added: "It will, of course, be implemented if we receive it."

Offutt spokesmen have previously advised Mr. Nichols that the base files on privately-owned dwelling units available contained "very few" apartments or houses "open to Negro occupancy."

Reginald A. Johnson of New York, NUL associate director for housing, in Omaha on a field trip when the letter to Mr. Nichols arrived, was pressed by reporters for comment. He told them he saw no reason to blame Offutt officers.

"The higher brass evidently didn't tell its other officers what to do," said Mr. Johnson. "The result, the Urban League is confident, will be that Negro personnel at all military installations will be assured of a better place to live."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE OFFICIAL CITES 'JOBLESS WASTE'
AS 'EMPTY HARVEST OF DISCRIMINATION'

TRENTON, N. J. -- Neither a local community nor the nation as a whole can afford the economic and social waste that stems from "the joblessness and marginal living that are the empty harvest of discrimination."

This was the note sounded by Alexander J. Allen of New York, associate executive director of the National Urban League, in an address to 300 members and guests of the Trenton Council on Human Relations at a meeting, March 14, themed to "Problems Confronting Northern Cities."

Accenting the economic aspects of the topic, and pointing up in particular the alarming increase of joblessness of Negro workers throughout the country in direct relation to the nationwide uptrend in high school dropouts, Mr. Allen challenged Negro and other civic leadership to face the issue squarely. He urged also that they meet the problem by taking full advantage of new retraining opportunities for the displaced Negro worker under provisions of the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act and related governmental programs."

The Negro worker, he said, is concentrated today "in the very occupations hardest hit by automation -- personal services, unskilled and semi-skilled occupations."

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222222 JOBLESS WASTE

"Here in Trenton, and elsewhere in every other major community of the nation," Mr. Allen said, "urban society moves forward in direct relation to the weekly paycheck."

"When that stops, progress stops. Then, from that dismal wake, all manner of social and economic problems arise and begin to multiply."

Speakers sharing the Trenton discussions with the NUL official were Dr. Dan Dodson, director of the Center for Human Relations Studies of New York University; Dr. Richard T. Beck, superintendent of Trenton Public Schools, and the Rev. S. H. Woodson, president of the New Jersey State Conference of the NAACP.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, March 22 -- Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, decried as unfortunate the criticism voiced in Washington last night by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, directed at the Urban League and other organizations working to secure equal opportunity for Negro citizens.

"At a time when the whole world is crying for and working toward unity," he said, "it comes as a terrible shock to hear the voice of a person of Congressman Powell's national stature, sowing the seeds of racial discord.

"For more than half a century the Urban League, with white and Negro citizens working together throughout the nation, has steadfastly directed its total effort toward securing equal opportunities and full civil rights for Negro citizens. The record over the years clearly demonstrates the wisdom and soundness of this interracial program and approach.

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3/22/63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

UNTIL RACE GHETTO IS ERASED, 'FULL PROMISE' OF EMANCIPATION
STILL NOT REALIZED, URBAN LEAGUE WARNS

ALBANY -- The full promise of the Emancipation Proclamation will not be realized "until the Negro family is freed from the stifling confines of the racial ghetto."

That uneasy note of warning was struck by Alexander J. Allen of New York City, associate executive director of the National Urban League, in an address here March 26 at a ceremony marking the Proclamation Centennial.

Mr. Allen spoke at a citywide observance that culminated a week-long series of commemorative events sponsored by civic and other organizations. Sharing the speakers' platform with Mr. Allen was Ivan A. Nestingen, Undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The NUL official cautioned that the Emancipation Centennial "is no more than the half-way house to freedom" and added:

"We have a long way to go and certainly far less than another hundred years to complete the journey."

He cited some depressing statistics that show, a century after the Proclamation, that "only 8 per cent of nonwhite males, compared with more than 27 per cent of white males were employed (in 1962) in professional and managerial occupations outside agriculture."

Mr. Allen also noted the trend in high school dropout rates across the nation revealing a mounting preponderance of Negro youth over white quitting school, and a decline in Negro high school graduates entering college.

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222222 EMANCIPATION STILL NOT REALIZED

Dropouts 3-1 Over Graduates

"Negro youth, who constitute something less than 11 per cent of the total population, are supplying 21 per cent of the school dropouts, but only 7 per cent of the high school graduates," he said.

In the problems incident to housing, he declared, the only force involved "is the internal compulsion arising from attitudes held by white residents" of urban dwelling developments.

"There is no validity to the so-called 'tip-point' theory of dwelling occupancy," Mr. Allen asserted. "There is no magic percentage figure at which a development must begin and ultimately change to all-Negro occupancy."

He referred to an analysis in this regard, published recently by the NUL, which has created widespread discussion in the housing field.

He stressed that these and related racial problems have created a "caste status" which has resulted in denial to Negro citizens of job opportunities and fostered Jim Crow education, ghetto housing and inadequate health and welfare services."

Urban League's Vital Role

Mr. Allen referred to the Urban League's contribution over the past 52 years in combatting these problems through programs that have gone far in creation of new jobs for Negro workers, greater purchasing power, better homes, guidance and counseling of youth and strengthening family life.

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333333 EMANCIPATION STILL NOT REALIZED

"The Urban League has been effective primarily because it is an interracial agency," said Mr. Allen.

"It is dedicated to the well-being of the total community and bases its program on the knowledge and conviction that the total community is in danger as long as any segment is disenfranchised, exploited or depressed."

Thus, he added, it is "necessary to take issue with Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in his recent insistence that the UL and the NAACP should become all-Negro."

The NUL official declared:

"There is a place for all-Negro organizations, just as there is for all-Jewish and all-Catholic, and such organizations need to be improved and strengthened. But the need continues for an interracial approach to problems which are not going to be solved within the Negro ghetto alone, any more than they can be solved by City Hall or the Chamber of Commerce alone."

More than 300 attended the Centennial dinner, held in the Schine-Ten Eyck Hotel.

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3/27/63

63-119 GL

NEWS BUREAU

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE WARNS OF 'SQUANDERING' CHILD POTENTIALS;
CITES NEGRO SPACE SELECTEE AS EXAMPLE OF OPPORTUNITY

HAMPTON, VA., April 5 -- The people of the United States cannot afford any longer to "squander the tomorrow" of 3¼ million of its children, merely because they happen to be Negroes...

That is the number of Negro youngsters presently enrolled in segregated schools of the South alone, to say nothing of elsewhere in the nation...

It is perfectly logical to presume that in this neglected reservoir of today's childhood are potentials of this country's tomorrow as great, for example, as those personified by Capt. Edward J. Dwight, Jr., selected only a week ago as the nation's first Negro astronaut candidate. Without equality of opportunity in education these potentials would be lost because they were never discovered...

These were among points stressed by Otis E. Finley, Jr., of New York, National Urban League associate director for education and youth incentives, in an address to Virginia educators here today.

Speaking at Hampton Institute at the annual meeting of the Second District, Virginia Teachers Association, Mr. Finley said:

"The drive for equality of opportunity in the public schools must be accelerated, but at the same time we must all work and pay for a new standard of excellence in our schools if education is to fulfill its role as a true national resource.

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222222 UL WARNS OF 'SQUANDERING' CHILD POTENTIALS

"We must not squander the tomorrow of 3,250,000-odd Negro school children, principally in the South, who need better facilities, better libraries, and better incentives."

The Urban League, Mr. Finley said, is prepared to bend its fullest effort and facilities toward helping the nation provide services giving each citizen, regardless of race, the opportunity to contribute in equal partnership to betterment of all.

Earlier, in an address at an Emancipation Centennial observance held by Yeshiva University in New York City, Mr. Finley declared:

"It is apparent that progress in school desegregation is not really progress unless it is broad and fast enough to meet the need of the times.

"If desegregation of our school systems is a major continuing first step in the educational emancipation of the American Negro-- and for that matter, whites also-- then the integration of our school systems is another necessary next step in the right direction.

"There is a major difference between the two in terms of their present application. Evidence suggests that many of the northern schools have been long desegregated in terms of physical proximity between Negro and white children, but never really integrated."

He took note of "mono-racial images presented in teaching a multi-racial school population" as another serious barrier to equal educational opportunity.

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333333 UL WARNS OF 'SQUANDERING' CHILD POTENTIALS

"Most text materials and vocational counseling aids, including films, used in our public schools today were written or produced from the vantage point of an all-white society," said Mr. Finley.

"The position of Negroes and other minorities in contemporary American living is largely overlooked. Again there is sufficient research to suggest the value of self identification in the motivation of youth."

If, he asserted, publishers of text and counseling materials are reluctant to include these important factors in their publications because, as some have stated, "they would not sell in certain areas, and after all, we are in business," then it should be the responsibility of educators and such organizations as the Urban League to point up a great need and to encourage their inclusion. On the other hand, he added, publishers should not be unduly castigated because they only print what is written -- mostly by educators."

The Urban League official emphasized that it is vital to all Americans to note that "no matter how distasteful it may sound to the local tax payer, we no longer caneducate for the provincial needs of a specific community, but to meet the needs of a nationwide and highly mobile society."

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4/3/63

63-121 GL

NEWS BUREAU

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Guichard Parris - PLaza 1-0302

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE AIDE SIGNALLY HONORED FOR YOUTH INCENTIVES WORK
AT NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE PARLEY IN BOSTON

BOSTON, April 10 -- Ann Tanneyhill of the National Urban League's Department of Public Relations in New York, today became one of the five recipients of the National Vocational Guidance Association's coveted award for outstanding contribution to vocational guidance and career development of youth.

THE NVGA is the national professional organization representing thousands of guidance counselors throughout the United States. It is currently marking the 50th anniversary conference of the NVGA in session here, where it was launched in 1913.

The honor -- a scroll presented to Miss Tanneyhill by Harold F. Cottingham, NVGA president and professor of education at the University of Florida -- was conferred at a luncheon attended by more than 1,000 in the Statler Hilton Hotel.

The citation to Miss Tanneyhill, who has a long and varied background with the Urban League dating back to 1928, read in part: "...for outstanding contribution to vocational guidance and to the futherance of the techniques, theory, methods and literature in career development."

The other recipients included: Professors C. Winfield Scott, Rutgers University; Donald Super, Columbia University and C. Gilbert Rand, University of Minnesota.

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Note to Editor: Bio of Miss Tanneyhill attached.

4/10/63
63-122 GL

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

ANN TANNEYHILL: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ann Tanneyhill of the National Urban League's Department of Public Relations, is in charge of the League's Publications Bureau. She brings to her present job a background of long and varied experience.

She has held a number of important posts in the Urban League, including Secretary, Bureau of Guidance and Placement; Executive Assistant in the Administration Department; and Director of Vocational Guidance. She has been in the Public Relations Department since October 1, 1961.

During her years of service as a vocational guidance expert, and educational consultant, Miss Tanneyhill planned and directed the League's Vocational Opportunity Campaign from 1931 to 1955; supervised during the 1940's the League's network radio programs; organized and directed Career Conferences on the campuses of Negro colleges in the South from 1950 to 1954; and from 1958 to 1960 directed The Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians project, (popularly known as TST) a nationwide youth incentives program to search for, discover, and encourage capable and talented Negro youth to broaden their vocational horizons.

Miss Tanneyhill is the author of guidance publications, including: Guiding Negro Youth Toward Jobs; Program Aids for the Vocational Opportunity Campaign; radio scripts; guidance bibliographies and program aids; leaflets and magazine articles for young people and adults. She is also the author of From School to Job: Guidance for Minority Youth (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 200)

She has been a member of the Advisory Committee on Young Workers of the Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor. A professional member of the National Vocational Guidance Association, she was a Trustee from 1953 to 1955. She is a member of the New York Personnel and Guidance Association, and served as a Trustee from 1958 to 1960.

The May 1957 issue of CHARM magazine featured Miss Tanneyhill in the "How Did She Get There?" series of stories on career women.

She is a charter member of the Urban League's Quarter Century Club of persons who have served the League movement for twenty-five years or more.

Miss Tanneyhill started with the Urban League movement in 1928 as a secretary-stenographer with the Springfield (Mass.) affiliate of the organization. In December 1930 she came to the National Headquarters as secretary to the Director of Industrial Relations.

Born in Norwood, Massachusetts, she is a graduate of Simmons College in Boston, holding a Bachelor of Science degree. She received a Master of Arts from Teachers College, Columbia University, in Vocational Guidance and Personnel Administration. She holds a certificate from the Radio Workshop of New York University.

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April, 1963
Department of Public Relations

NEWS BUREAU

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TWO URBAN LEAGUE LEADERS CITE AGENCY'S 'NEW IMAGE'
TO UNPRECEDENTED TURN-OUT IN LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS -- An overflow interracial audience of more than 400 consisting of representatives from the civic, fraternal, business, labor and government life of the city, jammed the auditorium of Xavier University April 18 to celebrate the 25th Annual Meeting of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans. Featured speakers at this meeting were two leaders of the National Urban League, Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, and Henry Steeger, president, both of New York.

Jointly in their addresses, they brought a message to the South of an exhilerating new image of the Urban League in which they stressed the new role that the League is playing in dealing with the troubling problems of today. They emphasized the kind of statesmanship that is required to deal with these problems. The Urban League's teamwork was cited as a working example of a professionally staffed and nationwide community service agency that is fulfilling its purpose to secure equal opportunity for the Negro population and create better understanding among all men.

Mr. Steeger emphasized the unique position that the League has reached today as an organization which is being increasingly called upon by government, industry and labor to help solve problems of race. In his remarks, Mr. Young pointed up the need for inspiring statesmanship in resolving the complexities of racial problems that confront not only the 19 million Negro citizens, but also the progress of the entire nation.

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222222 LOUISIANA

Never before in this part of the country, within the memory of those present, have two nationally known spokesmen of the stature of Mr. Young and Mr. Steeger been presented together to express the urgency of the situation which confronts both white and Negro leadership working toward making real our democratic ideals.

A number of other UL officials outside of New Orleans were present. They included League Trustees Winthrop Rockefeller of Little Rock; Ivan C. McLeod of New York; and John G. Lewis, Jr. of Baton Rouge. Also League officials H. R. Schwab of Chicago and Clarence D. Coleman of Atlanta. Lester B. Granger, retired NUL executive director, was present. Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., a member of the local and National League Trustees also attended.

A high point of the event was an award presented to Mr. and Mrs. Elvy Albert Turner of New Orleans as the "Urban League Family of the Year."

Married 40 years, the Turners are proud parents of twelve children and an adopted child. Nine of their children have gone through college. Two others are currently in college, and the two youngest are preparing for college.

Mr. Granger presented the League citation to the Turner family as exemplifying not only the greatest in American tradition of family solidarity and progress, but also the goal of the Urban League's program which is directed toward the strengthening of family life.

Congratulatory telegrams were received from Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; HHFA Administrator Robert C. Weaver, and from a host of other officials.

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4/19/63

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NEWS BUREAU

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE OFFICIAL DEPLORES 'PANIC BUTTON' TACTIC
AS DISTORTING FACTOR IN WELFARE IMAGE

ATLANTIC CITY, April 27 -- The impersonal nature of constantly expanding urbanization throughout the United States is generating apathetic public attitudes toward welfare problems that have intensified in recent years, instead of subsiding in reasonable proportion to progress attained in this field.

This was the declaration voiced today by Nelson C. Jackson of New York, associate executive director of the National Urban League, in addressing the Eastern Regional Conference of the Child Welfare League of America, in session here at the Hotel Ambassador.

"Consequently," said Mr. Jackson, "public welfare departments have become virtually a dumping ground for social problems which communities would like to sweep under the rug and forget."

He cited in particular the effects of this apathy toward problems of child dependency, adding:

"Too often, likewise, voluntary agencies are unable or unwilling to come to grips with these crucial community issues because they are often faced with the same apathy, through board leadership, which controls the overall community."

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The net result, he declared, is that social agencies, including public welfare departments, "have little choice other than to adopt approaches which are diffuse, fragmentized, symptomatic and, at best, inadequate."

"Any calculated panic button, manipulated by the thumb of alarmists who desire to use it solely to political advantage, is probably the greatest danger that exists to the balance of social work today," Mr. Jackson said.

"This scare tactic has been touched off repeatedly in recent years in many sections of the country and accomplishes little beyond distorting the public image of welfare."

The NUL official, who was the only Negro member among eleven serving in the New York State Moreland Commission that recently completed a 21-month study of public welfare in that state, pointed to statistics showing the proportion of nonwhite citizens now living in cities is 72 per cent of the national total in that category.

This trend is likely to continue, Mr. Jackson said, "unless there is opportunity for Negro citizens to have freer access to having jobs and other necessities of life whereby their dollar will purchase more in the suburban market."

He emphasized a need for "stringent measures" to change some of the racial patterns in American communities, and admonished that:

"Certainly, the public should not have to pay for the inequities often caused by segregation and discrimination."

He noted that racial violence frequently occurs when a Negro family attempts to move out of the ghetto, and that "the image of violence undoubtedly makes an impression and causes bitterness not readily erased."

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333333 'PANIC BUTTON'

Mr. Jackson stressed urgency that actions be taken swiftly, with leadership coming from the federal government, "to loosen the housing noose from the neck of Negro citizens," as one of the primary necessities of a wholesome childhood.

The Urban League, he pointed out, long has been in the forefront of the struggle to secure such action -- a struggle that has achieved some important gains in recent years.

Similarly, Mr. Jackson urged equally swift and drastic action toward opening doors for Negro workers in a labor market beset by increasing automation, along with programs to provide adequate and equal opportunity in education, if Negro youth of today are to share equitably in the changing economy of tomorrow. This, too, he stressed as a vital foundation stone of national unity.

He deplored growing tendencies in many areas of the nation to penalize individual and ethnic groups as a result of "incongruities directly traceable to a faulty public image of social welfare" rather than "to take a good hard look at the problems stemming from urbanization" and devise realistic means to eliminate them and the abuses that sometimes arise from them.

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4/23/63

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

THE FOLLOWINGG STATEMENT WAS ISSUED BY WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

NEW YORK -- "Pope John's Encyclical, Peace on Earth, will be judged by future historians as perhaps the most important document of our time. It is a stirring plea and challenge to men of good will everywhere of whatever race, creed, clime or political persuasion to learn to live together in harmony and peace; for the only alternative is suicide and disaster.

"The strong and impassioned personality of this great religious leader, as well as in his exciting words, give universal inspiration to every human being to work swiftly toward making truth, justice and charity the goals of all earthly endeavors.

"This historic papal document is especially welcomed by those of us in the National Urban League who are working every hour of every day to secure equal opportunity for all Americans and eliminate all vestiges of discrimination and segregation.

"Pope John focuses his great wisdom and unparalleled insight on the sufferings and wrongs of mankind, and proposes the kind of activity and world order that are required to create understanding and peace of all men."

4/26/63

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NEWS BUREAU

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE SPEAKER DECLARES 'OUTPUT FOR TOMORROW'
RESTS ON YOUTH MOTIVATION 'INPUT' BY COMMUNITIES NOW

NEW ORLEANS, April 26 -- The future output of today's youth in contribution to the millrace of tomorrow's adult responsibilities and national progress will be only in direct proportion to the degree of motivational input, or lack of it, provided by their community environment and opportunities right now.

To that note of challenge, Otis E. Finley, Jr., of New York, National Urban League associate director for education and youth incentives, keyed an address to a visiting Teachers Workshop of the Louisiana Education Association, in session here at Xavier University.

Mr. Finley, gearing his remarks particularly to the nationwide problem of school dropout and the necessity for establishing new horizons in education, termed dropout "a malady of contemporary childhood that exacts an ultimate toll greater than heart disease and cancer combined."

He warned that unless a thorough review of causes and ultimate implications of the dropout problem is undertaken swiftly and in nationwide dimensions, in terms of corrective motivational counter-measures, the results "could be a social and economic holocaust of unpreparedness" which no nation could survive.

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222222 UL SPEAKER DECLARES 'OUTPUT FOR TOMORROW'

"For the Negro boy or girl trapped in the quicksand of school dropout, certain special and unique considerations, in addition to all others, must be brought into effective play if we are to resolve this challenge," Mr. Finley said.

The Urban League spokesman urged that, among special considerations toward closing the gap between living patterns of Negro and white children, traditional labels such as "culturally deprived" be stricken from our popular terminology.

"While the term 'culturally deprived' may be correctly interpreted by many practitioners groping among approaches to these youngsters toward higher achievement, the inherent danger in this label is that it can create impressions of cultural inferiority among the children themselves, as well as nourish tendencies by the total community to ignore the influences that depress the aspirations of the dropout child," he declared.

Mr. Finley cited the approaches shaped, tested and then intensified by the Urban Leagues across the country over many years in providing the governmental and community leadership required to meet these challenges in education, stressing that in programs of this nature "lie most of the answers."

"There is no specific panacea for solution of this awesome childhood affliction of school dropout," said Mr. Finley. "There are no pat answers short of better teachers, better teaching and better counselling. There is no motivation that can supplant that of family solidarity, understanding and secure dignity."

The National Urban League is a professional community service agency established in 1910 to secure equal opportunity for Negro citizens in employment, education, housing and in health and welfare.

4/26/63
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, June 12 -- The following statement was issued today by Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, in reference to the murder of Medgar W. Evans, NAACP field secretary, in Jackson, Mississippi:

"The assassination of this dedicated fighter for the rights of his fellow Negro citizens is a tragic example of the lengths to which unbridled hatred and the brutalities of bigotry can go unless drastic measures are taken to avert the conditions that have spawned them.

"All of us who have battled throughout the years for the concepts for which Mr. Evers has given his life, share the blame for allowing the conditions that resulted in his death to have reached that stage of brutish lawlessness. This sort of tragedy must never happen again.

"If the perpetrators of this senseless killing believe that in the murder of Medgar Evers they have struck a blow in behalf of racism, they are in grievous error. However, they have indeed made it crystal clear that the time is short for bringing into nationwide action the constructive programs called for by the President only a few hours before this disgraceful crime occurred.

"The National Urban League, through personal contributions made by its Trustees, offers a reward of $1,000 for the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the murder of Medgar W. Evers."

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GL 6/12/63

NEWS BUREAU

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14 East 48th Street
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, June 12 -- The National Urban League today called upon the Congress to rally in support of the civil rights pledges made Tuesday night by President Kennedy in his message to the people of the United States.

Following is a statement issued by Henry Steeger, NUL president:

"The National Urban League hails the President's blueprint for immediate action to erase from our way of life the blots of discrimination and prejudice against Negro citizens.

"The National Urban League now calls upon the Congress to rally swiftly in support of his civil rights plea. We urge also that state legislatures, governors and mayors join without delay in a supreme effort to develop the legislation required to assure action programs that will put an end for all time to segregation and second-class citizenship for this nation's Negro population.

"The President stated unequivocally the moral imperatives -- 'as old as the Scriptures, as clear as the American Constitution' -- which lie at the heart of the massive means to solution he spelled out. In so doing, he sounded the challenge of urgency and provided the sort of leadership that Negro citizens have sought throughout the century that has elapsed since Lincoln.

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"President Kennedy's reference to the 'fires of frustration and discord', now all too aflame in many sections of our land, gave further spur to the need for swift and positive action in the form of specific federal legislation. This, he made clear, must be coupled with a nationwide moral crusade untrammeled by regional or sectional differences. Without both, the scourge of bias under which Negro citizens have struggled for generations cannot be destroyed.

"The incisive leadership and decision the President expressed in his appeal for concerted effort and responsibility on the part of all Americans to stamp out these residues of evil once and for all give replenished encouragement to those in the forefront of the fight.

"It is unfortunate, the League feels, that at a time when our country is seething in a cauldron as potentially explosive as today's racial strife, plans are in motion for the President to go abroad. We recommend that this trip be deferred. The need for and weight of his continued personal leadership here at home, at this moment, is imperative."

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6/12/63 GL

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NEWS BUREAU

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Guichard Parris - PLaza 1-0302

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE CITES URGENT NEED
FOR RACIAL BALANCE IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

NEW YORK, June 24 -- Private schools throughout the country, particularly at elementary and secondary level, need to reappraise their racial policies in enrollment if they are to fulfill realistically their contribution to the non-discriminatory national leadership the future will require.

This was the opinion expressed today by Otis E. Finley, Jr., associate director for education and youth incentives of the National Urban League, at a meeting of private school officials here.

Attending the meeting, held at 139 East 35th Street, were representatives of private secondary schools in various localities of the Eastern Seaboard.

"The private schools share with the public schools a two-fold responsibility (1) for shaping new images and new concepts about the role and worth of individuals, especially those who are non-white, and (2) for developing in all students a new appraisal of man's relationship to man," Mr. Finley declared.

He urged that, in voluntarily re-examining, and reassesing their educational approaches, the private schools weigh carefully the values of "living experiences in intergroup relations through more racially representative student bodies."

The NUL official pointed out that increasing numbers of schools are adopting a position that the best academic preparation is inadequate if students are not equipped, through positive experiences in an educational setting, to make intelligent decisions and provide construvtive leadership toward solution of racial problems.

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22222 UL CITES URGENT NEED

"Today, too many private schools have antiquated and arbitrary racial restrictions which automatically preclude the entry of some students," Mr. Finley said.

"Some of these restrictions are charter provided, others are by common consent. It must be recognized that development of private school consciousness on the part of many Negro families and their children is a long range process depending on many factors -- not the least of which is a genuine sincerity and effort on the part of private schools to effect change."

He assured the school representatives that the Urban League, with its network of 65 affiliates serving a majority of the nation's urban Negro population, is equipped through long experience to assist private schools in making these transitions and stands ready to do so when called upon.

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6/24/63
63-139 GL

Text of a statement with respect to EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN PRIVATE EDUCATION, presented by Otis E. Finley, Jr., associate director for education and youth incentives, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, at a meeting, June 24, 1963, with representatives of private secondary schools on the Eastern Seaboard, at 139 East 35th Street, New York, New York.

Private schools, especially at the elementary and secondary level, face a great challenge in helping to determine the course of the social revolution now sweeping the nation and the world.

These schools share with the public schools a responsibility to shape new images and concepts about the role and worth of individuals, especially those who are non-white, and to develop in all students a new appraisal of man's relationship to man.

Since the ultimate extent and degree of change may be unknown at this time, the method of change and the leadership provided by private institutions can result in either better understanding among men or more frustration and bitterness.

Thus, it is urgent that private schools carefully re-examine on a voluntary basis the role of their institutions to insure that the education of all students will include living experiences in intergroup understanding through a more racially representative student body.

One rationale for this re-examination is the realization that a good percentage of graduates from these schools become the leaders and influence molders in business, industry, and government, as well as in foreign affairs. Regardless of their career aspirations, these graduates and leaders inevitably must make, at some point in their lives, important decisions which have racial implications.

More schools are now adopting the position that the best of academic preparation is inadequate if the students are not equipped through positive experiences in an educational setting to make intelligent decisions and to provide constructive leadership toward the solution of this crucial problem. These in-school experiences thus provide another avenue to more effective understanding across racial lines, which in some instances would not otherwise be possible.

Another rationale for this re-examination assumes a moral responsibility on the part of private institutions to prepare a greater percentage of non-white children - as Americans - for constructive leadership in society. It is often the case that private school education is a major stepping stone toward high attainment in life.

Today, too many private schools have antiquated and arbitrary racial restrictions which automatically preclude the entry of some students. Some of these restrictions are charter provided, others are by common agreement.

The high cost of private education has been, and is still, a major deterrent to the families of some children who are otherwise potentially equipped to benefit from this experience. This in itself tends to perpetuate a vicious circle, in that limited family incomes prevent these children from achieving the type and quality of education - and the cultural experience - so important for upward mobility.

To help break this circle, it is vital that these private institutions review their scholarship procedures, including the provision of more full tuition grants, as their contribution toward developing the minds of these children. There is no question but that this effort will pay off in great dividends to the nation.

The present approach of many schools to the recruitment and selection of candidates is also a deterrent. Many schools depend heavily upon their alumni for recommendations. Unfortunately some of these alumni - since most are white - do not, and have not, developed effective communications across racial lines in their respective communities which would enable them to spot and recommend a talented Negro candidate. In addition, public school principals, counselors, and teachers, generally, have not been encouraged to motivate or to refer likely prospects to private institutions.

It must be recognized by these institutions that the development of a private school consciousness on the part of many Negro families and their children is a long range process depending on many factors - not the least of which is a genuine sincerity and effort on the part of private schools to effect change.

The National Urban League, with its network of 65 affiliates serving a majority of the nation's urban Negro population, is equipped through experience to assist private schools in making this transition.

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NEWS BUREAU

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE LEADER SEES 'DOOM' FOR UNSKILLED WORKER;
SPELLS OUT ROLES THAT LABOR, MANAGEMENT, GOVERNMENT MUST PLAY

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO, Dec. 6 -- The unskilled worker is economically doomed in today's automated scheme of things and in the foreseeable future, Whitney M. Young, Jr., of New York, executive director of the National Urban League, declared in an address here.

Mr. Young spoke at a conference on automation, education and collective bargaining, held under auspices of the American Federation on Automation and Employment, in the Ponce de Leon Hotel today.

"Equal opportunity will not give the unskilled man the skill he lacks," said Mr. Young.

"To expect him to compete for better jobs without training is like expecting me to speak Spanish without having learned it. Without training, the unskilled man is doomed in our society."

The Urban League's national spokesman warned that "it takes more than good will" to equip an unskilled individual with what he must have to compete successfully in today's swiftly automating job market. It will require, he declared, long-range planning and combined efforts by management, organized labor, government, Negro organizations and cooperation of the worker himself to provide him with a skill requisite to present manpower demands.

"It will take a massive, crash program to get the Negro moving up into skilled jobs," Mr. Young said. "This must involve both a training program for youth and a re-training program for adults."

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He noted in particular the responsibilities that must be assumed by management, labor and government in implementing the program. He cited the Urban League's "National Skills Bank," designed to attract qualified Negro workers for job orders made available to the League by scores of major industrial and commercial firms. In brief, the League, through the Skills Bank, will serve as a "job broker." The Bank is in operation in 65 strategic industrial centers across the country.

Mr. Young set forth the following recommendations on how best the major sources for employment can help resolve the present job situation:

"Organized labor can help by actively recruiting Negroes into the union. By opening up apprenticeships to young Negroes in all the trades. By protecting the Negro from discrimination and seeing to it that he gets promotions when he deserves them.

"Management can help by actively recruiting Negroes to fill jobs in every job category. By grooming outstanding prospects for top jobs. By initiating a training program to help new employees acquire new skills that will help them to move up the ladder.

"The government can help by expanding its training program which is presently concerned only with re-training of the 'hard-core' unemployed. And to underwrite some of the expense for industry on-the-job training programs. We suggest a special effort, a massive program. All along the lines of the G. I. Bill of Rights for Veterans after World War II."

The NUL leader made clear none of these measures should be thought of in terms of a "hand-out" to the Negro citizen.

"Rather," he said, "they should be regarded as a 'hand-up' - a helping hand to save the Negro from disaster and to give him a foundation for a normal middle-class American life."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

URBAN LEAGUE OFFICIAL CITES 'PANIC BUTTON' DISTORTION
OF WELFARE AS GRAVE DANGER TO SOCIAL WORK 'BALANCE'

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 -- The "scare tactics" sometimes utilized by alarmists seeking political advantage from social welfare controversy were decried by an Urban League official here today as achieving virtually nothing beyond "dangerous distortion" of the public's image of welfare needs.

Nelson C. Jackson, associate executive director of the National Urban League, pointed up what he characterized as "the panic button technique" for political expediency as a serious deterrent to effective social work.

Speaking before the American Welfare Association Conference, in session at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Mr. Jackson declared:

"Pressure of the calculated panic button by politically motivated alarmists who seek to use isolated instances of welfare abuses to advantage is probably the greatest danger to the balance of social work today.

"It has been touched off repeatedly in recent years in many sectors of the nation and almost invariably has generated little beyond distorting the entire image of welfare in the public mind."

The NUL official, who was one of the eleven members of a special Moreland Act Commission appointed by Governor Rockefeller in 1961 to make an in-depth examination of public welfare facilities, practices and regulations in New York State, cited the accompanying flurries of "scare efforts" by which some forces "sought to cloud the inquiry."

. . . more

These efforts, said Mr. Jackson, tended to confuse the public understanding of some of the vital issues toward remedy of which the Commission was charged to make legislative recommendations.

"Fortunately," he added, "it now appears that certain legislation will be introduced to implement the meaningful recommendations of the Moreland Commission.

"The individual social worker as a citizen should not be afraid to exercise his perogatives in dealing with the political facts of life. Herein lies a field of operation which needs to be more thoroughly explored and utilized for the true fulfillment of the democratic process."

Mr. Jackson emphasized that the Urban League has long been among the nation's principal organizations in the field pressing for development of greatly expanded and informed voluntary leadership. This is the community leadership required, he said, to assist public welfare facilities in reaching those, particularly in the Negro community, who most desperately need the entire range of those services.

He stressed as an example the Urban League's unremitting effort across the nation toward greater utilization of Negro leadership on policy-making welfare boards and commissions. He cited also the League's recruitment program to develop Negro leadership for these policy-making bodies.

"It is vital to make sure that those sought out for membership on boards and similar bodies have not long since lost touch with the problems of those he is supposed to represent," Mr. Jackson warned.

"High-sounding phrases are of little value unless a training program is carried out to make those recruited ready for service."

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SB

NEWS BUREAU

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Guichard Parris - PLaza 1-0302

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY
DECEMBER 21

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35 ARE GRADUATED FROM SPECIAL NYU SECRETARIAL PROJECT
SPONSORED BY URBAN LEAGUE AND FINANCED BY INDUSTRY

NEW YORK, Dec. 20 -- Thirty-five women, ranging in age from 17 to 53, were graduated today from a special 11-week intensive course in office training, conducted at New York University under sponsorship of the National Urban League.

Certificates for completion of the course, which included typing, shorthand, transcription, English, office procedures, grooming and personal development, were presented to the graduates by Mrs. Edith Krag, director of Office Training Services, representing Paul A. McGhee, dean of the NYU Division of General Education, at informal exercises held in the Loeb Student Center, Washington Square South.

The project, which got under way October 7 under leadership of Mrs. Helen R. Williams of the NUL staff, was launched as an "experimental adventure" designed primarily to prepare and find job openings for qualified but inadequately trained Negro women in the business world, as an important phase of the Urban League's "Domestic Marshall Plan."

A special curriculum for the tuition-free program, which will be repeated three times more during the coming year, was developed under direction of Mrs. Edith Krag, NYU's director of Office Training Services.

The trainees in the just-completed project came from a wide variety of backgrounds throughout New York City.

more . . .

One, an 18-year-old night club dancer from Jamaica, Queens, joined the project because she felt the entertainment field presented "dead-end" possibilities for her future. Now, in addition to an engaging personality and proved aptitude for assuming responsibility, she can take dictation at 100 words a minute and perform other office duties with skill.

Another of the trainees, a housewife and mother, 34, from Manhattan who has been active in PTA affairs, had been employed as a clerical aide in the public school system. She resigned to join the training project to improve her skills and emerged its top-honor graduate and one of the outstanding examples of its effectiveness, according to Mrs. Krag. She has been interviewed for job placement by all the corporations that underwrote financing of the free course.

Funds for the project were provided by Bankers Trust Company; General Electric Company; International Business Machines Corporation; Radio Corporation of America; Socony Mobil Oil Company; Time, Inc.; and Western Electric Company.

Speakers at the ceremony included Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director; Mahlon T. Puryear, NUL associate director; and Malcolm Andresen, Socony Mobil attorney and NUL senior vice president. It was he who initiated the plan for the training project.

Also present at the event were Mrs. Helen R. Williams, who had worked closely with Mr. Andresen throughout the project; members of the project's advisory committee; recruiters from the contributing companies; secretaries from industry who had been guest lecturers; Mrs. Krag and her staff and other faculty members.

more . . .

333333 GRADS

All the trainees had previously received some preliminary secretarial training but their skills were inadequate through insufficient training or long disuse to meet present commerce and industry demands. They were selected for the project on a basis of test scores and interview findings. Although the group was interracial, 30 of the women were Negroes.

A list of the graduates and the boroughs in which they live follows:

BRONX: Mattie Lee Bonner; Shirley De Sane; Miriam Morales; Eunice Remembrance; Jeanne Uzouich; and Carmen Verdejo.

BROOKLYN: Alneatha Bonds; Anora Duncan; Beatrice Finley; Catherine Galloway; Bernice Gary; Mae Green; Barbara Griffith; Audrey Law; Zeleta Lee; Eva Schuster; Judith Stone; and Salaria Williams.

MANHATTAN: Grace Lucille Bell; Lenora Cotay; Carmen Forbes; Lila Mae Lee; Mildred Pleasants; Ella Randolph; Ruth Rubin; and Dorothy Woodby.

QUEENS: Patricia Clifton; Dolores Crosby; Edith Guitano; Elsie Hall; Shirley Morris; Dolores Porter; Juanita Pride; and Cynthia Shehee.

NASSAU COUNTY: Vera L. Gary

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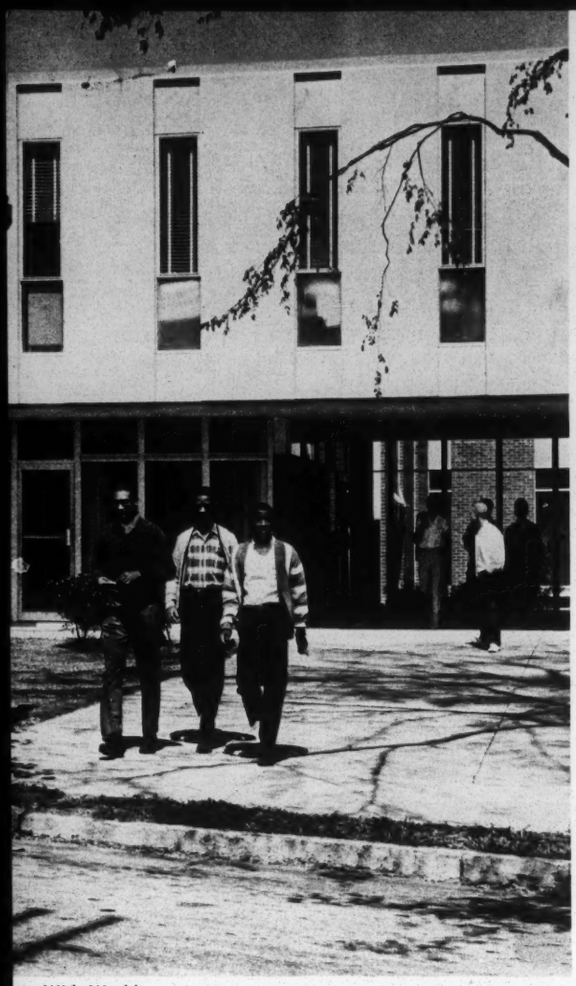
12/18/63

Symposium
winter 1963
Negro (ace)



Token integration has come to public universities . . .

Wide World

MODERATION

ATLANTA, A CITY of about a half million inhabitants, prides itself before the nation as a Southern city "too busy to hate." This oft quoted plaudit is attributed to former Mayor William B. Hartsfield, who for more than 20 years was the principal architect of Atlanta's positive approach to race relations. Both Negroes and whites agree that Atlanta could have chosen a less commendable approach to the solution of its racial ills. Jackson, Miss.; Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala.; New Orleans, La.; and, of course, Little Rock, Ark., are recent enough reminders that hate still carries the day as the prevailing sentiment governing Negro-white relations in many parts of the Deep South.

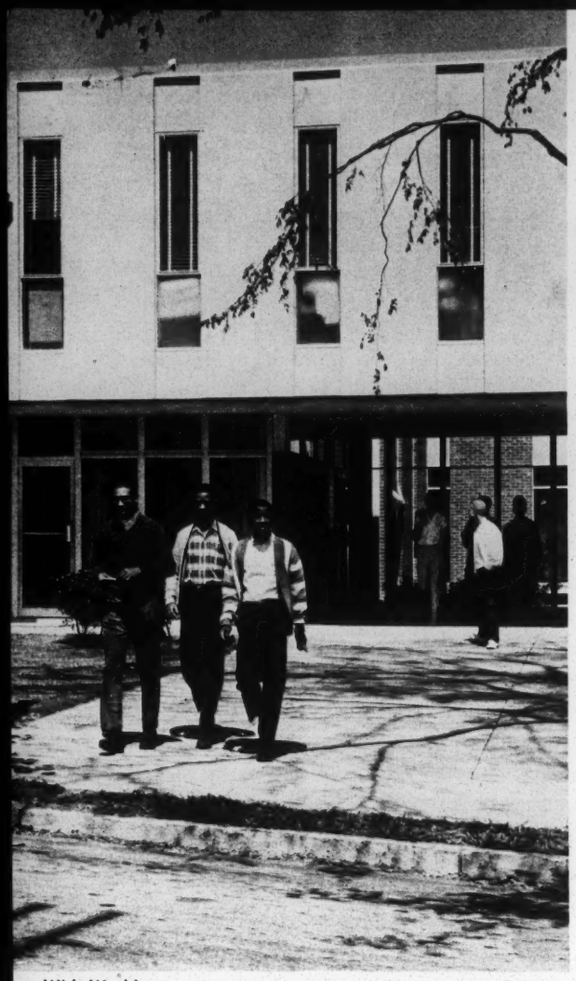
But is the simple absence of hate in Atlanta sufficient to assure racial progress fast enough to satisfy the demands of the most impatient Negroes, yet slow enough to hold back the latent violence of the most resistive whites? An objective, realistic answer to this question may well determine how long Atlanta will continue to deserve the region's and nation's praise for its handling of racial matters. The answer to this question may also suggest the pattern of changes to come in other major cities of Georgia as well as in other states of the Deep South.

As an on-the-spot observer of racial changes in Atlanta for almost a year, I would like to draw upon some of what I believe to be valid generalizations for my analysis of the current racial scene in Atlanta. Although much of what is said can be broadened to describe changes taking place all over the South, emphasis in this article is restricted solely to the city of Atlanta. The question to which I address myself is: "How free is the Negro in present-day Atlanta?"

Over the last ten years, a larger percentage of whites (58.5 percent) than Negroes (31.3 percent) has moved into the outlying sections of Atlanta. Negroes, however, lag only 8 percent behind whites in population growth in the central city. The steady growth in numbers of Negroes in Atlanta has so affected the political life of the city that one Negro leader observed recently, "the mayoralty candidate that the league [Negro Voters] backs is the candidate who gets to be mayor." The present mayor, Ivan Allen, Jr., was elected to his office with more Negro than white votes. A Negro, Leroy Johnson, was elected this past fall to the State Senate from Fulton (Atlanta) County, the first of his race to be so chosen since the days of Reconstruction. And this voting trend is likely to continue, particularly if this year's registration is any indication of things to come. Registration over the last 16 months increased among Negroes by 16,000 persons, a 54 percent increase, compared with an increase of 37 percent for whites. It is yet to be seen, however, whether voting power can effectively extend or accelerate racial progress in the city. In the past two years at least, it has not.

Pressures exerted by religious, student, and race relations organizations upon segregated facilities have been the major vehicle of change in recent years. A year-long series of sit-in demonstrations and boycotts led to an agreement in September, 1961, to desegregate lunch counters and restaurants connected with department, drug and notion stores. The agreement covered approximately 70 lunch counters and restaurants. Only one eating facility was voluntarily desegregated prior to the sit-ins, the YWCA in 1959. Franklin Simon (a large chain of stores specializing in women's apparel) opened its eating facilities to Negroes voluntarily one month before the desegregation date set by the co-signers

Symposium
Winter 1963
Negro (Atl)



Token integration has come to public universities . . .

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by James A. Moss

IN ATLANTA

Wide World

. . . public high schools . . .

of the agreement. Stouffer's and the Coach and Six, both branches of a Northern chain, are the only two of 150 restaurants open to Negro patrons. The chain cafeterias, such as Davis and Dobbs House (with the exception of its airport eating facility) still maintain rigid segregation policies.

Desegregation of bus transportation resulted from a test suit brought by six Negro ministers arrested for riding in the front of the bus. On January 21, 1959, almost two years to the day after the test suit was filed, all buses in Atlanta were officially integrated. Negroes, aware that the highest income-producing lines for the Atlanta Transit Company were those used most by Negroes, pressed for the employment of Negroes as bus drivers in 1960. Currently, approximately 650 of the drivers are white and two are Negro. Efforts within the last year to increase the number of Negro drivers have been unavailing.

The two railroad stations and two bus terminals in Atlanta were desegregated in compliance with the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling of November 9, 1961. The restaurant connected with the Trailways Bus Terminal, however, is currently involved in a court action brought by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to force compliance with the ICC ruling.

Public recreation facilities reflect an uneven pattern of desegregation. The city's six golf courses were desegregated by court order in 1955 but the desegregation of other park facilities has moved slowly. The efforts of some Negro students to use tennis courts in parks designated for whites, in the summer of 1961, led to a closing of the tennis courts by park authorities. One previously all-white court was effectively integrated this past summer. In a recent law suit the recreation facilities available to the Negro population (40 percent) and to the whites (60 percent) were described:

42 major parks for white Atlantans; three for Negroes
92 small parkways for whites; none for Negroes
20 football fields for whites; none for Negroes
16 recreation centers for whites; three for Negroes
12 swimming pools for whites; three for Negroes
22 baseball diamonds for whites; three for Negroes
119 tennis courts for whites; eight for Negroes.

In a recent conference between the mayor and race relations leaders (both Negro and white) the mayor is reported to have declared all park facilities, except swimming pools, open to Negroes and urged that any case of racial discrimination be reported to his office. No public announcement of this policy has yet been made, however, and as far as the Negro community is concerned only the golf courses, the zoo, and the Cyclorama (an historical exhibit of the Battle of Atlanta) are fully open to Negroes. A park amphitheater and the municipal auditorium now have non-segregated seating. In August, 1962, a U. S. District Court struck down segregation in parks and public assemblies. This order applies also to swimming pools. Asked to comment upon the court order affecting the pools, Mayor Ivan Allen replied, "I am sure a satisfactory solution can be found."

Prior to June 1, 1962, Negroes could attend only one of the 25 better movie houses in the city, and that one only on a segregated basis. Negotiations initiated by the students early last fall culminated in an agreement to admit two Negroes a day to each of four downtown theaters for a control period extending from May 5 to June 1. Since that date all four theaters have been fully open to Negroes. The remaining art theaters, neighborhood movie houses, and drive-ins still await further negotiations as to the date of desegregation.

Desegregation of legitimate theaters began in 1960, with The Academy Theatre, a local drama group. The drama groups of Emory and Oglethorpe universities and Agnes Scott College were officially desegregated in December, 1961, and Georgia Tech followed with a similar announcement in the spring of 1962. The Metropolitan Opera played for the first time to a desegregated audience in May, 1962, following an announcement by its manager, Rudolph Bing, that the company would no longer appear before a segregated audience. A similar announcement has been made by Actors Equity. None of their traveling shows will appear before segregated audiences after this year.

A breakthrough in hotel desegregation has occurred. Negro ball players were housed recently in a previously all-white hotel, and Harry Belafonte's inter-racial troupe in an exclusive motel. But of the 125 hotels and motels in Atlanta, only the two Negro hotels will accept an individual Negro as an overnight guest. Negroes are accepted in private parties and at special banquets in three of the downtown hotels, but no American Negroes have knowingly been accepted as overnight guests. The same condition applies to the city's motels. Some Negro and white leaders made unsuccessful efforts to desegregate the motels and hotels during the NAACP convention which met in Atlanta in July.

Hospitals in Atlanta remain for the most part totally segregated. Grady Hospital, the largest public hospital in Atlanta, has been a persistent target for attack because of its discriminatory practices, first by Dr. R. H. Bell, and later by supporting organizations of students and other adult groups in the city. In response to these pressures the hospital has, within the last six months, added three Negro doctors to its visiting staff—but its facilities are still totally segregated.

More than half of Atlanta's school-age children are Negroes, yet:

Only 40 of its 113 elementary schools are for Negro children

Only 11 of its 22 senior high schools are available to Negro children, and these only on a token basis

The Negro Carver Vocational School compares poorly in course offerings with the all-white Smith-Hughes Vocational School.

School desegregation, beginning with the 12th grade, became effective through court order on August 30, 1961. Using criteria established by a court-approved pupil placement law, only 11 of 134 Negroes who applied for transfers in that year received approvals. One decided at the last moment to accept early entrance at a local Negro college and the remaining ten students were distributed among four previously all-white high schools. This past fall, four remaining Negro seniors were joined by 41 additional Negro students speard over seven more high schools. These 41 comprise about one-sixth of those 266 who applied for transfer from all-Negro to predominantly-white schools. Almost twice as many Negro students requested transfers for the present school year and the Board of Education has stated that the requirements would be less stringent and that many more Negro students would be permitted to attend desegregated schools. Nevertheless, the NAACP has already filed suit to eliminate pupil placement criteria applied solely to Negro students, and to integrate fully both schools and faculties in the Atlanta school system.

The social isolation of these students in their respective schools, the open hostility shown toward Negro students in at least two of the high schools last year, and the indifference of some teachers and principals to the taunts and barbs hurled at Negro students in the classroom, reportedly led one top administrator of the school system to observe, "They ought to have known what to expect." At least one gauge of the intensity of pressures placed upon the Negro transfer students is suggested in the voluntary request of the ablest Negro student to return to her former all-Negro school.

A tragic consequence of the continued segregation (or token desegregation — take your choice) of public schools in Atlanta is the extremely overcrowded conditions of the white schools. A survey of all high schools in Atlanta revealed that 12 of the 22 white schools could easily absorb the excess of 4,133 students in Negro schools if the high schools were fully desegregated across the board. Despite this obvious economic waste, Atlanta proposed a bond

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JAMES A. MOSS, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Union from 1958 to 1962, spent the academic year '61-'62 in Atlanta, serving as research director for the Southern Regional Council, the first Negro to hold that post.

. . . and the lunch counters.

Wide World

issue of approximately $24,000,000 this fall to build 300 new classrooms where, at best, only 17 would be required if Atlanta's schools seriously desegregated. For a variety of reasons, of which the race issue was only one, the bond issue failed to pass when brought before the voters in August.

At the university level, Georgia State, ordered in January, 1959, to desegregate, in September quietly enrolled its first Negro student. Georgia Institute of Technology admitted three Negro students in 1961 and admitted three more in September, 1962.

Among the private colleges, Oglethorpe University and Agnes Scott College both indicated their intention to accept applications from Negro students. Emory University asked the courts for a ruling on whether it would jeopardize its tax exemption if it admits a Negro to its dental school in the fall of 1962. The Court ruled that Emory would not lose its tax exempt status if it desegregated, and the University has since enrolled two Negro nurses in its graduate school. The fact remains, however, that with the exception of Columbia Seminary (Presbyterian) none of the private colleges or universities in Atlanta has enrolled a single Negro as an undergraduate.

Communication between the faculty members of both white and Negro colleges is almost non-existent. A recent Southern Regional Council report on Atlanta states that "the faculties of the Atlanta University Center include individuals who have earned degrees and honors at some of the principal universities of the United States and Europe. Yet most of them seldom see their counterparts at Emory, Georgia State, Georgia Tech, Oglethorpe, and Agnes Scott – except at meetings of learned societies generally convening outside the South. Such exchange as there is, is likely to be one-sided. For example, a distinguished scholar, artist, or public figure who appears in the Atlanta University Center [a Negro institution] can be heard or seen relatively easily by faculty members and students from the white institutions of higher education in the area. Only on rare occasions do faculty members and students from the Center find themselves welcome at the white campuses."

The Atlanta Public Library, under pressure from Spelman College and the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, desegregated its facilities in May, 1959. Its staff, however, is not yet integrated.

"On the classified ad page of a Sunday newspaper, jobs listed for whites cover more than five columns and include openings for engineers, salesmen, accountants, machinists, bookkeepers, and technical writers. In the same paper there is a total of six listings for Negro men, all as handy men, car washers, and porters." Thus a recent Southern Regional Council study on Negro employment in Atlanta succinctly sums up the position of the Negro in the Atlanta labor market. Whether one focuses on federal, city, county, or private employment, the picture is the same – a token number of Negroes employed in other than menial positions. Despite the presence of the largest university complex for Negroes in the world, these are some recent figures of Negro employment:

In private employment:

> There is a trend toward the employment of Negroes in stores which, while located in predominantly Negro areas, are owned by whites. At least five Negroes have been hired as clerks in stores serving both white and Negro patrons.
>
> At least five Negroes are working as cashiers in stores previously employing only whites in such capacities.
>
> A Negro has been promoted to manager of the meat department in a large supermarket.
>
> A large dairy has employed two Negroes as drivers and one as a route representative.
>
> An automobile assembly plant has upgraded two Negroes from sweepers to the assembly line.

In smaller numbers Negroes are moving into white collar jobs with federal agencies:

> A Negro woman was recently upgraded in the Federal Reserve Bank from maid to machine clerk.
>
> At least two Negro analysts, a secretary, and a mail clerk have been hired for the first time in the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Negro technicians have been added to the staff of the Federal Internal Revenue Service.

Eight Negroes are employed on the staff of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

But the salient conclusion which emerges from the Southern Regional Council report is that "there is a sizeable, underused, and untapped labor reserve within [Atlanta's] Negro population."

Almost uniformly, white churches in Atlanta have not welcomed Negroes into their congregations. Only the Unitarian Church and the Society of Friends have accepted Negroes into their memberships. Individual ministers have, for a long time, spoken out courageously in support of desegregation, most noticeably in the community preparation for public school desegregation.

What then is the sum total of Atlanta's desegregation? Not more than a handful of Negroes are exposed to the benefits of a desegregated society in Atlanta. This statement applies equally to travel, eating, play, cultural outlets, education, work, and worship.

Twin failures

If "tokenism" describes the number of Negroes accepted into previously all-white facilities and services, then it is equally true that tokenism also represents the efforts of individuals and groups to push aggressively for democratic gains. Only two all-white groups in Atlanta, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, have been consistently concerned about and involved in social action programs in the field of race relations. Similarly, only two inter-racial groups, the Quakers and the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, have a tradition of activity in this area. In the main, there is little face-to-face communication between the Negro and white groups in the city above the employer-employee level of relationship. Yet there is evidence that Negroes are becoming less and less "invisible men" to whites, and that whites are beginning to look into and at the faces of their Negro fellow citizens. This is a hopeful sign, for it is far more difficult to hate people we know than to hate an imaginary conception far removed from any concrete basis in reality. For many Southern whites, this total absence of knowledge about Negroes in the past may make the transitional period easier to handle. Whites want to endure the pain of change as slowly as possible, for their ego strength, such as it is, has been achieved at the expense of the damaged personalities of millions of Negroes upon whom their souls have fed; for many decent whites, better understanding of the Negro's situation could and probably would produce a crisis of conscience.

On the other hand, Negroes, so long the victims of humiliation and exploitation, bear the scars of these experiences and often inflict these same pressures upon more vulnerable members of their own group. The Negro elite has applied within the Negro community to a considerable extent the racial psychology of whites, that the struggle ought to be fought by and for the talented and materially wealthy segment of the colored population. A fragmented Negro group, frustrated in its effort to reach agreement on timing and strategy, leaves the selection of areas for pressure, and the methods for achieving change, to the chance of the moment. Negro leadership in Atlanta is almost totally devoid of vigor, imagination, and a sense of strategy equal to the opportunities that exist.

The alienation of Negro workers from Negro leaders is reflected in the areas of life selected for desegregation emphasis – the Metropolitan Opera, legitimate theater, golf courses, and the universities. Publicly-aided low-income housing, public schools, and employment—all areas affecting the Negro community regardless of class – have been the areas in which the status of the Negroes has been the least improved.

Thus, the timidity and fear on the part of whites, and class and color provincialism on the part of Negro leadership, serve as effective dampers upon the most successful and rapid changes in Atlanta race relations.

It seems clear that in the absence of legal, social, political or economic pressure, not even a city as racially enlightened as Atlanta is likely to assure constitutional rights and guarantees to her Negro citizens. Some form of pressure served as the lever which opened up every major facility I have discussed. But while *some* theaters, *some* restaurants and *some* churches are open to Negroes, Negroes are not welcomed in the *majority* of theaters, restaurants and churches in Atlanta. It appears that only in response to continuing pressure will these activities be fully open to all citizens.

A mayor of Atlanta has described the city as "too busy to hate." A related consideration serves as a conclusion to my year's stay in Atlanta. Is this city human enough, secure enough, bold enough to move from a mere absence of hate to an appreciation of the worth of the person and, indeed, to love? For desegregation involves a personal and human dimension. I was very moved by a television program I saw some months ago. The story revolved around an Indian chief, Standing Bear, and his struggle to obtain the privileges of protection under the 14th Amendment. During the course of the trial, Standing Bear is informed that if he succeeds in winning his claim to be considered as a *person* by the court, then he may no longer claim the full protection and privileges accorded to him as a tribal member on a reservation. For on the reservation only the tribe is viewed as a legal person, not the individual. He is confronted with this choice: To accept, and become a person with all the rights, responsibilities, and privileges associated with his status; or to return to the stability and security of the *"status quo."* After much deliberation, Standing Bear elects to give up the comfort and protection of the "old order" and takes on the full stature of a man.

The Negro male, so graphically portrayed by Lorraine Hansberry in her play, *A Raisin in the Sun,* was once a full-blown grape, but under the intense pressures of a dehumanizing society and culture, shrinks into a raisin. Negroes are now slowly regaining substance and form and I am sure for all of us there is no going back. Desegregation is inevitable and insistent. We can rewrite the old spiritual:

Desegregation is so high, you can't get over it
So deep, you can't get under it
So wide, you can't get around it
We've got to come through the open door.

INTERPOSITION AND NULLIFICATION

Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance, Chapter 5, pgs. 19-25

Greenberg, Race Relations & American Law

Journal of Negro Education

Vol. XXV, No. 2, Spring, 1956--"Desegregation--the South's Newest Dilemma," John Hope Franklin
"Some Basic Issues in Desegregation," Robert C. Weaver
*"The Supreme Court Decision and Interposition," Herbert O. Reid

*Vol. XXV, No. 3, Summer, 1956--has chapter on each of the states involved in desegregation controversy; each state's reaction and methods of resistance.

Vol. XXVII, No. 2, Spring, 1959--"Virginia's 'Massive Resistance' Laws Declared Unconstitutional"

Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, Fall, 1959--"Integration's Delay and Frustration Tolerance," William H. Robinson

New South: June, 1956, "The Interposition Gambit," Arthur S. Miller
Feb., 1957, "Segregation Legislation in the South," Florence B. Irving
May, 1957, "The Attack on the Segregation Cases," Charles Fairman
Oct., 1957, ""South's Alternatives,"
Dec., 1957, "The Race Dilemma," Harry S. Ashmore
Nov., 1958, "Resistance Growing to School Closings"
"Virginia Parochial Schools"
Jan., 1959, "North Carolina at Crossroad," Malcolm Seawell
"Alabama Placement Law," Arthur E. Sutherland
March, 1959, "Desegregation or No Public Schools"
"Massive Resistance Reaches Dead End"
May, 1959, "South Increases Propaganda"

Fitzpatrick's pamphlet - Pol #36 Pamphlet File

Supreme Court's opinion second L R case
School Decay: the first 6 years
Lower Court's opinion in
New Orleans' case 1960
Orleans Parish School Bd. etc v. Bush
Race Relations Law Reporter Vol. 5, 1960

Clip file SSN - Sept 1961

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401

File

Number 11 February 27, 1967

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

FR. BRICE JOYCE HAS LEFT ALABAMA as reported last month in the S.I.P. Newsletter. "Newsweek" magazine, Feb 20, 1967, devoted a page to this. Some readers did write letters of protest, I was notified of 12 that were sent. One member of the Freedom Quilting Bee who lives in Selma wrote to explain why she would not write a protest to Bishop Toolen. This good lady worked in the Movement with Fr. Oulette, the Selma priest who was removed because of his actions during the Selma crisis. "What can we do in a situation like this to help? I know we sent thousands of letters in behalf of Fr. Oulette, we never got an answer. Even so I pray for God to quide us and teach us to love one another as God has loved us."

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LEE KRASNER POLLOCK, wife of the late Jackson Pollock, came to the University of Alabama last week for the opening of the new art gallery which featured a one man showing of her work. Miss Krasner met with art students, visited classes, and was entertained by both town and gown. During all this she saw some color slides of the Freedom Quilting Bee quilts.

To our great pleasure and surprise Miss Krasner postponed her return to New York to spend a day visiting officers and members of the co-op in Gees Bend. Mrs. Witherspoon, president of the co-op, engineered our own show for Miss Krasner — around a hundrend quilts. Miss Krasner had some very generous comments to make on the work she saw. And she bought four quilts.

It was rewarding to my many prejudices about these skilled women to hear Miss Krasner and the co-op members talking the same language, seeing the same beauty and excitement, in those wonderful quilts.

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AS MOST OF YOU KNOW, I am an Episcopal priest under the canonical jurisdiction of the diocese of Newark, New Jersey. My job as the director of S.I.P. does not alter my relationship to the Episcopal Church as an ordained clergyman. I have a happy announcement to make: on January 26 I received a license to officiate as a priest in the Diocese of Alabama. Up until then Bishop Carpenter of Alabama had not issued me a license.

This meant that I was unable to celebrate the Eucharist, preach, or in any way function as a priest in Alabama. Why this was — well, that's water under the dam. The licensing was the result of a long and informative conference with Bishop Carpenter.

My first use of the license was to celebrate the Holy Eucharist Jan. 31st in the chapel of the University of Alabama. All of you associated with the Project were in my thoughts and prayers.

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THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE will send two representatives plus myself to a conference of deep South low-income co-ops called by the Southern Regional Council. We have a southwide organization on our mind, and some foundation money.

The co-op is doing a new and we, we hope, profitable work. We are working on three orders for an interior decorator, who is certainly a good friend to the co-op. Approximately 115 square yards of quilted fabric is involved. For non-quilters we will say, That's a lot of threads! For the socially conscious we are happy to announce that the fabric will be sold in part to Mrs. William Paley and to Amanda Burden. The co-op is employing 19 people to do these jobs.

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ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS funded by OEO in Lowndes and Wilcox counties are in full operation. In churches and social halls groups of adults are learning reading and writing skills.

A couple of bare 100 watt bulbs hang over 30 or so folks; they sit in split oak chairs or on church benches around a wood stove. A teacher and her aides move quietly around the stove giving encouragement and instruction.

The night time classes run some places from 4 until 10 P.M. The land is being broken up now, the plowman leaves his plow at 4 to put in another five hours with his reader.

I haven't been able to attend all the board meetings of the two Anti-Poverty groups but I have made myself available to do what work I could.

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THE ANTI-POVERTY CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE of Wilcox County took me up on that. Would I help arrange a meeting between a Washington OEO offical and local Wilcox folk black and white? I would. She wanted to explain that Wilcox can apply to be one of 30 counties sharing in a pilot public health program. The delicate part was that the local funded group was asked by Washington to set up a meeting with doctors and public health officials, county political leaders, and Negro leaders. At first it seemed as hard as getting Ho Chi Minh and Senator Russell together. The Probate Judge was suspicious: Maybe we could meet in the Court House but then what color was the OEO representative? Well, your honor I have never met the young lady — when they come from Washington you can't specify the color, we just take what we are sent. Says the Judge, You better ask the Federal Building if they can set up the meeting. (You see, whites won't meet with Negroes in Wilcox save in the Court House or Federal Building.)

But the story ends well — so far. After some initial hostility everyone settled down to contemplate the health services we could apply for. The County Medical Association (3 doctors) agreed to do a preliminary study and went a long way to show good faith. It was understood that "medical consumers" would have to be included on the board of the sponsoring organization.

We were all Southerners at the meeting — all polite. "Medical consumer" was a compromise phrase meaning "Negroes."

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ONE OF THE MEN I ADMIRE IN ALABAMA is the Rev'd Frank Smith of Lower Peach Tree. Rev'd Smith makes me want to laugh with joy at being alive and in the Kingdom of God whenever we meet. And usually we do laugh though Rev'd Smith has no job since he lost his teaching position for being in the Movement, his life has been threatened and his house shot at.

So what does this fool for Christ's sake do — my good friend. He tells me he has looked up the addresses of the denominational centers of the white churches represented in his county — even the Southern Baptists. He says he has written these church headquarters begging, as a brother in Christ, that they do something, anything, to encourage white Christians to join black Christians in the county in some slight communication or fellowship. My friend Rev'd Smith, either a fool or a saint, thinks that Christians working together could do something to eradicate the hatred that strangles the land like tangled vines. So far he has not received any replies. The thing preys on his mind, he mentions this inconceivable (to him) fracture often. The other day he sent me the following. It's an open letter.

"The Election is over now, and it is time for someone to speak out, against the evils of this day.

As I look from here, I see the image of the Negro, and the image of the White, need to be improved greatly. Most of the White persons that the Negroes come in contact with are salesmen, the others their bosses or landlords. The good morals of these white men may never be seen by Negroes. Many of them uses profanity to the extreme to tell filthy jokes. Most Negroes that the Whites come in contact with are the immoral, illiterate, or criminal. Therefore, the better class of these people, the Christians, seldom if ever have any communication. As a result, a wall of distrust, fear, injustice, suspicion, and hate has developed. To be sure, you will agree with me now, that it is time for some one to speak out against the evils of this day.

We have marched, black and white together, in many counties and large cities of this great Nation of ours. City, county, state, and national governments have passed laws. The sheriffs, marshals, and policemen have arrested men, women, girls, and boys have gone to jail, paid fines, and some have gone to their graves. The lawyers have written briefs and argued cases. The courts have ruled and handed down decisions from Justice of the Peace to the Supreme Courts of the States and Nation. The governors, local authorities and the President have used their police and executive powers, yet these conditions are still before us as an unpleasant pest.

It takes the Gospel of Christ to move these evils. I wonder where are the Christians? Why can't they speak out? Where are the Ministers? What do they tell their congregations? What do they tell the public? Can't some of these Christians, and Christian Ministers trust their God enough to speak out against these evils, or work against this evil situation in which we find ourselves?

The Rev'd Frank Smith
Route 1 Box 171
Lower Peach Tree, Ala.

The letter could be misunderstood unless its readers realize that he is describing things accurately in his own local situation.

In the land where Jim Crow was born the races do "normally" only touch in commerical, immoral, or violent acts.

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THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT THIS YEAR in the Black Belt is the formation of the Southwest Alabama Farmers' Cooperative Association. The Co-op will service ten counties.

One of the hard things for the white man in Alabama to grasp is that black people are now defining their own style of life: verbally politically, socially and morally.

The people have decided that they will no longer solve problems by flight. They'll stay on the land. The people have decided to press the power structure (e.g. the Dep't of Agriculture) to gain those benefits to which they are entilted. They will no longer beg or take scraps. They will press, demand — politely. Since the people will not flee they have produced fresh leaders. These leaders are interpreting the peoples' resolve to stay in the counties to mean that the people have got to make a living in the Black Belt by farming and other new means.

The most important thing is that the people are now beginning to live on the land on their own terms, not the white man's.

Mr. Charlie of the Black Belt defined life for Negroes for the last 50 years. His version was a sort of next-to-the-final solution approach: a final solution seasoned with southern-fried charm and christian charity.

He says, "Let 'em go North. The Yankees say they love 'em, so let the Yankees take care of 'em. Uh uhn, are you crazy? no more welfare, no federal housing, and God knows don't teach 'em how to grow truck crops. These things encourage 'em to stay. Believe me, our way is best.

It's the kindest solution. Wherever the Nigra is a majority you got disease and immorality. The solution is spread 'em over the country."

So we had the kick off meeting for this farming co-op in Selma. It represented the end of a great deal of labor and documention by many people; especially Shirley Mesher, one time S.C.L.C. worker now in Selma at her own expense; Albert Turner of S.C.L.C.; and Lewis Black with the Alabama Council of Human Relations. Farmers were there. The alphabet battalions were present in full dress. On the Federal side F.H.A., O.E.O. E.D.A., Extension Services, State Dep't of Ag. people. In the private sector C.C.A.P., S.R.C., A.C.H.R., S.I.P., S.C.L.C. and the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.

The problem was detailed, the facts showed a state of emergency for the little farmer this spring if he can not receive services that will help him grow and market vegetables.

Now I must say it. Perhaps I am too rash but I do believe the U.S. Dep't of Agriculture is knowingly part and parcel of this 50 year old white solution. Its Alabama agents are white men unable and unwilling to shed the mannerisms, rites, and effects of having always been able to define life for black folk.

Oh, to see those guys' faces during that meeting. They have to come, Washington is looking. They have to shake hands. They have to say "Mister". "But by God", you feel them thinking, "things aren't so bad yet in Washington that we have to do what these people want us to do."

For to do that would be to accept that Negroes in the Black Belt define life for themselves. That would mean a revolution, an overthrow of a successful agri-business operating on one of this nation's richest soils.

"Co-ops are for white people. Why it would overthrow a century of planning (and maybe cost us our jobs) for us to help niggers push the price of their peas up to $90.00 a ton."

This cultural shock shows in little things. Mr. Black presides. He is saying the farmers this, the people that. The State people get a little redder behind the ears. Because in the world they live in the words "farmer" and "people" have been reserved for the white man. "The colored", "darkies", at best "Negro farmers" have always identified black farmers. For them this is changing an immutable order of the universe. They are not reflective men. They just sense something is out of whack. It comes hard to use the new humiliating terms. They fidget and get a red neck. Poor federal officials.

The new co-op is not getting any real help from the Dep't of Agriculture. It got no encouragement at this meeting from the Federal group. It struggles along. It has no money, but farmers need loans to begin a new season. No farmer joinging the co-op stands much chance of keeping his credit with whites. Yet the co-op has no money to lend. Poor co-op. Its mistake, vis a vis foundations and gov't agencies, is that it is not studying something, it is doing some thing. The study was conducted months ago by poor people slogging around the wintry scene with scraps of mimeo paper, borrowing two bits for gas here and there. Vegetables were test grown last year in Dallas County on the peoples own time.

You know how it is: Millions for research, not one penny to change a way of life.

* * * *

YOU KNOW HOW IT FEELS when suddenly you are reading words written by someone else, somewhere else, that perfectly express what you're been saying or doing — a thing you just hadn't quite been able to put into words. Then bang! there it is. "By damn, some other folks feel the same way."

I just couldn't resist including an excerpt from a symposum of four eminent Roman Catholic women. The article is from Commonweal, volume 85, Number 16, Jan. 27, 1967

"The Woman Intellectual and the Church."

Aloysius: Institutions, I suppose, are not inclined to acknowledge, much less encourage, the disorderly and ambiguous... We live in a world of ambiguity, doubt and upheaval; our religious institutions seem centuries away... Congregations find themselves in a fix; we fear that we won't hold together under the stress of rapid and radical change, the sort that's needed; yet, as long as we maintain patterns high in detail and fixity, we encourage people to join us who need a haven (underlining mine), the very people who won't be able to function in the sort of world taking place under our eyes...

Ranbusch: Won't we see experimental communities emerging out of this?

Ruether: There is a kind of gathered church... idea emerging among Catholics. They want to break out of the parish and create some kind of gathered community. I know of one such group in Washington... They travel here and there for Mass. They are creating a covenant church...

Editor: Do you think there is a possibility... that somehow reform of the Church will solve the problem of unbelief?..

Rambusch: This presupposes that there are people willing to live in a state of suspended animation while this reformation occurs; this is precisely what many young people seem unwilling to do. They are not going to sit around to see whether reform in the Church will solve their problems about God.

Editor: Couldn't one say that part of the conflict between generations, or between those who have radical problems and those who don't, involves their respective willingness to play politics with problems. The radicals say "we are no longer going to play any institutional games," i.e., taking a careful, wary approach, with much thought given to tactics. The radicals seem to be saying that we have to lay all our cards on the table now.

Daly: The problem with the "institutional games" is that we are reaching the stage at which they are self-defeating. They exist partly because of the assumption that the Church always had all of the "immutable truth" and couldn't make a mistake, and they are played in order to save face when changes occur. But young people today couldn't care less about claims for immutable truth. They see value on the side of change and growth, and they admire a person who has the intellectual integrity to admit that he has made a mistake. Inevitably, they are beinning to see through the institutional games, and this means that the theologians are seen as lacking in intellectual honesty and integrity. The games may serve as a sort of emergency glue which gives an appearance of continuity with the past, but anyone can see the cracks.

Ruether: I think that is where the style of the radical Catholic and the Negroe radical are very similar. They are both fighting an entrenched institutional problem; and they've come to the end of their rope with politics. At the same time, they've become almost eschatological and apocalyptic...

Alpysius: a radicalism that won't play at all begins to look petulant, childish.

And yet the radical has a problem. What he wants to put inquestion is the system itself; to consent to play within the system is, in appearance anyway, to accept it and its rules. Now, I think it's true that a refusal to play the institutional game can have the effect of giving visibility to a radically different and better order of things — as, for example, in certain cases of non-violent resistance. So refusal is clearly not all of a piece. We need to distinguish a refusal which, though radical, is nonetheless affirmative from a refusal that is simple and only refusal. This latter is perhaps mere bad temper or, if "serious" enough, despair.

Rambusch: I think we will see more and more young people uninterested in intramural, institutional Church disputes. They will simply get out. More and more young women seem ready to opt out on the "role" problem. They will affirm themselves outside the old categories as best they can. In the process, they will fashion new categories, systematically rejecting the possibility of refashioning the abandoned ones.

Ruether: The only hope I see is for a real free church style that operates out beyond denominational categories and which tends to gather around areas of concern, and in that context to do various things. For example, some of us in Washington had a peace vigil at an Episcopal Church. There was tremendously good music and speeches, culminating in an agape concelebrated by Protesant, Episcopal and Catholic priests. This was a kind of free Eucharist in a community celebrating around a concern completely beyond interest in the traditional structures which supposedly divided them from living with each other. There is developing a church style which celebrates around a community of concern.

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NEWSLETTER
~~SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT~~
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401

Number 12 April 12, 1967

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

IT WAS EMBARRASSING TO ME LAST YEAR to beg for money when the Project was flat broke. That was in July and August 1966. How easily one becomes hardened to the realities of life; this year I have no shame at all in asking for money. The Project's bare budget is $15,750.00. Three of our major denominational members have contributed nothing as yet. Their support last year amounted to $8500.00. If it had not been for some wonderful unexpected contributions we'd already be broke. Our year runs from October '66 - September, '67.

Why is our member support seemingly so undependable? It's not really. Most "Race" divisions in denominations and in the National Council of Churches are financially independent of general budget. This keeps the reactionaries happy. But today support for these departments is extremely slim.

They have to beg and await gifts just as the Selma Inter-religious Project does. If S.I.P. receives a fairly generous response to this (now annual) appeal we may have money for some extra programs this summer. So please consider a contribution. Even a couple of bucks for the newsletter would help. Note the stamped addressed envelope and the form at the end of this Newsletter. Send it back whether you are able to give or not. Let us know whether or not you want to get the Newsletter this year. Mail costs are high.

THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION has appointed me a member of its Alabama Advisory Committee. Such Advisory Committees can investigate charges of civil rights violations and hold hearings. The Committee can also hold meetings in the state to explain or help implement civil rights legislation. It is one of Alabamas' constructive forces. I am honored to be a member.

THIS NEWSLETTER IS LATE because things have been jumping in Alabama. Three churches were burned in Lowndes County. One was the headquarters of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights anti-poverty organization. It was in the heart of Hayneville, belonged to a white man named Coleman (who denies any relationship to the killer of Jonathan Daniels). He received threats for allowing the use of his property. The Probate Judge of Lowndes has helped the OEO funded organization find the site; some of his cattle were poisoned.

The next church burned was a Negro church, then a white church in Benton. Why the white one? One possibility is that a Dr. Staggers who had been exploring the idea of a county health program, to be funded by OEO, was a prominent member of that church.

Our last Newsletter told of the offer of these programs to Lowndes and Wilcox by OEO. It could have brought up to a million and a half dollars of health services to Lowndes. It would have been the largest single "industry" in the county. Wilcox doctors and public health officials refused it. Two weeks ago the young white doctors in Lowndes who had been so enthusiastic about the program, who had spent many hours working on the application, informed Washington that Lowndes would not apply. He then <u>told</u> the Negroes on the committee that he had done this. We don't know what happened. But at this point we don't put all the blame on the white medical officals in Lowndes. Washington OEO did not seem to carry through with the vigor it has shown before. When things like this happen so tragically, quietly and suddenly one can only suspect some power way up the line made a move.

The director and board of the Lowndes anti-poverty program resolved immediately to relocate on the burned site. A trailer is there now. The white owner feels as strongly about this as we do. So we are there.

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THE SOUTH-WEST ALABMA FARMERS CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION was mentioned last month. It comprises 800 farmers in a ten county area trying to finance, raise and sell okra, cucumbers and peas. In January it applied to OEO for a $500,000.00 demonstration grant to finance a project it called the "Rural Readjustment Project." Basically this would educate folk to grow these crops efficiently. Things rocked along. The Dep't of Agriculture in Alabama was cool but it didn't deny the feasibility of the project. The Auburn and Tuskegee Extension staff approved it. Atlanta OEO recommended it. The dep't in Washington OEO that received the application is for it. The economic feasibility has been approved by the dep't of OEO that handles that research. It was about to be funded we thought. Then all hell broke loose.

Did you know that this co-op — S WAFCA - was under the direction of the French Communist Party? Ex-sheriff Jim Clarke, as reported in the <u>Selma Times Journal</u>, informed the Exchange Club of Selma that his diligent investigation had shown a direct connection between SWAFCA and the co-op program of the French Communist Party. Voila! He added that this same research had shown naturally that the long established co-ops for rich white farmers were as pure D American as one could want.

A delegation of about 10 mayors, probate judges and other Black Belt politicians headed by Mayor Joe Smitherman of Selma headed to Washington. This group and the entire Alabama congressional delegation including Senators Sparkman and Hill met with the Deputy Director of OEO, Bertrand Hardin. To be fair they didn't quote Sheriff Clarke, but they did claim the group was subversive, racist, and a cover for "Black Power" machinations. They claimed there was no need for the co-op. The Negroes in the ten counties were prosperous and had all the assistance they needed.

Yes Lord, the childrens' bellies are stuck out from being hungry. Yes Lord, one family made $22.84 off four acres of cotton. Yes Lord, one SWAFCA member killed rabbits last winter with a stick to give his eleven children a little meat, didn't have money for shells. Yes Lord, we're communists, don't you hear us speaking french? Yes Lord, we're subversive, vegetables are subversive Lord. Okra is a threat. Yes Lord, Whitfield Pickle Company done admitted it had to raise its cucumber price from 5 to 6 cents a pound 'cause of us. They signed with us Lord, then Mr. Whitfield took off with Mayor Smitherman to Washington to bust us up. My God in Heaven, Father, how blind can these folks be, why they want to starve us? Give us strength, Lord, we are co-oping now and ain't nobody gonna turn us round.

Why indeed this most powerful opposition? I quess three things. (1) It would be hard for the Alabama U.S. Dep't of Agriculture to see half a million being granted by OEO to provide services it has said are already available. There is feeling between the two groups whenever OEO steps into agriculture. (2) Mayor Smitherman and Judge Reynolds of Dallas County have a nice little CAP program in Selma. It has a few nice Negroes on it. It has a nice little program funded - ditch-digging. A direct grant to SWAFCA would not be under this CAP program. Alabama whites have automatically opposed any OEO program with a Negro majority controlling. This is a replay of the Lowndes and Wilcox opposition. (3) The Black Bolt has been for years moving away from cotton which once used many hands, into cattle and pine trees which use very, very few hands. Alabama has made no effort to retrain the vast numbers of Negro cotton farmers. All but 2 or 3 of the ten counties have Negro majorities. Many now vote. There is nothing for them to do. The traditional answer of the power structure is for them to leave for Detroit, Atlanta, New York and Chicago. A cucumber field looks harmless enough, but it is a very good cash crop and must be picked every day, Only many hands, cheap labor, can do it. If Negroes can command a market for truck vegetables they have the skill and the hands to make money and hold their families together on the farm. This is a treat to the likes of Smitherman. I think he wants a land rolling in pasture, forested with pulp wood, empty of Negroes.

Maybe he thinks like this. They did not work as slaves or sharecroppers or tenants, damn them. They wouldn't consent to our god-given right to dominate them. So now they must go. We love 'em but they must go because they have dared to adopt the one thing they can't expect to have if they want to stay around the Black Bolt — freedom.

I went to Washington last week with a delegation of eleven SWAFCA farmers to attempt to counteract this formidable opposition.

I also burned up a bit of S.I.P. money on the phone getting support from religious groups. They came through well. One man remarked that the structure was left over from the CDGM struggle in Mississippi to bring pressure again. We used it. A lady had just sent S.I.P. a most generous gift of $200.00. I turned it over to SWAFCA to finance our trip.

That delegation, especially the head of SWAFCA, Mr. Joe Johnson, deserves tremendous praise for a most skillful, diplomatic, and reasoned piece of defense. We met with the Deputy Director in a full scale conference. The farmers argued beautifully. We met with the OEO economists, they had no questions. Our third day in Washington we set out for Capitol Hill. We had no appointments. Mr. Johnson instructed us as to our tactics as we apporached each office. By the day's end we had had conferences with Senators Sparkman, Hill, Javits and Harrison Williams of New Jersey. This last being especially helpful. Sparkman and Hill were all innocence. Shucks, they had just sort of gone along with the Black Belt delegation over to O.E.O. But they listened to us. We also had conferences with aides of the Senators Kennedy and Senator Joseph Clark. Robert Kennedy got right on it and had a letter off to Shriver by that afternoon. All but Sparkman and Hill promised definite forms of support.

One OEO official told us SWAFCA's grant if approved would be the first major financial aid to low-income farmers since the 1930's. It has now become a major controversy in the ranks of OEO and the USDA. If it succeeds other low-income farmers in the South would clamor for help. This would upset the easing out of the poor from control of programs that has so skillfully been effected by the Southern and Republican congressional bloc.

I beg you, if you have not heard that this issue is settled, please wire Shriver immediately to fund SWAFCA. You have no idea the power telegrams have. We got that drummed into us in Washington. Especially telegrams from Alabama.

We left Monday for D.C., we got back Friday. Our friends said we produced one of the best defenses for a program they had seen. But no one would bet what Shriver would do.

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THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE held its first annual meeting of the full membership at the Pine Grove Church in Alberta April 15, 1967. About 60 persons attended. The officers were re-elected by a unanimous vote. The co-op reported a gross income of $10,158.00, direct payment to members of $8200.00. Two members made over $300.00 last year. The co-op has applied to the New York Foundation of New York City for a $10,000.00 grant to hire a manager for one year and build a small sewing center. We will know by the end of April if the grant will be given.

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THE PENNSYLVANIS FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH adopted the Selma Inter-religious Project as its project last winter. When PAFTY does something it goes whole hog. They picked my brains clean, wrote every civil rights group they could find and produced a really amazing study guide for each of their Temple Chapters. April 8 the president, Steven Wodka, called me to report that PAFTY had raised $2500.00 for S.I.P. We need it. All the members of SIP join me in heart-felt thanks to a wonderful group. Would it be too much to say that the average Jewish young person in Pa. knows more about the Black Belt than Mayor Joe Smitherman?

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

NUMBER 14 July 14, 1967

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

THIS IS A COPY OF THE "SOUTHERN COURIER" Alabama's race-relations newspaper. The Courier reports news of interest to Negroes, poor people and politicians. It also has a small following among Alabama whites who for obscure reasons have an interest in reality. The paper's address is:

The Southern Courier
Room 1012 Frank Leu Bldg.
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Yearly subscriptions are $3.50 in the South, $10.00 in the North.

* * *

THE PICTURE SECTION OF THE PAPER carries an account of our second Rural Life Workshop. The subject was "Negro Initiated Self Help Programs in Alabama." It went well; over 200 people attended the three day workshop.

I try so hard to keep this newsletter on a very impersonal objective level but I will unbend enough to say that in one of the pictures the dog is Rattler, pride of Mr. Eugene Witherspoon whose wife, also his pride and joy, is President of the Freedom Quilting Bee. The good looking lady in the same picture is Betty, pride of the fellow in the collar, which is me.

The House is the Witherspoon's. Mr. Witherspoon, his daughter Louise, and Mrs. Witherspoon's mother, Mrs. Abrahms can be seen on the porch in another picture.

* * *

AS HOPED AND EXPECTED Sargent Shriver over-ruled Gov. Lurleen Wallace's veto of the $400,000 demonstration grant to the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative. The co-op will soon be funded. Never admitted by state newspapers, the co-op, legally chartered, has been operating for months. It has been grading and marketing cucumbers under almost insurmountable problems. No money, no trucks, no grading equipment. At this writing we are only allowed to say that the co-op is facing an organized drive to

destroy it coming from the power structure. Pressure is being put on the few out of state buyers the co-op has been able to sign contracts with.

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THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE HAS A MANAGER. She is Miss Mary Brooks of Athens, Georgia. Miss Brooks is a graduate student in art at the University of Georgia. She begins work in August. The officers of the co-op were able to meet Miss Brooks a few weeks ago when she visited Wilcox County to be interviewed for the position. Very well satisfied with her background and abilities they asked her to be manager. After only 16 months in operation the co-op has a manager and looks forward to rapid growth and exciting new opportunities. We can only thank our supporters once again for their loyalty.

The Smithsonian Institution's "Folklife Festival" July 1-4 on the Capitol Mall in Washington was a swinging affair. I drove up four members of the Freedom Quilting Bee, 25 quilts, and a quilting frame. We became part of the festival joined by Eskimoes, Indians, hill people from Kentucky, North Carolina, and New York. We shared exhibit tents with potters, weavers, spinners, toy makers, wood carvers, basket makers, and blacksmiths.

* * *

SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION GUY KELLY OF WILCOX COUNTY has been on television. Mostly he is saying "No" and "that's untrue" and "I'm not sure". He doesn't look like he's enjoying it. What's it all about? Education in Wilcox County has been examined by a research team from the National Educational Association. The publicized report describes conditions so inadequate, so unjust, so neglected, so racist, so absolutely indefensible that even the "Birmingham News" has criticized Mr. Kelly. Apparently it would be hard to find another county in the good old U.S. any worse.

We understand that copies of this report may be obtained from

National Educational Association
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

According to the report Wilcox spent $286 per pupil in 1966-67. The state average is $390.00, the national average $564. The county provided .04 per cent of its total budget for education.

* * *

Do you want to understand the extent and seriousness of racism? Would you like to read of a blueprint to eradicate racism? A brilliant statement that has deeply influenced the leaders of the Negro revolution. Read

Black Faces - White Masks, by Frantz Fanon, Grove Press 1967, $5.00

The Wretched of the Earth, Frantz Fanon Grove Press, 1966, $5.00.

The latter is availabe in paperback. Fanon, a psychoanalyst, a Negro, raised in French Martinique joined the Algerian revolution on the rebel side. He died of cancer in 1961. His writings search out the springs of racism and urge a radical, violent solution to its curse.

* * *

"HUNGRY CHILDREN" A SPECIAL REPORT
by The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
is also now available. It is a report on malnutrition and starvation among children in rural Mississippi. It was compiled by six distinquished physicians.

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

file

July 17, 1967

ES

TO: Members and Friends

FROM: Francis Walter

RE: May 24, 1967 meeting of the Selma Inter-religious Project's Steering Committee.

1. Present were: Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Miss Peggy Billings, Mr. James Clark, The Rev'd Charles Cobb and his associate, Mr. Mel Dubin, the Rev'd Quinland Gordon, The Rev'd Bruce Hanson, The Rev'd Homer Jack, Rabbi Henry Seigman, The Rev'd Francis Walter and Mrs. Walter.

2. One of the most important actions taken was to set aside September 23-24 1967 for representatives of groups supporting S.I.P. to meet in Alabama for an inspection tour. I hope many of you can make plans to attend. You will receive more information about this in a few days.

3. It was decided to change the structure of the Selma Inter-religious Project somewhat.
   The Steering Committee was made up of sponsors who represented four faiths: Jewish, Protestant, Unitarian and Roman Catholic. Other religious organizations that belonged were called members.
   The change was this: all groups that belong are members, all members belong to the Steering Committee.
   Perhaps it should be said again SIP is an informal committee with no legal status.
   Since members of S.I.P. and just friendly people attended Steering Committee meetingswith the sponsors anyway the change only regularizes the norm.
   Those of you who represent religious instilutions or commissions and have supported S.I.P. in the past will soon be receiving a letter from S.I.P.'s secretary and convener, the Rev'd Bruce Hanson of the Dep't of Social Justice of the N.C.C.C. You will be invited to become a member of the S.I.P. board.

4. A budget of $20,000.00 was adopted for the October 1967 - September 1968 year.
   Expenses for 1965-66 totaled $15,900.00. Expenses for this year (66-67) should be about $17,000.

The increase for 67-68 represents a salary increase for the Director of $2,000.00 beginning May, 1967 and a contigency fund to meet those emergencies and lobbying needs that have taken up so much of the S.I.P. work. A projected budget is enclosed.

5. By going around the table to receive promises of support for 1967 - 68 a total of $10,500.00 was pledged. The remaining $9,500.00 must be raised.

6. The Director is to explore the possibility of incorporating the S. I.P. in Alabama. There are advantages and disadvantages to this. After consultation with an Alabama lawyer and others he is to report his findings to the Board.

7. The possibility of various youth groups going to Alabama for workshops, work camps, or inspection tours was discussed. The Director would look forward to arranging such events with any group.

8. You will soon be receiving a request for selected mailing lists or individual addresses of persons who might be interested in receiving the SIP newsletter. The newsletter has become one of SIP's most effective services. I don't feel enough people related to you and your work are being given the opportunity to get it.
   We send a prospective reader a sample newsletter, a stamped envelope and a form in which one may indicate whether or no one wishes to receive the thing.

BUDGET FOR OCTOBER 1, 1967 TO SEPTEMBER 31, 1968

Director's Salary	$ 8000.00
Director's Housing	1800.00
Director's Church Pension Fund (approx.)	1300.00
Part-time Secretary's Salary	1800.00
Support and Development of Projects	2130.00
Travel	2000.00
Telephone	1500.00
Office Supplies	540.00
Postage	300.00
Office rent	300.00
Rental equipment	228.00
Utilities	102.00
	$20,000.00

COMMENT

The "Support and Development of Projects" includes:

a) SIP programs such as Rural Life Conferences, the Freedom Quilting Bee and inter-racial meetings.

b) Emergency aid to local Black Belt organizations that spring up to meet special needs.

c) Expenses involved in developing and promoting programs. For examples this year: SWAFCA, Self Help Housing, Food Stamp program.

It need hardly be said that the Selma Inter-religious Project is supported by voluntary contributions. Its program will be as big, small (or non-existent) as its income. If more than $20,000.00 comes in next year we will expand. We could use another man on our staff, we could mesh our organization in more efficiently with other organizations. There's no end to the needs.

But this budget of $20,000.00 represents a reasonable base from which, with no increase in staff, we can continue to represent your concern with Selma and Black Belt Alabama. Your committment began with the March. It goes on from there.

NOTE ON FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

As of August 1, 1967 the Freedom Quilting Bee co-operative will be much more independent of the Selma Inter-religious Project.

On that date a full time manager and part-time manager will assume their duties with the co-op in Wilcox County. Heretofore the Director of SIP had been acting as the co-op's book keeper and manager. The co-op has been taking about half his time. He will be free now to attend to other needs. The finances of the co-op are completely independent of SIP. The two manager's salaries will total $6,000.00 paid by a grant and gifts. The Bee grossed $10,000.00 last year. We aim to double that amount in sales this year. While the managers are in no way connected with SIP formally the Director will continue to serve the co-op as chairman of its Advisory Committee.

Agency file

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401

NUMBER 15 September 19, 1967

* * * * * * * * * * *

The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman.

SINCE THE LAST NEWSLETTER in July I've been on vacation, the cities of the nation have tottered on the edge of civil war, our ugly war escalates, Mississippi Negroes vote and fail to win one single place. Yet things plod on seemingly unchanged in the Alabama Black Belt. One feels a paralyzing fatigue when faced with reporting and writing after this time of critical action. The trailing floods of analysis and comment explain nothing. So we won't comment. The responsible know the reasons anyway. They know, yet they do not know. The expression of the prophets says it truly "your hearts are hardened." And the victims? They care nothing for reasons, only relief.

* * *

"FREEMAN HEARS COMPLAINTS OF 300 NEGRO FARMERS IN ALABAMA." So read a June 29 New York Times headline this summer. It brought a flicker of pride to my breast, which subsided as I recalled the details. Much after June 29 the Secretary of Agriculture made some piddling changes in his food distribution program.

Now, according to reports, if your children are wasting away from malnutrition, and if you are lucky enough to live in a county that deigns to accept the program, and if you are among the poorest of the poor, and if you have the guts to face the powers to prove you are among the poorest, and if the powers agree that this is true, it is now possible to get your dole for much less money and in some few places for no money at all.

Some congressmen pointed out to the Secretary during hearings that it was possible for the Dep't of Agriculture to release massive aid to the hungry by departmental action comletely apart from the food distribution plan under question. I do not know if this is true. I expect it is.

To give birth to this little mouse, to offer this little gesture to the hungry, several thousand people had to go through a sort of ritual drama. The cast was large. The numerous scenes covered many states.

The production costs were high.

Sometimes the curious ask me what I do to occupy my time. Like most people, I'm an actor. Last June I had a small part in an all but forgotten drama entitled "Starving Negroes."

"Starving Negroes" opened in Mississippi. Local critics panned it. Reviewers of national stature recognized it for the name actors in the first act - a senate committee hearing starring Robert Kennedy, and Joseph Clark. The second act, bringing to the stage some medical doctors, failed to generate excitement. It had none of the glamour or visual appeal of the first act. The doctors found it hard to dramatize "borderline starvation". Modern audiences, conditioned to the swollen bellies of Asiatic infants, were unimpressed.

My part came in a minor scene of the third act. The third act was called "Secretary Freeman's Trip". The task of this act was to prepare the audience to believe, forgive, allow, or tolerate the finale: "Congressional Hearings and Action".

Our little walk-on looked big to us. but this is to forget the heroic proportions of the play. This is how our part went. A worker from another agency called me from Eutaw. The play called for Secretary Freeman to stop at a small center in Eutaw and make a short speech. But everyone was re-writing. Originally the cast of act III was mostly black, but Southern congressman had demanded a change to mostly white. Would the Eutaw scene be cut? Then too there was a small struggle in Eutaw between leaders as to how the scene was to be played: a monologue by Freeman or a chorus of poor farmers? some of both? how much of each? This was a struggle between friends. The leaders in Eutaw would gather the chorus from over the countryside, no easy job.

Would I get religious groups, liberals, and maybe a few white folk in Alabama to send wires to the Secretary to urge that this scene be played? I agreed. Lobbying. We had one day, the Secretary was to spend the night here in Tuscaloosa, so the address was easy. I got a few telegrams promised, the usual ones. Even got two from Alabama. One refused from Alabama too. That took some time on the phone. Then I called a leader in another county. He promised a lot of farmers, poor and ready to talk.

Now for a refinement. Not that I was directly responsible, but I had encouraged a magazine reporter to be in Eutaw. The set worked in our favor too. It is impossible to get through Eutaw without passing the meeting place. It would not be right to threaten that farmers would fan out across the road if the caravan didn't plan to stop. But what if this possibility had not c occured to a Freeman staffer? Some one in the party should be reminded of this, should be told in passing that a reporter would be there, should realize how the highway made a confrontation necessary. I had heard of a person in the Department who had deep concern for rural Negro farmers. Perhaps he'd be in the tour and at the hotel. So at 7:30 the next morning I called him. I got him! Sleepy but very friendly sounding. I asked if he knew about the Eutaw meeting. "Do we know!" I begged that theystop and got across the other stuff too. He would convey all this to the Secretary. But as of 7:30 AM it had not yet been decided if he would stop. I didn't go to Eutaw myself. Later that day I heard he stopped. Newsweek carried a story on rural poverty. The New York Times did its story. The Eutaw stop was only one of many encounters with Negro farmers on the tour.

Did the petitioners expect a great deal? They received little. They gave much, all that they had: faith in the constitution and the republic.

I am not scandalized by the large amount of social energy, showmanship, shennanigins, and subtle threat that both the government and the people must use to effect change. People who want things from the state must be prepared to suffer. These tactics simply must be accepted. The needy never question the necessity Only the liberals and professionals get shocked.

But when a real play doesn't produce real money for its backers it folds. Not so a political drama. This one, as I see it, didn't pay. But it ran anyway by virtue of two subsidies: the desperation of the poor and the ulterior needs of the government. It was a trick. It looked like it paid but it didn't. Funny money for the liberals, reassurance for those who would not vote for a government that would let folks starve.

Petition and redress, a constitutional mechanism. What if the mechanism doesn't work? There are those who belive there is nothing in this nation to redress. There are those who who believe that there are some things a little wrong but if petitioning will only be proper and polite redress will follow. Then there are those, mostly black, poor and experienced in petitioning, who now believe there are many things wrong for which there is to be no redress.

These were known as leaders. They are leaders no more, the ground is cut from beneath them by the erosion of this system which no longer works. It costs to lead. It costs to organize. There is a price, related to expectations and small returns beyond which the leaders of victims can not go. That price has been reached.

The nation pauses now. It is the moment during which cries of petition sink to a sullen silence. It is still possible in this moment for the necessary things to be done, even so late, for those who will no longer ask. But if that does not happen a dissolution or reordering will begin.

* * *

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE is exhibiting a selection of quilts at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. through October. This is part of an exhibit prepared by the Dep't of Agriculture for its "Co-op Month."

Business relating to the co-op need no longer come to the Project office in Tuscaloosa. In August Miss Mary Brooks and Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon began work as managers. The co-op address is now:

Miss Mary Brooks
c/o Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon
Route 1 Box 72
Alberta, Alabama 36720

Because of an improvement in quality control and because of our general enthusiasm, the co-op has raised its prices slightly. Quilts are now:

Single	66X86	inches	$25.00
Double	76X86	inches	$30.00
Double(coverlet size)	80X106	inches	$35.00
King size(you send size)			$50.00

The co-op will also remake old quilts and handle special orders in which you specify size, design, and color. Cotton picking and fall work in the fields will soon be over. Quilt-making will commence in earnest in time for Christmas sales.

* * *

THIS SUMMER MY WIFE AND I VISITED NEW ORLEANS. I had been invited to observe a program called "Rural Youth Urban Orientation." The U.S. Dep't of Labor paid for it, the sociology dep't of Xavier University sponsored it. My part was to select 10 young people from Alabama and to evaluate and follow up what developed after the young people returned to Lowndes and Wilcox counties to begin their last year of high school. Thirty young people made up the program. The venture was successful in every way. These people are among the best informed in their situation. They know the urban life now and may make intelligent decisions about their future be it urban or rural.

While we were there it looked as if the kids were going to produce most if not all of "West Side Story" by the end of the summer. They still had to find time for a trip to the Ecumenical Institute in Chicago. There they would undergo an intensive conference, akin to group dynamics, designed especially to give Negro youth a look at new self images more truthful and healthy (possibly) than old ones. God willing, the Selma Inter-religious Project is going to find the money to bring the Alabama kids back together this winter for a weekend where they can evaluate and rehash their summer. This experimental venture by the Dep't of Labor was significant. The results could be used to produce better, more efficient, and much bigger versions. Of course the question is, always is, will it?

* * *

IN A FEW WEEKS SELF-HELP HOUSING, INC. will start production on more than its goal of 20 low income homes. We foresee new programs in Wilcox County. We're certainly trying.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1967 will mark the close of two years' operation of the Selm Inter-religious Project. It has been a gratifying two years for me.

* * *

Across the Black Belt, and in our neighbor Southern states are literally hundreds of small groups and corporations initiated, controlled and operated by Black people. In most cases these groups use or include persons, white and black, as technicians and consultants. These are second generation "outsiders". By and large this blending has been harmonious . We are all learning what we can and can't do, where we need help and where we don't, when to talk, when to let others talk.

These structures are led by local leaders born out of the Civil Rights Movement. These people are the wonder of the South. Perhaps they are the South's first generation of political leaders since the Civil War who truly understand the social structures (and the passions which uphold them) that make us what we are. Our white leaders could perpetuate the system and mystify it but not <u>know</u> what it was and what it did. That is why "Tell it like it is" is a cry of liberation. These men hold but a fragment of power, the hold is fragile. Whether this scene, of which I am a part, is the beginning of something workable or but the provincial survival of a dead cause is impossible to judge. But to those who have helped the Project be a part of it I am grateful.

TO: KEY PERSONS.

FROM: FRANCIS WALTER

RE: SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT MEMBERS TOUR SEPT. 23-24, 1967

You may already have indicated that you will be unable to attend the Sept. 23-24 tour. If this is so you are receiving this for your information and with the hope you may be able to send someone in your place.

I will be in Selma all day Friday Sept 22nd. I can be reached at the office of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative. It is at Mr. Calvin Osborne's gin in the 300 block of Jeff Davis Avenue. The telephone number is (205) 872-1242. If you are flying let me know your arrival time and you'll be picked up at the Montgomery airport. SIP Tuscaloosa numbers are 758-2301 and 553-6651.

A TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

Friday September 22

9 PM Informal meeting with members of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization for those arriving early. Those arriving Friday evening will make their own arrangements to stay at the Holiday Inn or with friends.

Saturday September 23

9 AM Field trip with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative.

2 PM Meeting with S.W.A.F.C.A. officers and other groups.

5 PM Leave for Wilcox County.

7 PM Evening meal and visit with the Freedom Quilting Bee at Gee's Bend. Spend night in Gee's Bend.

Sunday September 24

Visit building sites and meet participating families of Southwest Alabama Self Help Housing, Inc. Visit Millers Ferry headquarters of the Wilcox County S.C.L.C. anti-poverty project.

If time allows a visit will be made in Hayneville of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights office.

At 5:30 PM and 8:45 PM flights leave Montgomery airport for Atlanta. New York connections for these flights leave Atlanta at 8:10, 8:20 and 9:10 P.M.

Please comment on this schedule. It can be adjusted.

Monday September 25

Any who can stay over are invited to Tuscaloosa Sunday night. After a visit there you can easily make a 1:50 PM direct flight from Birmingham to New York, arriving at JFK 6:00 P.M.

FLIGHT SCHEDULE - - - NEW YORK TO MONTGOMERY

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 22

New York		Montgomery
3:00 PM	La. G.	7:12 PM
3:10 PM	JFK	6:15 PM
4:10 PM	Newark	7:12 PM
4:25 PM	La. G.	8:12 PM
5:00 PM	Newark	8:12 PM
5:10 PM	JFK	8:12 PM
5:20 PM	JFK	8:12 PM

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 23

New York		Montgomery
6:35 AM	JFK	10:27 AM
7:00 AM	Newark	10:27 AM

If one is in Atlanta before 9:40 AM a connection may be made with a 10:35 flight to New York.

SUNDAY SPETEMBER 24

Montgomery	Atlanta
5:30 PM	8:10(leave for New York)
8:45 PM	8:20(same)

MONDAY SEPTEMBER 25

Birmingham	New York
12:40 PM	5:05 PM Newark
	5:21 PM JFK
	6:35 PM JFK
1:50 PM .....DIRECT.....	6:00 PM JFK

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

NUMBER 15 October 24, 1967

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October 1967 marks the beginning of the third year of the Selma Inter-religious Project. Listed below are the members of the Project. SIP is about as unofficial as can be. Any religious group may belong. Belonging means money, being at board meetings, cooperation with the work. Some give sizable amounts to the budget, some a little. It is a monstrously wordy list. I would despair of religion being organized except that it is not these titles for whom I care and who care for me. It's Peggy, Bal, Charles, Homer, Bruce, Henry, Quin, Gay, Grover, Kim, Ralph, Jack and Jim.

Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship (Church and Race Fund Allocations Committee).

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, Women's Division, Section of Christian Social Relations.

General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs.

The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice, Southern Field Service.

The National Council of Churches of Christ, Department of Social Justice.

The Synagogue Council of America

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Commission on Inter-faith Activities

The Unitarian Universalist Association, Department of Social Responsibity

The United Church of Christ, Committee for Racial Justice Now

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Commission on Religion and Race

A denomination which prefers to remain anonymous.

I WENT TO WASHINGTON this month with Joe Johnson, president of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association. We met another SWAFCA volunteer there. We did a little visiting around.

Problems of censorship arise from my being both agent and reporter. I can't say now who we saw. That happens a lot. Since 75% of all the schemes and deals I am in on flunk, I also find myself not reporting my activities because they didn't work out. No wonder people ask what I do for a living.

SWAFCA is raising a winter crop of turnips, collards and mustard greens. Mr. Johnson and I traveled by bus so we had time to talk about okra, greens and such like. I don't think Mr. Johnson would mind my repeating this.

"What about other crops that usually aren't grown down here?" I asked. "Well, we got an offer of a contract like that from a man in New York. He was so eager he wanted to fly the seeds down here himself. But I don't know exactly how to say it -bross... brock..." said Mr. Johnson. "You must mean broccoli." "I guess so." Then I messed up by saying, "Yeah, it's that white vegetable, like calves brains in the middle of a head of cabbage." "Oh, is that so?" said Mr. Johnson being polite. "I've never seen any." Then I said "No, no I'm wrong; that white stuff is cauliflower; broccoli are those little- bitty cabbage-like heads; no that's Brussels Sprouts." I gave up. "I don't know any of those, never saw any that I know of. But our specialists tell us that broccoli will grow in Alabama so we'll grow some this spring."

This proves:
a) Southerners don't eat many Yankee vegetables.
b) Poor people never eat any.
c) Nobody gives a damn about raising anything in Alabama except cows, cotton, pine trees, and the income of large land owners.

* * *

WE ALSO VISITED a famous and very kindly economist in Washington. We were in awe of him at first. Mr. Johnson and the SWAFCA advisor talked problems, got offers of help. Mr. Johnson asked for advice of one sort or another like: Are there any government agencies or commissions we have left untapped? The man began to list agencies. How pleasing to hear him in the most ordinary voice dismiss one arm of government after another. "____ is impossible. The only man in ___ is my friend ____ and he is immobilized. SWAFCA is new and innovative so it's threatening. So don't waste time with ___ or ___." Once he said, "___ is hopeless and I should know, I wrote the legislation that created them."

This was a piece of magic, one of those bridges truth can build between men. We relaxed. A Negro Alabama dirt farmer and a Washing economist, looking at each other smiling, appreciating the shared truth that for a second anyway made them one.

How far one has to travel from Alabama, how few can make the journey, to such a communion. What an expanse of Yahoos, phonies, time servers, cowards, and mindless functionaries had separated those two from that moment-so slight but so important.

A memo to all institutional functionaries: when your clients are seated before you, share thirty seconds with them about the rot in your organization. And relax, they know about it anyway. It will make humans of you both, generate bonds, smiles, make you want to go out together for a beer. Of course you may not want that nice, warm(dangerous) feeling.

* * *

WE WENT BY OEO too. You get that good old feeling there. At least in the Migrant Division, and in the one that is funding SWAFCA. Not to knock the other offices. I just don't know the others as well. A few beards around. Guys in wrinkled shirts. Lots of wandering around, like pacing- a good sign. You feel like you can plop down at any emptydesk, relax and use the phone. People smile. Somebody wants to know if you have a place to sleep tonight. A minor chief dashes by, "Look at you, great to see you, God the country's moving to the Right!" He's gone. You wanted to say, "You just finding that out?" but you realize he means lately, maybe as of Tuesday; after all it's his office, among others, Congress is after. Tension is in the air. You sense these nuts believe they can really change things, if they try very hard. A kind of Americanism I can buy.

After 6, after 7, after 8, they're still around working, dodging the cleaning people. Wives come by. Are they all pregnant? They sit, listen to their husbands. Kids chew on somebody's memo pad. "Ah, ah, don't eat that."

Very homey. Is it the last outpost of the Kennedy style, hidden, compressed into two offices? You hope not. How important is style. Would you call it soul? Doesn't it make the difference between love and business?

* * *

YET STYLES can only work their magic on your vital juices after deeper things are settled. Those who meet must be secure in something so that they don't threaten one another with destruction. That security can be in God, Jesus, a great mission, or faith in one's freedom and worth. You can't have soul/style with fear, indeed perfect soul casts out fear. Much dry, office type treatment, routine treatment by efficient, cool do-it-by-the-book types is really a projection of fear.

Sen. Lister Hill had style too when I heard him talk with Negro constituents. Lots of Southern talk: "Ha, ha, yes sir, good to see you; collard greens, fat back; you from there, my goodness, my uncle had a place..." Poor old style. Maybe it worked once but it can't bury the unanswered questions, the nest of loyalties and enmities; the old ways unmentioned, not apologized for, not accounted for; the fear.

* * *

THESE NEXT NOTICES ARE ESPECIALLY FOR ALABAMA FOLK.

* * *

WE WANT TO MAKE A CATALOGUE for people in Alabama listing all Alabama city and county Civil Rights groups, community organizations, credit unions, co-ops, and OEO organizations. The book would also list the addresses of the national Civil Rights groups, how to write your congressman, and the names of people known to us in federal agencies who will give a fair shake.

We will send you a copy as soon as it's finished. But we can't make a complete book unless we have the information from you. You may have already gotten a paper from us to fill out. If so please return it. If you haven't and you know of some group that maybe we have missed please write us and we will send you a paper to fill out. Please help us make this a full, complete catalogue that will list <u>your</u> organization.

* * *

HERE ARE TWO CHANCES TO SEND SOMEONE FOR TRAINING in community or-

ganization.

The first is run by Penn Community Services in Frogmore, S.C. You may remember Penn ran the voter education classes for SCLC up in Frogmore. Penn Services is sending around notices which say:

ARE YOU A PERSON WHO WOULD LIKE TO BECOME MORE SKILLED IN HELPING YOUR COMMUNITY TO BE A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE?

This is no two bit program. The course lasts up to four months, trainees are paid from $80 to $280.00 a month.depending on their needs. Only a very few from Alabama will be selected, but what a chance to help your community.

The only qualifications are (1) be at least 18 years old, (2) be able to read and write, (3) be already working to improve you community. If interested in more information write us or

Training Program
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S.C. 29920

The other program would train you in the same direction-making your community a better place to live. But it will be for only a few weeks. It will be for a group of Alabama folk who would go to the Upland Institute in Chester, Pa. It will probably be held before spring planting in slack time. It will be organized by the Selma Interreligious Project. Please write, you might be able to help your people so much.

* * *

SOME PEOPLE THOUGHT I WAS BITTER or depressed last month when I wrote about our efforts in Alabama to influence Orville Freeman to feed the hungry. A few readers, bless their souls, wrote letters to cheer me up. I appreciated them but I really wasn't depressed, just trying to tell the truth about my part of the world. I'm happy. I believe the day of the Lord is coming, has come, is here now. Those that have eyes to see it, let them see. The United States Gove't,even starvation,can't rob us of the joy that passes human understanding.

Besides, after that newsletter things began to look up a little Why Congress is still debating whether to feed the starving with some crash program. So there's hope yet.

* * *

NOVEMBER 14, 15, THE PROJECT WILL CONDUCT A TOUR through Dallas and Wilcox Counties. It will consist of a small group of white Alabama clergymen who are open and interested enough to come along. Any one may join us. It will be an overall look at SWAFCA, the quilt co-op, Gees Bend, Self-help Housing and the Wilcox anti-poverty program. If you want to come, write.

* * *

THE ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION met in closed session in Birmingham Oct. 19. We adopted the project of examining employment and job training opportunities in Alabama. The Committee will examine the programs to see if they are administered in a non-discriminatory way and also see if they are reaching the people who need them most.

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IF YOU BELONG TO A CO-OP IN ALABAMA or are hoping to start one you need to know

The Rev'd A.J. McKnight
Southern Cooperative Development
P.O. Box 3005/ Lafayette, La 70501

If they know who you are they can help you. Write them for your co-op.

file

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 17 November 30, 1967

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman.

TWELVE PERSONS attended the Clergy Tour of Dallas and Wilcox Counties we conducted Nov. 14, 15. We had Methodists, a Baptist, Episcopalians, and a Roman Catholic. The people came from Tuscaloosa, Mobile, Birmingham, Thomasville, Selma and Livingston. The best part was the arguments we had. In a corn field in Yellow Bluff one minister said to a very gentlemanly Negro Civil Rights leader. "Have you met the(white) _____ preacher in your town, he's been there a year." "No, I haven't." "You should look him up," said the clergyman, "he's a lot different from the last man." "No," I said." The minister should look up Mr. _____."

"Now that's what I don't like, Francis!" said the guy who always waded into the thick of things. "You're promoting racism in reverse"

What a healing, healthy fuss followed. All the elements were there. But from this struggle in the corn field the black civil rights leader withdrew. This was the white man's hang up.

* * *

BOB ZELLNER IS A LEGEND IN ALABAMA. Now he's back among us. Bob, the son of a white Alabama Methodist preacher, has been beat up and jailed in Alabama more times than maybe even he knows. He was an early SNCC member. A year ago we heard rumours from Cambridge, Massachussetts (that source of many vague reports) that he would be back in Alabama soon working among the poor white population. Trying out that old dream, that suppressed historic fact, of the poor, white and black, working together on common problems. He is back but not just in Alabama, his area is the deep South. Here is his address

Bob Zellner
Grass Roots Organizational Work
3620 Coliseum Street
New Orleans, La.

Right now he is connected with a group of poor people in New Orleans who have begun a furniture manufacturing venture. But he is scouting all over the South for poor and working class white people who want to know how to get organized. This makes for the healthy kind of intergration; white people asking Negroes and their Movement for help and the benefits of experience.

* * *

WHY TALK OF EZEKIEL SOLOMON OF SAFFORD, ALA? Don't we know his story, or is it that we do not begin to know his story? He's a black man, family man, good man, running a grocery store, a farm, his own life. He is brave, he votes, he dared to run for ASCS, he belongs to SWAFCA. He has a chance.

A sign in his grocery says "Do not blaspheme in this store." Then what happened? The Hosmer boys are white, live down the road. The Hosmer boys are poor too, on their backs is the same load that's on Solomon's back, only they don't know it. People like the Hosmer boys we say, They're right out of a Faulkner novel. If only they were, only out of a book, but they live just down Dallas Co. Number 1 from Solomon.

Some sort of scuffle erupted in the store, not the Hosmer boys first. Since they just naturally get in trouble, drink and blaspheme all the time around whites too it was not "a racial incident." They came back later to murder Solomon, it is said. He shot back after his store was riddled.

Somehow it was Solomon who was indicted, who had to make bond, who had to beg the sheriff to come out to the store and see the Hosmer bullets on the floor. Yet Solomon didn't stop there, he swore out a warrant. The Hosmer boys and Solomon are all out on bail. The Hosmer boys are loose and mad. Solomon asked for police protection, didn't get it.

The old Negro truth and fear has realized itself in Solomon these last days. He has shot a white man. He absolutely must have the protection of the law. He is bitter because the sheriff seemed indifferent, because he can't get a pistol permit, because his children are in danger. So he talks of selling his store and moving away from the country, far off somewhere where a man can get protection under the law,

* * *

SOME OF OUR READERS are both generous and wealthy. The time for the Selma Inter-religious Project to do its once a year begging is not yet. But for those who benefit by making contributions in this tax year we can only say, don't let our reticence stop you if you want to give us something before 1968.

Tax deductible checks are made payable to "Selma Inter-religious Project c/o The Episcopal Society."

* * *

WANT TO DO SOME READING about efforts to organize poor rural farmers from the 1930's to the 1960's? Write us for a free copy of "Sorrow Song in Black and White" by Vera Rony. This is a reprint from New South, Summer 1967. It's all about the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Rexford Tugwell, Mr. Mitchell of Tyronza, Arkansas, CIO, Will Alexander, Norman Thomas, and Communists in the South. On it goes right up to 1967, Cesar Chavez, hints of SWAFCA, and a monotonous parade of hungry children, black and white, and a countryside drained of its people from 1930 to 1967. It sure helps you connect with what's gone before. It is beautifully written.

Or you can read about the same thing only a little less words and more general. Write us for "Farm Labor Organizing 1905-1967" by the Nat'l Advisory Committee on Farm Labor.

And if you're a white Southern liberal but are wandering around a bit now-a-days trying to fit in you could read:

Seeds of Southern Change, Dykeman and Stokely, Univesity of Chicago Press, 1962, $5.95.

It's the life of Will Alexander, 1884-1956, the Methodist preacher who founded the organization that became the Southern Regional Council, who fought the Klan, who headed the New Deal's Farm Security Administration, who saved Gees Bend in 1933, (a whole chapter on Gees Bend). For me it was passing strange to read. I was tormented and relieved at the same time to read of a man who went through my own personal agonies of the early 1960's way back in 1915. Lord, we never learn! But then it's nice for us white Southern liberals to know we're part of a Movement too, and not isolated freaks.

Non-bigots of Dixie wake up! the past of your race has also been submerged and censored by the Yahoos.

This next book would make a good Christmas present.

The Jon Daniels Story, With His Letters and Papers, Edited by William J. Schneider, Seabury Press, 1967, $1.95

The Seabury Press
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

My return to Alabama began in August 1965. "Go to Selma" I was told. "Meet the Episcopal seminarian, Jon Daniels, he'll introduce you around. Ask questions and look, see if the people want a continued ministry representing the religious groups. See if you think you are the man to do it."

Jon was in jail in Hayneville when I got there. With him were Stokely, Fr. James Morrisroe and several others. We went to the Hayneville jail on a Wednesday. The jailor was quivering with tension. He dropped his cigarette from a trembling hand as he talked. We stood in a narrow passageway in front of the cells. This aisle was scattered over with crusts of corn bread, moldy black-eyed peas, fat back and wax paper. The jailor refused to remove this or the filth from the choked toilets. I talked with Jonathan and others for maybe 20 minutes. It was little but joking and newsy gossip. I had not met him before. The fact that it was one of those bail-for-everyone-or-nobody things was established even before we got there and confirmed in a word or two. Yet Fr. Stines, who took me out there with him, had the bail money for Jon. It was, of course, the proper thing to do.

Thursday we did not go out, we felt our presence made a tense situation even mor dangerous. Friday he was murdered and Morrisroe crippled for life. And Stokely, whose body survived that and other degradations, suffered too.

Why did Jon do it? It was to answer this for me and others that Fr. Schneider, the Episcopal Chaplain at Harvard, wrote the book.

* * *

I'VE BEEN DOING OFFICE WORK, producing our 1966-67 financial report, writing the groups that compose SIP to get promises of when and how much support for the October 67-September 68 year. There was a commentary on budget and program for the new year by the director. Part of it is reproduced below. Just thoughts on the Selma Project and the world it lives in. By the way, one life style to cherish most is public openness, no closed meetings, no buried reports. So if anyone wants to know how much my salary is, how much the Project took in and spent, and stuff like that please write us for a full report.

* * *

COMMENTS ON PROGRAM 1967-68

The situation in Alabama has gelled. Enduring, representative grass roots community improvement organizations dominate the area in which SIP serves. These groups grapple with economic, educational, political, and cultural problems in about that order. Providing services for these groups is now the primary function of the Selma Inter-religious Project.

How does the Director characterize the Project? Please note none of these listed factors are looked upon as necessarily wrong or needing change.

SIP is

- white
- non-grass roots
- liason with national church headquarters
- boundry located, where white and black touch and interact
- information/resource oriented
- pastoral

- favorable to inter-racial contacts to accomplish tasks but won't waste time getting people together to drink tea.
- servicing the needs of black people in the Black Belt first. Mission is not to the white churches, though this has its place.
- pragmatic in association; working with folks who accept us and keep faith with us, but not trying at all to keep up with groups that don't care to work with us. In this we are un-pastoral, I guess. Pastors have to keep up appearances with everyone in the flock.
- a consultation service
- interested in religious life in Alabama, hopes to cooperate with it.
- tour guide office for Yankee liberals making the Alabama scene
- public relations firm
- a lobby
- not separatist
- committed to achieving power for black people
- preaching that Alabama black people should put the integrity and power needs of their groups first before trying to wring gains and just services from the white power structure
- not revolutionary*
- a little square

* This simply means that so far our program works first to improve the system radically, rather than working and planning to destroy it. What we do and what we worry about may differ. A lot of guys think they are revolutionaries.

I have strong feelings and tenative beliefs that SIP is a consulation type operation that couldn't morally justify great growth. Suppose someone gave us $50,000 a year for three years. The way I feel now I wouldn't want to expand staff and program a great deal. How can we do that when I know that one of the most effective Negro leaders in Alabama, in a critical position, operates full time on $22.00 a week? We should give the money to his group so they can support him.

We have helped generate money and program for others, that is a laudable service. Why change? The need is great, but the need is to encourage and support indigenous forces. This year the director will be going to lots of meetings, sadly enough. But the web-like structure of agencies individuals, grants, federal people and projects must be mastered and joined if the benefits they represent are to be distributed in the region we service. I think SIP's structure and the limitations of my personality suit us for that role of middleman-ombudsman-operator. To be able to say, "I know this guy who maybe can help you all," is the rare fruit of sitting through many a stale gathering of fellow agents.

This year it may be that I will have more white contacts in Alabama, be in touch with state members of the groups that compose our board.

This year I have been invited by the people in Gees Bend to act as a research man for their community organization. So that will keep me at a grass roots level and in the same community where the Freedom Quilting Bee operates. I feel a responsibility to the new manager of that co-op so while I may spend less hours with the co-op the responsibility is still there.

This is the year of the northern ghetto. Hula hoops are not the true index of America's cultic obsession with fads-the real indicator is the liberal's approach to domestic problems. Lots of us in Dixie are going to have to spend a good bit of our time fighting to get folk to recognize that rural southern issues are inextricably part of the "urban" problem. Us Americans have no "urban crisis" we just got a crisis. It is in distributing resources that discretion is necessary; not, for God's sake, in stating the problem.

For instance, SWAFCA needs the attention, physical presence, and resources of religion now more than Selma needed it during the March. Fadism must not pre-empt the hard responsibility of assigning priorities. Listen to me folks, I'm talking to you.

* * *

AN EPISCOPAL PRIEST IN MOBILE sends out fitfully his version of a church bulletin. His recent effort is so superior to bulletins that announce to the hungry sheep that the opening hymn was composed in 1867 that I include part of it.

MEMO:
FROM: one would be slob
TO: certain other would-be slobs
Subject: our slobbishness

Your correspondent has only lately discovered, in his thirty-fifth year, that in most and for much of his life he has been a slob: which is to say, a waster of time, a maker of excuses, a spinner of daydreams, and shallow-headed butterfly...

The church would never be in the mess it's in if it were not for our slobblishness(and probably would have fewer members too.) Everyone of us--no exceptions---has a powerful tendency to slob it through life, because in the short run it's the easiest way. But a slob never understands anything; never accomplishes anything; never get anywhere.

He always hopes that somebody else will make his decisions for him, and that he will be excused from being called up to bat. Eventually he'll find rest in that six-foot hole where no more decisions have to be made--home at last, dead as a dodo. So while he lives, he slips and slides along towards that final hole, hoping that nobody will notice him and say "Hey there buddy, what are you up to?"

But the Eye is upon you. So make up your mind for once. If you decide to put your shades on, and pretend not to notice that Eye and keep on sliding along, then at least make that decision(it may be your last.) But if you decide you're going to break out of your slobbishness, my word to you is You can!

The church is almost dead(beleive me.) But before the coffin-lid snaps shut for good, you have time to make one last decision(decision, mind you, which only you can make not me, not God, not Jesus, only you): either--

LET ME OUT OF HERE: I'M GOING TO PICK UP MY LIFE AND LIVE!

or

LET ME LIE BACK ON THESE SATIN CUSHIONS: AND CLOSE THAT LID, WOULD YOU PLEASE.

* * *

LIFE AND DEATH are more than biology. The bulletin from Mobile had something in common with an exchange of letters I had with another friend who lives in Tennessee.

She wrote in September: "P.S. Please send a note at some time indicating we are still friends." In October I replied: "We are still friends. Most people would have asked, 'Are you still alive?' which shows that you are more interested in relationships than states of being. This makes you a contemporary person ..." In November she responded: "I would never think of writing someone to ask if he were still alive... Think how awkward it would be if his answer were to be 'No'"

But my correspondent doubts she is a contemporary person because her mother thinks she is "quaint and old fashioned." Well, everyone has a mother. I think my friends from Mobile and Tenn. would understand each other despite their parents.

ALABAMA READERS: THIS PAGE HAS INFORMATION ON IT FOR YOU

KEEP IT

THIS SIX PAGE NEWSLETTER is a pre-christmas bonus, we almost never do more than four. We hope you read it in small doses and excuse us the length this time.

* * *

LAWYER DON JELINEK HASN'T LEFT ALABAMA. I saw him at the SWAFCA Open House Nov. 25. "You still here?" I asked. Jelinek said that was the usual greeting he got from people. I sympathized for I get that too: you still here? White workers and workers in this field generally come and go-rapidly.

Lawyer Jelinek can't practive law in Alabama now but he can sure talk to you, if you want to talk to him. His outfit is

Don Jelinek
Southern Rural Research Project
802 1st Avenue
Selma, Ala.
mail address P.O. Box 956 Selma.

* * *

LOTS OF PEOPLE WANT HELP IN GOING TO COLLEGE. The best advice on how to get money for college is in a 35¢ book

College Opportunities for Southern Negro Students

Get one copy for FREE by writing

Scholarship Information Center
University of North Carolina YMCA
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Or ask me for it, I carry free copies in my car.

* * *

THE NAACP HAS DONE SOMETHING GREAT (we think) for poor people. Keep this address.

Mr. Jack Greenberg, Director Counsel, National Office for the Rights of the Indigent
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019
phone (212) JU6-8397

They got one million dollars from the Ford Foundation to set up this "National Office for the Rights of the Indigent.""Indigent" is an NAACP word for "real poor".

How could it help you or your community? It is designed to give and create legal rights and protection for the poor under the law. Do you or your people seem to be maybe cheated by welfare? Is a man you owe money to possibly cheating you or lying to a judge about a judgement on you? Has one of your kids gotten in trouble with the law and you wonder if he has been treated fairly? What can you do about these things? Mighty little, you know, if you got no money, no lawyer, no job protection, no organization backing you up when the power structure begins to get rough on you. That is just what this N.O.R.I. is for. It's just possible you can now get the best help available. Of course you got to ask for it and really mean it. And I'll be glad to help anybody ask NORI for help. The Selma Project has learned how to holler in the last two years.

* * *

YOU ALL IN A CO-OP? Don't forget the help you can now get in Alabama from The Rev'd A.J. McKnight/P.O. Box 3005/Lafayette, La. 70501. Write for their newsletter so you can keep up. One worker now in Alabama is Ezra Cunningham/Rt 1 Box 2513/ Beatrice, Ala.

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NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 18 January 12, 1968

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman.

GEES BEND IS A PLACE TO ITSELF.
After the muddy Alabama passes Pettus Bridge at Selma it weaves lazily toward Mobile like an Alabama river should. But thirty miles below the bridge it hooks to the east, to the west, then heads north only to give up and drop again toward Mobile. This eccentricity is Gees Bend.

Slavery came to the Bend in the 1830's. The first Mr. Gee pushed over from South Carolina. If his situation for those days was typical, he would have been well off, propertied in slaves. A capitalist pioneer leaving South Carolina soil leeched and eroded by his cotton for the virgin bottom land of the new Alabama plantation. The place must have been about 10,000 acres.

We assume Indians were still there when the slaves arrived. It was believed in those days that the Spainard DeSoto had visited a village there on the Chilatchee creek before pushing west toward his death on the Mississippi. We know many of the people in the Bend claim Indian blood today and look it.

After the Civil War the people were told they were free, but the plantation went on unchanged.

The river's loop confers on this land, then as now, a security and isolation that removes it from change and accomodation. At some point the land passes from the Gees to a nephew named Pettway but things went on as before.

In 1900 John Pettway and family left their large house in the Bend. No white man has lived there since. The place had failed. The Pettways left the land to the courts. They left the black people to the land. The land's life was wrung out by cotton 50 years before but the people stayed. They stayed in huts, in bush arbors, in pole houses with mud chimneys. The people believed, then as now, that as sure as there was a just God it was they who owned the land, never Gee or Pettway. So only the white mens' name remained: the loop called Gees Bend, and the peoples' surname, imposed or chosen - Pettway.

By 1933 things were as bad in some other parts of this nation as they had always been in Gees Bend. This fact caused the Bend to be "discovered" in 1933 by the New Deal. Exit Pettway, enter Roosevelt.

The Depression had even reached the Bend. The Pettways admitted to their visitors it had been a rough year. They allowed they were living off wild plums and hope that summer, little else.

These people, upon whom disruptive change had but previously conferred the monotony of poverty, now met modern times. What times! Eleanor Roosevelt, privies, Norman Thomas, cast iron cook stoves(no more pot hooks in the chimney!), Will Alexander, Rexford Tugwell, "precious" cookers, the Farm Security Administration and boll weevil dust!

That is to say that the Farm Security Administration secured 11,000 acres of the Bend and began an innovative, brilliant, bumbling, exciting, doomed restructuring of Southern agriculture. Call it a collective farm if you will. Much of it was Tugwell's idea, himself no farm boy.

It had the feel of a European farming village; the people lived in a village and went out to the fields surrounding it.

It was wild: 100 new houses sprang up, then a clinic, a gin, a community center, a church, canning facilities, a grist mill. Old pictures, some by Walker Evans, show what has not occured to many of us: the New Deal did more for the dead level poor in the South than three wars, a boom, the Great Society and the present desparate experiments in cooperative ventures. Fact is, relatively, the poor are poorer today.

Recently the Rev'd Gilbert G. Pettway went over to Yellow Bluff with some of us to see the first four houses begun by Southwest Alabama Self Help Housing. SWASSH hopes to put up about 25 low income houses in Wilcox.

I was about to burst with pride and excitement just to see something concrete come out of a long tedious struggle. We had just escaped the annual attempt of Congress to destroy the program. Five private agencies or so and as many Federal ones were exulting over our feat - four houses begun.

Rev'd Pettway was polite but quiet. Only when asked did he say this:

"In 1936 I was foreman of the roofing team. I topped 100 houses and 'bout that many barns that year in the Bend. We got $1200 loans, 3% interest, 40 years to pay. We had a foundation crew, sub flooring crew, and so on, went from house to house. I roofed 'em. We were paid 85¢ a day to do it, because some of our pay was held back to apply to the loan payments. Everybody's paid off those 40 year loans by now. So we had self help way back then"

If I remember correctly, there are less than 500 present day self help housing units in all America. And a postscript: Rev'd Pettway told me that when the new houses were finished and painted the FSA told them to burn the Gees big house which had stood deserted since 1900.

Could you have quessed that this creature of New Deal liberalism was really controlled by white people? And would you believe that even when the idea came from Eleanor Roosevelt herself it was executed by a white manager who was, after all, just a standard issue Mr. Charlie, born and bred in Alabama. The white South has ways of dealing with do gooders, if not one way then another.

The people will tell you today that the white management cheated and misappropriated. Certainly there was mismanagement, confused planning, indifference and hostility.

But what a connection! Roosevelt on one end, black Pettway on the other. Sounds great, looks good, liberalism man, this is America. Solving problems, man. But oh, oh look who's in the middle - Mr. Charlie. America, as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be.

Mr. Thomas Jefferson, sitting down to write the Declaration. "By damn, blame slavery on the King of England too, get rid of it now before it spreads!" So says Jefferson. What a connection! Mr. Jefferson on one end, poor black slaves on the other. Liberalism man. Solving our problems. America. But oh, oh look who pops up in the middle, Mr. Button Gwinnet and the representatives from New England too: "Now Mr. Jefferson, better leave that part out until after the war-hurts unity, trade, and agriculture. Mr. Jefferson agrees, gotta win the War haven't we? that's liberalism.

Mr. Shriver, Mr. Humphrey, Great Society on one end, black Pettways, etc., on the other. What a connection! Oh, oh I see Judge Reynolds of Selma, I see Lister Hill, I see Armisted Selden, George and Lurleen, even Lester Maddox. (Hug Lester Hubert, it helps with the war.) Liberalism man.

Friends, I don't hate all these folk, they all say they're trying. No, I am just a white man trying to understand Rap and Stokely. Trying to understand why a little black kid calls himself "Che" in Selma and acts so mean around me when people tell him I'm trying to help. I think I do understand.

After the War in 1946 the U.S. Congress set about doing something for the Farm Security Administration and the mess that it seemed to have made of things like Gees Bend. Congress abolished FSA. Guess that showed those liberals. End Act 11 of Gees Bend.

In 1947 Gees Bend was divided up into private ownership setions and sold to the Pettways via the Farm Home Administration. Low interest, long term loans were provided. By virtue of their remarkable endurance at the very time the little man was being forced out of cotton, the Pettways paid off this debt too. They weren't quite able to afford it when the gov't offered to sell them the other facilities we mentioned. So the clinic, and the other things went by the board. Today only the old grocery store is community property.

From 1947 until today it was business as usual - survival. Children going off to New York, folks getting older everyday. Population declining dramatically in Gees Bend and everywere in Wilcox. From 1950 to 60 a 20% decline for instance. Cotton just not worth planting anymore but no marketing system available in the state to make anything else worth planting.

Well, we could write a book about Gees Bend and the Movement. How Dr. King came there to preach and cried. How the children struck from school. How quickly they registered, how they had to march first in Camden. How they had to take in their relatives when the evictions started.

Then came the Freedom Quilting Bee. Half the members are named Pettway. It's the center of our co-op. Then one of the Pettways got a contract to market cucumbers. That saved them last summer. Then SWAFCA.

But still the poverty. After the 1947 loans were paid off did illness take a holiday? Did hunger, or child-birth cease? No. So land was mortgaged again. Now and then a mortgage forclosed. The people would be so sad and secretive about it, then it would be out. Yes another white (don't they ever get enough) had bought land, slipping field by field, back into the "Project"- the 11,000 acres. Which is today, even with these invasions, the largest single Negro land holding in Alabama. The older people seem to blame themselves, "They tole us, I remember when they sold it to us in 47. The gov't people begged us, 'Don't sell it, don't sell to these white folks. Keep it, it's yours'"

If "Survival 1947-1967" is Act III of the Gees Bend story it is my belief that Act IV may begin in 1968. In a year or so a big lock and dam just down the river from the Bend will be activated. A lake will form. About a third of Gees Bend will go under water. The people aren't too happy about it. No farmer wants to see land disappear.

Maps show how beautiful the lake will be, especially around Gees Bend. We got lakes in Alabama: T.V.A. in the north, Logan Martin near Birmingham, Walter George lake on the Chattahoochee. Where the lakes are things develop: hunting lodges, boat landings, lake-front cabins, resturants. Why not in Gees Bend? Sure enough, didn't the president of one of the banks in Camden just recently buy some land in the Bend?

Rev'd Pettway and I checked over maps I had secured in Tuscaloosa. His plot will be a peice of lake-front property. Other whites holding mortgages or just wanting to buy are pushing. Why? Don't they have the whole rest of the lake from Millers Ferry to Cahaba?

But land prices are depressed (traditionally) in Gees Bend. Today it would be possible to buy on the lake for $150.00 an acre.

The potential others seem to see has slowly been dawning on me and the people in Gees Bend. "The Boykin Improvement Association," recently resolved: "To do all in our power to keep waterfront property in the hands of the community" Rev'd Pettway is preaching that the lake may be a source of income. People are catching on - and thinking. Yet even so, some very good waterfront land is mortgaged amd may be forclosed any minute. Or in another case, a man must sell waterfront land to pay off a mortgage on his house so he will have a house and at least a garden plot for his old age.

We have dreamed so far as to see Gees Bend as a recreational tourist spot for Negroes. Not just in Alabama but (why not) from Detroit, Harlem, Chicago. Even the FHA agent is helpful; loans for recreational developments are available. Rev'd Pettway talked to him recently. But no money iso available to do the first thing: keep Gees Bend's best land from being taken away. Back a month ago I got so dist bed about the crisis over the water-front land that I gave the Boykin Improvement Association $1,000.00 of S.I.P. 1968 money. A drop. But perhaps they could use it to pay a mortgage note or two or pick up an option on property that some individual just had to sell.

Today we are hustling, reading gov't pamphlets, thinking, writing people, plotting. Maybe the lake will pay off. The rock hard, patient people of Gees Bend want to stay there, try again, and keep their land.

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NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 19 February 2, 1968

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THIS WILL BE THE LAST NEWSLETTER YOU WILL RECEIVE unless you return the slip that's on top of this page. Use the stamped addressed envelope.

Even if you don't want to get the Newsletter anymore use the slip and the envelope to let us know. We only waste postage when someone gets it who does not read it.

* * *

THIS IS ALSO OUR ANNUAL BEGGING LETTER. WE NEED MONEY. Last year individuals gave over $5,500.00 to the Project. We spent $16,250 last year. This year we hope to spend $20,000.00. That's our budget, anyway. So you see that we have come to depend on individual contributions.

Having lost every shred of my old Episcopalian reticence about getting emotional and frank about money, I earnestly hope you will make a generous contribution to keep me right here in Alabama.

* * *

LAST MONTH ONE OF THE PROJECT'S LONG HAUL, SNALL HOPE PLOTS PAID OFF. I wish I could surround the telling of it with red and blue star bursts.

Almost two years ago I was introduced to Mr. Stanley Selengut in New York City by Miss Doris O' Donnell. Miss O' Donnell is chief among those good friends in New York who spend a lot of their unpaid time promoting and scheming for the Freedom Quilting Bee. Mr. Selengut is a man who has built up an impressive business as a promoter, producer and broker of crafts-worldwide. His record shows he has served, among others, the State Department, the Zuni Indians, OEO, the Poor Peoples Corporation of Mississippi, General Learning and Holiday Magazine's gift section.

Besides all that, Stanley is a warm reasonable person who seems to be able to appreciate any folks set before him: poor rural quilters, unorthodox clergymen, or Ecuardorian Panama hat weavers.

Seeing Stanley at home in an office lined with crafts from the world over, it was obvious he was what we needed. He agreed. But even if he flew down to see the co-op for free (which he offered to do) we couldn't take his advice. Because his advice was to offer his knowledge of marketing and promoting and to recommend expansion and new products.

This took money, a good bit, for to spend less than a certain minimum was only to prolong a venture which he felt could never grow or increase its profits. Then too, back in those days our co-op did not have the unity and trust it has today among it members. In organizing, the last thing you want is the kind of hollow success that fills peoples' pockets but buys them off from running what they own and organizing their own lives. So the idea had to be shoved to the back of our heads. I would write Stanley every so often, tell Doris to give him our love. We all waited for something to happen.

Part of the game is to tell everyone about everyone else. This happened when the Southern Federation of co-ops was organized. But again, no money. Before it was officially announced that the Ford Foundation had funded Southern Consumers of Lafayette, Louisiana, I was on the phone to Fr. McKnight to tell him of Selengut and our program for the development of the Freedom Quilting Bee and other poor peoples' manufacturing co-ops.

Much later-- around Christmas-Fr. McKnight met in Selma with me and the managers of the co-op. This time things worked. On January 16 I was at the Montgomery Airport to pick up Stanley, Sara Stine, a toy designer, and Joseph Rodd, a furniture designer and woodwork production specialist.

We had a tremendous meeting that night at the church in Gees Bend; Fr. McKnight and his staff were there and a large and interested group of local people.

The next day Mrs. Stine looked at products and talked to people, Stanley thought.

A beautiful deal came out of the next day's meeting. Southern Consumers "hired" Selengut Associates. Selengut offered to work for expenses. The co-op received a $2000.00 management subsidy grant and a $5000.00 loan. What a loan: repayment at 3% interest at the rate of 10% of annual profits.

The idea is to form a demonstration group of 25 or 30 co-op members and show that we can raise their income from 25¢ to a dollar an hour in one year. The group will receive special training from Mrs. Stine, and Selengut Associates will buy fabric for us in the New York market.

We will build up an inventory of quilts and the new products Mrs. Stine will invent, then take these out and get contracts from stores. There is a phase two to this but that can wait.

The ladies can look forward to quilting satin and silk and making more money than they ever have off the land. But ladies, learn not only how to sew but how to manage, how to keep books, how to run your own show.

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AT THE SAME TIME the Freedom Quilting Bee discovered it is the subject of a doctoral thesis. Miss Jeri Richardson has chosen the co-op as her subject for a degree in art education at Indiana University. She is in Alberta now doing some of the research. Can one ever use things like that in drafting grant proposals!

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MANY PEOPLE IN ALABAMA were deeply saddened to learn of the death, after a long illness, of Jaunita Harrell, wife of the present director of the Southwest Alabama Self Help Housing Association.

Dan and Juanita were among the first civil rights workers to come to Wilcox. He was project director of the county for SCLC. One resident of the county remembers Juanita during the voter registration marches in Camden. "She walked up and down the lines with her face toward the sky and she told us, 'Don't be afraid children, the Lord is on our side'." Juanita was a tiny, delicate woman, very striking. I recall her in the winter of '65 at a typewriter in the ever drafty, cold church in Camden, while the rest of us huddled around a propane heater. Both she and Dan knew that her illness was greatly aggravated by exposure and over exertion. But exposure and over exertion were her contribution to the county as we gathered nearly a hundred cases of eviction for the Justice Department. No case was ever brought to court, none ever will be. It's forgotten. But people will not forget for a long time Juanita's devotion to her husband and her love for the people of Wilcox County.

EVERETT WENRICK AND HIS WIFE ANN USED TO LIVE IN SELMA. Everett and Ann took the place of Jonathan Daniels, who died in Hayneville. They put in a year. Everett is now finishing up at Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Mass. Everett has a friend who has one of those family-style small foundations. One thing leading to another, Everett was able to get a contribution from the foundation of $1000.00. It went to our Selma Project. Everett came down to revisit old friends in Selma over Christmas. Then he and I decided to give the money to the Day Care Center across the Pettus Bridge from Selma.

The Day Care Center is one of hundreds of ventures across the South that start like this: We got a terrible need, no money, no experience, no place to set up, no outside help, no contacts. What do we do? Do? Let's get started and worry about that later.

The Day Care Center provides a service for about 30 children. All teachers work for nothing, beg for food for the children, who often come there hungry. They meet in a church. They can operate on $50.00 a month when they get it, on none when they don't. The thousand will allow them to buy some toys and equipment, but mostly food.

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JAN 22-25 The Project helped sponsor a second conference at Baytreat Camp on Mobile Bay. We had the first one a year ago. This year our theme was "Who Are Our Enemies--what is our relationship to radical elements in American society."

About 25 people came. Organizations represented by people were the Delta Ministry,(Miss.), the Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund(Ga. & Tenn.), the Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity(USA), Self Help Housing(Ala.), Southern Regional Council(South), Southern Rural Research Project(Miss. & Ala.), Lowndes County Christian Movement(Ala.). Then there were students from the University of Alabama, clergymen and friends.

The talk was wide ranging. We had no agenda, no need to produce anything. My own reaction to it was this: It was a strain, all hail the strain.

We didn't lapse into black and white caucuses, but we could have. There is now a solid black movement with its own pace, style and needs. White liberals are still unsure of themselves in the South, they are still getting lots of money. Everyone talks about organizing around the needs of poor whites, but helpful analogies between this and the black revolution are not there. Besides that, movemants among whites are going to grow like Topsy just as the black ones did. All the Baytreats in the world won't produce a plan.

But it still bugged me. This week I got an invitation from the A. Philip Randolph Institute(you know, Bayard Rustin) and the Southern Regional Council. Big deal at an Atlanta Hotel in late February. I am invited. The idea is spelled out: The South is different; we aren't ghettoized yet, nor industrialized; we have had some gutsy confrontations with racism in the South. The North has always relied on hypocrisy. So the grand idea of coalition and reform, of which Rustin is the best spokesman, is a natural for the South. Chuck Morgan, our ACLU director, dreams like that too: The South becoming the model to the rest of the nation of the two races solving problems together.

Is this true, or is the other true-- that I heard at Baytreat? It's too late, baby. The bill is due. So, as I have asked before, is the South in which I can still operate as a white a new thing with a potential or only a provincial back water? Will I and my clients decide soon that we can no longer function? Or can the collaboration possibly go on without--as has always been the case so far--destroying the black man's integrity?

I hedge. I probably will go to Atlanta; but if there are a lot of people who are as unsure about it as I, I may just come home early.

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SELF HELP HOUSING HAD HOPED TO EXPAND into Lowndes, Dallas, Clark and Monroe counties. Our refunding for the second year was to have included this. OEO funds the corporation, the corporation staff forms associations of five to ten families who borrow money from the Farmers Home Administration to build single family houses. The staff then trains the associations to select house plans, see the applications through FHA, acquire property, settle titles(a very difficult problem in the Black Belt) and finally build the houses as a team. Result: an FHA house assessed at maybe $9000.00 for way less half that amount borrowed.

All that ruckus in Congress remember? All that fight about OEO, the President's guns and butter speeches. Political chickens come home to roost. If you're poor you are on familiar terms with those chickens because you are where the roost is at. We middle class types read about this stuff and worry about it but never see the chickens face to face. SWASSH was up to its neck in chickens last week. Our proposal for a $280,000.00 housing program got a preview from one of our OEO agents. He said a 50 thousand proposal would be more in line, and suggested we only expand into one other county. We feel we will build over 30 houses with this year's $38,000. We wanted to do so much more. I'll let you know how it comes out.

ONE MORE PLUG: Did I ever tell you that the newsletter can't be mailed at the bulk rate for religious organizations? After a theological debate with the Birmingham Postmaster, it was decreed that the Newsletter is not "religious." SIP is not a legally chartered religious group either, so it costs to be secular. O God, incline us to get a little charge out of teensy persecutions but not use them for nourishment. Amen.

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 20 April 9, 1968

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman.

GENEROUS NEWSLETTER READERS have contributed over $2000.00 to the Selma Inter-religious Project. Mel Dubin our chairman, all members of the committee, and myself wish to thank you all. The mailing list is slimmed down to around 275. We bought an addressograph and have converted to a commerical 3rd class bulk rate.

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THE SOUTHWEST ALABAMA FARMERS CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION(SWAFCA) has announced the confirmation of an $800,000 loan from the U.S. Dep't of Agricuture and a $300,000 renewal grant from O.E.O..Among other things, the co-op plans to construct receiving sheds in each of the 10 counties it serves, buy or rent the necessary trucks, and set up a revolving loan fund for its members. SWAFCA's new board chairman, Mr. William Harrison, said that membership is now about 2000 families. Total political opposition is still the rule. Two weeks ago the Lowndes County field specialist was arrested for "possession of marijuana." SWAFCA is the biggest and best economic project poor people in the South have mounted.

A GROUP OF STUDENTS FROM PERDUE made a trip through Alabama the first of this month. It was my privilege to take them over to the SWAFCA office then over to the Freedom Quilting Bee office. They spent the night in Wilcox County in the homes of the quilt co-op members.

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"THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS IN 1967" this is the title of the annual report of Fay Bennet, Executive Secretary of National Sharecroppers Fund, to the board of that organization. Let me quote a couple of things.

Item "The annual out migration from agriculture exceeded a million in the 1950-60 decade; it averaged almost 800,000 annually (underlining mine) from 1960 to 1965."

Item "Most of the Poor are White" ... a recent Dep't of Agriculture report on White Americans in Rural Poverty reveals that of 9.65 million who live in non-metropolitan areas ... 80 per cent of them were white.

Of all farm families in poverty, 85 per cent are white... because of their lack of organization, poor whites have benefited even less than poor Negroes from the gains made in recent years."

Item "It is now admitted that the major beneficaries of the agriculture subsidy policy have been the large producers... A report prepared for the National Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty studied the distribution of benefits of the various farm commodity programs for selected years since 1960 and found that... in cotton... less then 1 per cent (of the dollars go to the 10 per cent who received the smallest payments opposed to 50 per cent of the money going to the 10 per cent with the largest payments)."

That last is complicated sounding but all in the world it means is that very rich farmers get more of the gov't money than the poor farmers.

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HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE? A few of the young Negro men in the "rurals" (as we call it down here) don't leave to go seeking bread in the city. Perhaps they are wiser not to go to the ghetto, I don't know. Here at every turn their manhood is insulted by our culture, our nation. I see them standing around a store; or pacing the grassy edge of the black top, hanging onto their cool, tottering on the edge of madness. They do not belong to SWAFCA, they do not quilt. What hostility theybear, not muffled by a cancerous self-hate, surfaces occasionally in petty vandalism and violence among their own.

But injustice today is a perfect, patient teacher. These men may soon learn to direct their violence toward more realistic and productive ends. Given business as usual in the nation, the rurals may be the first to produce a sustained guerilla movement. Just think of all the cotton gins Mr. Charlie lets sit around unprotected, not to mention his lakes, corn fields, cattle, barns and pine trees.

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A VOLUNTEER PROGRAM THIS SUMMER IS ASKING FOR STUDENTS - college students, medical students, and law students. This is a program of the Southern Rural Research Project run by our fellow worker, Mr. Don Jelinek. The following is reproduced from a brief description of it:

"CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS NEEDED IN
Mississippi, Alabama & Georgia
Summer - 1968

Many black people are starving by malnutrition in these areas. The Southern Rural Research Project has a massive direct action program planned to fight the discrimination in Federal agriculture and welfare programs which causes much of this suffering. College students, medical students, and law students are needed to work in the field this summer whether for a few weeks or for the entire summer. For further information contact: SRRP, P.O. Box 2427 Opelika, Alabama 36801

The coordinator of recruitment in Opelika is Barbara Oppenheimer. Write her about it if interested. And don't let all the talk about college students put you off.

If you are an Alabamian or have any experience in the Movement you should certainly ask to volunteer. We have about 30 copies of a prospectus of the program. We'd be glad to mail anyone a single copy.

This is an reasoned, well timed program. It is admittedly a very conservative approach because all it aims to do is help people get benefits the law already provides.

Indirectly, of course, it will advance the cause of a radical restructuring of the welfare system so badly needed.

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LAST FEBRUARY WE MENTIONED THE S.H.A.P.E. DAY CARE CENTER which operates at St. Paul's AME Church across the river from Selma in a community called Selmont. The women who voluntarily operate it provide for over 30 children of working mothers. When food is available the children receive it. They come from homes where hunger is no stranger. The people who operate the center are not what you'd call Selma City Hall Negroes. Indeed, all of them are people who have been unable to go along with the adjustments of some Negro consciences that allowed Wallace to boast(accurately) that the great majority of Negroes in Selma voted for his wife.

In January the Center was visited by the fire dep't and the Dallas County Health Department. On January 26 a letter from Alabama State Welfare wrote "to recommed that this operation be closed immediately" because "the health department states that the facility is not adequate for the purpose for which it is being used."

Mrs. Theoda Smith, the director, told me recently that they used some of the money from a gift (I mentioned this last newsletter) to fix up what the health and fire people said was wrong. So now (April 1) Mrs. Smith was told that they'd changed their minds apparently and the whole building, despite repairs, is still inadequate. Naively reasonable people would believe that the health department and the state welfare people would be doing everything they could to encourage this enterprise. They in turn "believe" they are only maintaining the law.

It was the man Paul, in whose honor the delapidated building is named, who said, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

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SOME BOOKS AND PAPERS YOU MIGHT WANT TO BUY OR BORROW ARE LISTED BELOW.

"Confessions of Nat Turner," order from Uniprint, Box 2094 Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 Costs $1.50.

This is the testimony of a Negro who tried to lead a revolt against slavery in Virginia in 1831. After 55 whites were killed and many black people, he was caught and hung. This is his statement taken down by a lawyer who visited him in jail.

Soul on Ice, by Eldridge Cleaver, McGraw Hill, 1968, $5.95. Copy all this down to identify the book. If you live in Alabama you can order this book or any books you need through

The Episcopal Book Store
2019 6th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Mr. Cleaver, a Negro, writes about himself, about the problems of being black in America today. A lot a high school kids I know should read this.

" Events at Orangeburg" Special Report by the Southern Regional Council, 30¢.

" Memphis-More than a Garbage Strike," Special Report by the Southern Regional Council. 30¢. Both of these car be ordered through

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Slam! Bang! go the headlines Flash! Flash! the T.V. More violence, more racial trouble, but how did it start?

What happened before? These two reports go behind events in Orangeburg and Memphis that have so far cost four lives. They show the months and years of insults, broken promises, neglect, and injustice that brought on violent revolt and violent repression.

"Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders", A Bantam Book, number QZ 4273, March 1968, $1.25.

This is the Riot Report, or Kerner Report, that blamed rioting on white racism. You can order a copy at a bargin rate of $1.00 from the

A. Philip Randolph Institute
271 West 125 Street
New York, New York 10027

Interested in housing for poor people? Read below.

"Operating a Self Help Housing Program." In volumes I and II. Single copy free, each volume $1.00 after that.

"Six Houses/Six Homes", a movie available in English and Spanish can be borrowed free. But give the exact date you want it.

This information on housing is available from

International Self Help Housing Assoc.
Suite 1010 Dupont Circle Bldg.
1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20038

If you've got a mind and heart to root for federal programs you will be as happy with this book as a hog in an acre of sweet potatoes.

"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"

It is written especially "for local groups and poverty workers in the field" to help answer the questions we ask all the time about federal programs. It was done by the Citizens's Crusade Against Poverty. Order it from

New Community Press, Inc.
1220 15th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

It's expensive. It costs $10.50, then you should send another $5.00. This extra 5 pays for new pages they will send you as the programs change. And brother, if the country's politics is any guage, they will change, for good or ill.

agency

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT

This newsletter was composed before the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Today (April 8) I leave to attend his funeral. I will pass through Alberta to pick up Eugene Witherspoon who will have with him a king size Double Star quilt. This is to be a gift to Mrs. King from the members of the Freedom Quilting Bee. The stars are as varied and brilliant as Jacob's coat. The fabrics came from New York, North Carolina, Georgia, Montgomery, and from the sewing baskets of white people and black people.

Yesterday I went to Greensboro to a memorial service. I had not wanted to say anything, but found myself standing again in the pulpit from which I had, three years earlier, struggled to speak of the murder of Jonathan Daniels. Hate had forced us together again to celebrate and memorialize Love. After the preacher was introduced a man came to the pulpit and stood. With many, I expected he was the speaker. But then he began to sing "Precious Lord." I was seated directly behind him. The voice was high and it soared. It made the church, packed and now very hot in our Southern spring, seem bigger, higher, cooler. Able to receive now our grief, tension, love, guilt and wonder. The man's back quivered before me. I thought how his muscles must be working. Our tears could come now. There was release like breath held too long but something was given too. The voice and the flowing out allowed a flowing in. Since I am a Christian, I named it, to me it was the Spirit of God. The effect was to know, to be able to take, as if it were a material object, Love. The Love then was everything that is, bigger than hate or death, a force that binds, casts out fear, that sharpens, does not diminish, one's sense of tragedy, injustice and hypocrisy, that gives courage, not ease. The soul can begin to run from death and hate, hardly knowing the flight has begun. So death and hate enlarge themselves in that act of flight. To celebrate Dr. King, an emblem of love, stopt that for us. Our souls, infused with love, stand, turn on these demons, and see them diminished and without power.

File

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 21 June 7, 1968

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman.

IT'S BEEN A LONG TIME. I skipped the May issue. Skipping either means I've been busy or that something I think interesting is just about to happen. This time I waited until after a May 27 meeting in New York of the SIP board, the people in the religious groups who finance the Project.

* * *

I'D LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT and of my own future in Alabama. To continue at all, drastic changes must be made and the worth of the program must be severely judged.

I'd like to tell you how we hope to stay in business and how I think the Project can evolve into something better.

First a little review. The Selma Inter-religious Project grew out of crisis and trauma. Most religious institutions have a department concerned with human rights, or social responsibility, or racial minorities-the names vary. Quite properly the heads of these divisions were participents in the Selma March of 1965.

The Selma crisis of '65 may seem dated or even a trifle quaint today (indeed, that's one facet of our money trouble). Back then it was a time of upheaval and mobilization for religion, a time of martyrs — Jimmie Lee Jackson, Viola Liuzzo, James Reeb, Jonathan Daniels. Then the March was over. The murders especially motivated talk among these men about a "ministry of presence" in Selma affirming that they hadn't marched and gone away. That summer of 1965 the Unitarians were keeping clergy volunteers in Selma on a two week rotating basis. The Episcopal Society, after Daniel's murder, was deeply concerned with Selma. What promise, what organization, would come from a city that had gone through what Selma had experienced? No one knew, but some religious leaders felt a responsibility to be a part of what happened.

By October of 1965 I had been interviewed and hired. I wasn't working for any official organization. Men I trusted hoped there was enough money here and there to put one man in the field for a year, maybe two years. The Episcopal Society volunteered to receive funds and do the book keeping required. These men also pledged themselves to meet as a board as frequently as need be. I was to be a liason between them and Selma, beyond that I was free to make my own job. It was unbelieveably open ended. I could return to my home state, from which I had been kind of ejected several years before, and involve myself in a viable, relevant ministry among people who were healing the sick, opening the prisons, giving sight to the blind, and raising the dead.

Thanks be to God, by this September SIP will have been in business three years.

The first year I did lots of follow-up work for the groups sponsoring SIP. Please check with this or that person. Check Mr.____, he writes he's in jail. See ir the National Council should be involved in this or that. There were many small grants for bail, emergency loans, and telephone calls. I began to see that I was functioning in part as a lobbyist and fact gatherer. The first court of appeal was the Justice Department. It was that post-Movement, running around era, when we still believed that the Civil Rights Act of 1965 had been passed so it could be enforced. Not that I initiated these responses or feelings. The role I chose was to work with indigenous organizations. The only thing we directly started was the Freedom Quilting Bee. The first year cost $14,000.

The second year(October 1966-September 1967 was the year of big money and lobbying and baptism into proposal writing. People began to send me money. I was amazed, but this innocence soon faded. Now I suppose I'd be surprised and saddened if you all didn't send SIP something every year. Innocence is fragile. There were some splendid large contributions from the Jewish groups and their friends. We ended the second year with a surplus of $8,000!

Leaving the Justice Dep't to its unproductive tasks, we did a lot of work for OEO funding of adult education programs, self-help housing and SWAFCA, the farmers co-op. There was less contact with the SIP sponsoring groups in New York. I was much more deeply involved with Alabama groups that had not existed at the time of the March. The Project sponsors effectively responded when called upon to argue for OEO funding. But I was now asking them to do things rather than them asking me to follow-up projects begun during the Selma March.

That was the year I became the instant integrator of three OEO funded groups initiated by the black community. For one of them, Self-Help Housing, I located whites outside the Black Belt whose talents were helpful: a lawyer, a businesman, a college professor.

That was also the year SIP began to implement a secondary ministry of finding middleclass(mostly white) Alabamians. We tried to help them get with the productive aftermath of the Movement in the Black Belt. We had workshops for these types, we collected people who would send telegrams <u>from Alabama.</u> This has been fairly successful.Need I say, it has not been a program to get people "to help Negroes."

The Freedom Quilting Bee made around $10,000.00 and got more and more exciting. A foundation made a $5,000.00 grant to it (renewal in '68). I was quickly spoiled, my second try at proposal writing and I'd made it. That year SIP cost $16,250.00.

The third year is now (October 67 until September 1968). This is the year of the end of a good thing, that was ad hoc, responsive and uninstitutionalized.

The SIP committee met in New York promising, as best it could, that we could hazard a third year. It didn't work. From October '67 until now only two of the ten groups that began SIP had made their contributions. This year has seen deeper involvement with the successes of the Freedom Quilting Bee, with the people in Gees Bend, and with mastering the sources of assistance to grass roots programs. Six months operation this year has cost SIP $10,300.00. We gave away a good bit. As of last month we had mighty little in the bank. But bear with me. This is not a story with a bad end.

While we enjoyed our third year of operation crisis and trauma bid Dixie goodby and settled in with the rest of America. The churches turned to the crisis in the cities. The northern riots, Vietnam, college students and a Negro identity loused up the Northern liberal's view of good and evil. Religion discovered community organization. I discovered community organization. So that's what I'm doing. The Episcopal Church cut loose with a plan to fund social change, millions of dollars. Somebody then invented the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO).

Many of the men who founded SIP plunged into IFCO as heroically and with as little real resources as they had in 1965. It is indicative of the upheaval of 67-68 that it wasn't the National Council of Churches that subsumed the role IFCO is hoped to play. No indeed, it was created independently.

Now friend, if you think I'm knocking these unparalleled confusions and advances you are wrong. The upheaval in Selma in 1965 that touched religious institutions is now lodged in their upper stories. While indifference and racism waste away the base of our bottom heavy churches radical ideas rip into the upper structures.

These changes conspired to end the informal fashion of operating the Selma Project. It was obvious by this February that SIP was over. April and May were used to do some thinking and to arrange a board meeting May 27 in New York. That gives you the background. What do we hope to pull out of it?

First, I had to believe I had abilities and a store of contacts, methods, and experience that justified survival. Belief in one's self comes hard sometimes, but I managed it. Second, it was obvious the Selma Project was now a regional Alabama affair. For better or worse, it no longer served as a liason with the marchers of '65.. Third, the way things stood, I was not really answerable to anyone. The distant board only knew about the program through me. I was my own evaluator.

The obvious answer is to create a non-profit corporation with a board composed of my fellow workers in central Alabama plus others in the state who have shown a committment to the area.

The board should have a majority representation of people from the Black Belt who are already known as workers in their communities. The rest could include white and black people from other parts of Alabama. These would represent, as individuals, most of the Christian and Jewish bodies that started the Project. We contemplate 25 board members. The nice thing about it is that there are enough good people to go around and each can be asked to serve because of his personal qualifications and not because he is a Unitarian or from Lowndes County. It can be a body of people who already know each other and have worked with the Project.

So constituted in Alabama, committed to rural work in the center of the state, we would propose new programs, and continue to facilitate the development of people. Composed of people from across the Black Belt, it would provide and opportunity for local workers to come together to exchange ideas and talk of plans for the whole area. I trust we could add field staff. People who already live where they work could be freed for part time or full time work for very little. A program for placing theological students in the field for a year is being investigated. I mean mostly Alabama theological students. There's no end of things waiting to be done.

Where would the money come from? This is the realm of hope. An organization with board members who represent constituencies stands a far better chance of being funded by the religious agencies than SIP under its old arrangement.

The new Project can appeal to foundations, develop and propose programs, or better, aid others in creating programs that can be funded one way or another.

Then I can start asking for and accepting consultation fees which can go into the organization. I haven't done that so far. Finally, it's worth trying.

The meeting in New York considered all this, approved it and, as a generous gesture of support, has managed to scrape up just enough for us to operate until December.

We plan to covene potential board members in July to organze. By early winter we should know whether we will be able to operate in 1969. This gives us breathing room for the changeover. Can hard workers of the Black Belt and churchmen from the middleclass do one another any good? I think so

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THAT WAS WRITTEN BEFORE THE LATEST ASSASSINATION. A friend of mine read something I wrote and commented it had a faint air of apology about it. So it did. It's a problem of mine. Then the killing, a familiar liturgy unfolding around one's own thoughts, channeling them. The shame. Shame at ever occupying the unspoken position: Please excuse me for being one of those who wish to change the way we are. This can be spoken to black and white: Excuse us for risking our lives. Excuse us for being white. Excuse us dear people of — community for hinting that you are still slaves, enslaved by self hate, mutual distrust, and antique feuds. Excuse us too white folks, we know the living God. Rage. Rage washes away the apologies. Rage must produce courage or its sweetness is lost. Faith, misnamed by the faithless "fatalism", must act or it distills away. Shame, rage, faith work now to bring a surety which is peace — thanks be to God. Now may you and I have this peace, an angular peace, a seething peace, a peace of direction, a peace of a center calm, but outward directed fury, a peace of action, ugly truth, unpolished ways.

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NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 22 July 30, 1968

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The Selma Inter-religious Project has been to now a program of several national Christian and Jewish groups who were closely involved in the Civil Rights Movement in Selma. It is now in the process of incorporating itself as a non-profit agency in Alabama dedicated to the interests of the poor in central rural Alabama.

THIS MONTH THE NEWSLETTER IS IN THE FORM OF A JOURNAL of my activities. The period covered is from the date of the last newsletter up to July 13, a period of 32 days. It covers a critical event, the reorganization of the Selma Project. Next month that step will be covered in more detail.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11: In office. worked on inviting persons to serve on the board of a reorganized Selma Inter-religious Project.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12: In office doing idiot work. I used to resent this as a parish priest. Now as some other kind of priest, I don't mind. I see it was much of parochial life I though irrelevant, rather than just the crank turning and chair moving. I gladly turn cranks and staple newsletters here.

Left for Gees Bend (98 miles) 4 PM to attend twice monthly meeting of the Boykin Planning Committee. The committee was slow to gather. I spent the time over at the little quilt house talking with Ruth Mosely, leader of a group doing special quilts. (There are in all five of these groups in three counties.) Listened to some of the problems connected with this more business-like type of production.

Many members are old, perhaps all need prescription eyeglasses, few have them.

In the close Gees Bend community public criticism of one's family group or one's elders is frowned on, yet if someone is ruining a quilt what is Mrs. Mosley to do? How to make a distinction between the demands of a business and the customs of the community?

The Planning Committee, which did not start until 8:30, wrestled with a late defeat: a petition to incorporate Boykin was thrown out by the Probate Judge of Wilcox County. What went wrong on our part? Plenty. It would be so easy to blame it all on Judge Dannelly, because he really is a scoundrel.

Flamboyant enemies are a temptation to avoid self criticism. Drove home late.

THURSDAY, JUNE 13: In office. Lots of letters to type for Pat Page, SIP's secretary who works Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays.

FRIDAY, JUNE 14: At 8 PM five potential SIP board members from Tuscaloosa met at my house. Over beer and Diet Rite Cola they heard me out and agreed to serve. That was a nice thing to go to sleep on.

SATURDAY, JUNE 15: Celebrated the Holy Communion at Brice Hospital, Alabama's segregated mental institution, located in Tuscaloosa. We kept the covenant in a bare visiting room. I congratulated the patients again on the spirit of their devotional responses which puts to shame the brethren outside the walls. Attended a reception for professors of the Dep't of Art of the University given by my wife at our house. Betty works at the University Art Gallery.

SUNDAY, JUNE 16: Once a month I celebrate the 8 AM Holy Communion at an Episcopal mission in Tuscaloosa. Today I preached the dangers of love. The congregation of 5 took it calmly. Worked in our backyard in the neglected vegetable garden. SWAFCA's cucumbers shrivel in this drought, spelling ruin or migration for many. My two rows, well irrigated, grace our table with salads. About 11 PM, the weekly call from Stanley Selengut, our quilt co-op consultant in New York. We conclude things are going as well as can be expected, but payments to members for quilts must continue to rise.

MONDAY, JUNE 17: In office, lots of mail. More work on potential board members. Dressed neatly, at 4 PM my wife and I pay our monthly visit to the Alabama Dep't of Pensions and Securities in Tuscaloosa. Nothing has moved in our three year struggle to adopt a child. But I won't get into that story.

7 PM: Drop in on the opening of the Marca-Relli exhibition at the University Art Gallery, do a little cookie tray hauling for Betty, who directs the reception. 7:30 PM attend part of a Presbyterian "Action Group" meeting at a campus church. I have been asked to provide a program on non-profit low cost housing next week. Home late.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18: In office. Ray Fowler, of the Psychology Dep't of University came over with several graduate students to enlist SIP's aid in a summer project. They have a grant to administer the Minnesota Multi-phasic Personality Test to about 100 southern rural black people who are normal. This will help further the accuracy of the test, they say. I urged that local black people be trained (and paid) to give the test. Later a call from New York from Miss Lucretia Mc Calmont. "You've probably forgotten my name, Fr. Walter, but Jack Willis of NET told you I'd be calling." She is with "Fortune" Magazine. I gladly allow my brain to be picked. An article on southern co-ops may result. She has visited the Freedom Quilting Bee and is now a quilt addict. P.S. The article will appear in August.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19: Leave for three days. Ray Fowler and friends accompany me for an initial contact about

the psychological tests. I have suggested that Minnie McMillian, the Freedom Quilting Bee production supervisor, might like to give the test to quilters in Selma Gees Bend, Alberta, Gastonberg and Beatrice.

Arrived in Alberta (85 miles) in time for the F.Q.B. monthly board meeting. That afternoon worked on books of co-op, helped with monthly payroll. Drove back up to highway 5 (10 miles) to call Miss Scharberg of the Smithsonian Institution to give names of those of us coming to the Washington Folklife Festival. Also called Dan Harrell in Pine Hill. Dan, director of Southwest Ala. Self Help Housing, agreed to speak to the Presbyterian Action Group in Tuscaloosa. As usual, spent night at Witherspoon's. They have bought a second hand studio couch to replace the small cot I have grown so accustomed to. The new couch is very comfortable. The psychologists return to Tuscaloosa pleased and ready to begin testing next week.

THURSDAY, JUNE 20: Besides co-op business, the next two days are spent in a fast moving struggle to help David Mingo, husband of a co-op board member, acquire some land in Gees Bend. Mr. Mingo was evicted by a certain landowner for registering to vote. His family now lives on a plot of land in Gees Bend, but has none to farm. A neighbor, old Mr. Bennie Irby, has been foreclosed. The land has been sold at the courthouse to this very same landowner, David Mingo's former boss. Mr Mingo's efforts to buy the land himself have not been successful. Another peice of Gees Bend is lost. I managed to get David Mingo and Erskine Smith, a Birmingham lawyer, together through a trip by me (20 miles) back to the phone. Erskine tells us somthing we didn't know: Alabama has a right of redemption law that allows a bankrupt person to redeem land up to two years after foreclosure for the auction price plus 10%. This right itself can be sold. We discover that the landowner, in his certainty, has not had this right bought from Mr. Irby. There is a fast ride back to Gees Bend (20 miles) to find a copy of the county newspaper that describes the land. Then back to the telephone (20 miles) to dictate the description to Smith's secretary. Smith will then prepare a proper form for David Mingo and mail it. I got back to Mr Mingo with this unexpected new opportunity. We go cautiously to Mr Irby about it. He seems willing because David would be glad to allow the old gentleman to live in his house until he dies. Everyone is excited, but it really seems too good to be able to work out. It depends on a F.H.A. loan, after all.

I drive on from the Mingo's to Selma (45 miles). By 4;30 I'm asking Fr. Crowley of the Edmundit Order if we can use St. Elizabeth's for the SIP organizational conference July 12, 13. He graciously agrees. On to Ash Creek Church in Lowndes County (30 miles) for the monthly meeting of the Anti-Poverty Board of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights. I give a run down at the end of the meeting on national churches that have funds for such groups as L.C.C.M.H.R. Back to Alberta and the Witherspoons to spend the night (75 miles).

FRIDAY, JUNE 21: In Wilcox County. Day spent on co-op business and on further plans with Mr. Mingo to

clinch this deal. The forms did not arrive today from the lawyer.

On the way home I stop off in Alberta to talk to Mr. Malachi Irby (who has the phone we use all the time) about what he can find out about an old house the co-op would like to buy and have moved. He has a friend who works for the white house-mover. Everything is by indirection. The white people have to be treated like children. The name Freedom Quilting Bee, is enough to offend them permanently, much worse to dare approach them directly about a house moving bid. Mr. Irby hears me out at his grist mill. He is preparing hog feed. He will help, but doubts we can do anything to secure this particular house.

I drive back to Tuscaloosa early enough to catch Pat in the office and look over the mail (85 miles).

SATURDAY, JUNE 22: At home. Leave at noon for 2 PM Self-Help Housing Board meeting at Antioch Baptist Church in Camden (100 miles). Stop off on way home to check with Mr. Malachi Irby about the house. No news.

SUNDAY, JUNE 23: Celebrated 8 AM Holy Communion at Canterbury Chapel at the University and preached at 9:30 AM. Both clergy are out of town so I am substituting. Preached on the Second Lesson, "Foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." I start talking about my Franklin, Louisiana great grandmother's four poster bed which we own. How it defines, as the past, who I take myself to be, how as a definition from the past it serves as a template for the impulse that comes from a God of the future.

After that service a visitor asks if he might have a copy of the sermon. I confessed it was now only notes on an envelope. He then explained he didn't want it for "religious" purposes, but as a "cultural anthropogist", wanted it in reference to his doctoral thesis. I tentatively accepted this as a compliment.

Left for Birmingham (50 miles) to stand as godfather at the baptism of Fr. and Mrs. Wirtz's daughter.

MONDAY, JUNE 24: The Feast of St. John the Baptist. I have been a priest ten years today. I try prayerfully to reflect on this, but find myself wondering whether my wife should not have commemorated this with some sort of occasion. But this would only be a substitute for the parochial bashes that I have said I loathe. That bed again!

Spend much of the day working on a new F.Q.B. price list that must show payment to members , material costs, retail and wholesale prices. How much dare we raise the quilt prices? The Board must make the final decision. Memos to all those who will attend the SIP meet in Selma. Everyone asked to serve has agreed, an admirable record. Later, I learn that David Mingo got Mr. Bennie Irby to sign over his right of redemption. That venture is still percolating.

At 7 PM I introduced Dan Harrell to the Presbyterian action group in Tuscaloosa, He gave a great talk. it resulted at the end in a challenge to the group to get to work on a non-profit housing corporation. Alas, no sparks flew in response, but may later. Betty gave Dan and his secretary supper after the meeting. We talked till late, then they left.

TUESDAY, JUNE 25: In office. Bought pair of tires on sale for F.Q.B. van that will carry us to Washington. Today there began the long planned two day leadership training workshop for the co-op board. Ezra Cunningham, field worker for the Southern Co-op Development Program, arranged this. Fr. McKnight, John Zippert, and others came over from their Lafayette, La. office. It involves sensitivity training and is a very, very sound approach toward co-op development. Called Selengut for advice on the new price list.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26: Left for Gees Bend 8 AM. Sat in on second day of the board workshop. In a real business session in which I presented the projected prices for discussion, while the group trainers observed, my relationship to the co-op came up for criticism. The advisor's role as developer is an ambiguous one, similar to a molecule bouncing back and forth in the boundry between a liquid and gaseous state. This is no job for people who can't live with ambiguity. It is the job of McKnight's project to push me and the co-op toward maturity and independence.

I had [illegible] a private workshop in book-keeping with Mr. Broussard, the S.C.D.P.'s accountant. He was pleased with the state of the Freedom Quilting Bee books. At 8 PM the Boykin Planning Committee met to await lawyer Erskine Smith who was scheduled to come to hear about the lakefront property problem. He did not make it that time. Stayed after to talk with a Vista volunteer now living in Gees Bend. To bed at the Witherspoon's late.

Oh yes, the Psychology people are back to start the Minnesota Multiphasic Test.

At the quilt office today a tape recorder droned, "Yes or no, people in power are out to get me." or something like that. The "normal" people took pencil in hand to respond.

THURSDAY, JUNE 27: At 8 AM, on schedule, a "New York Times" writer and a photographer arrived at the Witherspoons. This was the end result of several calls to me and a big hooraw in New York over an earlier article that gave the impression that the Parish-Hadley Company was employing people in Alabama at slave wages. The "Times" felt a fuller story was indicated and we were happy to oblige. The reporter, Mrs. Reif, was understanding and incredibly thorough. It was a tribute to the finesse of the "Times", I thought, that she carefully wrote down the names of the birds as we identified their calls for her. And sure enough, the birds appeared, letter perfect, in the article. The photographer, Mr. Liebowitz, had trouble understanding our drawls, was hot, and got confused over collards but enjoyed it all the same, for he had been hit on the head with a brick during his last assignment. This was different. They left about 4 PM.

Did some book-keeping work for F.Q.B. The house deal seems to have fallen though, the owner won't sell, Our need for space is desparate.

From 7 until 10 PM Fr. McKnight's team met with the Boykin Planning Committee. There was a good response from the committee and a mutual decision to have a far broder workshop in the future. Drove back to Tuscaloosa late that night (95 miles).

FRIDAY, JUNE 28: In office. Got draft of a proposal from the Selma Day Care Center to the national Episcopal Church for a grant.

It looks good but it will take more spelling out.

SATURDAY, JUNE 29: Worked in garden some. Call from Mrs. Reif for more information for the "Times" story.

SUNDAY, JUNE 30: After lunch drove to Alberta, loaded van with quilts, pot holders, bonnets, and aprons for an early departure for Washington to be in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. To bed at the Witherspoons.

MONDAY, JULY 1: Up at ungodly hour to the smell of frying chicken. By 6 AM our 1965 Ford van, but newly purchased with Southern Co-op Development money, pulled out. Aboard were Callie Young, Estelle Witherspoon, Ruth Mosley, Gency Black and Francis Walter. Arrived in Charlotte, N.C. to spend the night with Bob and Jan Valder. Bob is with the NAACP Inc. Fund, but was of late director of the Ala. Council on Human Relations. Aside from burning oil the van ran very well.

TUESDAY, JULY 2: Good trip, spent the night outside Washington as guests of the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 3: We breakfasted at the Seminary with John and Dale Fletcher. They are Alabamians, he teaches. Two of us in the van had never been to Washington. The rest only briefly. The one place the ladies wanted to see was the Kennedy graves. So that's the way we began our visit. It depressed me. For me and my friends everyone we associated with Washington was either dead or in jail.

The Festival on the Mall was as charmingly casual and as skimpily funded as last year. The latter the fault of Congress. Two of Washington's gentlemen, Ralph Rinzler and James Morris, moved about welcoming Kentucky soap makers, or orienting a lost Basque shepherd from Idaho. We got oriented at the Continental Hotel, found the tent for quilting, and then relaxed at the opening folk music festivity that evening.

THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY, SUNDAY JULY 4, 5, 6, 7: People by the hundreds of thousands poured by. "Look dear, quilting. That's how they used to do years ago." The belief of these thousands in progress was touching. The co-op sold oodles, the bonnets and pot holders all went. One voluptuous quilt sold at $200.00. Recognition and interest came like balm from Gilead. We had all that music to listen to and there was much more soul in the Festival than last year. One could be proud of the Folklife Festival, it too was the poor of America, as they sang and worked: fairskinned Melvin Watson, carver of toys in the mountains of North Carolina; the Sea Island singers, black as ebony; the Coushatta tribe, weavers of baskets; a singer of ballards from the Hudson valley, mariachi bands from Texas; a Czech immigrant, player of the hammered dulcimer.

MONDAY, JULY 8: Tired as we could be, we left Washington early. Spent the night again with our friends in Charlotte.

TUESDAY, JULY 9: Going through Atlanta we stopt by the airport to check the "New York Times" and there was the story about the co-op. Bought ten copies.

Arrived in Alberta wishing I could sing "Lord, I'm Coming Home" because my companions were sure raising it sweet and clear. Time 5:30 PM.

After hugs and kisses, it turned out Mr. Witherspoon and Mr. Young had news for us. Miraculously, the white owner of the house and land we had always wanted to buy had changed her mind. Now she wanted to sell. All of us piled back into our cars, joined by Mr. Cunningham, the SCDP worker, to look at the house. It is a slavery time landmark. Only recently redone inside, it even has plumbing and a kitchen. Calls were made at the phone to confirm a time when the owner and the officers could get together. But she is starting at an impossible price. I left for Tuscaloosa bone tired but excited by this break. Home by 9 PM (590 miles).

WEDNESDAY, JULY 10: In office. Worked on final arrangements for Selma Project convention this Friday. Mail. Helped enroll some kids who live near my office in a summer reading workshop operated by the University. Call from Neal Maxwell, a reporter for the "Wall Street Journal", for information on a story about incorporating Negro communities in Alabama.

THURSDAY, JULY 11: Slept late. In office. Then paid call on a retired real estate sales lady, who showed her mettle two years ago when Betty and I ran into opposition in buying a house. After I got her interest she volunteered to ride down to Alberta to help, if asked, in our first encounter with the owner of that house.

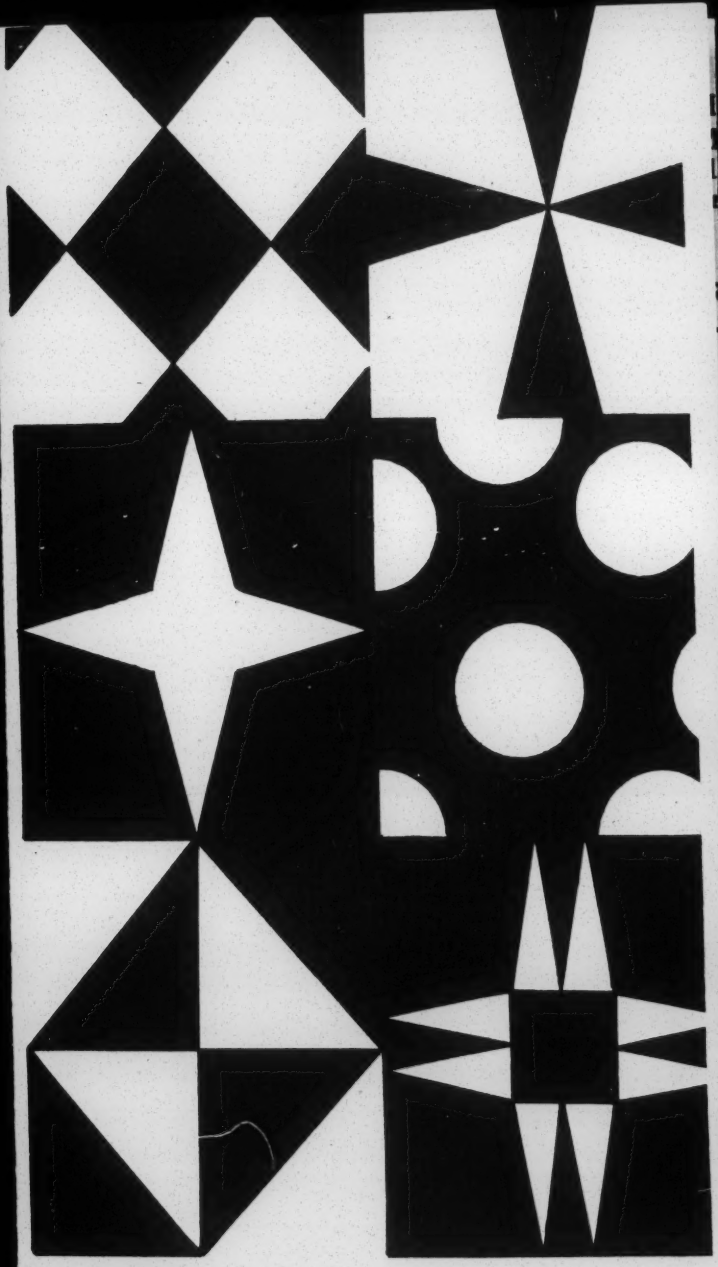
2 PM we leave for Alberta (85 miles). A board meeting is hotly discussing the offer as we arrive. It adjourns so all can see the house when the owner arrives at 5 PM. After seeing the house, the board is unanimous in wanting it. Negotiations begin. This is a very big move for the co-op. Drove back to Tuscaloosa.

FRIDAY, JULY 12: In office. Leave for Selma for the SIP meeting. This is a big move for me. The outcome will determine whether I will be in Alabama in 1969 doing this work. An early arrival and I go out to buy the groceries. We'll cook for ourselves.

The evening session went well, mostly getting-to-know-you stuff. What a crowd, 30 people, all my friends, black, white, those who have suffered, those who have not, those who have only thought, those who have acted. Can we possibly unite aroung common needs? After the evening session the men go to sleep on mattresses in a recreation hall. The women go to the Rectory. The Edmundites are away at a general convention of their own in Vermont. Their course too, in question.

SATURDAY, JULY 13: Up at 6 AM though not my turn to cook, I end up in the kitchen before breakfast. The day's session went very well. At its conclusion incorporation papers were signed, a steering committee was charged with a long bill of instructions, a date of August 17 was chosen for another board work session. More about this in a later newsletter.

2 PM Erskine Smith the lawyer, who is now a SIP board member, left for Gees Bend with me. We did three things: consulted with Estelle Witherspoon on the tactics of real estate buying, talked with Boykin people on the land problem and set a date to meet again, gave David Mingo a chance to consult with Erskine about the redemption sale which is still pending.



The Freedom Quilting Bee

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

Route 1, Box 72
Alberta, Alabama 36720

The Freedom Quilting Bee is a handcraft cooperative. It was organized in March of 1965 with over 150 women joining together to market quilts, sunbonnets, pot holders and other items of handwork and stitchery. The Freedom Quilting Bee has managed to teach new skills to old fingers, establish quality control of products, and infuse a spirit of dignity in individual accomplishment, all with a cooperatively agreed upon financial return for each member.

Quilting has been practiced continuously in Black Belt Alabama for 140 years. While Freedom Quilting Bee quilts derive from classic American patterns they are distinctly different from the more common Appalachian or New England types. The imaginative designs are decorative in the bold use of color and the strong contrasts between border combinations and blocks. It has been said that some of the designs are unconscious forms of Op art but perhaps the flattened abstracted designs just give a warmth in appearance not often seen in today's style of quilt making. Repetition is not one of the quilt maker's virtues. Each quilt is unique.

Many quilters and members of their families have been active in the Civil Rights Movement. For some this has meant eviction from house and land, foreclosure of loans, and the end of credit. These burdens, coupled with the automation of cotton farming have forced into being a number of cooperative experiments.

Rural Negroes across the South are using co-ops in an attempt to earn their own way. The Freedom Quilting Bee is one of these. The average annual income per family in this cooperative is under $800.00. The first step has been to make available to a woman the opportunity to earn additional money for her family. A cottage industry. With this encouragement some members have been able

to increase their family income from 25% to 50%.

Formation of the Freedom Quilting Bee was initiated by the Selma Inter-religious Project which is an inter-faith ministry to Selma and central Alabama. It is sponsored by religious groups that participated in the Selma March: Roman Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and Unitarian. The director of the project serves as chairman of the cooperative's advisory committee.

Since its formation the cooperative has won national recognition from artists, designers and those concerned with the preservation of folk art. In July, 1967 the Freedom Quilting Bee exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution's Folklife Festival. In August, 1967 a small foundation grant allowed the quilters to employ Miss Mary Brooks, a former graduate student in the Department of Art at the University of Georgia, and Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon, the first president of the cooperative. The employment of full time managers was a step the co–op took to handle increased business and plans for future development.

★

The Freedom Quilting Bee came about through the help of many people. Your help is invited. Individuals, clubs and church groups are invited to send scraps from sewing baskets or garment factories. These are very much needed.

The co-op needs retail outlets. You may be able to suggest a store or gift shop.

Most of all it needs cash donations to its technical and educational fund. This fund is administered by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Tax deductible donations may be made to the co-op through this fund. Checks may be made to "The Alabama Council on Human Relations. Inc. Freedom Quilting Bee Fund."

IN ORDERING

The pot holders are decorated with hand embroidered original designs. The popular "Hoot Owl" holder was designed by Mrs. Wiley McMillan. These come in all colors.

The sunbonnets were re-created from an heirloom dug from a trunk. The bonnets are often used for beach wear or for gardening. They are made in prints in all colors.

A quilt should be chosen carefully. You will find sizes listed on the order blank. A true quilt is not intended to be used as a spread or coverlet. But most people want them that way so we make sizes that will fit over the pillow. The sizes are listed to help you but you may place a special order for any size quilt. King size quilts are all made specially from your measurements.

There are literally thousands of quilt patterns. Each has its distinctive name. We make all the classic American patterns. Library books on quilting can help you if you don't know the patterns but most of our customers let us select a pattern for them. Or if necessary we can send sketches.

Quilts come in black and white, in two or three solid colors, or in mixtures of prints and solids. We will try to match the colors if you specify them.

If you place a special order you may specify exactly the design, the size and the colors. We will try to match swatches. Special orders take time. We also repair, remake, and reproduce old quilts. Quilts require no special care. They can be used as wild wall hangings, for picnic blankets or to set off an antique bed. We recommend they be dry cleaned.

There is a good deal of space on the order blank for you to tell us just what you want. The quilt you order will be unique. It will last a long time. The Freedom Quilting Bee wants you to be satisfied.

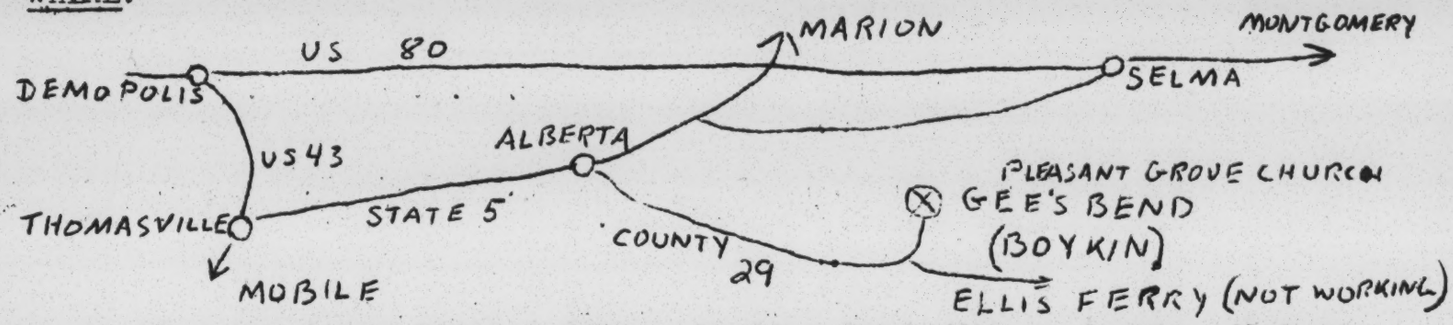
THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE
c|o Miss Mary Brooks
Route 1, Box 72
Alberta, Alabama 36720

ORDER FORM

Name			
Address			
City	State	Zip	
How Many?	Article	Price, Each	Amount
	Pot holder	$ 1.50	
	Sunbonnet	3.50	
	Baby Bed Quilt 38"x50"	12.00	
	Single Bed Quilt 66"x86"	25.00	
	Double Bed Quilt 76"x86"	30.00	
	Double Bed Coverlet Quilt 80"x106"	35.00	
	King Size Quilt (Made to Order)	50.00	
		Plus postage that will be added.	
		You will be billed for the total amount when your order is mailed to you.	

REQUESTS or INSTRUCTIONS:

WHERE:



At the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church in Gees Bend, Wilcox County, Alabama. Gees Bend is an all Negro community located in a deep bend of the Alabama River. It is 90 miles from Tuscaloosa, 140 from Mobile, 40 from Selma. Gees Bend is also called Boykin. Once you get on county #29 anyone can tell you where the Pleasant Grove Church is in Gees Bend. It would be easier if you could get there while it is still light. One is in Gees Bend when one arrives at a wooden store on the right, white washed school buildings on the left, the pavement ends a quarter mile beyond.

WHY: Nothing has excited the wrath of some Alabama political figures more than Negro initiated attempts to create and operate anti-poverty programs in the Black Belt. Because of the bias of indifference of Alabama news media it has been well nigh impossible to hear any but the opposition's side of the value of these programs. We are convinced many Alabamians would like to know more and might take the here-to-fore unusual step of simply finding out from the groups themselves who they are and what they are doing. We are giving you that opportunity.

HOUSEKEEPING DETAILS:

Informal clothes for the workshop, one set of good clothes for Sunday. Ladies may wear anything but shorts aren't usually worn in Gees Bend. Bring a flashlight. All meals and expenses are included in the $5.00 fee.

For more information don't hesitate to write or call us. We'd like to encourage those who attended the last workshop to talk up this one.

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RURAL LIKE WORKSHOP: ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

NAME _____ telephone _____

ADDRESS _____

$5.00 registration enclosed. Checks made out "Selma Inter-religious Prokect c/o The Episcopal Society" are tax deductible.

MAILING ADDRESS:

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

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TO: INTERESTED ALABAMIANS

FROM: THE PLEASANT GROVE BAPTIST CHURCH, The Rev. G.G. Pettway, Pastor Boykin (GeesBend) Alabama.

THE SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT, The Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director 810-29th Avenue/ Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401/ 205 758-2301

ABOUT: OUR SECOND WEEKEND WORKSHOP June 23-24-25 Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

The Last workshop in December 1966 was so successful we're having another one. We're calling this one

A RURAL LIFE WORKSHOP: NEGRO GRASS ROOTS ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

WHAT: Like last time it will be a weekend of seminars, lectures, informal discussion, inspection tours, good food, and recreation designed to give the participants an over all knowledge of the exciting, sometimes controversial programs operating in the Black Belt.

Noted local leaders, board members, and officers of these organizations have agreed to conduct the programs. We will hear from leaders of:

THE SOUTHWEST ALABAMA FARMERS' COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION(recipient of $400,000.00 OEO demonstration grant)

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA SELF-HELP HOUSING, INC.(recipient of $38,000.00 OEO demonstration grant)

ANTI-POVERTY COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WILCOX COUNTY S.C.L.C. INC. (adult education, daycare center, youth programs; recipient of $302,000.00 OEO grant)

LOWNDES COUNTY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM(adult education, child and youth programs; recipient of $241,000.00 OEO grant)

There will also be time to enjoy some good country cooking, fish, maybe go on a coon hunt, and meet all sorts of interesting people.

WHEN: June 23,24,25 Friday, Saturday and Sunday 1967. Come anytime Friday. Officially we begin Friday evening but there will be plenty to do and see before. Participants will spend Friday and Saturday nights at the workshop and leave after church Sunday morning. If you can not come Friday come Saturday.

WHO: The Rev. Francis X. Walter of the Selma Inter-religous Project and Rev. G.G. Pettway and the deacons of Pleasant Grove Church are enthusiastically sponsoring their second workshop. Fr. Walter is responsible for the program. Rev. Pettway and the church are supplying the building, arranging hospitality, and inviting local workshop participants.

JUSTICE

'Justice, Justice, Shall ye Pursue . . .'

by NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH
Acting Attorney General of the U. S.

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FOREWORD

by

JACK CONWAY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
INDUSTRIAL UNION
DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

TWO thousand years ago the Roman philosopher, Cicero, said, "The good of the people is the chief law."

It is concern for the "good of the people" which permeates this address by Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach delivered before the Conference on Extension of Legal Services to the Poor.

His concern is humane; his ideas are practical.

He suggests that communities should include extension of legal services to the poor in their anti-poverty programs.

He calls for "increased involvement of the legal profession in the war against poverty."

He sees "a new breed of lawyers . . . emerging, dedicated to using the law as an instrument of orderly and constructive social change."

And, he adds, ". . . we are beginning to see the growth of new forms of organizations to provide legal service to the poor."

FROM my own experience with the development of the community action programs in the war against

poverty, I know that citizen involvement is essential.

The war against poverty must be a massive attack that moves along all fronts with the same urgency as an army of liberation.

In order to achieve the profound social changes necessary to wipe out poverty, we must commit the moral force of our entire society.

We must become involved. We must have what Mr. Katzenbach calls "that willingness to stand up for the poor and to help the poor stand up for themselves."

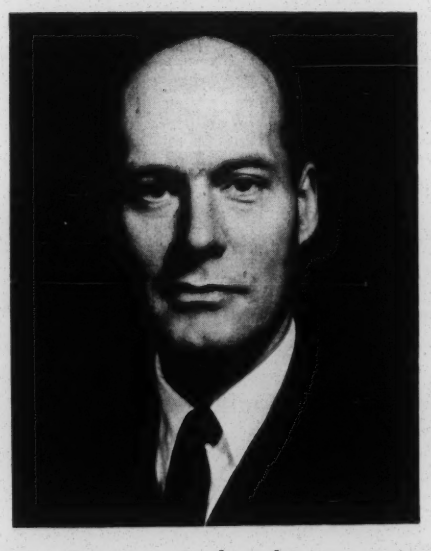
This address by Acting Attorney General Katzenbach teems with exciting, socially creative ideas.

It should be read by all thoughtful persons who are courageously involving themselves in a tough fight—the war against poverty.

'Justice, Justice, Shall ye Pursue. . .'

An Address by

Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach to the Conference on Extension of Legal Services to the Poor, Washington, D. C., November 12, 1964.



IT IS a pleasure for me to join today with such a distinguished group.

And, in view of the general importance of the subject that brings us here, I am pleased to see that this group consists of experts in administration, sociology, welfare, social work and other fields—and not just lawyers.

You may, as a result, be able to get something done. Thomas Jefferson once had occasion to observe that for "one hundred and fifty lawyers (to) do business together is not to be expected."

But it is fit that this group includes both lawyers and the others of you who are expert in the broader fields of social service.

For ours is a time in which we are experiencing not an expanded sense of charity, but what is really an expanding sense of justice.

This expanding sense of justice has, in the past two years, resulted in a series of advances in our attitude toward justice for the poor:

THE Supreme Court's decision in the Gideon case established the right of poor defendants to have attorneys appointed for them in state cases.

The recently enacted Criminal Justice Act established standards for representation in federal courts which had been sought unsuccessfully for 25 years.

The National Bail Conference last spring already has prompted 60 bail reform projects or studies.

And a new Office of Criminal Justice is just beginning its broad-ranging work in the Department of Justice.

All of these developments demonstrate a growing national concern for the legal rights of the poor. So far, that concern has focussed on the rights of a poor person accused of a crime.

Now, the concern is extending beyond the confines of criminal law. And this is as it should be.

Hopelessness and poverty do not observe neat jurisdictional lines between civil and criminal.

INDEED, there is irony in our devoting great attention and substantial resources to give legal help to poor people when they are accused of a crime, but failing to provide such help *until* that point.

Certainly our concern for the indigent accused is not misplaced. But it must not become exclusive.

We must be concerned with the jail sentence which a poor defendant might or might not receive.

But we must be equally concerned with the broader difficulties of the 20 percent of our population which is, in Attorney General Kennedy's phrase, serving a life sentence of poverty.

It is justice, rather than charity, which calls on us to see to it that the law and the lawyer are involved in the effort to reverse that life sentence.

I am sure there is little quarrel with such a high-minded solution. I am sure all lawyers—and all citizens—subscribe unanimously to the relevant platitudes.

The interesting aspect of this problem is how little it is understood to be a problem in the first place.

When I described this conference to one acquaintance and explained that it did not refer to attorneys for indigent defendants, he asked—well-meaning—what then, was this conference about, helping poor people do things like prepare wills? His question is not to be scoffed at.

MICHAEL HARRINGTON has aptly described the millions living in poverty in this country as the invisible poor.

It is no less certain that the problems of the poor which a lawyer can help solve are so far outside the experience of most of us that they are invisible problems.

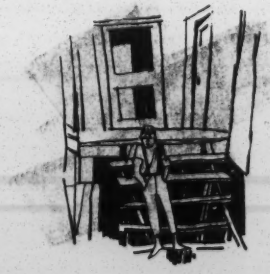
But for the poor person, living in helplessness, they are overpowering.

Most of us have little contact with welfare laws or with housing codes aimed at rat infestation or with minimum wage laws or with protections against usurious loans or instalment purchase contracts.

And even if we did have that contact, we are equipped as articulate, educated citizens to deal with such matters.

To us, laws and regulations are protections and guides, established for our benefit, and for us to use.

But to the poor, they are a hostile maze, established as harassment, at all costs to be avoided.



CONSIDER, for example, what happened to five men in upstate New York in January of last year (1963).

For six months, they had participated faithfully in a work program for unemployed fathers whose families were receiving public assistance.

But on January 30, they refused to carry out their day's assignment. Their reason? It was near zero temperature and the task was to cut brush along a country road where the snow was waist-deep.

The five men offered to do different work—indeed, they requested, to do so.

But they were sent home and reported to the district attorney, who secured their conviction for "a willful act designed to interfere with the proper administration of public assistance and care."

They were sentenced to terms of four to eight months. It took until this past May to have the convictions reversed by New York's highest court.

THIS reversal did not just happen. It took extensive work by two lawyers provided by the American Civil Liberties Union.

It will take the extensive work of many more lawyers—and laymen—to right the wrongs which we can prevent but which the poor cannot.

For there are thousands of other examples, less dramatic perhaps, but equally unjust and equally demoralizing, which occur every day, throughout the country.

There is the case of the man caught up in debts who could have gotten a clean start with counseling and assistance in going into bankruptcy.

He did, finally, receive legal assistance. A defense attorney was appointed to represent him after he committed a petty offense. He wanted to be arrested so that his family would then become eligible for welfare.

There are large numbers of poor people who discover that they have a binding obligation to pay a finance company for furniture never delivered or for a TV set that never worked.

There are large numbers whose cars or washing machines are repossessed after months of payments—who have no idea they are entitled to the return of their equity.

There are large numbers whose public assistance is reduced or revoked—who have no concept of their rights of appeal.

THESE are the people on whose behalf President Johnson has undertaken the war against poverty.

These are the people whose problems constitute the new area of public concern—indeed the new area of law—with which we are dealing at this conference.

To be sure these are not new problems. It is our appreciation of them that is new.

There has been long and devoted service to the legal problems of the poor by legal aid societies and public defenders in many cities.

But, without disrespect to this important work, we cannot translate our new concern into successful action simply by providing more of the same.

There must be new techniques, new services, and new forms of inter-professional cooperation to match our new interest.

Legal scholarship is beginning to enter this new field—to analyze the rights of welfare recipients, of instalment purchasers, of people afflicted by slum housing, crime, and despair.

There are signs, too, that a new breed of lawyers is emerging, dedicated to using the law as an instrument of orderly and constructive social change.

THE Law Students Civil Rights Research Council which previously focussed on discrimination is now expanding its area of concern to include the legal problems of the poor.

Some of the best law schools—Yale, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Columbia—are adjusting their curricula so that, for instance, administrative law deals not only with the SEC but also with ADC.

Experimental internship programs like those run by Georgetown Law Center are beginning to infuse academic training with experience drawn from the reality of life, rather than the disembodied "facts" of appellate decisions.

Finally, we are beginning to see the growth of new forms of organizations to provide legal service to the poor.

The Committee on Group Legal Services of the California Bar Association has just produced a report proposing a massive revision of the rules governing group legal practice.

The Legal Aid Committee of the Judicial Conference here in Washington has just given unanimous approval to a proposal for neighborhood law firms to supplement the services of the lawyers' referral service, legal aid and the public defender agency.

Similar plans are underway in New Haven, Los Angeles and Boston.

Other communities planning comprehensive anti-poverty programs can be expected to include similar provision for the extension of legal services to the poor.

And the Office of Economic Opportunity has indicated a willingness to support such programs, both as part of a community action program and also as a separate research and demonstration project undertaken by law schools, bar associations and other institutions.

With new resources available, and with the increased involvement of the legal profession in the war against poverty, we can anticipate a rapid acceleration in the extension of legal services for the poor.

Your meeting here this week should provide a major impetus to this movement.

ONE of the threshold problems in this new area is simply to make rights known. Laws do little good unless people know about them. For a poor person to hold rights in theory satisfies only the theory.

We have to begin asserting those rights—and help the poor assert those rights. Unknown, unasserted rights are no rights at all.

Second, even if rights are known, they can provide and protect little if they are entangled in a maze of technicality, detail, and subsections.

Faced with such complexity, even the informed poor are given the choice of walking through life with a lawyer at their side, or surrendering to the "can't fight city hall" philosophy.

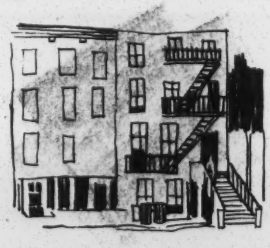
Third, the protection of the rights of the poor depends on advocacy.

If the poor are to be treated with fairness and with dignity, their side must be presented fully and forcibly.

There must be lawyers from all parts of the law, not merely from legal aid societies willing to represent the poor man in trouble.

And fourth, we must generate an understanding that law alone is no answer.

If we thought that courts were the place to resolve every dispute, we should be devoting our attention not to providing legal services for the poor, but to immediately finding thousands of judges for our courts.

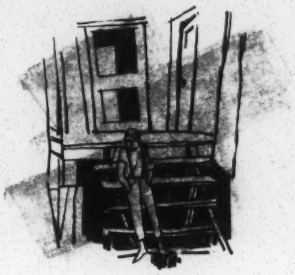


THE realization of rights in our society is only ultimately—and inefficiently—achieved in courts.

We do well to recall the late Karl Llewellyn's description of the right to obtain damages for breach of contract:

> *"That right could rather more accurately be phrased somewhat as follows: If the other party does not perform as agreed, you can sue, and if you have a fair lawyer, and nothing goes wrong with your witnesses or the jury, and you give up four or five days of time and some ten to thirty percent of the proceeds, and wait two to twenty months, you will probably get a judgment for a sum considerably less than what the performance would have been worth—which, if the other party is solvent and has not secreted his assets, you can in further due course collect with six percent interest for delay."*

Our legal system works because litigation is the exception, not the rule. For rights to be worth anything, they must be honored—without lawyers.



COURTS are not the only forums in which rights are adjudicated.

There are administrative proceedings, there are dealings with landlords, merchants, social workers, and welfare officials—with all the people whose decisions can deeply change the lives of the poor.

It is in these areas, far more often than in the courts, that the poor person needs a counselor and an advocate.

You and I, in our daily lives, act as our own advocates. The poor do not. They concede defeat. They fear to argue because they fear retaliation.

The poor need advocates, not simply to present their side of the story but to give them hope, to demonstrate that the law is not an enemy, but a guardian, and that public officials are not their masters, but their servants.

And this is a function which can and must be filled not only by lawyers, but by concerned laymen. It does not take a lawyer to right every wrong. It does not even take professional training.

It takes only a human being with the capacity to recognize and respond to injustice.

AS AN example, let me recall the case on the West Coast of a woman with seven children, supported by welfare. A fire destroyed the roof of their house. The woman was too poor to move or repair the damage.

The response of the welfare agency was to cut off her welfare payments. She was living, they said, in unsuitable housing.

It does not take a lawyer to react to such a determination—and it did not.

A young woman who heard about this case took it upon herself to become an advocate—to go to the welfare authorities and indignantly ask what was the legal authority for the suspension of welfare.

The welfare check was issued immediately.

It is this kind of example which we must follow, and inspire in others. It is this kind of problem which can be solved without a law degree.

Not every injury requires a surgeon; not every injustice requires an attorney.

The need is for a spirit and a system of legal *first*-aid. We need more people like the young woman I just described.

We need what is, in effect, a new profession—a profession of advocates for the poor, made up of human beings from all professions, committed to helping others who are in trouble.

That job is too big—and, I would add, too important—to be left only to lawyers.

Until we can achieve that kind of broad involvement, that willingness to stand up for the poor and to help the poor stand up for themselves, old wrongs will go unredressed and new wrongs will occur.

And neither the poverty nor the injustice suffered by the poor will be remedied.

THE aim of the anti-poverty program, after all, is not simply to put money in people's pockets.

It is to put hope in their hearts and pride in their step.

President Johnson has described the anti-poverty program as one which "keeps faith with and puts faith in the dignity and capacity of the individual."

There is no more essential ingredient of such dignity than justice—not only justice in our courts, administered by judges and by lawyers, but justice in our society, with each of us playing a part.

The Hebrew prophets spoke not to lawyers alone when they commanded: "*Justice, justice, shall ye pursue.*"

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DECEMBER 1964

JUSTICE

Landmark Case Being Prepared

Law Students Come to Aid of Negro Rapists

By BARRY SCHWEID

WASHINGTON (AP) — In the summer last year 28 law students spread through 11 Southern states to test a theory.

Long suspected but never proved conclusively, the theory is that Negroes facing rape charges in the South are more likely to wind up in the electric chair than whites convicted of rape.

The statistics those students marshaled — at a cost of more than $35,000 — are now being pressed on the Supreme Court in what could become a landmark case. Titled Maxwell vs. Bishop, it concerns specifically an Arkansas Negro, William L. Maxwell, 26, who is in death row at the Arkansas State Penitentiary.

Maxwell was tried in the circuit court of Garland County, Ark., in 1962 for the rape of a 35-year-old, unmarried white woman. He was convicted and sentenced to death.

APPEALS REJECTED

Various appeals, including one to the Supreme Court last year, were turned down and Maxwell's execution was scheduled for last Sept. 2.

A day earlier, however, Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White delayed electrocution so that Maxwell could appeal to the high court again.

Maxwell is described in court papers as indigent. His case has been taken up by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Educational Fund and by a University of Pennsylvania law professor, Anthony G. Amsterdam, and others.

In a 70-page brief filed with the court this week, they do not argue over circumstances of the rape itself. Rather, they depict Maxwell as one victim in a 20-year pattern in Southern states in which, they claim, juries are prone to mete out the death sentence to Negroes tried and convicted of raping white women.

'SEEDS VIOLENCE'

And they suggest that the situation seeds violence among Southern Negroes.

In Arkansas itself, the law students — and consulting criminal lawyers, criminologists and statisticians — studied 19 counties and 55 rape cases dating back two decades.

Two of the major findings, used in the Maxwell case, are these:

—Of 19 Negroes convicted of raping white women, nine were sentenced to death. In cases where both the man and the woman were either white or Negro, only five death sentences were imposed.

—No convictions of white men for raping Negro women were found.

NOT CONVINCED

Thus, the study contended, a Negro convicted of raping a white woman had close to a 50 per cent chance of receiving the death sentence, while a man convicted of raping a woman of his own race stood a 14 per cent chance of receiving the death sentence.

These figures were presented to U.S. District Court Judge J. Smith Henley of Arkansas earlier this year. In August he said he was not convinced and refused to issue an order freeing Maxwell from prison.

Maxwell, Henley said, "has made no effort here to show that the individual jury which tried and convicted him acted in his particular case with racial discrimination."

In fact, Henley said, Garland County was not one of the 19 counties in the state covered in statistics presented to the court.

He added: "While the statistical evidence produced in this case is more extensive and sophisticated than has been produced heretofore the court is not convinced that it is sufficiently broad, accurate, or precise as to establish satisfactorily that Arkansas juries in general practice unconstitutional racial discrimination in rape cases involving Negro men and white women. . . ."

Undeterred, the civil rights lawyers are asking the Supreme Court to continue to stay Maxwell's execution and clear the way for consideration of their thesis in the U.S. Circuit Court in St. Louis, Mo.

Ed — you were asking once about rape statistics — thought this might interest you

Susan

 JUSTICE

JUDGES

Interpreter in the Front Line

(See Cover)

Every major human confrontation imprints names and images on the minds of those who witness it, and the struggle for civil rights has left deep imprints, especially in the South. There were the marchers streaming over Selma's Pettus Bridge on their way to Montgomery, Ala., after having been stopped by tear gas and cattle prods the day before. There was the blank puzzlement on the faces of Collie Leroy Wilkins and his two accomplices after their conviction for violating the civil rights of Selma Marcher Viola Liuzzo, after they had been previously acquitted of murdering her. There were the pictures of Negro voters forming a long line outside an Alabama country store to vote for the first time; of Governor George Wallace "standing in the schoolhouse door"; and of a younger Martin Luther King (before his Nobel Prize) organizing and leading the Montgomery bus boycott through to success.

Millions of Americans know these names and remember these scenes. Yet few know the name of the man central to them all, Frank Minis Johnson, the U.S. district judge for Alabama's 23 southeastern counties. At 48, Johnson has established an impressive record of calm and considered judgment that has stamped him as one of the most important men in America. In 11½ years of interpreting and enforcing the U.S. Constitution, he has wrought social and political changes that affect all of Alabama, all of the South, all of the nation.

The Man Who. It was Frank Johnson who applied the school-desegregation decision to the Montgomery bus system—and thus helped speed desegregation of all public facilities in the South.

It was Frank Johnson who ordered both marchers and police to halt their confrontation at Selma, and then—although he disapproves of most demonstrations—gave the marchers permission to go ahead.

It was Frank Johnson who sat as a member of the three-judge court that abolished the Alabama poll tax; that handed down the first order requiring a state to reapportion its voting districts; that produced the first reapportionment plan devised by judges. It was Frank Johnson who so inspired an Alabama jury with a sense of responsibility that it was able to convict the three Ku Klux Klansmen who gunned down Viola Liuzzo on the road back to Montgomery from Selma.

It was Frank Johnson who mustered the three-judge court that has just ordered desegregation of all of Alabama's 118 school districts next fall—the first such statewide ruling in the nation, and perhaps the most important school order since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954.

Vision & Conscience. Johnson's record is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that federal district judges—314 of them in 97 U.S. district courts throughout the country—are more vulnerable to local pressures than any other members of the federal bench. Not only is a district judge drawn from his locality; he almost always owes his job to his state's dominant politicians—particularly the U.S. Senators. Chosen by men committed to local interests, he is then sworn to uphold national principles that may conflict with those interests.

LEVITON—ATLANTA

JOHNSON IN OFFICE
One man central to them all.

Alabama-born and bred, Johnson could not be more sensitive to his state's cherished traditions and prejudices. His courtroom in Montgomery is only seven blocks from the statehouse, where a band played *Dixie* while Jefferson Davis was sworn in as Confederate President, and where Lurleen Wallace now sits as Governor. Yet for Johnson, a rare Republican in a Democratic state, legal vision and the dictates of conscience have always outweighed local pressure. He rejects labels—liberal, conservative or any other. His sole cause is not civil rights but the law. "I'm not a segregationist," he says, "but I'm not a crusader, either. I don't make the law. I don't create the facts. I interpret the law."

Such dispassion is all the more impressive now that the steam has gone out of the civil rights movement. Johnson could easily soft-pedal equal rights—many of the Confederacy's 70 U.S. district judges have done just that. But he goes on applying the law to the facts in every case. Says he: "I don't see how a judge who approaches these cases with any other philosophy, particularly if he was born and reared in the South, can discharge his oath and the responsibility of his office."

Questions & Answers. Unmentioned in the Constitution, that office goes back to 1789, when U.S. district courts were set up with jurisdiction limited largely to maritime cases and suits between citizens of different states. But as federal law grew after the Civil War, so did the need for U.S. trial courts with broader scope. In 1875, district courts were given jurisdiction over a wide range of federal questions. District judges now handle every sort of lawsuit under the federal sun—including antitrust cases, bank robberies, bankruptcies, draft evasion, obscenity suits, patent infringements, railroad disputes, tax dodging and habeas corpus petitions from state prisoners (up 36% since 1963). Also copyright infringements, kidnaping, moonshining cases, compensation for injuries at sea and auto accidents involving citizens of different states (20% of all civil cases), and such federal misdemeanors as trapping migratory birds, concealing letters in parcel-post packages. And a lot more.

The civil case load rises relentlessly over the years. From 58,293 cases in 1961, it climbed to 79,906 last year. One reason is that many lawyers prefer federal to state courts on the ground that the judges are abler, the jurors brighter and the rules fairer. It has not done any good to hike the minimum dollar amount involved in many federal suits to $10,000: lawyers simply sue for more. Though Congress has added 73 district judges since 1961, almost 10% of all civil cases still take more than three years to settle.

Power & Prestige. None of this discourages lawyers from seeking district judgeships; for the last 63 appointments, 800 volunteered their services. Away from the urban anonymity of such hydraheaded courts as New York's 24-judge Southern District, a local U.S. judge may control a federal fiefdom that makes him a prime public figure. The $30,000-a-year salary may seem low viewed from Wall Street or Chicago's LaSalle Street, but it goes a long way in most areas, and the status is unbeatable. Appointed for life (barring misconduct), district judges are untouched by re-election pressures and are subject to no real discipline save a higher court's reversal. Kings of their courtrooms, they can set the whole constitutional tone in their areas. They can speed up or delay cases, comment on trial evidence, discipline lawyers, hold gadflies in contempt, and try many matters without a jury.

In many cases, the country's lowest-ranking federal judges can overrule the highest state judges. In 1908, district

judges acquired wide-ranging power over cases in which state laws and actions are challenged as unconstitutional. If they so choose, federal judges can sometimes make litigants go to state courts first—a handy delaying technique for segregationist Southern judges.

Senatorial Courtesy. Indeed, the whole selection system may produce judges more attuned to local prejudice than to national principle. By law and by custom, the President appoints federal judges with the Senate's advice and consent. But if one of the state's Senators protests that the judicial nominee is "personally objectionable" to him, the whole Senate usually honors his veto. A lawyer's best route to the bench, therefore, is electioneering for Senators and the President. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the chief enforcer of "senatorial courtesy" is Mississippi Segregationist James O. Eastland. If he disapproves, a President's nominee may never make it unless he is "traded out" for one of Eastland's own favorite candidates for another judgeship.

In this situation, Southern Democratic Senators have managed to load the Southern bench with segregationists. Having no Southern Republican Senators to contend with, President Eisenhower managed to appoint some first-rate Southern Republican judges—notably, Elbert Tuttle and John Minor Wisdom of the trail-blazing U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which has often kept the Constitution alive in the South. But Ike also had to trade with Eastland for several segregationists, and John Kennedy recoiled from offending Southern Democrats whose Senate votes he needed. Of Kennedy's eight Deep South appointees, four verge on racism.

Among the Kennedy appointees entrenched for life in Southern district courts: Mississippi's Judge W. Harold Cox, 65, who once called Negro would-be voters "chimpanzees"; Louisiana's Judge E. Gordon West, 52, who called the Supreme Court's 1954 school ruling "one of the truly regrettable decisions of all time"; and Georgia's Judge J. Robert Elliott, 57, who once said: "I don't want these pinks, radicals and black voters to outvote those who are trying to preserve our segregation laws and traditions." Little can be done about such Jim Cro-Magnons short of impeachment—a tactic used successfully only four times since 1789.

Shotgun in Bed. In the interests of constitutional government, other judges have stood fast against angry Negroes, Northern militants, Southern thugs, canny state lawyers and waves of state laws designed to perpetuate segregation. Many judges have been ostracized by old friends, abused by nocturnal phone callers, wiretapped by state agents, threatened with death. So hounded was South Carolina's Judge J. Waties Waring in the early 1950s that he retired and moved to New York. Refused local police protection in 1955, Alabama's Judge Hobart Grooms slept with a shotgun for months. But slowly, because of such dogged constitutionalists, the pall of segregation is being lifted from the South—from the schoolhouse to the bus station, from the jury box to the ballot box.

Boldly facing down the entire state legislature, Louisiana's Judge J. Skelly Wright desegregated New Orleans schools in 1961. With devastating dignity, Florida's Judge Bryan Simpson quashed bloody disorders in St. Augustine in 1964. By holding Bogalusa's do-nothing police in contempt, Louisiana's Judge Herbert Christenberry prevented a bloodletting among rights workers in 1965. Even rigidly segregated Plaquemines Parish fell to Christenberry's school-integration order in 1966, and Mississippi's foot-dragging Judge Cox now concedes that "segregation is completely out the window."

Catfish Row. Since 1955, one of the principal battlegrounds of the law has been the district courtroom on the second floor of Montgomery's post office, a federal outpost that flies the Stars and Stripes rather than the Stars and Bars that top the statehouse. Frank Johnson's courtroom is stylishly WPA, a towering place with ornate ceiling beams, a gallery, and a bench that stands before a blue wall studded with gold stars. Through a door in the starry wall strides the judge, lean and tanned in his unvarying crisp black suit, white shirt and black tie. He usually shuns robes: "If a judge needs a robe and a gavel, he hasn't established control."

Control was the word for Johnson in the recent trial of Harvey King Conner, a former Elmore County deputy sheriff charged with beating a Negro motorist to death last November. A county grand jury refused to indict the 200-lb. Conner, although two state troopers had seen him hitting the 155-lb. Negro with a blackjack. He was therefore tried in Johnson's court on the federal charge of having denied the victim's civil rights.

On the bench, Johnson perched half-moon spectacles on his patrician nose; his brown eyes scanned a document in the Conner case. He peered up from under bushy brows; a hush fell. The room was jammed with veniremen: Negroes as well as whites, women as well as men—a Johnson jury. Only one Negro survived defense challenges—an elderly Negro brickmason who later voted for conviction—but that might have happened in northern Maine. At one point, a defense lawyer mocked a Negro witness in the patronizing accents of Catfish Row. Objection by the prosecution. "Sustained," snapped Johnson. "Such remarks have *no* bearing on this case." At another point, a Government lawyer thudded to the floor in a dead faint. Pandemonium. Unfazed, Johnson intoned, "The other lawyers will carry on." They did. Conner was acquitted with all the fairness that can be wrung out of the jury system in Alabama.

Mutual Bell. One civil rights lawyer says that Johnson "runs his courtroom like a ship in the old tradition, like an

WILSON-LEVITON—ATLANTA

ALABAMA NEGROES REGISTERING (1965)
The kings set the constitutional tone.

SELMA MARCHERS TURNED BACK FROM PETTUS BRIDGE (1965)

STEVE SCHAPIRO—LIFE

GREAT-GRANDFATHER JOHNSON (1875)
Straight is a trait.

English man-o'-war. He is about as good as a trial judge can be." Another rights lawyer calls Johnson "entirely fair. You can never tell whether he's going to rule for you or against you." Even lawyers on the other side of the civil rights fence cannot restrain themselves. Adds one: "He's the quickest at grasping points of complicated cases of any judge I've ever seen." Says another Alabamian: "He gives 'em *all* hell."

The classic example occurred in 1961 after Montgomery police watched idly as Freedom Riders were beaten. Sternly enjoining all parties from further action and reaction, Johnson limned a segregationist's nightmare: "If there are other such occurrences, I'm going to put some Klansmen, some police officials and some Negro preachers *together* in the U.S. penitentiary."

Republican Island. Johnson's austere impartiality is a family trait. As the first Republican sheriff of Fayette County, Great-Grandfather James Wallace Johnson was so fair that people called him "Straight Edge." Frank Johnson grew up in northern Alabama's non-Negrophobe Winston County. Because it had few slaves in 1861, Winston refused to secede in the Civil War (Johnson's forebears fought on both sides) and stayed neutral as "the Free State of Winston." It remains independently Republican. At one point, Johnson's father was the only Republican in the Alabama legislature—a situation that is now an ironic impossibility, since Johnson reapportioned the state. Combined by the judge with a more populous Democratic county, the Winston district now elects a Democratic legislator.

Johnson's mother was born Alabama Long. His father was once elected Winston County probate judge, and young Frank loved to hang around Daddy's courtroom listening to lawyers arguing cases. (Johnson's only child, Johnny, 18, does the same today.) All the same, Johnson did not decide to become a lawyer until he had graduated from Mississippi's Gulf Coast Military Academy, worked as a surveyor, spent a year in business college and, at 19, married a Winston County girl named Ruth Jenkins. Both worked their way through the University of Alabama.

Ruth graduated first and helped the family finances by teaching speech at nearby Tuscaloosa County High School. One of her ace pupils was Lurleen Burns, now Governor Lurleen Wallace. One of Frank's law classmates was George Wallace, a sometime bantamweight boxer and big man on campus. Even then, recalls Johnson, Wallace had "an uncanny ability to sense moves and determine an effective appeal."

George courted Lurleen at a local dime store, where she was a 16-year-old clerk, then went off to World War II service as a B-29 crewman (nine combat missions in the Pacific). The war also separated the Johnsons. Ruth served as a WAVE lieutenant in Washington, editing secret papers for an admiral on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. An infantry lieutenant in Patton's army, Frank won a Bronze Star in the Normandy invasion, was wounded twice and sent back to England as a legal officer.

Activist Opener. Back home in Alabama, Trial Lawyer Johnson discovered the sometime profit of being a Southern Republican. Though Stevenson swept Alabama in 1952, Johnson served as one of Eisenhower's nine state campaign managers. His reward: appointment, at 34, as U.S. attorney for northern Alabama. His two-year record: impressive. In one of the few such cases since Reconstruction, for example, Johnson won a peonage conviction against two Alabama planters who had paid Mississippi jailers to bind Negro prisoners over to them. In 1955 fate intervened with the death of the U.S. judge for Alabama's Middle District. Johnson drew up a modest résumé, won the support of state G.O.P. leaders, met Ike in Washington and got the job one week past his 37th birthday.

Far younger than most new district judges (average age: 51), Johnson quickly made a name for himself in 1956 by extending the Supreme Court's school decision to Montgomery's segregated buses. In *Browder* v. *Gayle*, Johnson joined with Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives (a Truman appointee) on a three-judge panel to hand down a decisive majority vote to desegregate the buses.

More Than Peanuts. The result not only vindicated Martin Luther King's Montgomery bus boycott—it also keyed Johnson's whole judicial development. If a right applied in one area, he quickly applied it in another—always in spare, lucid opinions based on rock-hard facts. Thus, in 1963, Johnson broadened the Supreme Court's famous *Gideon* right-to-counsel decision (1961) by ruling that court-appointed lawyers must be paid for their services because the Constitution requires "effective" counsel. Congress soon followed with a law requiring payment in federal courts everywhere in the U.S. Conversely, last year Johnson condemned another kind of legal pay: the fees for convictions that Alabama justices of the peace had long pocketed as their only income. That ruling, faithful to a widely ignored 1927 decision of the Supreme Court, may kill the archaic j.p. system all over the South. "If a judge has a financial stake in the outcome," says Johnson, "he's disqualified."

Even in the 75% of his cases that resemble any other district judge's—from bankruptcy to counterfeiting—Johnson is a judge of rare innovation. Before handing out sentences in open court, for example, he follows the unusual practice of inviting all defendants and their families to discuss presentencing reports in the privacy of his chambers. His compassion is evident in even the most minor cases—many of which inevitably involve race. In one, a white man had allegedly hired four Negroes to help him steal peanuts from a federal warehouse. The jury acquitted the white man, convicted the Negroes. Poker-faced, Johnson dropped a balancing thumb onto the scales of Alabama justice as he handed down the Negroes' sentence: 30 minutes in the custody of the U.S. marshal.

Happy Reversal. In 1957, in another balancing problem—inequities in voting—Johnson's hewing to the law earned him his only civil rights reversal by the Supreme Court. In Tuskegee, where Negroes outnumber whites 4 to 1, the state legislature had gerrymandered the city in a 28-sided figure that barred all but four Negroes from voting in municipal elections. Citing Supreme Court precedents, Johnson held that he had no power over that particular kind of state action. By disagreeing, in *Gomillion* v. *Lightfoot* (1960), the Supreme Court took the crucial step toward its historic "one man, one vote"

WAVE LIEUT. JOHNSON (1944)
Teaching Lurleen and editing brass.

decision in *Baker* v. *Carr* (1962). Not unhappy with the reversal, Johnson then restored the boundary lines in Tuskegee, where Negroes were soon elected to office.

Since then, the Supreme Court has sustained Johnsonian opinions all the way. After *Baker* gave U.S. courts power over state voting districts, Alabama tried to base apportionment of the legislature's upper house on geography rather than population. A three-judge court including Johnson voided that idea in *Reynolds* v. *Sims* (1962), which produced the first court order for reapportionment in U.S. history. After that, Alabama tried to bar Negro legislators by combining white and Negro counties. In voiding that scheme in *Sims* v. *Baggett* (1965), the judges reapportioned the legislature themselves—another national first.

Freezing Formula. Johnson has long been the foremost champion of voting rights on the Southern bench—even though he was temporarily stymied in the early stages of *U.S.* v. *Alabama*, launched in 1959 as the first major test of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. In Macon County, 97% of eligible whites were registered to vote *v.* 8% of eligible Negroes—the familiar result of intimidation and tricky tests applied only to Negroes. To avoid giving the federal courts a target for injunction, the Macon registration board periodically resigned. The tactic worked; Johnson found that the 1957 rights law authorized suits only against "persons." When the registrars resigned, there were no persons left to act against. The Justice Department could not sue the Governor, since he does not exercise direct control of registrars; Johnson therefore had to refuse an injunction plea against "the registrars of Macon County."

As a direct result of this adverse ruling, the 1960 Civil Rights Act authorized voting suits against states and state governmental groups as well as persons. In 1961, Johnson duly rapped the Macon board's "puny excuses" and enjoined its assorted subterfuges. Most important, he ordered the board to register any Negro whose qualifications equaled those of the "least qualified white." Called the "freeze doctrine," that rule for righting imbalances became the Fifth Circuit's standard formula in voting cases, and was substantially incorporated into the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Reflex Anger. Before the passage of that act, militant civil rights leaders descended on the Dallas County city of Selma in March 1965. They delighted at the reflex anger of Dallas Sheriff Jim Clark and his mounted "posse men," his electric-shock cattle prods, and forced marches of Negro children. After the inevitable clash on Sunday, March 7, 1965, when 650 Negroes met tear gas and clubs, Judge Johnson enjoined both Governor George Wallace and Martin Luther King from further action. Then he pondered a tough issue—whether to let the Negroes cross Pettus Bridge, march on Route 80 to Montgomery, and petition Governor Wallace for their voting rights.

Johnson permitted the march in an opinion holding that "the right to assemble, demonstrate and march peaceably along the highways and streets in an orderly manner should be commensurate with the enormity of the wrongs that are being protested against. In this case, the wrongs are enormous."

He has also ruled in the other direction. In 1966, he refused jurisdiction in a school-desegregation case after finding that Negroes had assaulted the principal and become a "hysterical mob." Also rebuffed: 167 persons who disobeyed police while picketing the state capitol. As Johnson saw it, civil righteousness is no excuse for lawlessness.

LEVITON—ATLANTA

GOLFING AT MAXWELL A.F.B.
Nothing lost worth keeping.

Last-Ditch Verdict. Soon after Selma came Johnson's finest hour of putting down lawlessness: the trial of the three Klansmen for gunning down Detroit Housewife Viola Liuzzo on Route 80 after the march. A Lowndes County jury had acquitted Collie Leroy Wilkins, though an FBI informant testified that he saw Wilkins commit the murder. The case then moved to Johnson's court. In a 30-page charge to the jury, Johnson painstakingly discussed the American trial system as "a beacon of hope and a last resort for the protection of individual citizens." Solemnly, he called for a verdict that "rests completely upon the proposition of justice rendered by an impartial court and rendered by twelve impartial jurors."

After 24 hours' deliberation, the jury reported back "hopelessly deadlocked." Coolly Johnson replied: "There is no reason to assume that the case will ever be submitted to twelve more intelligent, more impartial or more competent men to decide it, or that more or clearer evidence will be produced on one side or the other." He sent them back. After three more hours, the jury reached a verdict: guilty. Johnson sentenced all three Klansmen to the maximum ten years in prison.

Positive Clout. Predictably, Johnson's bold blows for justice have triggered an increasing number of collisions with George and now Lurleen Wallace. Johnson's current battle with the Wallaces grows out of a 1963 case in which he ordered twelve Negro students admitted to all-white Tuskegee High School. After the whites switched to a private school, receiving state tuition grants of $185 a year, Governor George Wallace sent 216 state troopers to bar the Negro children from the high school. In the ensuing struggle, Wallace mobilized the Alabama National Guard, President Kennedy federalized it, and Wallace closed the school. Johnson put the Negroes in other white schools—and a five-judge court convened at Johnson's request ordered Wallace to quit sabotaging desegregation.

This March that order was given the most positive clout in Southern school history. Invoking the 14th Amendment, a three-judge court mustered by Johnson ordered Alabama to "take affirmative action to disestablish state-enforced or -encouraged" segregation across the state. Wallace & Co. could no longer pin the rap on individual school boards, said the court. By all evidence, the state itself controls all public schools and most state colleges. As a result, Alabama has the lowest percentage of Negro integration of any state (2.4%). More than 25% of Negro high schools are unaccredited, compared with 3.4% of the white schools. School spending is $607 for each white student, only $295 for Negroes. Of the state's 28,000 teachers, only 76 teach students of another race.

Affirmative Precedent. To right the wrongs, Johnson's court issued a top-to-bottom desegregation plan that allows every student to designate the school of his choice. Choices must be made during the current school year, with no second guesses permitted when the new year begins. If overcrowding results, students will be assigned to the schools nearest their homes, without regard to race or color. The state is enjoined to foster integration in all other areas of public education: the location of new schools, faculty assignments, bussing, and spending per pupil.

Much of this plan for Alabama, notably the school-choice system, was echoed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals this month in a no-nonsense decision ordering "affirmative" desegregation next fall in all grades in seven school districts in Alabama and Louisiana. The Supreme Court has refused to stay that order. District courts are now obliged to apply it throughout the Fifth Circuit's territory: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and

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Texas. After 13 years of deliberate delay, 77.5% of the South's Negro pupils are still segregated; now they may get a crack at equal education.

The "affirmative action" precedent may some day be used to attack *de facto* segregated schools in the North as well. Not that Northern judges are yet obliged to follow the precedent: its applicability depends on proof that a segregated system is the result of unconstitutional state action. Meanwhile, the Wallaces are apparently determined to stage a dramatic happening in Alabama next fall—a confrontation between state and federal forces comparable to Little Rock. George has already declared: "You know what we're goin' to tell them when they ask us to give 'em more in the schools of Alabama this fall? I'll tell you what we'll tell 'em: 'Goddammit, we jus' ain't."

Toward that end, Lurleen delivered a TV speech in March invoking the discredited doctrine of interposition—the notion that a state government can halt any federal action it deems unconstitutional. Conjuring up visions of parents being jailed wholesale by federal agents, Lurleen asked the legislature to hire more state troopers. Not only must all Alabamians resist desegregation "in every possible way," cried Lurleen, but "the entire nation is the battlefield! This is what Hitler did in Germany!"

The argument failed to impress a group of three Southern Governors convened by George and Lurleen to map strategy against the integration order. But it was bound to go down well in Alabama, where State Education Superintendent Austin R. Meadows said last summer: "Segregation is the basic principle of culture. The good segregate themselves from the bad." Avoiding euphemism, Alabama's Chief Justice J. Edwin Livingston says plainly: "I'm for segregation, and I don't care who knows it. I would close every school from the highest to the lowest before I would go to school with colored people."

Unlisted Number. Judge Johnson pays no attention. Two boys once burned a cross in his front yard, but to Johnson it was just a prank. After anonymous callers threatened to bomb his family, he simply got an unlisted number; federal agents have periodically guarded his comfortable ranch house ever since. He keeps a current file on all active Alabama Klansmen. Asked whether his wires are tapped, Johnson lights up another Home Run cigarette (a brand that makes Gauloises seem *bleu* by comparison) and noncommittally drawls: "I've made a studied effort to avoid areas of paranoia."

It takes an effort. When the judge's son Johnny was attending a private school in Montgomery, George Wallace chortled that Johnson was evading desegregation, and state agents descended on the school to investigate alleged "Communist overtones." No clues have yet led to the persons unknown who set off a bomb outside the Montgomery home of Johnson's 69-year-old mother two weeks ago. The Johnsons have lost friends, though "none we wanted to keep." They belong to Montgomery's handsome country club, but the judge confines his avid golfing (mid-80s) to a few open-minded military partners at nearby Maxwell Air Force Base, where "it's easier to be just Frank Johnson." He is not about to defend his decisions by writing articles or giving law-school lectures. "Judges make their decrees," he says. "They can't sell 'em."

One of Johnson's rare lapses into the luxury of legal lecturing comes each May 1—declared Law Day by President Eisenhower in 1958. Johnson regularly schedules naturalization ceremonies for that day to emphasize the supremacy of the law. Last week Johnson assembled 41 new Americans in his Montgomery courtroom to make points not only about the law in general, but about the law as it pertains specifically to the Alabama and the U.S. of 1967.

JIM PEPPLER

MRS. JOHNSON SR. AFTER BOMBING
Difficult to avoid the paranoia.

"It is necessary," he said, "now more than ever, that the responsible American citizen realize and discharge his obligation constantly to support and defend the proposition that our law is supreme and must be obeyed. This means that irresponsible criticism—by those who can hardly read the Constitution, much less study it and interpret it—must not be allowed to stand unchallenged.

"When those who frustrate the law, who undermine judicial decisions, run riot and provide uncurbed leadership for a return to nothing more than medieval savagery, for the responsible American citizen to remain silent is tantamount to cowardice; it is a grievous injustice to the proposition that in America the law is supreme."

On or off the bench, Judge Johnson has rarely been silent.

JUSTICE

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE
IN
THE PROCESS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Several weeks ago, the Project on Crime & Corrections of the Southern Regional Council proposed to enlist the cooperation of the Fellowship of the Concerned - United Churchwomen - to prepare a booklet based on a survey of arrest and detention procedures in the Southern Region as they bear on misdemeanant offenders.

After a preview of the national survey of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was reviewed, more attention was focused on the very poor provisions for the administration of criminal justice (law enforcement, including officers and the legal profession, the judicial process, probation and parole, and corrections) in the South. (Some of the data abstracted from the survey, and some of the more than 200 recommendations, are attached.)

We realized that we were asking the Fellowship to venture out into unknown territory because few persons, lay or professional, are able to acquaint themselves fully with the arrest, judicial and correctional processes.Therefore, we secured the services of a member of the California bar, Mr. Ronald Sievers, who is a VISTA volunteer, to organize a pilot experience so that you would have some understanding of the problems that you will encounter in the study process.

After two meetings with some of the members of local religious organizations, the following women either visited local institutions or gathered as much data as possible from jail and court records. Some of these participants will apprise you of their experiences.

Mrs. John Golden
Mrs. Byron Kirkland
Mrs. Jack Patterson
Mrs. James Leak
Mrs. Marshall Solomon
Mrs. Herbert Slotin
Mrs. Jane Scherago
Mrs. Philip Shulhafer

Perhaps the worst problem encountered was the nature and variety of the records and the limited data that are available. Also, most apparent were the attitudes of suspicion that had to be overcome.

We were interested in the types of misdemeanors committed; the age, sex and race of the defendant; geographic distribution; the use of bail, detention or release on own recognizance; sentences, and time between arrest and disposition. (a copy of the schedule that we used in collecting the data is attached.)

We ran into a number of problems, and we made mistakes. However, we learned that such a study is possible, with group understanding and conviction to see it through.

PROBLEMS:

1. Often, the Police Department would not cooperate and open records to us despite the fact that in Georgia, by law, these records are open to inspection by the public. Thus, it appears that a group undertaking the survey would have to invest a lot of know-how, pressure and influence in gaining access to "public records."

2. Lack of time of volunteers. The work probably would be done by volunteers. The work can be tedious as it is mainly a job of copying from records. Moreover, because of the poor methods of record-keeping sometimes used, the work can be very time-consuming.

3. Orientation was also a problem. Before the project is initiated in any particular area, the volunteers should be fully orientated to the job. The volunteers should be given a clear definition of the types of crimes they are interested in (this will vary by state) plus a questionnaire should be provided which will correspond to the records available to the volunteers. The volunteers would need professional guidance from a judge, attorney, police official or other person who is familiar with a particular agency or department.

4. It was found that the records kept are often incomplete. However, the effort would be worthwhile if it were only able to expose such situations.

A study similar to this (The Westchester Misdemeanant Survey) was published by the National Council on Crime & Delinquency in 1966. The data were collected by women volunteers.

The Westchester Survey was a first step toward brining light into the darkness that now obscures most of American crime. Misdemeanor, as a legal term, covers the vast catalogue of criminal violations punishable by a fine or imprisonment in a local

jail or other institution as against the more serious violations, felonies, punishable by death or confinement in a state prison. The latter are studied and debated, but very little data are available to show how misdemeanants are dealt with, although they account for at least 9 out of every 10 arrests.

To find out what happened to misdemeanant offenders in Westchester from arrest to final disposition and from this infromation to make recommendations for improvements in the system was the starting point of the survey. The project relied primarily upon public police and court records. Information gathered was supplemented by interviews with police chiefs, judges and other government officials. It is this pattern that we hope to follow in our own effort.

A survey of misdemeanant procedures in the Southern Region would constitute the foundation upon which many service-relevant programs could be developed. Additionally, it would help to validate the assumptions that are proposed relative to youth detention and treatment and to identify gaps in service and record-keeping procedures.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT
AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

A national survey indicating that correctional programs and institutions in the United States have not been provided adequate resources was disclosed today.

The survey--the first national examination of correctional personnel, programs and criminal offenders in the history of the United States--was sponsored by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance.

The corrections survey is one of a large number of major projects undertaken by the Commission in the preparation of its report to President Johnson, now scheduled to go to the White House in January. The survey was conducted for the Commission and OLEA by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

The Chairman of the Commission, Undersecretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, said the survey for the first time provided factual evidence of the severe handicaps under which correctional agencies in most parts of the United States are now operating. "In few areas has the 20th century made such shallow penetration or are public preconceptions so hardened."

"If the nation is truly concerned about crime--and there is no doubt it is--then the nation must come to be equally concerned about the quality of its jails and prisons, and the quality of its probation and parole services. So long as men are held in prisons for years on end without any kind of vocational training, so long as

those who have served their time are released from institutions with little hope and no assistance in finding decent jobs, so long must we expect some of them to return to crime."

To document the basic conclusion that society is not providing corrections with adequate resources, Mr. Katzenbach pointed to a number of the survey's specific findings.

--Of the more than 400,000 children who were detained in 1965, about one quarter were held in jails and police lock-up, often with hardened criminals. Only two states and Puerto Rico claim they never use jails for children. Less than 20 percent of the jails in which children are held have been rated as suitable for adult offenders.

--Barely 5 percent of all personnel working in local jails and institutions devote their time to treatment and training. More than 90 percent are administrators and guards. These are the institutions which imprison many of the country's first offenders--presumably the most receptive to rehabilitation.

--Thirty percent of the state operated adult institutions, which hold those convicted of committing more serious kinds of crime, provide no form of vocational training.

--Only 5 of the 50 states operate "halfway houses" to help released offenders make a gradual readjustment to society. Such "halfway houses" have been operating for years in a small number of jurisdictions. Only a handful of states operate work release programs where offenders can gain on-the-job experience before they are released.

--Eleven states have no probation services for adult misdemeanant offenders, six states have only the barest fragments of such service, and most other states provide it on a spotty basis.

--Nearly one half of all state felony probationers are cast into caseloads of parole officers supervising over 100 persons, far in excess of recognized minimum standards.

In addition to providing positive evidence of the critical shortage of resources, Mr. Katzenbach said the survey also provided basic new data which for the first time would permit all levels of government to see how the various parts of the extraordinarily complex correctional system operate in relation to each other.

NUMBERS OF OFFENDERS

On a recent single day, 1965, there were more than 1,220,000 persons under the supervision or care of state and local agencies or institutions.

Because new offenders are constantly being added while other offenders are being discharged, and many offenders are convicted more than once a year, about 2,550,000 persons--more than double the daily population--come in contact with the system during the course of a year.

LOCATION AND TYPES OF OFFENDERS

About one-third of all offenders are in institutions. These institutions are often fortress-like constructions where security is the predominant goal and where rehabilitative programs are absent. Two-thirds are in the community, under the supervision of overworked, underpaid, and poorly trained probation and parole officers.

Twenty-eight percent of all offenders are juveniles, seventy-two percent are adults. Viewed from a different perspective, 12 percent of the 1.2 million persons under the control of correctional agencies on a recent day were adults in local institutions and jails. These jails are too often old and ill-kept, and totally devoid of educational

and vocational training programs, while 16.0 percent were adults in state institutions.

COSTS

The cost of operating state and local correctional services is almost one billion dollars a year. One breakdown shows that $93 million a year is spent on juvenile probation and parole services, $221 million for state and local juvenile institutions, $93 million for adult probation and parole and $754 million for state and local adult institutions. On a percentage basis, 81 percent of the total operating costs of state and local correctional agencies is allocated to institutions, 19 percent for community-based services such as probation, parole and aftercare.

One other way of examining correctional expenses is to compare overall daily costs for maintaining those under different types of supervision. The average adult probationer costs 39 cents a day, the average adult parolee costs 88 cents a day, the average offender in a local institution costs $2.87 a day, and the average adult offender in a state institution costs $5.24 a day. Care for the institutionalized offender is thus more costly and may be less effective for many offenders.

As Mr. Katzenbach has recently said, "Those engaged in corrections increasingly sense the possibilities in community treatment of offenders through supervised work programs."

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONNEL

As indicated earlier, an overwhelming majority of correctional personnel devote their time to guarding offenders. Considering the distribution of personnel in all state and local institutions, only 3.6 percent are treatment staff and 5.9 percent are academic and

vocational staff. Thus more than 90 percent of the persons working in state and local correctional institutions are administrators and guards.

From a different perspective, the survey indicated that only 12.75 percent of all state and local correctional personnel handle probationers and parolees even though this group represents more than two-thirds of the nation's offender population. Adequate guidance and supervision for parolees and probationers is sadly lacking.

STATISTICS

It is impossible to evaluate the success or failure of a given program without understanding how the program operates. The fact that the corrections survey is the first of its kind in the history of the United States is an indication of how little thought has been given to attempting to measure the effectiveness of various parts of the correctional system. Unfortunately, this pattern of indifference holds true in most states. Nowhere in the nation, for example, did the survey uncover a single state agency responsible for collecting operating statistics from all the correctional services in a state. The survey further shows that 75 percent of the states collect no statistics on jails and local institutions, 65 percent of the states collect no statistics on misdemeanant probation and 43 of the states fail to collect any statistics on various aftercare programs. No one knew how many offenders were under correctional control on any given day or how many individuals contacted the system within a given year. No one knew the total costs of correctional operations or even the cost of any single component such as probation or parole. No one knew which programs were most effective and for whom.

HOW THE SURVEY WAS TAKEN

Early in 1966, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance decided that it would be impossible to make sound recommendations about improving the jails and prisons and the probation and parole services without a comprehensive knowledge of correctional facilities, programs, personnel, funding and offenders in the United States at the present time.

Because such comprehensive information simply was not available, the Commission and OLEA asked the National Council on Crime and Delinquency to make the first such national survey ever attempted. The Council is a large non-profit organization devoted to improving the system of criminal justice in the United States.

After examining the problem, the Council decided that complete data would be collected from the correctional agencies operating at the state level in all the states and Puerto Rico and the correctional agencies operating in a representative sample of 250 counties. A special team of more than 50 NCCD staff members then moved out into the states and counties talking with officials operating within literally thousands of state, county, and city correctional agencies and institutions. From these thousands of interviews emerged the statistical profile.

But to get a better understanding of the correctional problems as perceived at the state, county and local level, an additional survey technique was employed. This involved the calling together of a small group of correctional leaders in each state and Puerto Rico for 51 separate, carefully recorded seminars on the needs of the entire correctional system and how these needs could best be satisfied.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF NATION S CRIME COMMISSION

TO ASSURE AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

Adopt centralized procedures in each city for handling crime reports from citizens, with controls to make those procedures effective.

Separate the present index of reported crime into two wholly separate parts, one for crimes of violence and one for crimes against property.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CARE

Housing and Education:

Expanded efforts to improve housing and recreation.

Families:

Develop methods to provide minimum income.
Revise welfare regulations so they contribute to keeping families together.
Insure availability of family planning assistance.
Expand counseling and therapy.
Provide assistance in problems of domestic management and child care.
Develop activities that involve the whole family together.

Involviing Youths in Community Life:

Involve youths in community activities.
Employ young people as subprofessional aides.
Establish youth services bureaus to provide and coordinate programs for deliquents and nondeliquents.
Increase involvement of religious institutions, private social agencies, other groups in youth programs.
Provide residential centers.

Schools:

Provide financial support for needed personnel and facilities.
Improve the quality of teachers and facilities.
Reduce racial and economic segregation.
Compensate for inadequate preschool preparation.
Develop better means for dealing with behavior problems.
Use instructional material more relevant to inner city life.
Encourage students capable of higher education to pursue their education.
Revise programs for students not going to college.
Expand job placement by schools.
Increase contacts between the school and the community.

The Juvenile Justice System:

Formulate police department guidelines for handling of juveniles.
Train police officers in handling of adolescents.
Limit police custody of juveniles to instances where there is objective specific suspicion.
Maintain confidential records of all frisks and extended interrogations of juveniles.
Limit stationhouse adjustment of cases by police.
Provide alternatives to adjudication through youth services bureau.
Increase referrals to community agencies.
Employ voluntary preliminary conference at intake.
Adopt consent decree as alternative to adjudication.
Narrow juvenile court jurisdiction over noncriminal matters
Restrict prehearing detention and provide separate detention facilities for juveniles.
Provide particularized notice in advance of hearings.
Provide counsel wherever coercive action is possible.
Divide court hearings into adjudicatory and dispositional proceedings.

POLICE

Community Relations:

Establish community relations units in departments serving substantial minority population.
Establish citizen advisory committees in minority-group neighborhoods.
Recruit more minority-group officers.
Emphasize community relations in training and operations.
Provide adequate procedures for processing citizens grievances against all public officials.

Personnel:

Divide functions and personnel entry and promotion lines among three kinds of officers.
Require minimum of 400 hours of training.
Assess manpower needs and provide more personnel if required.
Recruit more actively, especially on college campuses and in inner cities.
Increase police salaries, especially maximums, to competitive levels.
Consider police salaries apart from those of other municipal departments.
Set as goal requirement of baccalaureate degree for general enforcement officers.
Require immediately baccalaureate degrees for supervisory positions.

Personnel (cont'd):

Improve screening of candidates to determine character and fitness.
Modify inflexible physical, age and residence recruitment requirements.
Stress ability in promotion.
Encourage lateral entry to specialist and supervisory positions.
Improve training methods and broaden coverage of non-technical background subjects.
Require one week yearly minimum of intensive inservice training and encourage continued education.
Require 12 to 18 months' probation and evaluation of recruits.
Establish police standards commissions.

Organization and Operations:

Develop and enunciate policy guidelines for exercies of law enforcement descretion.
Clarify by statute authority of police to stop persons for questioning.
Include police formally in community planning.
Provide state assistance for management surveys.
Employ legal advisers.
Strengthen central staff control.
Create administrative boards of key ranking personnel in all departments to maintain police integrity.
Experiment with team policing combining patrol and investigative duties.
Adopt policy limiting use of firearms by officers.

Pooling of Resources and Services:

Provide areawide communications and records coordination.
Pool and coordinate crime laboratories.
Assist smaller departments in major investigations.
Explore pooling or consolidation of law enforcement in all counties or metropolitan areas.

COURT

The Lower Courts:

Unify felony and misdemeanor courts.
Increase judicial manpower and modernize physical facilities.
Provide prosecutors, defense counsel, and probation officers in courts now lacking them.
Abolish or overhaul state justices of the peace and U.S. commissioner systems.
Initial stages of a criminal case.
Establish bail projects.
Enact comprehensive state bail reform legislation.
Establish station house release and summons procedures.

COURT (cont'd)

The Lower Courts:

Improve decisions on which defendants should and which should not be charged.
Insure fair and visible negotiated guilty pleas.
Develop and share dispositional information early in case.

Court Proceedings:

Establish standards for publicity in criminal cases.
Provide single, simple state postconviction procedure.
Extend prosecution's right to appeal from pretrial rulings suppressing evidence or confessions.
Enact general witness immunity statutes and coordinate immunity grants under them.
Eliminate special standards of proof in perjury cases.

Sentencing policies and Procedures:

Revise sentencing provisions of penal codes.
Consider whether to retain capital punishment.
Establish probation services in all courts for presentence reports.
Expand sentencing institutes and conferences.
Abolish jury sentencing in noncapital cases.
Institute procedures for promoting just and uniform sentencing.

Officers of Justice:

Improve selection of judges through better screening.
Provide judicial tenure of at least 10 years.
Expand programs for training judges.
Establish commissions on judicial conduct with power to discipline or require retirement.
Institute salary and selection reforms for prosecutors.
Coordinate local prosecutors through state attorneys general and prosecutor's councils.
Establish programs for training prosecutors.
Extend early provision of counsel for indigents.
Institute state-financed, coordinated assigned counsel or defender systems.
Expand training programs for defense counsel.

Court Scheduling, Management and Organization:

Create single, unified state court systems.
Centralize administrative responsibility.
Institute timetable for completion of criminal cases.
Utilize experts in business management and business machine systems.
Improve facilities and compensation for witnesses and jurors.

CORRECTIONS

Community-Based Corrections:

Make parole and probation supervision available for all offenders.
Provide for mandatory supervision of released offenders not paroled.
Increase number of probation and parole officers.
Use volunteers and subprofessional aides.
Develop new methods to reintegrate offenders by mobilizing community institutions.
Make funds available to purchase services otherwise unobtainable for offenders.
Vary caseload size and treatment according to offender needs.
Develop more intensive community treatment programs as alternative to institutionalization.

Correctional Institutions:

Establish with state and federal funds small-unit institutions in cities for community-oriented treatment.
Operate institutions with joint responsibility of staff and inmates for rehabilitation.
Upgrade education and vocational training for inmates.
Establish state programs to recruit and train instructors.
Improve prison industries through joint state programs and federal assistance.
Expand graduated release and furlough programs.
Integrate local jails and misdemeanant institutions with state corrections.
Provide separate detention facilities for juveniles.
House and handle persons awaiting trial separately from convicts.
Provide separate treatment to special offender groups, through pooling or sharing among jurisdictions.

Correctional Decisionmaking:

Strengthen diagnostic and screening resources.
Appoint parole boards solely on basis of merit, providing training and requiring full-time service.
Develop standards and procedures to insure fairness to offenders in decisions affecting them.

Research and Training:

Improve university research and training in corrections.

ORGANIZED CRIME

Proof of Criminal Violations:

- Impanel annual investigative grand juries.
- Provide right of appeal for grand juries to obtain special investigators and prosecutors.
- Enact general witness immunity statutes and coordinate immunity grants.
- Eliminate special standards of proof in perjury cases.
- Clarify law regarding wiretapping and eavesdropping.
- Provide power to impose extended sentences on organized crime leaders.
- Extend prosecution's right to appeal from pretrial rulings suppressing evidence or confessions.
- Establish federal residential facilities to protect witnesses.

Investigation and Prosecution Units:

- Form organized crime intelligence units in offices of state attorneys general and local police departments.
- Assign special prosecutorial manpower to organized crime cases.
- Create computerized central federal intelligence office.
- Expand staff of Organized Crime and Racketeering (OCR) section in U. S. Justice Department.
- Give OCR section authority over U.S. attorneys on organized crime cases.
- Furnish federal technical assistance and training to local jurisdictions.
- Provide federal assistance for development of state and regional intelligence systems.
- Encourage research.
- Create permanent joint congressional committee on organized crime.
- Establish permanent state and citizens crime commissions.

Noncriminal Controls:

- Use existing regulatory authority against business controlled by organized crime.
- Encourage private business groups to prevent and uncover criminal business tactics.
- Increase news coverage on organized crime.
- Brief local government officials regularly on organized crime.

NARCOTICS AND DRUG ABUSE

Enforcement:

- Increase staffs of bureaus of customs and narcotics.
- Adopt state drug abuse control legislation.
- Amend federal drug abuse control law to strengthen record-keeping provisions.
- Revise sentencing laws to give adequate flexibility.

Research and Education:

Undertaken research with respect to regulation of drugs.
Conduct research at National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) on marijuana use.
Develop education materials of NIMH.

DRUNKENNESS

Eliminate crimal treatment of drunkeness when not accompanied by disorderly or otherwise unlawful conduct.
Establish civil detoxification centers.
Coordinate and extend aftercare programs.
Expand research.

CONTROL OF FIREARMS

Enact laws prohibiting transportation and possession of military-type weapons.
Prohibit potentially dangerous persons from acquiring firearms.
Require registration of handguns, rifles, and shotguns.
Require permit for possessing or carrying a handgun.
Prohibit interstate sale of handguns and regulate such sales of other firearms.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Police Operations:

Undertake studies in large police departments of crimes, arrests, and operations.
Permit public access to police callboxes.
Establish single, uniform police telephone number.
Develop police radio networks.
Require metropolitan areas to coordinate requests to FCC for additional frequencies.
Make greater use of multichannel radio trunks.
Consider allocating portions of TV spectrum to police use.
Establish federal project to underwrite initial costs of new radio equipment.
Initial research of new fingerprint recognition system.

Information Systems:

Establish criminal information systems.
Establish national criminal justice statistics center.

General Federal Research and Assistance:

Sponsor science and technology research and development program.
Provide technical assistance to criminal justice agencies.

RESEARCH

Expand research efforts of universities, foundations, and other private groups.
Establish a national foundation for criminal research.

A NATIONAL STRATEGY

Establish agency or officials in every state and city responsible for planning and encouraging improvements in criminal justice.

CASE RECORD

Municipality _____

(The following information should be obtainable from the police arrest blotter.)

Name _____ Age_____ Sex_____ Race_____

Address _____ Case # _____

Arrest: Date_____ Time_____ Not Recorded _____

Booking: Time _____ Charge _____

Bail: Yes____ No_____ When arranged_____ Amount_____

Cash?_____ Bond? _____ D O R?_____

Detained? _____ Local lockup?_____ County Jail_____

Did accused make telephone call? _____

(The following information should be in court records and may sometimes also be found in police records.)

Arraignment: Date_____ Plea: Guilty_____ Not Guilty____
(1st appearance in court)

Name of Judge _____

Have Lawyer? Yes____ No_____ Bound over? Yes_____ No_____

Adjournment? Yes_____ No_____ If yes, what date?_____

Bail?_____ DOR_____ Detained_____ Amount?_____

Cash? _____ Bond_____

Prior criminal record? _____ If yes, detail:

_____

_____

Trial: Date_____ Charge tried on_____

Jury?_____

Prosecuted by? _____

Have lawyer? _____

Lawyer's name _____

Verdict: Guilty? _____ Not guilty? _____

Presentence investigation? Yes_____ No _____

Sentence: Fine _____ Suspendended sentence _____

Probation Supervision_____ Amt. _____

Commitment _____ Time Served _____

What records did you use?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Comments: (Please report any problems you find. Use back page if necessary.)

Name _____ Date _____

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Friday, February 25, 1966

Mutual Fund Aimed At Negro Investors Registered With SEC

* * *

Everyman Fund, Inc., Planning Initial Offering of 500,000 Shares at Price of $10 Each

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

CLEVELAND—Everyman Fund, Inc., a new mutual fund aimed at "bringing the Negro into a larger participation in the nation's economy" was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Termed the first Negro mutual fund in the country, the company plans an initial offering of 500,000 shares at $10 a share, said Norman L. McGhee, president, who formed McGhee & Co., Cleveland, in 1952, among the first Negro investment concerns in the U.S.

At present a closed-end investment firm with $94,601 in assets and 10,339 shares outstanding and 15,000 authorized, the fund plans to become an open-end company with redeemable shares following the initial stock offering, he said, and will at that time begin the purchase of securities for its portfolio.

A closed-end investment company has a limited number of shares, whereas an open-end concern, or mutual fund, continuously sells its shares and stands ready to redeem them at prices based on asset values of its portfolio.

The fund has an imprint of the Statue of Liberty on its preliminary prospectus and will have the slogan, "Helping every man to help himself." The Everyman name is taken from a 15th Century morality play by Peter Dorland.

Plans call for the establishment of sales agreements with broker-dealers with qualified Negro salesmen with the objective of selling investments nationally in the fund primarily to Negroes, though there will be no racial restrictions on investors.

Sales will be concentrated at the outset in five states—Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Georgia and South Carolina—though this will be expanded later to other states, particularly those with large Negro populations, Mr. McGhee said.

Fulton, Reid & Co., Cleveland investment company, has been retained as the fund's investment adviser to furnish reports, statistical and research services, advice and recommendations on portfolio investments. W. Yost Fulton, Fulton-Reid's chairman, will be a member of the Everyman board.

The fund's investment objectives are to provide long-term income and growth from a diversified portfolio made up of 75% in common stock or securities convertible into common stock. The rest will be invested in quality bonds and preferred stocks. The investments will be made largely in well-known established companies but may also be made in lesser known, smaller corporations where marketability is adequate, according to the prospectus.

Besides Mr. McGhee and Mr. Fulton, a 13-member board is comprised of Harold Ferguson, a research engineer for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Norman L. McGhee, Jr., secretary and a director of McGhee & Co.; Lorimer D. Milton, president of Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, and trustee chairman of Howard University; Mrs. Tommie P. Patty, executive director of the Phillis Wheatley Association, a private social welfare organization; Arnold Pinkney, president of Pinkney-Perry Insurance Agency, Inc., Cleveland; Max Reiter, president of Printz-Biederman Co.; Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta; Helen W. Sheffield, formerly a teacher at the State College of South Carolina; George W. Whitehead, a Cleveland attorney; W. R. Wilkes, trustee chairman of Wilberforce University, and J. W. Walter Wills, president of J. W. Wills Co., funeral directors.

Conference on

Poverty Research, Communications, and the Public

Sponsored by

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON POVERTY

and

RUSSELL SAGE - UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
SOCIAL SCIENCE WRITING PROGRAM

Wisconsin Center

April 29-30, 1966

FRIDAY, APRIL 29

10:00 a.m.—"A Case Study in Communicating Poverty Research to the Public." Room 227

Speaker: David Caplowitz, Columbia University

Panel:
Gordon Bivens, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
Samuel Adams, St. Petersburg, Fla. Times, and Southern Regional Council.
Richard Jacobs, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

1:30 p.m.—"Giving Direction to Poverty Programs Using the Reports of Mass Media and Research." Room 227

Speaker: Lisle Carter, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.
Dartmouth - St. Johns U.

Panel:
Tom Joyce, Detroit News.
Irving Kristol, The Public Interest.
Robert Lampman, University of Wisconsin.

6:30 p.m.—Dinner Room 109

"The Institute for Research on Poverty at Wisconsin."
Speaker: ~~Joseph Kershaw~~ Robt Lampman, Office of Economic Opportunity.

8:00 p.m.—"Involving and Informing the Active and Interested Public." Room 227

Speaker: Robert Lekachman, Stony Brook State University, New York.

Panel:
Martin David, University of Wisconsin.
Martin Rein, Bryn Mawr College.
Leonard Zweig, Trans-Action.

SATURDAY, APRIL 30

9:30 a.m.—"Problems in Reporting Poverty Projects and Research." Room 227

Speaker: Tom Joyce, Detroit News.

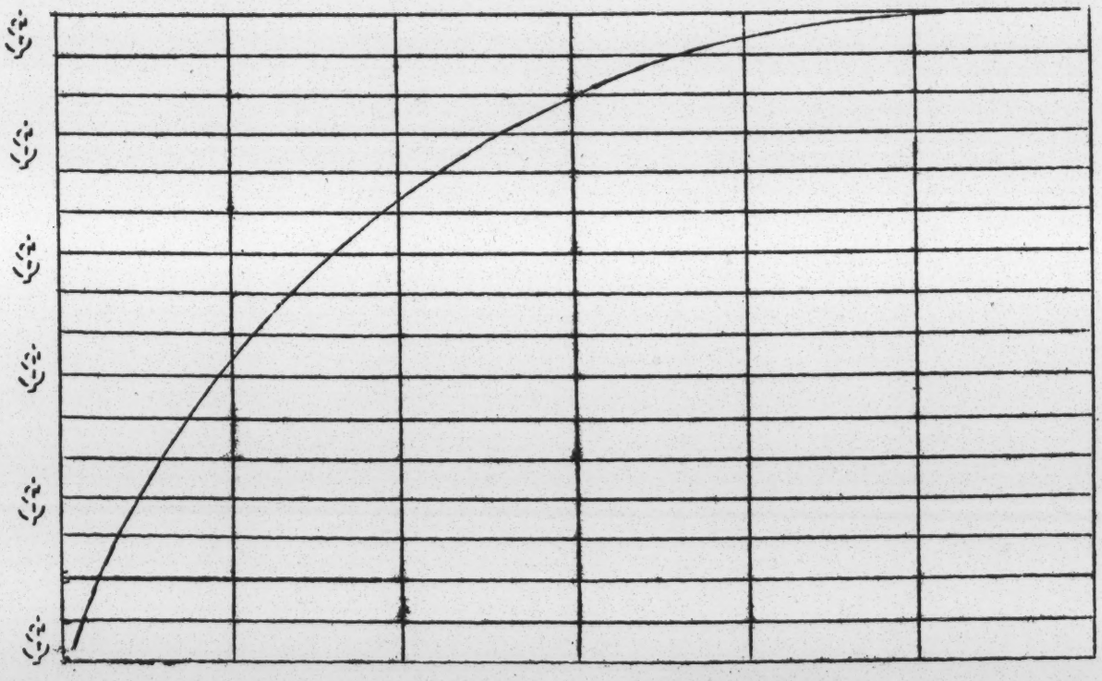
Panel: Robt Lewis, aide to Wisc Gov - Dept of Ag
~~Lisle Carter, Assistant Secretary of Health~~, Education and Welfare.
~~Joseph Kershaw, Office of Economic~~ Opportunity. Warren Haygood, Community Action Center Syracuse, N.Y.
Erwin Knoll, Newhouse National News Service.

Samuel Adams

PROGRAM

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

$$$$$



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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

$$$$$

ATLANTA

AMERICANA MOTOR HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MAY 18-19-20, 1966

FRANK STANLEY

Negro press enjoying highest period of prosperity

122 Negro papers

Negro market is 30 billion

17% of soft drinks

23% of all shoes

12% money for food at home (of income)

50% of sardines

high birth rate — heavy consumers of evaporated milk

5½ of income for home furnishing (Negro

4% of income " " " by whites

50% contributors to inner-city economy.

31% of income being spent in housing development.

Atlanta — 350 mil

- P R O G R A M -

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18

9:00 -- 9:45 a. m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - REGISTRATION

9:45 --12:15 p.m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - OPENING GENERAL SESSION

PRESIDING

Dr. Frederick Patterson
Chairman of Board
National Business League

Purpose of Institute: Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League

Welcome: Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor
City of Atlanta

W. Lee Burge, President
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

J. B. Blayton, Sr., President
Atlanta Urban League Board

Franklin O'Neal, President
Atlanta Business League

Introduction of Speaker: Dr. Frederick Patterson

Speaker: Frank Stanley, President
National Newspaper Publishers Ass'n.
Louisville, Kentucky

Subject: "Negro-Oriented Business in a Bi-Racial Economy"

Data Processing

Whitney Young

$2,898 median income of Negro
57.7 % of Negroes below poverty line

72% of Harlem's business is absentee owned.
Less than 1½ % of Negroes are self employed –
– We – traditionally cautious people
Howard Thurman's story of Barryman (dog) & picket fence ... Sand drift & no longer a fence as barrier ... both panicked.
"The negro is the barometer of the validity of the free enterprise system"
Whitney Young – trip to Africa & in that few hours suddenly found all the people tending plane were white. His first inclination was to go up & congratulate them on getting those jobs. They must) pretty good ~~###~~ FEPC there.
He too brainwashed because he felt some anxiety.
One business man said ... I want to move fast. I saw what happened in the major leagues ...
Integration is a two way street ...
Formerly ∂. captive market ... Protected market of past is gone x
Don't make the mistake of ignoring blue collar trades.
Increased visibility outside the ghetto will go far to eradication, the lingering prejudice

---

Man with horse & wagon pulling a load & having tough haul .. Passed a man & asked:
"Mister how long is this hill."
Reply: This aint no hill ... your rear wheels are off
∂ stopped to analyze his situation

Arthur Allen
Rm 626

Lion in jungle came upon a bull .. roared & killed & devoured it.
His stomach full, he

12:30 -- 2:00 p. m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - LUNCHEON MEETING

PRESIDING

Milton Cummings, President
Brown Engineering Co.
Huntsville, Alabama

Invocation: Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President
Inter-Denominational Theological Center
Atlanta, Georgia

Speaker: L. D. Milton, President
Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Subject: "Welcome and Comments on the Atlanta Business Outlook ---Opportunities And Trends"

Introduction of Speaker: Opie L. Shelton, Executive Vice President
And General Manager
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

✓ Speaker: Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

Subject: "Economic Development and the Negro"

DISCUSSION

2:30 -- 4:00 p. m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - PANEL #1

OPPORTUNITIES IN URBAN RENEWAL

Moderator : Charles S. Wright, Consultant
Shaw Renewal Project
Washington, D. C.

Speaker: Dr. James L. Green, Professor
Department of Economics
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Subject: "Opportunities in Urban Renewal"

DISCUSSION

Panelists: Waddell R. Thomas, Chairman
Urban Renewal Committee
National Association of
Real Estate Brokers
Washington, D. C.

Must be switch hitters
work both sides of the street

T. M. Alexander, Sr., President
Alexander and Company
Atlanta, Georgia

John H. Winters, President
John H. Winters Company, Builder
City Councilman
Raleigh, North Carolina

L. H. Persells, Area Coordinator
Regional Office
Department, Housing and Urban Development

Luke Brown
Business Relocation Specialist
Regional Office
Department, Housing and Urban Development

Richard Marshall, Mortgage Department
Prudential Life Insurance Company
New York, N. Y.

4:00 -- 5:30 p.m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - PANEL #2

STRENGTHENING EXISTING AND DEVELOPING NEW BUSINESSES

Moderator: Jacob R. Henderson, Field Coordinator
Southeastern Region
Economic Development Administration

Speaker: Percy La Bohne
Philco Corporation
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Subject: "Strenghtening Existing and Developing New Businesses"

DISCUSSION

Panelists: Le Roy Gaillard, Builder
Birmingham, Alabama

E. L. Simon, General Auditor
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
Atlanta, Georgia

J. M. Anderson, Manager
Sub-contracting Division
Lockheed Corporation of Georgia

Jac Wasserman, Field Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
Atlanta, Georgia

W. A. Shields
Former Executive Director and Manager
Tuskegee Credit Union
And
Former Vice President
Southeastern Cooperative League
Tuskegee, Alabama

Elmer J. Moore
Research Division
Office, Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Harry Bennett, Principal Review Examiner
Bureau of Federal Credit Unions
Atlanta, Georgia

THURSDAY, MAY 19

9:30 -- 12:00 noon - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - PANEL #3

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO SMALL BUSINESS
Financial Resources in Government

Chairman: Robert L. Shirley
Johnson C. Smith University
Representing: United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Moderator: Benjamin Goldstein, Director
Office of Economic Assistance
Small Business Administration
Washington, D.C.

Subject: "Government Assistance to Small Business"

DISCUSSION

Panelists: Jay Wade, Business Manager
Johnson Publications
Chicago, Illinois

John T. McDermott, Vice President
Chicken Delight

Robert J. Holley, Franchisee
Chicken Delight
Atlanta, Georgia

Lee Hood, Chief
Financial Assistance Division
Small Business Administration
Regional Office
Atlanta, Georgia

Thomas Burress
Loans and Management Assistance
Small Business Administration
Washington, D.C.

Robert W. Newman, Chief
Development Company, Assistance Division
Regional Office
Small Business Administration

Charles Dannals, Area Director
Partake of Atlanta, Inc.
(Franchise Consultants,
Atlanta, Georgia)

12:30 -- 2:00 p.m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - LUNCHEON MEETING

PRESIDING

Norman L. McGhee
President, McGhee & Company
Investment Securities
and
President, Everyman Fund, Inc.
Cleveland, Ohio

Invocation: Rev. J. A. Middleton, President
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Speaker: Kermit G. Bailer, Director
Community Relations Division
Housing and Urban Development

DISCUSSION

2:30 -- 5:30 p.m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - PANEL #4

FINANCIAL RESOURCES -- PRIVATE

Moderator: J. B. Blayton, Sr., President
Mutual Federal Savings & Loan Ass'n.
Atlanta, Georgia

Speaker: Edward Irons, Chief
Foreign Investment Survey
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C.

Subject: "Financial Resources -- Private"

DISCUSSION

Panelists: W. L. Calloway, President
Atlanta Mortgage Brokerage Company

Mack Hannah, President
Standard Savings and Loan Company
Houston, Texas

T. M. Alexander, Jr., Accounts Executive
Courts and Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Q. V. Williamson, President
National Association of Real Estate Brokers

Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council

A. G. Gaston, President
Citizens Federal Savings & Loan Ass'n.
Birmingham, Alabama

FRIDAY, MAY 20

9:00 -- 12:00 noon - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - PANEL #5

EDUCATION FOR MANAGERIAL AND TECHNICAL MANPOWER

Moderator: Adolph Holmes, Associate Director
National Urban League
New York, New York

Speaker: Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Subject: "Trends In Southern Economic Development"

DISCUSSION

Panelists: Dr. E. B. Williams, Chairman
Department of Economics
and Business Administration
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Lincoln Harrison, Dean
School of Business
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Willis Martin
National Industrial Training Advisor
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

Harold Milby, Industrial Specialist
Atlanta Regional Office
Small Business Administration

Ray Greeson, Area Supervisor
Division of Distributive Education
State Department of Education
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Maurice Dawkins
VISTA
Washington, D.C.

Today

Unemployment rate in Watts in 1960 c. 11%
Six yrs later it c same, but median income fell

We must need to create...
More than to protest, we must create

Don't call it remedial education, call it educ. of deprived.

Pope Paul – Catholics – don't call Protestants any more. He calls our "separated brotheren"

Write it into contract...
Trust everybody but cut cards.

Since 1947
204,000 jobs } left New York.
Out migration of white middle class.
Negroes moving in...

Integration — come in middle class. Middle class Negro — more likely to move among white middle class in suburbs.
Poor — more likely to stay near others of their ethnic group.

Training — fine. But jobs now.

More beyond opportunity to achievement. The time to start is now

Cleveland Chandler, Morgan State College
Department of Business and
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

12:30 -- 2:00 p.m. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - CLOSING LUNCHEON

PRESIDING

Berkeley Burrell
President, National Business League

Invocation: Rev. William Holmes Borders, Pastor
Wheat Street Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Speaker: The Honorable Eugene P. Foley
Assistant Secretary of Commerce
and Director, Department of Economic
Opportunity
U.S. Department of Commerce

DISCUSSION

Institute Projections: Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Southern Region
National Urban League

ADJOURN

RESOURCE PEOPLE

Jesse Merrell, Deputy Director
Southeast Regional Officer
Office of Economic Opportunity
Atlanta, Georgia

John Dean, CAP Regional Manager
Southeast Regional Office
Office of Economic Opportunity
Atlanta, Georgia

George Robinson, Program Officer
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

A. D. Gaither,
Regional Equal Opportunity Officer
Regional Office
Bureau of Public Roads
Department of Commerce
Atlanta, Georgia

Adolph Holmes, Associate Director
National Urban League
New York, New York

Eugene Patterson, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

William Sims, Associate Director
National Urban League
New York, New York

Rev. James H. Costen, Pastor
Church of the Master
United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Thomas Skinner, Assistant
Public Relations Division
National Urban League
New York, New York

Dr. Harding Young, Dean
School of Business
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert R. Moton
Investments and Insurance
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold N. Arnold, Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Franklin O'Neal, President
Atlanta Business League
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold Milby, Industrial Specialist
Atlanta Regional Office
Small Business Administration
Atlanta, Georgia

Merlin Taylor
Industrial Training Advisor
Atlanta Region
Bureau of Apprentice & Training
Atlanta, Georgia

Phenizee F. Ransom
Employment Service Advisor
U. S. Department of Labor
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert A. Thompson
Regional Assistant to the
Administrator
Housing & Home Finance Agency
Atlanta, Georgia

Percy Prothrow, Agency Director
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
Atlanta, Georgia

C. E. Prothro, Jr.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Atlanta Coca Cola Bottling Company
Atlanta Federal Savings and Loan Association
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
Citizens and Trust Company
Convention Bureau - Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Ivan Allen Company
Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association
Small Business Administration

COOPERATING AGENCIES

Atlanta Business League
Atlanta Urban League
Economic Development Administration
National Association of Negro Business and
Professional Women's Clubs, Atlanta Chapter
Office of Economic Opportunity
Small Business Administration
Southeast Regional Council of the United
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Answer to black + white must be green X
Green = dollars
X = mark on ballots.
Meant no offense in pronouncing the word Negro: It had something to do with, language. The movement 9 cured P.

INSTITUTE HEADQUARTERS

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Waging War on Poverty through . . .

Economic Opportunity Loans for Small Business

Small Business Development Centers

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

An Agency of the Federal Government

"... the War against Poverty will not be won in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the courthouse to the White House."

- - President Lyndon B. Johnson

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which launched our Nation's War against Poverty, recognizes the vital role of small business in providing more jobs, higher incomes and a better life for those who cannot now provide for the minimum needs of themselves and their families.

The Act calls on the Small Business Administration to help open the doors of opportunity for the impoverished through new small business and job opportunities. This is to be achieved through SBA-approved Economic Opportunity Loans to eligible small businesses and persons who want to go into business.

In considering an Economic Opportunity Loan, SBA relaxes traditional credit standards and places greater emphasis on the character and ability of the individual. A professionally-staffed Small Business Development Center, sponsored by local citizens, screens, evaluates and recommends loan applications and makes certain that continuing management assistance is available to borrowers.

"Small Business Administration programs give a poor man a chance. If he is ambitious, if he is determined to succeed and wants to work hard, we can help him enter the mainstream of the American economy. He belongs there. Every American benefits when one American succeeds."

- - Ross D. Davis
SBA Executive Administrator

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY LOANS

Who May Borrow ?

SBA will make loans to persons with low incomes who want to go into business or are already in business. Applicants must live in or near neighborhoods designated as "target" areas by the Office of Economic Opportunity. An applicant's income, if he is a single person, may not exceed $4,040; married persons with families may have incomes ranging up to $7,590 for a family of seven or more.

By law, Economic Opportunity Loans can be made only to persons who are unable to obtain needed financing from banks or other private sources or under other Government lending programs.

Loan Terms

SBA may lend up to $15,000 for as long as 15 years. The interest rate is 5½ percent, except in severely depressed areas where it is 4 percent.

Collateral

In making Economic Opportunity Loans, SBA assigns great importance to a borrower's character and ability and no loan will be turned down solely because the applicant lacks collateral. However, there must be reasonable assurance the loan will be repaid, and any available collateral must be pledged. The borrower's home, furnishings, car and life insurance will not have to be pledged as collateral.

Management Counseling

Many persons who receive Economic Opportunity Loans will need management counseling as well as money. Therefore, before approving a loan to a borrower who needs management assistance, SBA makes certain that it is available to him and he will make use of it. This assistance may take the form of individual counseling, small workshops or training courses.

Management assistance may be provided by SBA, other groups in the community, or the Small Business Development Center, which is responsible for making certain that adequate management services are available to applicants for Economic Opportunity Loans.

Applying for a Loan

To apply for an Economic Opportunity Loan, see the Small Business Development Center in your community. A list of these appears on the back of this pamphlet.

THE SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTER

A Small Business Development Center (SBDC) is the heart of a community's efforts to strengthen its small businesses while attacking the roots of poverty. An SBDC can do much more than provide the screening and management assistance required for SBA to make Economic Opportunity Loans in a community.

Through an SBDC, local civic and business leaders carry out programs to identify potential businessmen from among the impoverished and help them go into business, to find and develop small business opportunities that will provide jobs for unemployed and unskilled persons, to assist faltering or marginal small businesses, and help to plan the overall economic development of a community or segment of a community.

Forming an SBDC

An SBDC should have a broad-based board of directors representing such groups as business, industry, professional and trade associations, labor unions, banks, colleges and universities, vocational schools, small business or merchants' associations including those in impoverished neighborhoods, ministerial and human relations councils, local governments, the local SBA office and any other organization whose support would contribute to success of the SBDC.

SBDC's should be staffed with professional personnel capable of implementing the policies and programs the SBDC board sets as its goals. Volunteers from the local business and professional community may supplement the staff. In addition to assisting clients with problems relating to Economic Opportunity Loans, the SBDC staff should be familiar with all SBA programs and other Government and private programs and resources that can benefit the community economically.

Financing an SBDC

Financing for the operations of an SBDC is available under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act. Community Action Organizations can submit proposals under which the Office of Economic Opportunity will provide up to 90 percent of the financing necessary for an SBDC. The remaining 10 percent must come from local sources. Some SBDC's have been financed by private foundations, or combinations of public and private sources.

SBA is not authorized to finance an SBDC's operating expenses, but does make Economic Opportunity Loans from its own revolving fund.

For Further Information

For further information about this program contact the nearest SBA field office, or the Office of Economic Opportunity Assistance, Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C.

SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTERS NOW IN OPERATION IN THE FOLLOWING CITIES

Phoenix, Ariz.
Window Rock, Ariz.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Oakland, Calif.
San Jose, Calif.
Hartford, Conn.
Washington, D.C.
Miami, Fla.
St. Lucie County, Fla.
Tampa, Fla.
Atlanta, Ga.
Chicago, Ill.
South Bend, Ind.
Paducah, Ky.
Portland, Maine
New Bedford, Mass.
Detroit, Mich.
Escanaba, Mich.
Waubun, Minn.
Boone, N.C.
Franklin, N.C.
New Bern, N.C.
Rocky Mount, N.C.
Winston-Salem, N.C.
Asbury Park, N.J.
Atlantic City, N.J.
New York City, and
Upper and Lower Manhattan
Brooklyn
Bronx
Queens
Staten Island
Hempstead, N.Y.
Cincinnati, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Idabel, Okla.
Pawnee, Okla.
Poteau, Okla.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Providence, R.I.
Aspermont, Tex.
Dallas, Tex.
Cheyenne River, Wis.
Hayward, Wis.
Keshena, Wis.
Milwaukee, Wis.

SBDC's SCHEDULED TO BE OPENED SOON

Birmingham, Ala.
Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass.
Minneapolis, Minn.
St. Louis, Mo.
Newark, N.J.
Huntington, W.Va.

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Program

OF THE

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

3418 Georgia Avenue, Northwest

Washington, D.C. 20010

RA. 6-6200

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

The National Business League exists for the benefit of the thousands of Negroes who own, manage or find employment in those enterprises which are a part of the national business community.

This program is designed to guide the League's membership in becoming a normal part of the American economy, in terms of size, profitability, and stability of enterprises. Program activities will concentrate on those problems, opportunities, approaches, and techniques which are typical of those generally found in the average business.

Expanding opportunity, combined with rigorous competition, makes significant progress possible only for those who unite in an intelligent, joint effort in order that they may function efficiently in their chosen vocations. The special role of the NBL arises out of the fact that the many obstacles impeding the progress of Negroes in business can be solved only through collective effort and a strong national voice to be clearly and effectively heard in the marts of trade and the agencies of government.

The program that follows is designed to give substance to the aspirations of people who have come to a joint self determination. It is divided into two sections:

I. The program at the national level;

II. A suggested program at the local level.

The National Business League therefore declares the following to be its program:

PART I

THE NATIONAL PROGRAM

The national program will operate under four headings. The activities called for will be developed by committees representative of the local affiliates. The League, wherever necessary, will seek the expert assistance required for guidance on a given project, from the ablest sources available. The League's purpose is not to perpetuate a segregated relationship for the Negro in business but to remove all barriers to his full participation in the economic life of the local and national community.

The items of program which the national organization will carry out are listed under the following headings:

1.) Business Opportunities

2.) Capital Development

3.) Education and Research

4.) National Relations

It is believed that under these major headings there

can be grouped the numerous splendid detailed suggestions on program coming from many members of the NBL.

It is recommended that each of these major program activities be developed by a committee representative of the national membership. These major committees will appoint such sub-committees as may be required to carry out the work of the individual units under each major group. This procedure will enable the League as a whole to have the value of the great wealth of experience to be found in its national membership.

A. BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

1. Regional vice presidents will organize and activate locals in all areas of the country.
2. The national organization will stockpile for prospective employers of all regions information on qualified persons for use in their enterprises.
3. Emphasis will be placed on making Negroes aware of the need for immediate action in preparing themselves for the operation of such establishments as drive-in restaurants, hardware stores, supermarkets, motels and hotels.
4. Locals will be encouraged to feed a continuing flow of information to the National for the benefit of the entire membership.
5. Through information from locals, the NBL will endeavor to remain completely informed as to opportunities in business both at home and abroad, in order that its members may take swift advantages of all new or expanding opportunities.

B. CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The National Business League, with the cooperation and the participation of the locals, will lead in the formation of a fund of available money for areas that need financial assistance.
2. The National will encourage local units to spearhead the organization of financial institutions to meet the local needs.
3. It will provide information on the organization of banks, credit unions, state and federal savings and loan associations and investment companies.
4. To initiate a directory of businesses that are interested in developing one of the above, the NBL will, upon request, suggest the leadership and recommend the technical assistance for training of personnel for the successful organization and operation of such an enterprise.
5. Through the leadership of the League, schools, churches, hospitals and other institutions will be encouraged to consider supporting these financial enterprises for the mutual assistance of all.

C. EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

The purpose of National Business League Education and Research shall be:

1. To give advice to schools on available business and employment opportunities and the requirements for taking advantage of them.
2. To give advice to teachers and personnel counselors in order that their approach to the problems of guidance will be realistic.
3. To lead and direct the locals in the conduct of conferences and seminars in administrative management, personnel motivation, and public relations.
4. To initiate a directory of businesses that are owned wholly or in part by Negroes throughout the country.
5. To maintain a reservoir of basic facts on population as to numbers, income shifts and trends, for the purpose of enhancing the possibility of enterprise growth—both small and large. (With the assistance of the locals).
6. To call attention of our national membership and other interested persons to the J. E. Walker Educational Trust Fund, to which all members of the League who are able to do so are urged to contribute. The management of this fund is entrusted to the Finance Committee, and only the income will be used for educational purposes.
7. To establish a program of consumer education to teach the importance and the economic significance of businesses owned wholly or in part by Negroes.
8. To bring about discussions for providing internship training for students at the local, state and national levels.

D. NATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The NBL, with its sixty-year history as a basis for its claim to leadership, will use its influence to weld together any soundly conceived organization concerned with minority business. A Council of National Organizations will serve as advisor to the Board of Directors.
2. Rapport will be established with all fraternal organizations and other groups, with a view to creating a better understanding between them and the NBL, to enhance the chances of growth for all.
3. The NBL will encourage other groups, such as the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, National Insurance Association, The Beauticians Association and others, to hold their annual conventions at the same time and in the same city as the NBL, for the purpose of incorporating ideas, wherever possible.

PART II

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR MORE EFFECTIVE LOCAL NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE MONTHLY MEETINGS

To assist local program committees in planning for the year, the National Program Committee has worked out in detail twelve topics which can be used for each of twelve monthly business meetings.

In order to meet the needs of the majority of the businessmen in each community and thereby increase both membership of the locals and attendance at meetings, the program stresses general problems of management and promotion rather than the specific operation of any one type business.

To help planners and speakers get to the heart of the problem, an introduction to each topic or foreword has been prepared. Suggestions for sub topics have been listed so that each major topic may be treated in its broadest sense.

To help each local develop a program of action as well as a program of words, suggested follow-up activities have been listed at the end of each unit. It is not expected that locals will want to undertake each activity listed nor is it expected that they will confine themselves to the activities suggested here. Local program committees are to get new ideas for next year from the novel experiences which grow out of the local action programs.

Since many of the topics require weeks or months of planning, the final suggestion of the local program committee is that each topic and preparation for each month be assigned to individuals and committees at the earliest possible opportunity, as the success of meetings will depend on how well the preparation for each meeting has been accomplished.

MAKING FRIENDS FOR YOUR BUSINESS

The alert businessman is constantly seeking new customers or friends for his business. Careful analysis of the factors involved in repeat sales should be well worth the effort. Two businesses of the same type and general outlay may differ greatly in the number of people who think of these businesses as their store or firm. Such people patronize the business regularly and suggest to their friends that they do so as well.

Sub Topics:

1. Role of social courtesies
2. Soft sell versus high pressure
3. Knowledge of business or services inspires confidence

4. General appearance of establishment and em ployees
5. Role of modernization, color selection, refrigera tion, air conditioning, etc.
6. Role of comparative prices
7. Brand buying and status seeking
8. Is the customer always right?

Resource Persons:

A panel including several of the following may serve to show businessmen how customers feel about certain practices: home economist, social psychologist, market research analyst, housewife, interior decorator, motivation research expert.

Suggested Activities for Followup:

1. Make up a form to be used by members in a self evaluation study
2. Ask group of impartial housewives to rate stores on same form
3. Arrange for forms to be turned in to the owner of business unsigned
4. Repeat same study six months later to rate improvements that have been made and to see if the effort has paid off in increased patronage

SALES PROMOTION

All businesses depend upon sales. It is therefore of the greatest importance that those who manage business should be fully aware of the many factors that increase or decrease sales. A sound sales promotion program must have many parts. It must deal with everyday practices which encourage sales from cleanliness to courtesy and must be equally aware of those special activities engaged in a seasonal or occasional basis intended to increase sales.

Sub Topics:

1. Educational activities (demonstrations, shows, exhibits, lectures, etc.)
2. Contests and drawings
4. Cashing checks
5. Charge accounts, credit cards, bank credit plans
6. Anniversaries and special days
7. Refreshments, social activities

Resource persons:

1. Promotion manager of a large department store

2. Executive of an advertising firm
3. A NBL member who has sucessfully promoted a successful sales campaign

Followup activities:

1. Invite officials of "Diner's Club" or a local bank credit card plan to discuss their services.
2. Talk with a representative of the state fair or a local home show about space
3. League members may wish to sponsor a special sale day among Negro businesses

ADVERTISING — HOW TO MAKE IT PAY

Advertising is a normal part of any successful business. It is just as essential for the successful business as for the business greatly in need of customers. Effective advertising should be related to the size of the business and nature of the product being sold. The purpose of this program is to encourage an understanding of the various advertising media and ways they be used to best advantage.

Sub Topics:

1. Promotional advertisement
2. Institutional advertisement
3. Advertising media—newspapers, radio, television, direct mail, handbills, signs, posters, the Yellow Pages.
4. Research—objective approach
5. Cooperative advertising
6. Checking the effectiveness of advertisement (AIDA) —attention, interest, desire, action

Resource Persons:

1. Advertising manager from one or more of the following: large department store, advertising agency, newspaper, radio or television station
2. College or high school public relations director or journalism teacher
3. Director of a social research institute

Followup Activities:

1. Check with manufacturers or dealers about their cooperative advertisement plans
2. Set up an experiment using a small percent of income for advertisement with expert assistance. Report results to League.

KEEPING SOUND BUSINESS RECORDS

The business which attempts to operate without sound records is in for serious trouble and is doomed to failure. The needs of the business itself require the accumulation of knowledge about the business that should be carefully recorded and filed so that it can be available on a moment's notice.

Embarrassment, expense and even criminal indictment may result from inability to properly account to state and federal tax authorities on income and expenditures. If a business is to be sold, an accurate record of its performance may mean a much higher price to the seller.

Thus to enable businessmen to appreciate the importance of good records and the variety of purposes they may serve, the program on sound business records follows:

Sub Topics:

1. Daily journal
2. Ledger or balance sheet
3. Assets, current and fixed
4. Liabilities
5. Profit and loss statement
6. Book inventory
7. Records and statements of individual accounts
8. Checkbook, deposits, statements
9. Use of machines and electronic devices

Resource Persons:

1. Bookkeeping teacher
2. Certified Public Accountant
3. Head bookkeeper in fair sized company
4. City, state or federal auditor
5. IBM programmer for large business or government installation.

Followup Activities:

1. Set up a NBL seminar in any area of particular concern
2. Arrange with school authorities to offer night courses to meet the needs of members if the need warrants it
3. Supply names of CPA's who will handle small accounts

Financing Your Business:

The Negro in business usually has all of the problems of the small businessman plus the handicap of color. Abundant evidence exists to indicate that this is a national problem. This is true because the fact of color too often denies the Negro businessman the casual and informal as well as organized contacts in which information is passed and much American business is done. This program attempts to acquaint League members with sources of credit and venture capital and suggests the basic requirements involved in qualifying for loans.

Sub Topics:

1. Equity capital
2. Trade credit
3. Partner (general, silent, secret, limited)
4. Corporation (stock)
5. Banks and finance companies
6. Government insured loans
7. National Business League Project

Resource People:

1. Regional or national officers of National Business League
2. Representatives of Small Business Administration
3. A local banker
4. A corporation lawyer
5. Persons who are known or thought to have considerable money in the bank should be invited to the meeting

Followup Activities:

1. Perhaps one or more persons in attendance will want to back a business or corporation
2. Write to Small Business Administration and request free materials for distribution to members

ORGANIZING A FINANCIAL INSTITUTION

The reason the Negro businessman is at an extra disadvantage in getting credit is twofold. First he is regarded as a poor risk based on the general stereotype of unreliability and inadequate resources. Second the Negro borrower too often must depend entirely on credit sources under the control of whites, many of whom have little interest in making the loan or because of race prejudice make the requirements more difficult for the Negro borrower.

The answer to this problem is found in large part by financial institutions under the ownership and control of Negroes. Much evidence exists to indicate that such institutions exert an influence far greater than their lending resources because the fact of their existence introduces an element of competition which makes more freely available the total lending resources of the community.

This factor of competition becomes increasingly important with the growing purchasing power of the Negro community. Thus many Negro establishments have employed Negro personnel and made other concessions not evident in situations where lending facilities managed by Negroes do not exist.

Sub Topics:

1. Banks
2. Savings and Loan Associations
3. Personal loan companies
4. Mortgage and home improvement associations
5. Real estate companies

Resource Person:

1. Regional or national officer of National Business League
2. State or local CUNA officer
3. Representative from U.S. Department of Commerce
4. Representative, National Negro Bankers Association
5. Professor of commerce from state university

Followup Activities:

1. Form a committee to investigate availability and sources of capital
2. After deciding on the type of institution best suited to the community's needs and resources, make preparation leading to application for charter

TAXES — MAKING THE MOST OF THEM

Taxes are generally considered a bother whether to the individual taxpaper or the owner and operator of a business. Tax laws are complicated but since the payment of taxes is unavoidable, it is highly necessary that they be paid in such a way as to take advantage of those provisions in state and federal tax laws which assist the businessman and avoid those practices which penalize the operation. The businessman should not only be acquainted

with all of the tax-free deductions he is allowed but also the best method by which they may be taken. Full and free discussion of taxes in business should result in many helpful suggestions. These can and should be followed up in the proper way by the individual operator.

Sub Topics:

1. Employee withholding taxes, Social Security, federal income, state income, workers compensation insurance
2. Employer participation in Social Security
3. Handling sales taxes
4. Tax consideration based on business form (individual and partnership versus corporation)
5. Depreciation and improvement allowances
6. Losses—capital gains

Resource Persons:

1. Corporation lawyer
2. Certified Public Accountant
3. Federal or state tax representative
4. College or high school professor of commerce and finance

Followup Activities:

1. Set workshop with Department of Internal Revenue
2. Arrange for Health, Welfare and Education Department representative to discuss problems of social security for those interested

EFFECTIVE PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

A successful business requires competent and enthusiastic employees. The small business owner has an especially difficult problem in attempting to compete with larger businesses in salary and other benefits. It is important to know what these benefits are and the method by which as many of them as possible may be provided. Perhaps the failure to meet certain benefits may be offset by being especially generous in terms of others. Profit sharing or other incentive plans which relate compensation to the success of the operation should be considered. The more the owner-operator understands the nature of benefits and appreciates the necessity of good relations with his employees, the more efficient will be his operation.

A. Selection of Employees

1. Training in High School and College
2. On-the-job Training

B. Compensation

1. Straight Salary
2. Commission
3. Base pay plus commission

C. Fringe Benefits

1. Vacations, holidays, sick leave
2. Group life, accident and hospital insurance
3. Social security, workman's compensation insurance

D. Welfare and morale

1. Social and recreational programs
2. Discounts and profit sharing plans

Resource persons:

1. The personnel director of a large plant, store or military installation
2. Trained guidance counsellor
3. Labor relations expert for federal, state or city government

Followup activities:

1. Talk with insurance executive about the cost of group insurance
2. Investigate diverisfied occupations or distributive education program of local school system

WORKING WITH THE SCHOOLS

Much good can come from business and school working together. It is up to the locals to consider those ways of mutual helpfulness between local high schools and colleges and the business community. Certainly each has resources, including goodwill, that the other needs. Those members of local school faculties who are teaching business subjects should be encouraged to become members of the local chapter and therefore of the National Business League as well. Students should be guided toward careers in business and given apprenticeship opportunities to learn and earn.

The school should use its students in business to conduct a business census each year and evaluate the buying power of the Negro community. Business should be based on fact rather than fancy or hearsay. A great national weakness, so far as the Negro in business is concerned, is lack of factual and carefully prepared information on the extent, character and quality of businesses owned and operated by Negroes. Schools should be encouraged to supply this lack. Accordingly the program suggested indicates how the relationship between the schools, the Business League and individual businesses can be made one of genuine usefulness.

Sub Topics:

1. Careers in business next year and ten years hence
2. Scope of business training open to Negroes in public and private institutions in this vicinity
3. High school practice courses, diversified occupations, distributive education programs.
4. College internship programs
5. The use of NBL members as resource persons in the business courses and in guidance programs in schools and colleges
6. The use of educators as resource persons in the in-service programs and staff meetings of local businesses

Resource Persons:

1. Business teachers from schools and colleges
2. D. O., D. E. and other vocational teachers
3. Principals, supervisors and administrators connected with vocational programs
4. Guidance counsellors and representative of social agencies for youth
5. Businessmen with a very good in-service program

Note: A panel representing a cross-section of business and education may make the most effective presentation for this meeting. It may be well to invite all the persons (public and private college and high school) directly concerned with education and guidance of youth in the area of business to attend the meeting.

Followup Activities:

1. Cooperate with Career Weeks, Better Business Week, etc. which may be sponsored by other groups
2. If no such programs exist in local high school, initiate one in cooperation with educators and social agencies
3. Cooperate with schools in presenting exhibits, assembly programs, etc., aimed at guiding more young people into business
4. Cooperate with NBL in providing scholarships for students entering business
5. Send a delegation to the local board of education to suggest ways and means of improving training in business and commerce

KNOWING YOUR COMMUNITY

A business is a part of the community in which it is located. It has the responsibility of serving the community well. To succeed, a business must be fully aware of the many aspects of the community which influence its success or failure. A new business should give much thought to its location in terms of the customers it seeks to serve. Many communities are undergoing drastic changes. Slums are being torn down. Redevelopment schemes are converting large areas to new uses.

Some changes reduce the need for businesses of a certain type. These changes may create the need for new types of business. The general moderinization programs going on mean that most businesses need a face-lifting, new types of labor saving equipment and other evidences of being up to date. Locals should work to have their members elected to communitywide committees on development, education and government. In this way, their membership will not only be informed on what is going on but will have a voice in important matters affecting the welfare of the total community.

Sub Topics:

1. Size and makeup of population of both city and shopping orbit
2. Earning power and spending habits of potential customers
3. Effects of urban redevelopment and move to suburbs on the present location of central Negro business center
4. Number and kinds of Negro businesses
5. Number and kinds of businesses in general community
6. Areas of business which appear to be overcrowded

Resource Persons:

This meeting should be attempted only after a thorough survey has been made by a competent researcher. A local college or high school professor of economics, statistics, business, or social studies may be happy to undertake the study as a class project. An organization such as the Urban League or the Chamber of Commerce may have much of the statistics on file.

Followup Activities:

1. Mimeograph findings and circulate same
2. A subsequent meeting may be devoted to meeting the challenges of this meeting

NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND TRENDS

The program which follows on "New Opportunities and Trends" is closely related to the program on "Knowing the Community." The need to examine in some detail new opportunities suggests that a full meeting may profitably be devoted to the subject.

Sub Topics:

1. Demands brought about by move to suburbia (delivering services, mobile merchandising centers, hardware stores, etc.)
2. Demands brought about by new leisure created by shorter work week and longer life span (travel service, motels, bowling lanes, etc.)
3. Demand brought on by improved means of com munication (advertising agencies, secretarial services, messenger and delivery services)
4. Demands brought on by high turnover, low profit margin sales (supermarkets, department and variety stores)
5. Demands created by improved means of trans portation (auto, boat, and plane dealerships; service stations, auto parts dealers, delivery services, mobile merchandising)

Followup Activities:

1. Draw up a list of locations where new businesses are needed to meet the expanding city
2. Draw up a list of buisinesses which need to be pioneered by Negroes in your community
3. Encourage people going into business and businesses from the list
4. Promote the building and staffing of shopping centers by Negroes near new housing developments large enough to support such ventures

COOPERATION BETWEEN LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN SUPPORT OF NEGRO BUSINESS

A local business league has the obligation to explore all avenues of creating more business for its members. Business competition is such that only those institutions that serve the public efficiently and constantly seek new cus tomers to serve, may hope for large success.

The local business operated by Negroes should seek to serve the community without regard to race or religion. Such businesses should take advantage of the need for goods and services by schools, hospitals and other organizations where the demand is large. A discussion of the resources of this nature which exist and an assessment of

the need to be served should provide a useful evening's discussion along the lines herewith suggested.

Sub Topics:

1. Selective buying by churches, schools, hospitals, restaurants, etc., in support of wholesale and retail businesses owned or managed by Negroes
2. Putting organization treasuries as well as individual checking and savings accounts to work in Negro banking institutions to increase lending power
3. Financing businesses to create new jobs bringing more support to the churches, clubs and organizations, thus completing the cycle
4. The importance of meeting competition on a "dollar for dollar, service for service" basis.

Resource Persons:

1. NBL representative
2. Urban League representative
   Note: Leaders from a cross section of the community should be invited to this meeting

Followup Activities:

1. Make a survey of the institutions controlled by Negroes to see what they buy and how much
2. Encourage NBL members who deal in the same goods and services to compete for these contracts on a merit basis
3. Promote the organization of wholesale houses or jobbers owned by NBL members to supply the other needs
4. Conduct a survey to determine an esttimate of the liquid assets of individuals, organizations, churches, etc.
5. Conduct a school to educate leaders on the value of pooling these resources to create new capital for the establishment of Negro businesses
6. Conduct an educational program through churches, clubs, etc., to show how dollars spent in Negro businesses help to create jobs for Negro youth

ATLANTA

ATLANTA

May 7, 1963 MA Thank you Radical Right

Daniel Bell (Ed.), The Radical Right, N.Y. Doubleday & Co., 1963. 394pp. $4.95

Collection of essays, in perspective and depth. Authors: Peter Viereck, David Riesman, Richard Hofstadter, etc. re 1955 McCarthyism, John Birch, General Walker, Senator Goldwater. Generally deplore radical right while agreeing conservation has a thesis of merit. The fear of modernity and the difficulty of meeting complexity, uncertainty, rapidity of change and the need to negotiate are cited as bases of longing for simpler, direct and decisive answers that presumably would be present if only we adhered to first principles and firm leadership as defined by other than those holding the reins of power.

2nd

Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, The Far Right N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Co., 1963. pp. 259 $5.95

Journalistic report of each major right address and personage.

Willmoore Kendall, The Conservative Affirmation Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1963. pp. 272 $5.95

seeks to affirm the conservative position and then to illustrate this affirmation in controversy by illustrating the use of the conservative affirmation by his book reviews. Hastily done.

Right wing Org.

July 17, 1964

Mr. William K. Wyant
Washington Bureau
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I am so far behind in everything that I must begin by apologizing for the delay in answering your letter of July 6. I hope this will reach you in time to be of some use.

Wesley McCune is a good source, and we have leaned on him rather more than vice versa. I would suggest that you also check with the Anti-Defamation League, either at its national office (315 Lexington Avenue, New York0 or at its Atlanta office (41 Exchange Place).

Actually, we have not published anything on the subject. I am enclosing a couple things we have done on the fruits.

There are 2 or 3 recent books on the subject. James Cook, The Segregationists; Hodding Carter, III, The South Strikes Back; Arnold Rice, The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics (this is about the 1920's, chiefly).

Attached also is a list of some articles which you probably already have found. Enclosed also is one news clip, plus a copy of a letter we sent out so someone else a few months ago.

There is not much I can say except the pb ious things. Given the nomination of Senator Goldwater, and given the civil rights campaigns of this summer, it is not far fetched to say that the country may very likely be entering a six-month or so period of modified civil war. I don't mean this, of course, in any too literal sense, but only with the meaning that some unprecedentedly sharp and direct confrontations are going to occur this year which go to the radical depths of our national ties and linkage with each other. I am enclosing also an article which I did a few months ago; just read the last page.

Every now and then James Reston produces a piece which justifies fully his reputation. He did in the New York Times of July 16. I am sure you have already read it. (I am not persuaded, though, that President Johnson will be induced to go "right.")

It may surprise you to read this from me, but I think, along the line that Reston takes, that we liberals have to accept some measure (small I think, but nevertheless existent) for the feeling on the right. Lord knows, the WASPS have given, over the decades, enough provocation for almost anything. But we live in the present. I think some things which have happened in the last few years have not been necessary. Among these I would include the way in which this whole school prayer question has been handled, some of the pointless civil rights demonstrations in the north (garbage throwing, Triborough Bridge lie-downs, etc. -- for agreement see Bayard Rustin's comments in the article about him in the current Saturday Evening Post), the Supreme Court's puzzling decision in the Colorado re-apportionment case (do we really want to tell the majority that it cannot decide how it wants to govern itself? -- and remember, there was no First Amendment or other individual rights question involved). I am also enclosing a marked copy of New South in which I griped along this line a bit also

ARTICLES ON THE RADICAL RIGHT

1. Wilson, Joseph and Edward Harris, "Hucksters of Hate-Nazi Style," Progressive, June 1965.

2. Cook, Fred J., "Radio Right-Hate Clubs of the Air," The Nation, May 25, 1964.

4. Billy James Hargis's March (1964) Newsletter.

5. News from National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee

6. Friedman, Saul, "The Tussle in Texas," The Nation, February 3, 1964.

7. Marine, Gene, "New Hope of the Far Rights" January 27, 1964 (California)

8. McMillan, George "The Klan Scourges Old St. Augustine," Life, June 26, 1964.

9. Cleghorn, Reese, "The Segs", Esquire, January 1964.

10. Long, Margaret, "The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan," New York Times Magazine, July 5, 1964.

11. McMillan, George, "The Birmingham Church Bomber," Saturday Evening Post, June 6, 1964.

But I repeat, the age-old provocations of the WASPS have been mighty and maddening. I'll be looking eagerly for the publication of your piece.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures
(Thermo copy: Ark. Gazette clip - 1/28/64: "about 9-million Amers. belong to Extremist Groups . . . "; Thermo copy: N. Albright Ltr. of 12/4/63 to Mr. C. L. Wynne re: Extremists groups; Lord's Journal of Politics piece; New South on Mississippi)

Ken McKee, Asso. Press - 7-18-64 Louisville Courier Journal

Robed order appears strongest in parts of Ala., Miss., & Fla. Has apparently been gaining in Ala., Miss., & La. Spurt of activity in N.C. during past month.

Other seg groups have cut into Klan's field since 1954: white citizens councils; Nat'l States Rights Party (Ala.) but Klan larger & better organized;

Geo. Carmack, Scripps Howard, 8-7-64 Knoxville News Sentinel

~~J. Edgar Hoover~~ Klan officials in office of the United Klans of Am., Inc., Tuscaloosa, Ala., (generally agreed to be largest) said the Klan has members in 34 states with 4 other states "showing interest." Publishes a paper call "The Fiery Cross"

Crosses were burned in 60 Miss counties on a single night last April.

KKK has been for many years declared a subversive organization by atty gen's office & since 1951 has also been listed as subversive by the HUAAC

In Miss. every candidate for public office & also every state employee is required to take an oath that he is not a member of a subversive organization.

Close-Up

8-10-64

Time May Come---but Not Quite Yet

An angry letter-writer informs me that (among other things) the Ku Klux Klan "died a natural death quite a few years ago."

I, too, have pronounced the Klan dead on several occasions, only to find each time that the death certificate had been issued prematurely.

It is true that the Klan is no longer the robust, sheet-wrapped stripling who ruled several states and a number of political fortunes back in the late 1910s and early 1920s.

It is true that compared with those golden years the Ku Klux Klan is in a declining state of health—lingering, perhaps, but not yet dead.

Indeed, across the South, the Klan is said to be now enjoying something of a revival. Perhaps it amounts to one last flexing of weakening muscles, but there seems to be an upswing in Klan activities this summer.

In Mississippi, it was reported earlier in the summer, crosses were burned simultaneously in more than 60 counties. About 17 crosses, said a correspondent in Mississippi, were burned in the city of Jackson alone.

And in April, a reporter for a New Orleans television station was captured and beaten by Klansmen while covering an assignment near Baton Rouge.

These were the stirrings that signaled the Klan revival.

Once before, shortly after I wrote that Klansmen were passing from the modern scene, several hundred of them gathered at Stone Mountain and had a tense confrontation with the state patrol.

That cured me of saying that the Klan had expired.

But maybe the time will come when we can say, finally, that the Klan has gone to its reward.

I'm sure my angry letter-writer joins me in hoping so.—MARVIN WALL.

INFORMATION SERVICE

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The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America is the cooperative agency through which thirty-one communions render united service. Articles appearing in this publication furnish information on current issues and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies of the National Council of Churches.

Entered as second-class matter January 4, 1924 at the Post Office at New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Radical Right

In this issue INFORMATION SERVICE *surveys some part of the wealth of current writing on the nature, methods and objectives of the organizations and personalities that make up the "radical right" of the American political scene. The fact that these forces and their ideas have moved from the fringes of American life into a prominent role in the current political campaign underlines the importance of a working knowledge of objective, reliable sources of information and analysis that are available.*

With varying emphasis the hundreds of organizations on the radical right agree that one target of their attack is the great majority of churches and churchmen who believe that the Gospel has both individual and social relevance. Naturally related targets are the councils of churches that were born out of this conviction. The classic book on this phase of the rightist "war" is Ralph Lord Roy's Apostles of Discord *(Beacon Press. 1953). In the ensuing ten years this attack has continued and intensified.*

It is, however, well for churchmen to be acutely aware that the churches are only one and, for most rightists, a secondary target. The primary challenge is to the basic philosophy of democracy and to government itself as we have known it. The broadside attacks on our Presidents, our educators, our press, our major parties, our churches, even our PTA's are component parts of this basic challenge. Does this seem too alarmist, an overstatement? The mass of evidence in the basic references cited in this issue will provide a background on the scope and seriousness of the efforts of these groups.

In particular three current books are strongly recommended as indispensable resources, the Overstreets' The Strange Tactics of Extremism, *Forster and Epstein's* Danger on the Right *and Walkers'* The Christian Fright Peddlers. *Each is reviewed below.*

"The Strange Tactics of Extremism"

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet approach their subject with extraordinary credentials. Their book, title above (W. W. Norton, 1964. $4.50), follows three penetrating studies of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. The thread of comparison and contrast of the ultra-right and the ultra-left is a major contribution in the present volume.

Roscoe Drummond writing in the *Saturday Review* of October 3, 1964 offers this summary of the Overstreets' qualifications:

"This is a calm book on a hot subject, written by the right authors in the right spirit and at exactly the right time. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet have the credentials, the temperament, and the talent (for documentation without dullness) to turn an incandescent light on the strange tactics of extremism in the United States. They are respected by all thoughtful people as wise, compassionate and alert commentators on American society. Moreover, by their words and by their deeds, by their writing and by their actions, they are firmly established as implacable and effective opponents of Communism. In their books, *What We Must Know About Communism, The War Called Peace,* and *The Iron Curtain.* they have done as much if not more than any other two Americans to expose the evils and uncover the deceptions of Communism and the extreme Left. It will be well to bear this

Plain Nonsense

"Ignorance and misinformation can handicap the progress of a city or a company—but they can, if allowed to prevail in foreign policy, handicap this country's security. In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible will gain the popular ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions to every world problem.

"There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives, finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility. Those voices are inevitable.

"But today other voices are heard in the land—voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality, wholly unsuited to the sixties, doctrines which apparently assume that words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory and that peace is a sign of weakness. . . .

"We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will 'talk sense to the American people.' But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. And the notion that . . . strength is but a matter of slogans is nothing but just plain nonsense."

—Excerpt from text of undelivered speech scheduled for presentation in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, by the late President John F. Kennedy.

in mind, because, together with their great personal and professional integrity and their respect for others' opinions, this record is their impenetrable shield."

The authors' own "Foreword" provides a preview of the content and an accurate prophecy of its effectiveness.

"This book is one kind of invitation to learning. It is about the ways in which extremism operates among us to accomplish its peculiar purposes. Because we have in our three books on Communism dealt at length with the tactics of Marxism-Leninism, our major stress here is upon those of the Radical Right. But the similarities and the competition between the two extremes—each of them wanting to reshape our common ways of looking at things, in order to gain power enough to reshape our society—make up a significant part of our theme.

"There is one fortunate thing about the writings and the methods of the far Left and the far Right. While they can catch us off guard and do tremendous harm so long as we do not familiarize ourselves with their character, they are far more stereotyped and repetitive than are those of the general run of Americans. Hence, they can be taken apart, as it were, and studied, to see what makes them function. When they have been studied, they can be recognized with a fair degree of accuracy in our further encounters with them. And when they are recognized for what they are, they lose most of their power to confuse our minds and to set us against one another."

What It Covers

About a third of the text is devoted to a study in depth of the John Birch Society as the most potent of the organizations of the radical Right. Part Two examines the operations of a selected sampling of other leaders—Dan Smoot, Carl McIntire, Myers Lowman, Edgar Bundy and Billy James Hargis. Part Three explores the questions of "How united is the Radical Right?," their political tactics, the composition of their rank and file. The book closes with a "self-portrait of a radical rightist" and an examination of the "task ahead of us." The "us" to whom the book is addressed is the "liberal-conservative or conservative-liberal center" for, in the authors' judgment, we are "overwhelmingly a nation of moderates."

The book is annotated and indexed and includes appended listings of both "how to get far-right publications" and "organizations that have resource materials."

The present review cannot attempt to summarize either the evidence or the conclusions of a 313-page volume packed with both. In essence, as the *Saturday Review* has said: "Their book does not aim to shock; it illuminates. Their book is no smear of the radical Right; it dissects the radical Right. On the basis of massive research, it brings into sharp focus and under penetrating analysis the ideas, policies, purposes, tactics, and foreboding implications of the principal spokesmen of extremism. It will enable you to know what the extremist leaders are saying to their followers and, so far as possible, to the nation."

Extremism and the Churches

The treatment of the attack upon the churches within the larger context of the total rightist assault will be of special interest. It can only be sampled here.

One of many concrete examples cited centers on the "Christian Crusader," Billy James Hargis: "How far Hargis is willing to depart from clear and responsible thinking is made plain in an undated letter sent out in the late spring of 1964, under the heading 'The National Council of Churches and the "Bloody Race War" Planned for this Summer!' This document, aimed at the then pending Civil Rights Bill, is being pushed by 'liberal preachers' who have gone 'crazy with their socialistic and revolutionary schemes . . .' They will, he says, 'divide our people and throw us at the mercy of a United Nations' occupation force which undoubtedly will be demanded by the liberals to maintain peace within the U. S. in event of a new civil war between now and the elections in November.' "

Fundamentalism Misrepresented

The authors analyze the relation of this kind of "Christian" fulmination to the substantial number of fundamentalist Christians in the United States and draw a careful distinction. "It would be more to the point," they conclude, "to say that Christian fundamentalism is actually misrepresented by these Rightists. Their doctrine is a highly selective blend of those aspects of the New Testament that specifically relate to personal salvation and those aspects of the Old Testament that give them permission to be exclusive and to hate their enemies."

What is the end to which this highly selective biblicism is directed? "All of us who belong to the liberal-conservative center would do well to recognize," the authors conclude, "the meaning in depth of the Radical Rightist assault upon the 'social gospel.' It is easy to miss this meaning if we focus on the Rightists' opposition to some particular act on the part of the National or World Council of Churches: some act which we, too, feel to have been ill-advised. It is easy to miss it, also, if we let ourselves become confused by the efforts of McIntire, Bundy, Hargis, and others to show that the church Councils work hand-in-hand with 'liberalist-socialist-Communist elements' in the United States Information Agency, or the State Department, or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"But the two basic targets of attack in all this vast output of Radical Rightist propaganda are *the sense of human unity* and *the sense of mutual responsibility* as these have been traditionally instilled in us by religious influences. We dare not miss the fact that today's right-wing extremism is, in its very essence, a schismatic force: one that tries to identify Americanism with a kind of social atomism—each nation for itself; each race for itself; each class for itself; each man for himself. At many points, its use of anti-socialist and anti-Communist terminology seems little more than a convenience."

The emphasis is in the original text.

Self-Portrait of the Radical Rightist

Out of the detailed analysis of particular rightist organizations the Overstreets devote a chapter to a composite description—a "self-portrait." Three major aspects of this portrait are stressed. The first is an exploration of the difficulty of describing the movement with "any of our ready-made political labels." The contradictions are such that:

"It is not really strange, then, that some people call today's Radical Rightism anarchic, while others call it fascist. Neither term fits the complex actuality; and we have found none that does. Our current choice, till we find a better, is *anarchic totalitarianism*—which is self-contradictory enough to cover both the Rightists' fierce objection to being controlled in any way and their readiness to control and coerce others by all expedient means."

The second point is that "the Radical Rightist line—the nature of which is made plain by the resolutions adopted at one gathering after another—is not under-

written by any coherent theory. It is a product of anger, not of thought: of anger, and of a will to be on top of *some* heap. It expresses a determination to climb up and to pull down."

The third is the need "to defend a structure of ideas that cannot stand alone, and that cannot stand any rough-and-ready encounter with reality, that accounts for the Radical Rightists' singularly standardized over-reaction to criticism: their 'dirty, filthy lie' reaction; their quick retreat into martyrdom; their exaggerated determination to demolish the critic."

A House of Cards

Each of these descriptions is documented at length in the chapter and the volume. The three combined make for a highly vulnerable "house of cards" which must be protected at all costs. The attack on William C. Sullivan, assistant director of the FBI, for questioning the rightist allegations of the extent of Communist infiltration of Protestant churches is reviewed and the reasons for the bitterness analyzed.

"One whole section of the extremists' house of cards is built on the interminably reiterated assumption that Communist infiltration of and influence on the Protestant clergy and the National and World Council of Churches are of massive proportions. Therefore, not Mr. William C. Sullivan, nor even Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, can be permitted to pull out this key card that supports other cards. By the Radical Rightist code, it is better to destroy public confidence in the FBI than to permit the FBI to render more rickety than it already is a 'necessary' proof that Communist influence is rampant in high places.

"This is one of those points at which Right extremism shows how sharply divergent it is from both conservatism and plain average Americanism. Most Americans can believe that Communism is a threat that must be taken seriously without seeing it as in control of any major sector of our society. Most Americans, again, would welcome trustworthy evidence that church leaders —or educators, or labor leaders, or business men, or government officials—had been learning the score and making it harder than it once was for Communists to infiltrate our institutions. But the Radical Rightists come so far from being able to welcome any such evidence that they feel impelled to demolish the person who presents it."

Highly Recommended

These excerpts, although extended, fall far short of doing justice to this rounded and unusually competent treatment of the "strange tactics of extremism." The book is must reading.

Finally, let the authors speak on a common device of extremism, right or left.

". . . Surely the time has come to recognize that it is of the nature of extremism to go in for protective coloration. For the Communist, the most useful disguise that can be donned is that of the anti-imperialist, the peace-lover, and the seeker after social justice. For the Radical Rightist, it is that of the anti-Communist.

"Wearing this guise, the Radical Rightist can often achieve a remarkable freedom to practice his special type of legerdemain: that by means of which he converts into a Communist or pro-Communist anyone with whom he disagrees on domestic or foreign policies. Most far-right action-programs are, in plain fact, as gigantically irrelevant to the real threat of international Communism as Communist action-programs are to the cause of freedom, peace, and justice."

National Council for Civic Responsibility Is Formed

"The purpose of . . . [this] press conference is to announce the formation of the National Council for Civic Responsibility, an organization whose purpose is systematically to bring to the American people, through the mass media, the truth about the John Birch Society and related radical reactionary groups, and about the misstatements on public issues and personalities that they are spreading on a rapidly increasing scale."

With these words, Dr. Arthur Larson, Chairman of the National Council for Civic Responsibility, launched, Sept. 22, 1964, the newly-formed organization backed by 80 distinguished Americans from business, religion, science, law, labor, education and public affairs. They include persons predominently identified with both political parties. "What they have in common," Dr. Larson said, "is a growing concern about the damage that will be done to American standards of public discussion and responsible behavior in a democratic society, unless a methodical and continuing program is launched to expose both impropriety of methods and falsity of substance as they appear in radical reactionary broadcasts and publications."

Dr. Arthur Larson is a 54-year old expert in international law and is best known for his service, 1956-1957, as Director of the U.S. Information Agency. He served also in other key posts in the Eisenhower Administration; those of Under-Secretary of Labor 1954-1956, and Special Assistant to the President, 1958-1961. At present, Dr. Larson is Director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke University. Some of the 80 Council members are by fields: *Public Affairs,* Marion B. Folsom, director of Eastman Kodak, and former U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; James P. Mitchell, former U.S. Secretary of Labor; Roy Wilkins, executive director, N.A.A.C.P.; *Business,* Clarence B. Randall, former chairman, Inland Steel Company; John A. Roosevelt, partner, Bache and Company; *Science and Education,* Dr. Deltov Bronk, president of Rockefeller Institute; Dr. Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard University Law School; *Religion,* Bishop Reuben E. Mueller, president, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, presiding bishop, The Protestant Episcopal Church; Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke, president, Council of Bishops, The Methodist Church; *Labor,* Jacob Potofsky, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Right Wing Can't Be Ignored

"For many years Americans, including myself, thought that the best way to treat the radical reactionary movement was to ignore it. Their charges—that Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Truman and Roosevelt were traitors; that Earl Warren should be impeached together

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with most of the rest of the Supreme Court for good measure; that most of the legislation asked by Congress in the last 30 years was unconstitutional—seemed so preposterous as not to deserve to be dignified by an answer."

But, Dr. Larson said, "a number of Americans who felt this way are now changing their minds."

"The principal reason is that the sheer quantity and persistence of radical reactionary propaganda has reached the point where it is now going far beyond the function of merely reassuring the reactionary prejudices of a small fringe group." The statistic Dr. Larson found "most ominous" is that there are "more than 7,000 radio and television broadcasts weekly in 50 states now being aired by groups whose officers are either acknowledged members of the John Birch Society or linked with it in other ways." (See the spot map in this issue entitled "Right Wing Broadcasts.")

More than a score of organizations are engaged in the kind of propaganda Dr. Larson refers to. "Radical reactionary organizations now spend upwards of $20,000,000 a year."

"The coordinated policy and impact of these groups is not surprising in view of a sort of interlocking directorate exemplified by the presence of top Birch Society policy makers in top policy positions in 12 of the most active groups," Dr. Larson said.

Four Reasons

Dr. Larson feels that the phenomenon of rightwingism can no longer be ignored and stated four reasons why.

First of all, "by virtue of the saturation tactics used, radical, reactionary propaganda is producing an impact even on large numbers of people who, themselves, are in no sense extremists or sympathetic to extremist views. When day after day their hear distortions of fact and sinister charges against persons or groups, often emanating from organizations with conspicuously respectable sounding names, it is no wonder that the result is: confusion on some important public issues; stimulation of latent prejudices; and creation of suspicion, fear and mistrust in relation not only to their representatives in Government, but even in relationship to their neighbors."

Secondly, "although these extreme views have practically never prevailed on a question of national policy, there are many local communities in which the tactics of extremists have made life miserable for good citizens—through spying, nocturnal phone calls, economic and social pressures, stonings, even bombings, and other tactics alien to the American way of working out political decisions — citizens whose only offense is that they upheld the policies of the national government, under successive administrations, and of the vast majority of Americans on such matters as social security or the United Nations."

The third reason why the right wing can no longer be ignored "is that the unchecked increase in this kind of propaganda is degrading the American political dialogue to such a point as to damage our self-respect at home and our reputation for public responsibility abroad.

"The fourth reason," Dr. Larson said, "is that radical, reactionary positions, taken at their own worth, quite literally, and not as a matter of rhetoric, are undermining American democracy as we know it. We have three branches of government. We are told by this propaganda that: as to the Executive, four successive Presidents were traitors; as to the Judiciary, most of the judges in the highest court should be impeached; as to the Legislative, most of the major legislation asked by Congress is either unconstitutional or socialistic, or both.

"What then," Dr. Larson continues, "is the average citizen supposed to conclude about the validity of the form of government which allegedly produces nothing but such disastrous results in all its branches?"

"At a time when we are engaged in a world struggle to vindicate the rightness of our system, we cannot afford to have the confidence of Americans themselves in the integrity of our democratic system eroded by this Niagara of distortion and abuse."

Sponsorship

The National Council for Civic Responsibility is sponsored by the Public Affairs Institute, a non-profit educational organization, directed by Dr. Dewey Anderson, an economist with a distinguished career in education, government service and public affairs.

For 17 years, the Public Affairs Institute has conducted surveys, published books, pamphlets, research reports on issues involving the public interest. The PAI has specialized in agriculture, independent business, education, health, resources, fiscal policy, international relations, the governmental process and national welfare.

The work of the National Council for Civic Responsibility will be financed by voluntary contributions to the Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. The contributions are tax exempt.

The National Council for Civic Responsibility, located at 65 E. 55th St., New York, N. Y. 10022, will prepare, publish, and make available to news media and organizations, accurate information on the origins, leaders, objectives, viewpoints, and financing of extremist groups.

The NCCR will "arrange a series of daily radio programs . . . correcting the errors being currently propagated." It will seek the cooperation of press, radio, and television in exposing these groups and in presenting positive, educational programs expressed through published features related to the issues.

"Danger on the Right"

"The authors of *Danger on the Right* have attempted to write a definitive book on the attitudes, personnel and influence of the Radical Right and the Extreme Conservatives on the American scene. I believe they have succeeded." Thus Dore Shary begins his foreword to this book "written as a part of the total public service program" of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New York, Random House, 1964, 294 p. $4.95, cloth; $2.95, paper). Although the volume "is the end result of a combined staff effort" the authors are Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, well-known for previous similar reports such as *The Troublemakers* and *Some of My Best Friends*.

Definitive is a very large word and requires the test of time. Certainly *Danger on the Right* is a widely comprehensive, fact-packed, perceptive and eminently readable survey of most of the major organizations of both the radical right and extreme American conservatism. A unique feature is an appended exploration of the "Sources of Finance of the American Right Wing" which names names and supplies amounts of donation. This data is summarized as follows:

14 Million Annually

". . . It is a fair and conservative estimate that the minimum cost of the overall Rightist propaganda assault on the American mind is in the neighborhood of $14,000,000 a year. This encompasses the known expenses of the American Right, ranging from the extremely conservative

organizations to the Radical Right. It does not include the far-out organizations tainted with racism and anti-Semitism; they raise more than a million dollars for their own special purposes.

"A substantial portion of the $14,000,000 that is poured into extremely conservative and Radical Right propaganda comes this way: from some 70 or more foundations (almost all tax-exempt), 113 business firms and corporations, 25 public utilities, and some 250 individuals who can be identified as having contributed at least $500 each in recent years."

Ministers in particular will be interested in the revelations of just who has been paying for the flood of rightist propaganda that swells their mails.

A Typology of the Right

The book is structured on a threefold distinction of the radical right, the extreme conservatives and the "rabble rousing gutter bigot." Both the authors' own admission and the evidence presented stress the difficulties of this sorting process. The borders tend to blur. However, the criteria of distinction between each "type" have their own importance.

Essentially the radical right refuses to accept the ordinary democratic rules of American politics and public discussion. Their tactics, often quite explicitly and in other cases without acknowledgment, are borrowed from the end justifies *any* means arsenal of Mao, Stalin and other "tacticians" of the ultra left. They refuse to be confused by ethics.

The authors' own summary analysis of the comparison and overlap of the radical right and the extreme conservatives deserves quotation in full:

"Considerable research by ADL's staff into the operations of this movement turned up no evidence that the Radical Right—as distinguished from its conservative allies—should be regarded as part of this nation's responsible political fabric. On the contrary, the evidence is that in reality it is a fringe political activity, and no more sound as a political position than the troublesome Communist conspiracy. The Radical Right sometimes has surrounded itself and often functions with certain characteristics of secrecy, furtiveness, and hidden motivation —marks of an organized conspiracy, which it is not. Ironically, the Radical Right's analysis of all national and international problems is rooted in a conspiratorial concept. Everything is blamed on a 'Communist conspiracy.'

"In the eyes of the Radical Right, the American Republic is imperiled on almost every front by this Communist conspiracy which, says the Radical Right, has been entrenched in Washington for the last thirty years, and which has been softening up the country for an imminent Communist take-over.' The softening-up process, in the mythology of the Radical Right, has resulted from the advocacy by the 'conspiracy' of socialism in domestic policy, and sellout and softness in foreign affairs.

"This Radical Right mythology differs in degree and intensity, but not in kind, from the viewpoint of the Extreme Conservatives. The latter also view American domestic policy of the last thirty years as socialistic and dangerous, and our foreign policy of the same period as prone to softness and appeasement in dealing with the Communist threat.

"The basic difference is that, unlike the Radical Right, the Extreme Conservatives generally do not tend to ascribe the alleged socialism and softness to any sinister plot in high places, but rather to blindness, stupidity, and bungling on the part of four Presidents and their liberal advisers.

"Nevertheless, if there are some differences in interpretation of recent history between the Radicals of the Right and the Extreme Conservatives, there are also similarities which are noteworthy. If these two wings of the American Right differ on the *reasons* for the fancied perils and problems the country faces, they agree basically on the nature of the 'evils' they fight—Federal taxes, Federal spending, Federal social welfare programs, and Federal regulation of private business, as well as foreign aid, UN activities, and negotiations with the Soviets.

"This basic similarity of viewpoint has led to an ideological blur between these two segments of the American Right. The less extreme often 'fellow-travel' with the Radicals of the Right, much as some Liberals fellow-traveled with the Communist Left twenty or thirty years ago. As a result, individual Conservatives today often lend their names, their sponsorship, and their financial support to organizations and causes of the Extremists."

Excluded from this volume is "the rabble-rousing gutter bigot, who combines political extremism with promoting racial and religious hatred" although it is pointed out that "the conspiratorial theory of the bigots is the same as that of the Radical Right but with that extra noxious ingredient of racial and religious hatred." The practical reasons why Rockwell's American Nazis and their counterparts are excluded are previous extended coverage in the early reports mentioned above and a relatively limited access by these groups to the coffers of ultra-conservative wealth. The distinction is, however, an arbitrary one. The case is perhaps clearer on anti-Semitism than on anti-Negro bias. Almost without exception, as the detailed reporting clearly establishes, the entire right is arrayed against the Negro revolution and the civil rights bill.

Organizations of the Radical Right

Danger on the Right classes as radical right and devotes separate chapters to Robert Welch's John Birch Society, Dr. Fred Schwartz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Dr. George Benson's National Education Program, Rev. Carl McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour, Dean Clarence Manion's Manion Forum, Dan Smoot Report, Edgar Bundy's Church League of America, Kent and Phoebe Courtney's Conservative Society of America, and Willis Stone's Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A. Obviously, this list is much more extended than that of the Overstreets' study. Nevertheless the profiles of history, program and personalities are fact-packed, startling and sobering.

Some particular citations are taken from the treatment of the John Birch Society because its preeminence in and interpenetration of the entire radical right is a central fact.

Robert Welch, the self-appointed leader of what he himself describes as "a monolithic body" has made periodic estimates of the extent of Communist control of the entire life of the nation. The most recent of these is "50%-70%." How can such a wildly distorted image of the American reality be explained?

The essential clue is in the "early Welch" of 1954-1958 as set down in his manuscript, *The Politician*. The 1962 published version of this self-revelation has been "dressed up" and "toned down" as Forster and Epstein document. The original version however is the real Welch of a "50 to 70 per cent Communist controlled" America. Here it is:

"In the second stage, Truman was *used* by the Communists, with his knowledge and acquiescence, as the price he consciously paid for their making him president. In the third stage, in my own firm opinion, the Communists have one of their own actually in the presidency. For this third man, Eisenhower, there is only one possible word to describe his purposes and his actions. That word is treason."

Faced with this phantasy, near-hopeless world it is small wonder that Welch makes such calls upon his followers as that one official monthly agenda, "Join your local P.T.A. at the beginning of the school year, and go to work and capture it." Parallel advice has been offered, and followed, for churches, civic organizations of all types, party structures and school and library boards.

The authors' summary description of the Birch Society program would apply with minor modifications and additions to the whole spectrum of the radical right:

"The chief stance of the John Birch Society is, of course, open hostility to United States foreign and domestic policies of the last thirty years, policies which have been, in the suspicious Birch view, elements of Bolshevik strategy. Manifestly, Birchers would like to set the clock back at least three decades, repealing American political and economic history from the 1930's to the present. The domestic reforms of the last three decades, many of them instituted clearly to preserve the free enterprise system in a workable form, are seen as service to the enemy. So, too, are the programs of military preparedness for the United States and its allies. So, too, are the far-reaching provisions for foreign military and economic aid to allies and underdeveloped countries. So, too, is the bipartisan United States policy of support for the United Nations, from which Robert Welch would have the United States withdraw. As he puts it: 'Get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.'"

"Extreme Conservatives"

The "Extreme Conservatives" described and analyzed are Admiral Ben Moreell's Americans for Constitutional Action, James Wick's *Human Events,* the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, the Young Americans for Freedom, and William Buckley and his *National Review.*

Acknowledging that "the two factions are difficult to separate at times," a major difference is seen in that "most conservatives do not . . . accept the conspiracy theory of American history. Still the overlap is at least as conspicuous as the difference."

"Extreme Conservatives do not advocate impeaching the Chief Justice, but they deplore many of the same Supreme Court decisions as those who do. Most of these Conservatives do not actually urge repeal of the income tax, or American withdrawal from the U.N., but they denounce income taxes as confiscatory or socialistic, and attack the world organization with comparable fervor for many of its activities. These Conservatives of the Right do not actually invade supermarkets which sell hams from Poland, but they applaud those who do. The Extreme Conservatives may deplore the extremism of a Robert Welch for calling President Eisenhower a 'dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy,' but they do not reject those who follow Welch. In fact, they are frequently quoted as saying that the Birch Society includes many 'good Americans.'"

Clearly the lines of distinction are not drawn, largely because the extreme conservatives show a continuing reluctance to do so. The combined danger is very real.

"It is a fairly certain fact that the leaders of the Right Wing—Radicals and their conservative allies—have not yet mobilized anything but a fraction of [the] potential reservoir of support. And it is reasonable to expect that these leaders may, in the next few years, mobilize and activate new thousands, if not millions, of confused and frightened citizens not now marching in the Rightist ranks.

"This is all the more likely because the fears and frustrations of the 'long, twilight struggle' seem likely to continue for years. Those who seek the quick and the easy answer to the complex and delicate problem of the cold war will continue to be drawn to the Extreme Right, whose siren song appears to offer such an answer. At home, the tensions of the racial crisis will test the tolerance, the good will, and the steadfastness of the most stable Americans—let alone the citizen who is mercurial, short-tempered, prejudiced, or worse. The latter may easily be drawn to the slogans and banners of the Radical Right."

"The Christian Fright Peddlers"

"This book is about fear and its consequences in the form of right-wing extremism in the Protestant churches, in the private and public lives of Americans. I attempted to present the facts with as much feeling for the core realities of life and liberty as objectivity would permit. But I have eschewed that pseudo-objectivity which substitutes 'available evidence tends to indicate' for 'I think,' or presents personal experiences as though they were general conclusions. I have attempted to strike a balance between recounting personal experiences with broader implications, and generalizations that may be made from others' experiences and an accumulation of data."

This is the author's own statement of the purpose of his book, title above (Doubleday, 1964, 290 p. $4.95). He succeeds admirably. The author is Brooks R. Walker, the young Unitarian pastor of the Emerson Unitarian Church in Canoga Park, California. He speaks in part from first hand experience since his outspoken opposition to the radical right has been punctuated by bombing, first of his home then of his office.

Despite this, an outstanding virtue of the book is its low-keyed calm, the author's refusal to become a mirror-image of the hate groups on the right. His work is more personal, less systematic than *Danger on the Right* or *The Strange Tactics of Extremism.* It has more direct personal observation and illustration by specific incident. Both approaches have value. Walker's complements the others and adds new dimensions of understanding of the nature of the radical right.

Focus on the Churches

It is natural that as a minister, the author's chief concern and coverage is the rightist assault in the name of religion and against the churches and the church council movement. His work provides a valuable updating a little over ten years after another minister, Ralph Lord Roy, surveyed the "apostles of discord." For churchmen there is also special interest in the point by point and vigorous defense of the National Council of Churches by one whose own denomination is not a constituent member of that Council.

The program and tactics of Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade and of Carl McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches are principal topics as are Fred Schwartz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and, inevitably, Robert Welch's John Birch Society. One full

chapter deals with "Target: The National Council of Churches" and others deal insightfully with "sources of the radical right," "the attack on practically everyone" and the historical and theological problems involved in the drive to "put God at the head of our nation."

Space compels the inclusion of only a few samples of the content. Walker sees the basic indictment as this:

"Of this much, however, we may be certain: The Christian fright peddlers have done untold damage. They have attacked free institutions and free men in an open society without regard for the disciplines of responsibility acknowledged by those who cherish liberty. They have sounded the alarms of distrust with unrelenting insistence, knowing full well that the only environment capable of sustaining freedom is one that begins with a trust in persons and ends with a deep confidence in the democratic process. Their offense, their true offense, is in their tampering with that process, in their attempts to coerce it—in short, in their antidemocratic bias.

"Perhaps the following judgment by the Rt. Rev. John P. Craine, Episcopal Bishop of Indianapolis, is too severe, but it is entirely relevant:

" 'It is interesting to note that the far right has adopted the same tactics as the Communists—the repudiation of democracy, the fundamentalist, dogmatic attitudes, the theories of guilt by association. Any clergyman who has any liberal inclinations, who is concerned about housing or segregation or even supports the National Council of Churches or the United Nations is accused of softness toward communism. I can only say that if I were intent on destroying this great nation I can think of no better way than to create distrust, hate and fear, as is being done today.' "

Why the Attack on the NCC?

The essential issue in the attack on the National Council is summed up in these words:

"The deepest conflict involves the question of the churches' social responsibility. The NCC believes that both the churches and the Council have not a right, but a weighty responsibility to speak the word of ethical wisdom in the world of secular concern. Religion, the Council assumes, permeates all dimensions of life or it is not truly religion. For the Council, the God of creation is also Lord of creation, or he is not God. Men and their institutions, which are but two aspects of one creation, must be molded by humanitarian concerns stemming from an acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior.

"The value system held by the Shreveport vestry committee is just as coherent as the NCC's, but it begins at a different point. For the vestry committee, politics is politics, and religion, religion. The church should concern itself only with the redemption of men. It is enough that individual Christians in public life may be called upon to give evidence of their faith. You cannot coerce society. You cannot reform culture by legislating out of a pious concern.

"So far as I can see, these premises and their corollary beliefs are wholly antithetical. They admit no possibility of reconciliation. And they go to the very root of *the* crucial conflict over what it means to be a Christian in our culture. The final question posed by the conflict is this: *Does the gospel have any direct relevance to man as a social being, to society and its structures?* For my own part, I find that the humanitarian commitment of the National Council speaks to me of true religion."

False Freedom

The drive of the whole of the radical right and particularly of the John Birch Society is seen as the perversion of freedom:

"If we are truly sensitive, the John Birch Society and its like can tell us much about ourselves. It can remind us that there are always men willing to sacrifice freedom in the name of freedom, men willing to establish the Great Protectorate, to play the part of the benevolent despot. We have only to relax the maintenance of justice and of liberty. We have only to neglect the cultivation of freedom, and the self-appointed guardians of our persons will take over. Already, they have discovered that the Supreme Court of this land is the key to our stability as a free nation. The attack on the court has therefore been relentless. "Impeach the Chief Justice and reform the Court,' we are told. The brooding corollary is never voiced: 'We will tell you how to be free,' it says. 'We will instruct you in how to use your liberty.' "

The one positive note from the radical right is a frighteningly nihilistic one.

"The elemental notion that there could be no triumphant nation in a full-scale thermonuclear war is accepted by nearly everyone, it seems, except for those who live in the pre-1945 world of the far right."

"What do you do with an anger that encompasses the whole world? You propose total destruction. The one 'positive' plank in the right-wing platform is the means for destruction. The arms budget should be increased. Our preparedness for war should be stepped up. We should drop our 'no win policy' and move on to victory—a victory that would mean death for most of us, including the nihilists themselves. That is the logical outcome of the foreign-policy position taken by the death makers."

What is the great risk and the real answer?

True Answer to the Radical Right

". . . My point is this: authoritarianism begets authoritarianism. The first answer to fulminations is likely to be counterfulminations. The first reaction to violence is likely to be violence. The first response to an attempt at dehumanization is to play the part—that is, to *become* dehumanized and to insist that one's adversary is a block of wood, a social dinosaur, an insolent crackpot.

"The great danger from the radical right is that the man who is attacked will let his attackers rule him by shouting authoritarian answers into the wind in a vain attempt to return the sentiments of his attackers.

"The true answer to the radical right—or to any other form of authoritarianism—is the nonauthoritarian answer implied by the phrase 'the democratic method in human relationships' and made real in every encounter that is truly humanistic."

This is a book of continuing value for every minister and every layman and laywoman.

A Brief Directory of Extremist Groups and Guide to Radical Right Broadcasters

The newly formed Council for Civic Responsibility in releases made to press, radio and television personnel by Dr. Arthur Larson, chairman of the Council, has linked 12 ultra-right organizations directly to the John Birch Society through top officers or principal financial supporters of each organization.

Dr. Larson, former director of the U.S. Information Agency and member of the Eisenhower Administration, said the interlocking directorate provided all extremist

groups with "cordinated policy and impact" in carrying out their programs.

The groups, their activities, and their ties to the John Birch Society are detailed by the National Council for Civic Responsibility as follows:

Americans for Constitutional Action

Program: A political action group dedicated to electing and re-electing conservative and ultra-conservative members of Congress, formed as a reaction to the Americans for Democratic Action. ACA publishes an index of voting records of Congressmen and Senators, rating them as to degree of conservatism. Local chapters are active in political campaigns.

What They Say: "Americans have been running away from their own revolution in order to embrace an armament program saturated with Marxist ideology."

Birch Links: Vice Chairman and Secretary, General Bonner Fellers, Birch Endorser. Treasurer, Charles Edison, Member, Editorial Advisory Committee, *American Opinion,* Birch Society Magazine.

America's Future

Program: In addition to the weekly commentary by R. K. Scott broadcast on 365 stations, and the newsletter which draws from the broadcasts, the group publishes pamphlets and books voicing extremist views. It also is the sponsor and financer of "Operation Textbook," a group which evaluates textbooks in use in public schools for their coverage of American society, economy and government.

What They Say: The group's secretary, Rosalie M. Gordon, in a book, *Nine Men Against America,* said ". . . the Supreme Court has struck down practically every bulwark we have raised against the Communist conspiracy in America. . . ."

Birch Links: Thomas Anderson, Trustee, member Birch National Council; F. Gano Chance, Trustee, member Birch National Council.

Christian Crusade

Program: This organization was founded and is headed by Rev. Billy James Hargis. In addition to sponsoring daily political-evangelistic programs on 55 radio and 7 television stations, the group publishes a weekly newsletter and pamphlets and brochures.

What It Says: In a signed pamphlet titled "No Room in the Inn—Or The U.N." Hargis said: "We slapped Christ in the face at the setting up of the United Nations in San Francisco, in April, 1945, just as surely as the Jews slapped Him on the night of His betrayal 2,000 years ago. We gave in to Communist pressures and agreed to make no mention of Jesus Christ, or God, The Father, in the United Nations Chambers. From the beginning, there has been no room for Him in the U.N. . . ." He also has said: "For 14 years, I thought the 'ism' that was the greatest threat to our nation was Communism. Now, I am convinced it is liberalism. The liberals have the finances and numerical strength the Communists lack; yet their socialistic objectives are much the same . . . To be a real good liberal, you've got to be 100 per cent stupid. . . ."

Birch Links: Billy James Hargis, member of Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers.

Christian Freedom Foundation

Program: This group is the vehicle of Howard E. Kershner whose "Commentary on the News" is broadcast on approximately 148 radio stations weekly. Kershner is also editor of *Christian Economics,* a fortnightly magazine intertwining religion and economics, and he also writes a weekly syndicated column which goes to about 700 newspapers.

What It Says: In a speech at Harding College in 1961, Kershner said: "We are driven to the conclusion that evil men in strategic positions with the aid of their dupes, stooges and fellow-travelers have been able to mold public opinion in our country and shape governmental policy along lines that are hurrying us onward to destruction. In a real sense, the Communists have taken over our country and have greatly influenced our major economic, fiscal, military and foreign policies."

Birch Links: The principal financial support for the Christian Freedom Foundation comes from J. Howard Pew, who is a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the Birch magazine, *American Opinion,* and is also a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc.

Church League of America
(also called National Laymen's Council)

Program: Research Section maintains "five tons of files" and "over 850,000 cross-referenced index cards on all organizations and individuals who had aided the cause of subversion." Since 1962, it has sponsored a weekly 15-minute radio program carried on 17 stations in eight states. It conducts a film rental service which distributes such films as "Communism On The Map," which was produced by the National Education Program at Harding College and based on sections of the Birch Society's *Blue Book.*

What They Say: "Communism and theological modernism are as one." The Girl Scout Handbook is "un-American."

Birch Links: Two members of the Board of Directors, E. L. Wiegand and Mrs. H. Dillon Winship, are on the Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers.

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee

Program: Publishes weekly newsletter "Facts on Foreign Aid" regularly urging cutback or elimination of aid funds.

What They Say: Describes itself as "crusading to kill the foreign aid program."

Birch Links: National Director, General Bonner Fellers, Birch Endorser; Vice Chairman, Clarence Manion, Birch National Council; Chairman, J. Bracken Lee, Birch Endorser.

Conservative Society of America (Courtney Complex)

Program: Publishes the "Independent American" and runs right wing broadcasts on 39 radio stations.

What They Say: Get out of the U.N. Eliminate the income tax. Free the government of "infiltration by subversive agents."

Birch Links: Board of Directors includes the following Birch Endorsers: Medford Evans, Dan Hanson, E. Merrill Root, Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, George J. Hess, J. Bracken Lee, R. W. Orell.

Liberty Lobby

Program: "A monthly newsletter of, by and for the American right wing." Also publishes brochures such as "How to Write Your Congressman," by Billy James Hargis.

What They Say: Oppose Federal aid to education. Favor repeal of the income tax, and withdrawal from the U.N.

Birch Links: Board of Policy includes: Tom Anderson, National Council member; Billy James Hargis; J. Bracken Lee; and E. L. Wiegand, all Birch Endorsers.

Manion Forum

Program: Weekly radio programs on 240 radio stations. Promotes "Conservative Clubs." Now claims over 4,000 such clubs seeking charters from Manion.

What They Say: To wage war by television, radio and the printed page against (1) the confiscatory, Marxist income tax; (2) wanton foreign aid squandering; (3) Socialistic "public power"; (4) destruction of states' rights; (5) futile conferences with Kremlin gangsters; (6) ridiculous budgets; (7) Federal aid to education; and (8) unrestrained labor bossism.

Birch Links: Clarence Manion, member National Council Birch Society.

National Economic Council

Program: Publishes semi-monthly economic news letter.

What They Say: "All branches of American life, especially such unsuspected areas as the Christian churches, have been infiltrated by Communists." On the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court: "Warren has led the job of making the court one of the strongest allies Moscow has in America."

Birch Links: President, Mark M. Jones, Birch Endorser; Founder, Merwin K. Hart, deceased, was Birch Endorser; Constance V. Dahl, Executive Vice President, Birch member.

Dan Smoot Report

Program: Publishes weekly report and runs nationwide radio-TV broadcasts on 70 radio stations, and 40 television stations.

What They Say: Calls for impeachment of Earl Warren; suggests "that the Cuban invasion fiasco was organized betrayal, planned in Washington and Moscow."

Birch Links: Leading financial supporter is D. B. Lewis, a member of the Council of Endorsers of the Birch Society.

We the People

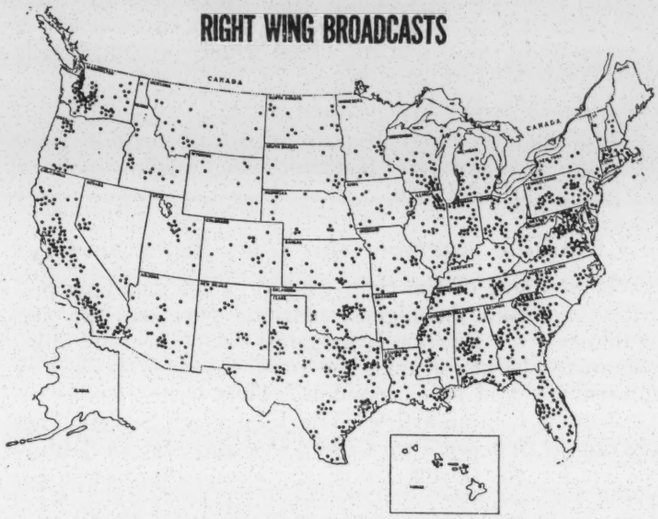
Program: Holds an annual Constitution Day rally (One featured Robert Welch on subject "This is a republic, not a democracy.") Also issues "Home Study Kits."

What They Say: Wants impeachment of Earl Warren. Investigation of National Education Association. Wants to get out of the United Nations. "You cannot expect the American people to sacrifice to fight the enemy if the President does not act now to clean the enemy out of our State Department."

Birch Links: President, Tom Anderson, is on National Council of Birch Society. Board members include: C. W. Pavey, E. Merrill Root, J. Bracken Lee, all Birch Endorsers, and Revilo P. Oliver, member of the Birch Society National Council.

Radical Right Broadcasters

Nine of the leading Radical Right broadcasters account for over 7,000 programs a week over radio and television stations. The following spot map shows the location of "only seven key extremist-sponsored radio programs taped and distributed to stations throughout the country. . . ." They are: "Life Lines"; "Dan Smoot Reports"; "Manion Forum"; "Howard Kershner"; "Christian Crusade"; "20th Century Reformation Hour"; and, "America's Future."



Source: National Council for Civic Responsibility, 1964.

The nine leading groups or individuals responsible for over 7,000 programs a week over radio and television include the following, according to the National Council for Civic Responsibility:

Howard Kershner

This 15-minute commentary on the news by Kershner is broadcast weekly on 148 stations in 41 states. It is financed by the Christian Freedom Foundation, which is largely supported by J. Howard Pew, oilman, and member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *American Opinion,* the Birch magazine.

Manion Forum

A weekly 30-minute commentary by Clarence Manion, member of the National Council of the John Birch Society, broadcast weekly on 240 radio and 30 television stations.

Dan Smoot

A 15-minute weekly commentary by Smoot, broadcast on 70 radio and 40 television stations. Leading sponsor of the program is D. B. Lewis, an Endorser of the John Birch Society.

America's Future

A 15-minute commentary by R. K. Scott, broadcast on 365 stations in 48 states sponsored by America's Future, on whose Board of Trustees serves Thomas Anderson and F. Gano Chance, both members of the National Council of the Birch Society.

Independent American Radio Edition

A 15-minute weekly program broadcast on 39 stations in 18 states, written by Kent and Phoebe Courtney, whose Conservative Society of America has many Birch Endorsers on its Board of Directors.

Billy James Hargis

A 30-minute daily broadcast on 55 radio and 7 television stations, sponsored by Hargis' Christian Crusade. Hargis is an Endorser of the Birch Society.

Church League of America.

A weekly program broadcast on 17 stations in eight states, started in 1962. The League's Board of Directors includes two Birch Endorsers, Mrs. E. Dillon Winship and E. L. Wiegand.

Life Lines

This 15-minute program is broadcast daily on 325 radio and 69 television stations. Leading financial supporter is H. L. Hunt, Texas oilman, whose wholly-owned or affiliated companies are sponsors of the broadcast.

Twentieth Century Reformation Hour

A 30-minute daily program broadcast on 546 radio stations in 45 states featuring the religious-political views of Carl McIntire.

A Catholic Analyzes the John Birch Society

"While most of the right-wing organizations now proliferating claim the highest patriotic purposes, the fact is that they weaken the fight against communism by indiscriminate charges against the most respected leaders of government and public opinion." Thus writes Robert A. Graham, S.J. in an article "The John Birch Society," appearing in *Between Two Cities: God and Man in "America"* (Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1962. $1.95 paper). The volume is a collection of articles taken from *America,* a National Catholic Weekly review published by the Society of Jesus in New York City. *Between Two Cities* was published on the occasion of the 50th anniversary, 1912-1962, of this distinguished periodical.

Father Graham observes that many of the new organizations "now recruiting the extremists of the country in their ranks are small and insignificant both in numbers and in the quality of their leadership. This, however, cannot be said of the John Birch Society. . . . The JBS boasts of a national council comprising leading industrialists, military men and former government officials, as well as several well-known Catholic figures, one of whom is a priest." We can believe, Father Graham writes, Birch Society President Robert F. Welch's Catholic secretary who said that there is "a high percentage of Catholics in the John Birch Organization."

What Is the John Birch Society?

The John Birch Society was founded in Indianapolis, December 9, 1958, by Robert Welch, a retired New England candy manufacturer. It is named after a young Georgia-born fundamentalist Baptist missionary who worked for the Office for Strategic Services in China during World War II and was killed by Red Chinese troops ten days after V-J Day. He is hailed as "the first victim of the Cold War." Its purpose is to cope with "the threat of the Communist conspiracy." Unless, Welch said, "we reverse forces which now seem inexorable in their movement, you have only a few more years before the country in which you live will become four separate provinces in a world-wide Communist dominion ruled by police-state methods from the Kremlin."

"Growth of the new society was rapid," Father Graham writes, and it is now described as "the base-organization of the extreme right" by various observers. The John Birch Society spearheads a campaign to impeach Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren and its material was used by Gen. Edwin A. Walker in his controversial right-wing activities in the U. S. armed forces in Germany.

"The JBS is perhaps most known," Father Graham continues, "for its founder's sweeping charges against President Eisenhower, whom Mr. Welch has described as a conscious Red agent. Relying less on mass membership than on disciplined and organized (and perhaps often camouflaged) small groups scattered around the country, the John Birch Society seems capable of making its influence felt, if only by coordinating the efforts of other existing extremist groups that await direction."

Who Belongs

According to reports the John Birch Society has an estimated membership of 60,000. Among these, Father Graham notes, there is "no doubt, a large number of ordinary citizens who seek to 'do something' to combat communism. They are usually surprised and puzzled that an organization led by such a God-fearing man as Robert Welch, who patriotically aims to save the country from what they are convinced is imminent danger, should be subjected to denunciations and complaint. The attacks on the JBS they regard only as confirmation of the gravity of our national peril and proof of the extent of Red influence. These persons," Father Graham writes, "exhibit an amazing naïveté about the real issues at stake and what they are getting into."

Criticisms of the John Birch Society

At first the criticism leveled at the JBS was based mainly on instinctive fears of any right-wing organization and not on any detailed knowledge of Mr. Welch or his program. "After all, these movements are not new," Fr. Graham reminds the reader. "They all tend to follow a common pattern, since they recruit from much the same reservoir of human temperament and political bias. They are usually anti-Semitic and anti-Negro. Many are also anti-Catholic. All are anti-Communist, but it usually turns out that they use the Communist issue as a cloak to cover such less admirable features as racism, bigotry and intolerance, both religious and social. Even the best of them invariably attract a host of dubious personalities all too ready to ride the crest of popular hysteria. The general public cannot easily forget the Ku Klux Klan or the Christian Nationalists of Gerald L. K. Smith. "

The JBS, according to Fr. Graham, has avoided "the cruder manifestations of the extreme rightwingism of its predecessors. Accusations leveled against it on the score of anti-Semitism seem based on suspicion rather than on the record. While it opposes desegregation, it refrains from anti-Negro bias. Nevertheless, the JBS inevitably falls heir to the heavy legacy of distrust and revulsion that sad experience of previous right-wing groups have generated. The feeling is almost unavoidable that the old forces of bigotry are latent in the society, ready to burst forth at the right moment."

The Blue Book as "bible"

The "bible" of the JBS is known as the Blue Book and it consists of talks Robert Welch delivered to the charter members in Indianapolis in 1958. In this book the society is described as "a monolithic body." It is not, Fr. Graham relates, to be run on representative principles or on the principle of local autonomy. Welch declared "The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels."

There is no doubt, Fr. Graham observes, that Mr. Welch is not only the founder but the main force of the society. He stresses repeatedly in the Blue Book the leadership principle "that recalls the grim Nazi precedent." Mr. Welch wrote: "The men who join the John Birch Society . . . are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway."

The methods proposed in the Blue Book provide "another reason for criticism by seeming to sanction the use of any means, fair or foul, in combatting communism. 'The front business,' said Mr. Welch, 'like a lot of techniques the Communists use, can be made to cut both ways.' He advocates the pillorying of suspected Communists by techniques which he admits are 'mean and dirty.'"

The Real Danger

The real danger of the JBS "lies not in its organization and methods but in its impact upon the American national life at this moment. It is proving to be an instrument of division and a threat to the national morale. For, to justify its claim that the country is infiltrated by Communists, the John Birch Society has embarked on an unprecedented and arrogant campaign against almost all our leaders, Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives. A man," Father Graham writes, "for whom President Eisenhower himself is a 'dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy,' can only be said to use the Communist issue for his own purposes and to define 'communism' in a sense all his own." Although Birchites claim this famous statement about President Eisenhower was made prior to the formation of the JBS, it still reflects the thinking of the leader of the Society, Mr. Welch, and to this day, he has never repudiated it.

The Fundamentalists and the Right Wing

"It was not so long ago that Catholics were regarded as the most active foes of communism. This can no longer be said today. Dr. Fred C. Schwarz' Anti-Communist Christian Crusade is of predominantly Baptist inspiration. The National Educational Program of Dr. George Stuart Benson of Searcy, Ark., is another fundamentalist operation. It is no accident that the key centers of the John Birch Society are in the fundamentalist South and Southwest, and that Welch himself stems from this background. John Birch, be it recalled, was a fundamentalist."

To these Fundamentalists who are ultra-right, "the charge of widespread Communist infiltration seems to make sense," Father Graham continues, "when they look at the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States. For years they have regarded with distrust the efforts of their NCCC brethren in the urbanized regions of the country to adapt Christianity to the social problems of modern times. This is 'modernism,' or 'liberalism.'" In their minds the transition is almost automatic to socialism or communism, and they will have none of it.

Red Infiltration and the Clergy

"Related to this tension within the Protestant body in this country was the uproar over the Air Force training manual. . . . In that text, the author (who drew his material from one of the fundamentalist anti-Communist organizations) charged that the Communists had infiltrated the Protestant clergy. The National Council reacted with vigor to these charges and succeeded in having the manual withdrawn by the Defense Department.

"The charge of Red infiltration of the Protestant clergy remains in the air," Father Graham observes. Mr. Welch explicitly refers to it in his talks. "As he himself reports, his remarks are usually matched by the query as to whether the Reds have also infiltrated the Catholic clergy as well. In a talk at Garden City, N. Y., October 9, 1961, Welch said that about one-half of one per cent of Catholic priests are 'comsymps.' When challenged on this statement by the Boston *Pilot*, Welch admitted that his figure was 'simply pulled out of a hat, as a complete guess, and without any substantiation even being claimed.' In the same letter, however, he revealed that by 'comsymp' he means not merely a priest whose sympathies may happen to be turned toward 'socialism,' but, actually, a Communist who became a priest. So far does Robert Welch push his theory of Red infiltration."

The tactics of the JBS have made it more difficult to cope with the Communist tactic of dodging and camouflage. "If allowed to proceed with its works of confusion and division, it will destroy the basis of a solid effective fight against communism carried on by such organs as the FBI," Father Graham writes.

Some Dare Call It Slander

The Office of Information of the National Council of Churches has issued the following statement on *None Dare Call It Treason* by John A. Stormer:

Purporting to be "carefully documented," the thesis of this book is that the Communists and their "dupes" have infiltrated and threaten to take control of the Government, the courts, the schools, the labor movement, the mass media, health agencies, the psychiatric profession and, as the *New York Times* reports (Sept. 27, 1964) "virtually every phase of American life." And once again the charges of communism in the churches and the National Council of Churches are revived, charges which were totally discredited back in the McCarthy era.

Included in the book's documentation are numerous quotations from statements by J. Edgar Hoover. But the author does not print other statements made by the head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which are on the record.

Referring to a statement attributed to him before a meeting of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947, Mr. Hoover wrote: "The quotation which you set forth was taken out of context from remarks I made . . . I want you to know that neither on this occasion nor at any other time have I made any statement criticizing the Federal Council of Churches or the National Council of Churches." Again on June 13, 1960, the FBI director found it necessary to disclaim that he had ever said that "the National Council of Churches is under the control of Communists." He wrote: "I have made no statement, either personal or official, such as you have mentioned concerning the National Council of Churches."

The author digs up the four-year-old story of an Air Force Trainee Manual which contained baseless charges of so-called Communist infiltration in the churches, but omitted informing readers that it was withdrawn by the Defense Department and drew a public apology from the Secretary of Defense to the National Council of Churches.

Virtually all of Stormer's sources in the chapter on the churches are the well-known "apostles of discord" familiar to most church people as professional dissidents dedicated to discrediting the nation's clergy very often to their own personal profit. He also quotes from the *Congressional Record* to give authority to some blatant misinformation. Not quoted from the *Record* are the articles entered in it which categorically refute such misinformation.

According to the book, Mr. Stormer is chairman of the Missouri Federation of Young Republicans, a member of the Missouri State Republican Committee and attends a fundamentalist church. A former trade magazine editor, he now appears to be a professional lecturer on communism. Virtually no other information is avail-

able on him. In the book he goes on record in support of virtually all right-wing extremist groups and their leaders now known to be operating in our country. Mr. Stormer is said to be his own publisher, the "Liberty Bell Press," of Florrisant, Mo. (Mr. Stormer's place of residence), being solely established and owned by him. According to the *New York Times* (Sept. 27, 1964), Mr. Stormer's printer, the W. H. Hall Co., of Chicago, has announced completion of orders for seven million of the books. This vast printing and distribution are partly accounted for by the fact that during the 1964 election campaign millions of copies have been distributed freely, or at a nominal price, by extremist groups in the interests of their favorite political candidates.

The Radical Right: A Brief Bibliography

The following brief selected bibliography of recent titles on the radical right is provided with the hope that it will aid the reader in understanding this disturbing phenomenon in American social and political life. To discover other titles presently published in book or magazine form on this subject, the reader is referred to the following major reference sources. For books consult *The Cumulative Book Index;* for magazines and journal articles, the *Public Affairs Information Service*, the *International Index* and the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. These major reference sources can be found in most libraries throughout the United States.

Some of the books in this bibliography are available as paperbacks, and wherever this is true the symbol (P) will be found at the end of the citation. *Paperbound Books in Print,* the standard reference source for all paperbacks, will help the reader discover what is currently available in paper and what will be forthcoming in the future. Complete data helpful to those desiring to order by mail is supplied.

Bell, Daniel (ed.). *The Radical Right.* Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, 501 Franklin Ave., 1963. 394 p. $5.75. (P) Anchor Books, 575 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10022. $1.45.

Broyles, J. Allen. *The John Birch Society.* Boston, Mass., Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., 1964. 170 p. $4.50.

Burlingame, Roger. *The Sixth Column.* Philadelphia, Pa., J. B. Lippincott Co., East Washington Sq., 1962. 258 p. $4.95.

Cain, Edward. *They'd Rather Be Right:* Youth and the Conservative Movement. New York, N. Y., Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Ave., 1963. 327 p. $5.95.

Dudman, Richard. *Men of the Far Right.* New York, N. Y., Pyramid Books, 444 Madison Ave., 1962. 185 p. 50 cents (P).

Forster, Arnold and Benjamin B. Epstein. *Danger on the Right.* New York, N. Y., Random House, 457 Madison Ave., 1964. 294 p. $4.95, $2.95 (P) [Reviewed in this SERVICE].

Grove, Gene. *Inside the John Birch Society.* Greenwich, Conn., Gold Medal Books, Fawcett Publications, 1961. 160 p. 50 cents (P).

Johnson, Donald and Bernard Eismann. *The Far Right.* New York, N. Y., McGraw-Hill Company, 330 W. 42nd St., 1963. 259 p. $5.95.

Nelson, Jack and Gene Roberts, Jr. *The Censors and the Schools.* Boston, Mass., Little, Brown and Company, 34 Beacon St., 1963. 208 p. $4.50.

Overstreet, Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. *The Strange Tactics of Extremism.* New York, N. Y., W. W. Norton Publishers, 55 Fifth Ave., 1964. 315 p. $4.50. [Reviewed in this SERVICE].

Raywid, Mary Anne. *The Ax-Grinders:* Critics of Our Public Schools. New York, N. Y., Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Ave., 1962. 260 p. $5.00.

Sherwin, Mark. *The Extremists.* New York, N. Y., St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., 163. 242 p. $5.00.

Vahan, Richard. *The Truth about the John Birch Society.* New York, N. Y., Macfadden Books, Macfadden-Bartell Corp., 205 East 42nd St. 50 cents (P).

Walker, Brooks R. *The Christian Fright Peddlers.* Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, 501 Franklin Ave., 1964. 290 p. $4.95. [Reviewed in this SERVICE].

For those who are interested in sampling some of the Right Wing material, the following two items, selected from a wide range of material flooding the market during this election year are as follows:

Stormer, John A. *None Dare Call It Treason.* Florissant, Mo., Liberty Bell Press, P.O. Box 32, 1964. 254 p. $2.95. (P) 75 cents.

An excellent exposé of the inaccuracies of the content of Stormer's *None Dare Call It Treason* was placed in the *Congressional Record* by Representative Charles A. Vanick, of Ohio, on September 10, 1964. It is found on pages A4650-A4653. Those interested in obtaining this critique of Stormer's book, prepared by the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, Cleveland, Ohio, may do so by writing Representative Charles A. Vanick, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Welch, Robert. *The Politician.* Belmont 78, Mass., The Author, 1963. 300 p. $8.00 (P).

Two additional volumes pertaining to the Christian churches' response to Right Wing charges are:

Roy, Ralph Lord. *Communism and the Churches.* New York, N. Y., Harcourt Brace, 750 Third Ave., 1960. 495 p. $7.50.

Roy, Ralph Lord. *Apostles of Discord.* Boston, Beacon Press, 1953. 437 p.

Apostles of Discord, now out of print, is a useful reference source on many of the right-wingers associated with politico-religious movements and certain Fundamentalist churches as well as with other groups. It can be obtained on loan from many major libraries.

While this issue deals with the radical right, knowledge of the nature and tactics of the radical left is also essential. For basic reading on the subject, see the 16-page "Communism, A Selected and Annotated Bibliography," INFORMATION SERVICE, May 25, 1963. A limited supply is available from this office. The price is 40 cents for a single copy.

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OCTOBER 25, 1964

The New York Times Book Review

An Arsenal Of Facts

DANGER ON THE RIGHT. By Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein. 280 pp. New York: Random House. $4.95.

By ALAN F. WESTIN

ONE evening during the late spring of 1962, as part of my research for an article on corporate connections with the radical right, I attended a public meeting in New Jersey at which Dr. Fred Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was the featured speaker. The hall was filled with a predominantly enthusiastic crowd. As I entered, I noticed someone who looked quite familiar methodically picking up the literature that was being distributed at a table outside the auditorium.

Later, I found myself sitting only one row away from this same man, who was carefully taking notes during Schwarz's main presentation and the lively question period that followed. It bothered me that I knew the man but couldn't bring his name and identity to mind. Then the light flashed, and I felt doubly foolish for not having realized at once who it was—a staff member of the Anti-Defamation League, obviously on "evening assignment" at the Schwarz rally.

"Danger on the Right," as its co-authors acknowledge in their preface, is the product of just such first-hand research by dozens of A.D.L. staff members throughout the country. More than that, it represents the collective wisdom of one of the most useful private organizations in the United States. With the publication of this book (timed so perfectly on the eve of an election in which the future influence of the radical right in America is a central issue), the A.D.L. places all of us deeply in its debt.

THIS is the most detailed, accurate and factually complete popular description of the radical right that has yet appeared—its groups, leaders, doctrines and especially its financial supporters. Because it does not rely on hard-breathing rhetoric to supply missing bricks of fact, it is not just another exposé, but an indispensable book for every American citizen who wants to know the "who, what, and how much" of the radical right.

Benjamin Epstein, the A.D.L.'s National Director, and Arnold Forster, its General Counsel, divide their portrait of the ultra-right into two sections, with a chapter for each organization and leader that they treat. The first section, "The Radical Right," has chapters on the John Birch Society of Robert Welch; the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade of Dr. Schwarz; the Christian Crusade of Rev. Billy James Hargis; the National Education Program of Dr. George Benson; the 20th-Century Reformation Hour of Rev. Carl McIntire; the Manion Forum of Dean Clarence Manion; Life Line Foundation and Dan Smoot; the Church League of America under Edgar Bundy; the Conservative Society of America under Kent and Phoebe Courtney; and the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., led by Willis Stone. Out of an estimated 500 right-wing organizations, the book concludes that some 26-27 represent "major groups." The 10 discussed above, in the authors' view, are the most influential and lively of the radical-right component among the 26-27.

The second section, titled "The Extreme Conservatives," dissects five leading groups among the organizations that do not adopt the pure, full-strength doctrines of the radical right—but do espouse many of the same ideas, join in common rallies and causes, have overlapping directorships, and often enjoy the financial support of the same rightist "angels." This section focuses on Americans for Constitutional Action, led by Admiral (Ret.) Ben Moreell; Human Events, under James Wick; the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; Young Americans for Freedom; and The National Review of William F. Buckley, Jr.

In each chapter, "Danger on the Right" does four things. It traces the history of the organization's formation and growth; presents representative quotations of the group's positions; describes who controls the group, and who makes up its leading directorate; and reveals the major financial support behind each group—which the authors state adds up to more than $14,000,000 being pumped yearly into the pipeline of the radical right, primarily by wealthy individuals and large corporations. All of this material is presented with literary verve and succulent quotations. It succeeds perfectly in pinning each wildly fluttering ultra-right butterfly to its proper page in the specimen book.

Already, press accounts of the facts presented in "Danger on the Right" have evoked angry denials by some of the people and groups mentioned, and threats of suits for libel. There have also been furious denunciations of the A.D.L. as a "Jewish secret service" agency, long a favorite charge of the anti-Semitic organizations that were the subjects of earlier books by Forster and Epstein.

Despite the inferences of "planted" agents and hidden tape recorders, the clear truth is that the A.D.L. presentation is based on the public record: the public speeches and published writings of the rightists themselves, newspaper reports of their meetings and memberships and financial reports required by Federal or state tax and administrative agencies and open to public inspection. The A.D.L. has been systematically collecting and filing such clippings, publications and financial records for at least three decades. When the radical right expanded in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the A.D.L. simply expanded its coverage accordingly.

THE result of this fact-finding operation is the material with which to expose the radical right through its own words, deeds and associations. The last element—associations—is perhaps the most distinctive contribution of this book. Many other writers and organizations have discussed the ideology, publications and meetings of radical-right groups. But the A.D.L. surpasses everyone else in two respects—documenting the fact that many leading radical-right figures have also been associates or supporters of well-known anti-Semitic or hate groups, or have given them financial support, and showing the connections between the radical right and the extreme conservatives.

The decision of the authors to focus almost exclusively on the speeches, writings and interconnections of the ultra-rightists, and to devote only a handful of pages to larger sociopolitical analysis, is in one important sense the great strength of their presentation. It lets the public judge. It shows a confidence that the civic consensus in America will recoil from the positions of these groups, that exposure represents the best policy of counter-action, the only approach consistent with the A.D.L.'s own commitment to democratic ideals.

One could still wish that the authors had not carried this policy through quite so rigorously. There has been a wealth of excellent analysis done by social scientists on who joins radical-right groups and why; there have been others on the social dynamics of ultra-right organizations. With the exception of casual references to one social-science report of this kind—and far from the best one at that—"Danger on the Right" does not use these analytical resources, or even popularize them in the authors' own words.

In addition, there is not as careful and complete an analysis as one would like of the borderline between radical right and extreme conservative. In describing the *fact* of interconnections, the book does superbly. It is completely sound in saying that when "hard" conservatives do not police their own border against infiltration, they deserve to be judged harshly for any blending of causes that results. But some of the statements on extreme conservatives being "soft on the radical right" have a troubling ring to them, one that could have been avoided with more attention to systematic analysis.

The vacuum is all the more evident when one considers the excellent studies the A.D.L has itself produced—or drawn on from special articles in their publications on discrimination and prejudice. Presented in the same lively fashion, such analyses are both valuable and necessary for the general reader. However, the basic value of the book remains, despite this lack.

Here is an arsenal of facts for harassed civic leaders in communities throughout the nation. Next time the Birch Society begins to bully a school board, or Americans for Constitutional Action condemn a congressional incumbent for his "pro-Communist" voting record, or a major national corporation begins to saturate the communities around its plants with National Education Program films on "Americanism," "Danger on the Right" will provide community leaders with the ammunition to fight back, through exposure of what these groups really believe, say, and do.

A copy of the book belongs on the shelf of every person who is active in the civic life of the nation, just as a manual on poisons belongs in the medicine chest.

Methods

RADICAL Right groups do not essentially seek to create new political parties. Rather, they seek by concerted propaganda drives to change the political climate in the United States, to turn the winds slowly their way. They do so by penetrating and influencing both major political parties. And in this effort, the John Birch Society has emerged as the strongest of such organizations.—*"Danger on the Right."*

Warnings

RADICAL Rightists urge people to watch out lest coddling of labor unions brings the welfare state one step closer. . . . They shout to beware of social security as a large step forward to socializing the Republic. They signal an alarm that the income tax is simply a means of pauperizing the rich in favor of the poor in order to communize the United States. They admonish in urgent voice for all to believe that the United Nations is a weapon the enemy is using to destroy American sovereignty. —*"Danger on the Right."*

Mr. Westin, who teaches at Columbia, writes frequently of political extremism. He is a contributor to "The Radical Right," a symposium edited by Daniel Bell.

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 Resist Groups - KKK

Sept-Oct '64 Cdr. Israelite

The North Carolina Klan

The Ku Klux Klan—She ain't what she used to be—
Many long years ago. They hated, the Negro and the Jew—
And the Catholics they hated, too— Many long years ago.

Now the Klansmen raise their banners high for the grandson of a Jewish peddler whose running mate is a Roman Catholic (and at that William Miller refused to scorn their support). Amazing, isn't it?

The **Charlotte Observer** sent two of its best reporters to write a series of articles on the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina. We Tar Heels are in the infamous position of having a Klan membership so large that only three states outrank us.

The Klan is always having a rebirth of sorts, but this recent movement is well-financed and well-organized. This time the Klan intends to stay. For where previous Klan movements have been local and regional affairs, this movement is based in both the agricultural and industrial areas of the state. There is no Klan activity in the western part of the state—Asheville and Flat Rock—because, as one Klansman told the reporters, "There ain't no niggers in the mountains."

Lots of money is involved. According to the **Observer** expose, there are 2,500 dues-paying Klansmen in North Carolina. Each pays a $10 initiation fee plus $12 membership dues each year. The membership contributes a half million right off. In addition, Klan officers pass the plastic basket at every meeting and certainly at every cross burning and many a $5, $10, and $20 bill flutters into it. At conservative estimates, that is another quarter of a million dollars. It adds up to big money for these promoters. Hate has paid handsome dividends through the centuries. And today, more than ever before, even the uneducated are skilled in whirling the people away from themselves into fear, even the uneducated are skilled at separating people from both their reason and their money.

Klan robes are made of low-grade satin. The **Observer** reporters found the same material selling at 60c a yard and questioned tailors and seamstresses to discover that in large quantities klansmen's togas and hoods could be produced at $3.50 each. The Klan, however, sells its regalia at $15, but that is not the end of it. Patches and badges are extra and so is the big button.

The big button has enormous popularity. This popularity was probably generated after an unfortunate error made by the Charleston, South Carolina, police last year. The cops were breaking up, in their inimitable fashion, a Negro sit-in demonstration at a segregated restaurant. The cops were arresting pickets and demonstrators charging them with trespassing. The son of the restaurant owner was trying to push his way in to help his father. Said fellow was a golfer with a heavy tan and the cops spotted him and whisked him away in the paddy wagon figuring he was a sit-in. He spent two hours in jail before anyone would listen to his impassioned story.

The Ku Klux Klan sells badges for $1 which, in yellow letters on a white background reads, "I Am White" on one line and underneath there is the single word, "Superior."

More important than the Klan's inventiveness is the salient fact that its recent re-organization has met with very little significant criticism. The **Observer** noted that ten years ago, a Klan meeting at the most attracted two or three hundred people. A meeting today attracts two or three thousand. Nor does the membership figure of 2,500 tell us the whole story. There are many businessmen who contribute to the Klan excusing their contribution as necessary for business. Thousands more believe in the work of the Klan, in its goals and in its methods, but haven't the guts to become members, or they are ashamed to join up. In the rural Eastern area of Carolina, there are some police officers actively engaged in Klan activities and when the Klansmen get a little rowdy there is no hope of police suppression.

Dr. I. Beverly Lake recently campaigned in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. He received 200,000 votes. Unmistakeably, Dr. Lake was the segregationist philosopher. He is personally a man of considerable talent and education and he was able in the run-off primary to transfer **in toto** the whole of his 200,000 votes to the conservative Democrat who thereby beat the liberal candidate.

In our day and age, Dr. Lake is a significant phenomenon. He espouses racist ideas, yet he can still inspire respect and remain respectable. Few people call him a radical thinker, fewer insist that he is dangerous, and even fewer criticize his demagoguery. His support was a straw in the wind. Analyzing Dr. Lake's power made the nomination of a Barry Goldwater and a William Miller less of a surprise.

All of this madness—the nomination of Senator Goldwater with his amateur ideas about government, the activity of the Klan transpiring openly has its effect throughout the world. The old world no longer worries with de Gaulle that the United States is trying to control Europe. As James Reston of the **New York Times** observed, "Europe is now worried about the United States being able to control itself."

K.K.K. - ALABAMA

Jan. 22, 1964--Montgomery. Three former Klansmen convicted of emasculating a Birmingham Negro will be granted parole hearings. Announcement followed recent release on parole of a fourth convicted man, Jesse W. Mabry, former KKK secretary-treasurer; he had served five years of the 20 years to which all four were sentenced. Parole brought bitter protest from Jefferson County Circuit Court Solicitor Emmett Perry and the trial judge, Circuit Judge A. L. King. The four granted parole hearings are: Grover McCullough, Bart A. Floyd, Joe P. Pritchett.

April 4-1964--Tuscaloosa. Members of KKK planning to establish private communities to avoid desegregation, according to announcement by Imperial Wizard Robt. L. Shelton, United Klans of America.

July 27, 1964--Tuscaloosa. Alabama KKK leader has filed a $500,000 libel suit against the Tuscaloosa News and its publisher, charging the newspaper with defaming him in front page editorial July 7th.

Sept. 6, 1964--Birmingham. At a weekend meeting of more than 500 persons, including grand dragons and delegations from Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Robt. Shelton attacked Supreme Court rulings, the United Nations as a tool of communism, President "lightning bug Johnson", "bobby-sox Kennedy", Martin Luther King, Birmingham's mayor-council form of government, and the civil rights movement, which he said was communist-infilterated.

Oct. 9, 1964--Birmingham. The KKK has an exhibition this year at the Alabama State Fair, complete with cross and free literature.

Oct. 11, 1964--Birmingham. A local group of the Nat'l Conference of Christians and Jews protested the exhibit of the Klan at the Fair. Protest first came from Dr. Sherman Raffel, head of the psychological section of the Medical College of Alabama Psychiatry Dept. and president of the Alabama Psychological Ass'n.

KKK--ARKANSAS

History of the Arkansas Klan may be found briefly in the Arkansas Gazette, Aug. 9, 1964, "When the Klan Was in Arkansas," by W. T. Shelton. Longer and more detailed in ArkansasHistorical Quarterly, Winter 1963, "Defeat, Decline, Disintegration: The KKK in Arkansas, 1924 and After," by Charles C. Alexander.

Feb. 2, 1964, Pine Bluff. The Nat'l Patriots League announced Saturday they would join the White Citizens Council in a boycott of stores here that hire Negroes for clerical and other non-menial jobs. C. D. Green said his group numbered at least"two or three thousand."

L.D. Poynter, chairman of the Arkansas White Citizens Council issued a statement saying the more than 3,000 council members would boycott these stores.

first J. D. Bass, identifying himself as a representative of the KKK, handed out a statement saying his group (about 200) would not trade at the stores either.

Before Feb. 9, 1964--Texarkana. A cross was burned at a Negro home on the Texas side of Texarkana. Leon Wash and his family were not a home at the time.ofcthecfire.

KKK--FLORIDA

With the exception of Jacksonville and St. Augustine, the Klan has declined in numbers and influence in Florida. One reason is that the Klan conveys the image of being a fraternity of roughnecks inclined towards violence. St. Augustine membership in Klan has been estimated at 2,500, including some law enforcement officers. (Progressive, Sept. 1964, "Fear & the Far Right," by Pat Watters.)

WP 2-5-64 Baker "Fernind Klan Isn't funny any more"

Klan claims 3,000 in northern Fla.; FBI est. 500 dues-paying

May 1, 1964. Jacksonville--Mayor Haydon Burns Thursday issued a permit to the KKK for a parade through racially troubled Jacksonville on Saturday. Purpose of parade is to protest the civil rights bill now before the U.S. Senate.

May 2, 1964. Jacksonville--The Klan invited other interested white citizens to join today in a parade through downtown Jacksonville. About 300 (including women and children and about 35 youths) sloshed thru a downpour, soaked to the skin. About 100 people were watching. Some young Negroes laughed and yelled taunts at the marchers. Police were stationed at nearly every intersection. The parade ended at the city auditorium, where J. B. Stoner of Atlanta exhorted the group: "We must destroy the civil rights bill and all its backers. ...The Blacks must go." A rally was held later that evening, where Mr. Stoner again talked of "sending the niggers back to Africa."

see back pg. >

June 15, 1964. St. Augustine--Fortified by a message of hate from J. B. Stoner, swarms of Klansmen and friends marched through the Negro section Saturday night. Along in front was Sheriff L. O. Davis, accompanied by police dogs. Klansmen were met by a hugh banner with "Welcome. Peace and Brotherhood to You" and the streets were lined solidly with Negroes singing "We love everybody. In our hearts."

July 2, 1964. St. Augustine--The KKK will march Saturday, but this will not violate the racial truce, a Klan spokesman said.

July 6, 1964. Jacksonville--An all-white jury yesterday declined to convict any of the five admitted KKKlansmen charges with conspiracy in the bombing of a Negro's home Feb. 16.

Jacky Don Harden, 25--~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ acquitted on 2-count indictment.
Robt. Pittman Gentry, 26--mistrial on 1st count; acquittal on 2nd
Barton Griffin, 25--Willie Eugene Wilson, 39--Donald Eugene Spigal, 31--mistrials on both counts.

Count 1--conspiracy to violate constitutional rights
Count 2--conspiracy to violate rights under court order

July 24, 1964. Tampa--KKK being reorganized to fight civil rights law, according to leader Bill Hendrix of Oldsmar, who said he was imperial wizard of the old Southern Knights and Northern Knights of the KKK. The new organization will be known as the American Underground (AUG). "We will cooperate with all Klan groups and other right wing groups...we will fight legally as far as we can, and violently if necessary." Hendrix said about 30 Klan groups are in Florida, with no connection. He called for the groups to unite.

July 25, 1964. St. Augustine--Law enforcement officers launched a crackdown against the KKK today shortly after pledges were made by Florida Attorney General James Kynes and Mayor Joseph Shelley that law and order will prevail. This was after another act of violence in which a fire bomb was thrown into the restaurant of the Monson

Damage estimated at $3,000.

Motor Lodge around 3:15 a.m. today./ Warrants were obtained against five men prominently associated with klan rallies near here during the past week: J. B. Stoner, Atlanta attorney; Connie Lynch, California, a fiery segregation preacher; Paul Cothran and Barton Griffin of Jacksonville; and Bill Coleman of St. Augustine. ~~Damage~~ Stoner, Lynch, Cochran and Coleman were charged with placing or causing to be placed on property of the City Baking Co. a burning cross without first obtaining written permission of the owner. Griffin, Stoner and Lynch, in another warrant, were charged with burning a corss without permission of the owner of the property and Cochran in a third warrant with wearing a mask or hood which concealed his face while holding a demonstration on private property without permission of the owner. Conviction can result in a fine of $500 or 90 days.

An attempt was made early yesterday to burn the A. & W. Root Beer Drive-in. Two hours after fire-bombing, two white men were picked up and later charged by state officers with possessing concealed weapons and ~~px~~ pornographic materials: Wm. Stuart Williamson, 33, of Ocala, and Robt. Edw. Leonard, 22, of St. Augustine.

July 26, 1964. St. Augustine. A state investigator said a year ago Klan membership was estimated at only a few hundreds; now estimated at 2,500. Sgt. John Cunningham, Duval County Sheriff Dept's expert on Klan activities, estimated KKK membership at no more than 3,500 in the three most active counties: Duval, St. John's, & Nassau.

additional, Florida--fill in

New York Times, June 7, 1964--"Klan An Issue in St. Augustine," John Herbers

Unusual amount of racial violence in recent months. U. S. Dist. Judge Bryon Simpson suggested from the bench that Klansmen had infilterated the Sheriff's office.

February--Auto of parents of Negro child attending white elementary school was burned. Home of another Negro family with child in school destroyed by fire. Shots were fired through home of Dr. R. B. Hayling, a Negro dentist who heads integration drive here.

March--John Kilinos, president of local restaurant ass'n, served four Negroes during sit-in demonstration. Next morning windown in his car, home, and restaurant were broken. He re-segregated.

Auto of Negro minister burned after his church used for civil rights rally. Negro admitted to adult education courses in a white school was beaten by two men while on way home from class.

Dr. Hayling and three other Negroes were beaten at Klan rally last Sept. 1963 while they tried to listen from their car.

a white shrimp fisherman, driving through Negro neighborhood with shotgun across lap, was shot and killed.

During last few days, newsmen attacked during demonstrations, and autos owned or driven by civil rights people were fired into.

James Hauser, 44, Negro, was one of those ~~beka~~ beaten at Klan rally. Last week he was beaten by six men in the parking lot of plant where he works after he appeared in demonstration. (Plant--Fairchild Stratos Corp.) Three of the men were plant employes and suspected KKK members. Fairchild has government contracts.

FLORIDA

3-5-64, N.Y.T.
A "close associate" of North Florida Ku Klux Klan leaders was charged today with bombing the home of a Negro boy who cracked the segregation barrier at a Jacksonville elementary school. The suspect was William Sterling Rosecrans, 30, an Anderson, Ind. mechanic who once worked in Alabama. He was also questioned about the bombing of a Birmingham church Sept. 15, 1963, in which four young Negro girls lost their lives. Police said Rosecrans had admitted the Jacksonville bombing. The FBI said Rosecrans lived near the spot in Jacksonville where 800 sticks of dynamite, with detonating caps and fuse wire, were found about six weeks ago.

(pleaded guilty and received 7-yr sentence in federal prison.

7-3-64, NYT Rosecrans testified that five KKK knew the stolen dynamite "would be used on niggers." Rosecrans was brought from prison to testify at the conspiracy trial of the five. He is serving a 7-yr term for the bombing Feb. 16 of a Negro boy's home. He told the jury of 12 white men that two defendants, Barton Griffin andRobert Gentry, helped him steal 13 cases of dynamite from two storage sheds in a wooded area north of Jacksonville. He said he joined the Klan last Jan. with Mr. Griffin's help, "to fight niggers." He said he and the five klansmen had also made bombs and had discussed uring them on a local hdqs of the NAACP as well as on a liquor store operated by whites that catered to Negroes. He said the charge used to wreck the home had been m made up in the garage of Donald Eugene Spegal; the primer cord and fuse had been taped in the garage of Willie Eugene Wilson.
7-6-64, ATL.CONST. Jury failed to convict five admitted Klansmen charged with conspiracy in dynamiting Negro's home. Each of the five had been charged with violating the Negro's right to attend a white school and interfering with a court order admitting him to the school.
7-5-64 NYT WP - A sheriff testified today that St. Augustine segregationist Hals tea

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Manucy sold him information leading to the arrest of the man who bombed a Negro's home here. St.John's County Sheriff L. O. Davis made the statement in test at the trial of five Ku Klux Klansmen...Davis said he had agreed to pay Manucy $300 of the reward money offered for the arrest of the railroad bombers Defendents were: Barton Girffin, 35; Jacky Don Harde 25; Willie Eugene Wilson, 39; Donald Eugene Spegal, 3 31; and Robert Pittman Gentry, 26.

FLORIDA

N.Y.Times, 5-4-64
300 at Klan Meeting Applaud Slurs on Negroes
by John Herbers

300 at Klan Meeting Applaud Slurs on Negroes

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., May 3—As the last refrain of "The Old Rugged Cross" died out and a 25-foot cross burned against a dark sky, a chubby man in a gray suit and bow tie stepped to the speaker's stand.

"People in other parts of the country like to think of niggers as human beings because they have hands and feet," he said. "So do apes and gorillas have hands and feet. If a nigger has a soul I never read about it in the Bible. The only good nigger is a dead nigger."

The audience of about 300 men and women—most of them in robes, hoods and masks—applauded and began to murmur other anti-Negro sentiments as the speaker went on:

"The nigger is a willing tool of the Communist Jews and is being used to destroy America. They want to pump the blood of Africa into our white veins."

Children at Play

The faces that could be seen were hard and humorless. Children played in and out of the robes, apparently unaware of what was being said.

This was a Saturday night meeting of an extremist fringe of the Ku Klux Klan, itself a fringe group among prosegregation Southerners. Small in

Children Play Amid Hooded Men and Women at Night Rally in Jacksonville

numbers, these groups—known as the Klan or by other names—exist in pockets across the South. The authorities believe they inspire bombings and provide the spark for other racial violence.

They met in a field just north of the Jacksonville Municipal Airport. Earlier, they had paraded through downtown Jacksonville to protest the civil rights bill. Mayor W Haydon Burns, a candidate for Governor in Tuesday's Democratic primary, had granted the permit for the parade.

To the relief of the police, a thunderstorm throughout the parade reduced pedestrian traffic, and with it, the possibility of violence in the city that was the scene of riots Easter week.

The speaker at the night meeting was J. B. Stoner, an Atlanta lawyer who has long been connected with Klan activity. A few weeks ago he was nominated as the Vice-Presidential candidate of the National States Rights party, another fringe group that exists chiefly in Birmingham, Ala.

His running mate for President is John Casper, who served a prison term for inciting racial trouble in Tennessee.

The speaker praised a fellow Klansman, Bart Griffin, who has been indicted in the bombing of a Negro home here. A few days ago Mr. Griffin's home was destroyed by fire reported to have been started by a bomb. But the Duval County authorities said no bomb was involved and they had found no evidence the fire was set by Negroes.

"I suspect that niggers bombed it with F.B.I. consent or the F.B.I. bombed it itself," the speaker said. "Even if they didn't, they set him up as a target."

His voice was carried for blocks by a loudspeaker.

It was difficult to ascertain which Klan group was in charge. The parade was arranged by Woodrow Woods, who calls himself the Grand Titan of the United Klans of Florida. Some knights who wear black robes call themselves the Knights of the Golden Eagle. One leader identifies himself as a Kleagle (organizer) from Augusta, Ga.

From the tone of the meeting, it was obvious that this was not the Klan element that asserts it has adopted nonviolence.

KKK--GEORGIA

March 23, 1964. Atlanta--An estimated crowd of 1,000 persons attended a United Klans of America rally at Hurt Park Sunday (22nd) and heard klan leaders denounce the civil rights bill, Mayor Ivan Allen, Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, and U. S. Atty-Gen. Robert Kennedy. Included were approximately 200 robed klansmen, Jerimiah X, a Black Muslim leader, and members of SNCC and SCLC.

A white youth who accompnied SNCC members was struck by a robed klansman. A white and a Negro couple who appeared together were cursed and threatened by the crowd.

Speakers wer Calvin Craig, Georgia's grand dragon, Venable, Klan attorney of Atlanta, and grand dragons from Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

May 3, 1964. Griffin--Five white men accused of planting a flaming cross in front of a dry cleaning business run by two Negroes were convicted of disorderly conduct.

July 10, 1964. Atlanta. KKK leaders Robert M. Shelton of Alabama and Calvin Craig (United Klans of America, Inc.) said the robed order is launching a large-scale campaign of white resistance to racial integration throughout the South and in other parts of the nation. Plans will include marches, mass rallies, economic reprisals, and white voter registration drives.

A street march is planned for Savannah July 20.

Three rallies were held Saturday night: Gadsden, Ala., Albany, Ga., and Jacksonville, Fla. Three to five per week are planned during the next two months in Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and Tennessee. Dates for some were announced:

July 27--Jacksonville, Fla.
Aug. 17--Spartanburg, S.C.

Sept. 6, 1964. Atlanta--About 600 people attending a cross burning meeting Saturday night, held in a field near Stone Mountain, were told by KKK leaders that the klan politically controls nine states. Many klansmen were both robed and masked, and saluted the burning cross Nazi-style. Many carried clubs and/or guns.

Opening prayer by robed preacher asked "..the Lord put grace and grit in the white Caucasian race...and help destroy this black ape race." Venable said, "You'll never be able to convict a white man that killed a nigger what encroaches on the white race of the South." when commenting on the acquital of klansmen tried for the murder of Lemuel Penn.

July 27, 1964. Atlanta--Calvin Craig announced klan support for Goldwater.

GEORGIA

Atl Constitution, 3-23-64
Klan Draws 1,000 at Hurt Park Rally

An estimated crowd of 1,000 persons attended a United Klans of America rally at Hurt Park (Atlanta) yesterday. Included in the crowd were approx. 200 robed Klansmen, a large number of white-helmeted Klan "Security Police" and Jeremiah X and several members of SNCC. Threats were hurled at the Negroes, and one white youth who accompanied two Negroes was struck in the back by a robed Klansman, but no other incidents occurred.

Speakers were Robert Shelton of Ala., Imperial Wizard, and Grand Dragons from Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Also Rev. J. W. Nail, pastor of the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church in Baxley.

Three rallies were held Saturday night in Gadsden, Ala., Albany, Ga., and Jacksonville, Fla. Shelton said three to five rallies a week were planned during the next two months in Ga., Fla., N.C., S.C., Ala., La., Texas, and Tenn. Giant rallies were planned July 27 in Jacksonville, and Aug. 17 om Spartanburg, S.C., and a street march in Savannah, Ga. on July 20. Shelton said the Klan was extending its activities in the North and Midwest. "They're not open in the North because of fear of economic reprisals," Shelton said, "They are not identified as Klan organizations but are operating on the same principles."

Not if Orgs. of Ku Klux Klans meeting

The next meeting in Ga. was planned for Sept. 56 at Stone Mountain, on land owned by James R. Venable, Atl. attorney. An estimated 400 people (from 19 states Venable said) and white, purple, green, red, and yellow robes dotted the hillsides. So did curious college-age youngsters and their girl friends. Venable scoffed at President Johnson and FBI Director Hoover: "You will never be able to convict a white person that kills a nigger what encraoches on the Southern way of life" And two members of a rival United Klans of America had just been acquitted in Danielsville of murder charges in the death of Washington educator Lemuel A. Penn.

A minister from Chattanooga, Tenn, who said he represented the Dixie Knights of the KKK opened the meeting with a prayer. "Our Father, who art in Heaven," he said solemnly, "...put grace and grip in the white Causasian people...to destroy the black ape race." members turned to the lighted cross, their left arms raised in a stiff, Nazi-like salute. One speaker was Charlie Maddox of Savannah (unmasked

Mr. Venable said the six other Klan groups in Georgia are the U.S. Klan, the Improved U.S. Klan, the Associated Klans of Georgia, Dixie Klans, Federat Klans, and National Knights of the KKK, Inc. Mr. Venable is imperial wizard of the latter grou as well as chairman of the national association embracing all six. He said the association also has groups from Fla., S.C., La., Miss., Tenn. and Ohio.

7th { Calvin Craig is Ga. grand dragon of the United Klans of America

WP - 10-8-63

"You'll never be able to convict a white man what kills a nigger that encroaches on the white race in the South. They tried it in Phila (Miss.) and over in Meridian ville (Ga.) [Ala.] You see a jury there last night turn 'em Scott free. Now Mr. Hoover & Mr. Johnson, what do you say about that?"

Memo from MONTEZ ALBRIGHT

KKK--LOUISIANA

~~XXXXXXX~~
1-19-64, ~~X~~ CORE asked the FBI to investigate 150 crosses burned in five parishes last night.

1-20-64. Baton Rouge--Police reported more than 20 crosses were burned in various sections of Baton Rouge Saturday night. (An anonymous caller had told the Morning Advocate that 100 corsses would be burned.) Last September klansmen burned crosses in 12 or more cities and towns across the state, mainly in the so-called Florida parishes of Louisiana--an area of 5,000 sq. miles.

Crosses reported: Clinton--3, add'l in rural area around Clinton; and in Ethel, Zachary, Baker, Covington, Abita Springs, Slidell, and Folsom.

May 4, 1964. Denham Springs--About 300 to 500 klansmen attended a klan meeting held 12 miles east of Baton Rouge. (A Baton Rouge television newsman was beaten not far from here recently when he tried to film a meeting believed to be a klan gathering.)

Before the meeting started, members were warned to leave weapons in cars and to keep hoods on. One group drove to meeting in Washington Parish School bus. Newsmen were not allowed to take pictures; afterwards klan members handed out Polaroid snapshots.

May 30, 1964. Natchitoches--City attorney Arthur Watson said he intended to prosecute klansmen who recently prevented a Negro band from playing at a white prom. Sheriff Sam James, who also appeared at a meeting of some 250 white parents, promised to provide protection for a Negro band engaged for a forthcoming dance at an all-white parochial school.

The city attorney said a man who identified himself as the head of the Louisiana klan insisted the Klan was not responsible, and that all the men involved wore street clothes and no klan symbols were in evidence. The man also asked him not to prosecute if complaints were filed.

June 1, 1964. Bogalusa. A statewide meeting of the KKK will be held in Alexandria on July 11. The meeting was announced at a Washington Parish KKK metting Saturday night attended by about 500 robed and hooded men. An unidentified speaker said 10,000 members were expected to attend the Alexandria rally.

July 11--?

LOUISIANA

Atl.Journal, 1-20-64
Burning Crosses Flood Louisiana

More than 150 crosses were burned in what appeared a well-organized move. Crosses were reported in five parishes last night, near Negro homes, churches, and schools, mostly in East Baton Rouge Parish.

Oct. 19, 1964. Baton Rouge--Gordon Flory, AFL-CIO legislative leader, said he believes KKK and WCC activity is stirring up Goldwater sentiment in labor unions. "I know there is some sentiment among our people for Mr. Goldwater," he said, "I think the primary reason for this is that the KKK and WCC have been able to infiltrate our organization."

Nov. 4, 1964. New Orleans. 13 crosses were burned Monday night in central and northeast Louisiana, some of them at polling places being used in Tuesday's election.

Alexandria police siad 8 crosses were burning in the central Louisiana city and surrounding area. Monroe and West Monroe police confirmed five burnings in their area.

A CORE worker, Dave Kramer, put number of burnings in Monroe at 7.

Nov. 7, 1964. Alexandria. Lynn Foreman, 22, city employe, was fired, sentenced to 15 days in jail and fined $100 after pleading guilty to trying to burn a KKK cross in front of the City Court building on election eve.

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Att J-C - 9-6-64
by Paul Vanderline "Rally Heard
Klan Contrals, 9 States"
(politically)

Louisiana - 10,000 members

Ohio - member predicted that in few years his state will have double the no. it had in the 1940's, some 45,000.

Natl Orgo of Klans federation of 19
Klan groups across nation

Miss.

United Klans of America Miss., Realm, E. L. McDonald
Grand dragon

NYT - 7-25-64

La - Bill Hendrix, Goldsmer, La.,
former imperial wizard of KKK
is organizing a group called the
"American Underground" to fight
the Civil Rights Act.
"We will fight legally as far as
we can," he said, "and violently
when necessary." He said the new
org. had members in La., Ala.,
Miss., & La.

KKK--MISSISSIPPI

Feb. 2, 1964--Vicksburg--7 different Vicksburg locations Friday night saw crosses burning. An anonymous caller had telephoned a Vicksburg Post newsman and told him where corsses would be burned. Vicksburg police checked out 7 reports of crosses burning. (Two weeks ago a caller telephoned Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Admocate and told of cross burnings in the city; one week ago a caller called Jackson Clarion-Ledger and warned of cross-burnings in southern Mississippi.

March 22, 1964. McComb. The KKK has delivered foot to a needy Negro family according to a salvation army official. He said four Klansmen dressed in traditional robes Wednesday night visited a Negro family with 13 children and delivered food. They obtained the name from him.

April 25, 1964. Greenville--A rash of cross burnings throughout Mississippi in recnet nights brought a sharp denouncement from Greenville police chief W. C. Burnley, who said it appeared "obvious" the burnings were the work of the klan. There were at least three in the Greenville area. Others appeared in Jackson, Greenwood, Canton, Hattiesburg, Fayette, Meridian, Natchez, Vicksburg, Utica, Prentiss, Crystal Springs, & Winona.

May 13, 1964. Canton, Miss. The director of the State Sovereignty Commission, Earle Johnston, Jr. today irged Mississippians not to join "any secret organization which might have well-meaning motives, but could get out of hand under emotional leadership."

May 17, 1964. McComg--At an outdoor rally of about 1,000 persons (sponsored by the klan but with no one appearing in klan costume) the head of the United Klans of America (Shelton) hailed Gov. Geo. Wallace of Ala. and urged other southern governors and congressmen to rally behind Wallace's camapign in the north.

May 18, 1964. A Pike County klan leader claimed the secret organization's membership totals 100,000 in Mississippi. J. E. Thornhill Sr. of Summit said at a klan rally Saturday night, "We have somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000 down here; we have about 95,000 members in the state. When questioned about the attitude of law enforcement officers toward the klan, he said "They haven't bothered us, besides, a lot of them are members anyway. The rally was sponsored by the Pike County KKK chapter and Phillip Brady, a McComb selectman and radio station owner, introduced Imperial Wizard Robt. M. Shelton, speaker.

May 24, 1964. Jackson--Claims have been made by some acknowledged klansmen that membership in Mississippi now exceeds 90,000, including some law enforcement officers and public officials. Intelligence being gathered by state authorities here indicates the klan is busily organizing in every part of the state, but that the membership is more in the number of 7,000.

There was a rash of cross burning over the state--in 64 counties--on a recent weekend designed to show klan strength.

Sept. 29, 1964. Natchez--E. L. McDonald, grand dragon of the Mississippi klan, issued a denial that the kaln was responsible for any bombings in this area. He was specifically referring to two Friday night bombings which damaged the homes of a Negro and Mayor John Nosser.

Oct. 2, 1964. Winona-- The weekly Winona Times said editorially Thursday that the KKK was as "dangerous to civilization as the 'wrongs' they so self-righteously claim they oppose." The newspaper described the

the klan as a "Southern Gestapo" which retarded the growth of the state.

Nov. 27, 1964. Laurel. A labor union has told its members to arm themselves against the KKK and stand ready to fight. The announcement was signed by all 18 officials of Local 5443 of the International Woodworkers of America, AFL-CIO and was issued after a union official was beaten by masked men.

Most union members are among the some 3,000 workers at the Masonite Corp plant which under federal pressure recently adopted a policy of nondiscrimination in job placement. Otis Matthews, 41, asst. business manager of the local, told officers he was abducted and whipped with a strap on Nov. 16 while en route home from work. He was treated at a hospital. He said the hooded men blockaded the lonely road and took him from his car at gun point.

Nov. 28, 1964. Belief is growing among moderate leaders here that a KKK
N.Y.T. mob of at least 50 persons plotted the murder of Michael H. Schwerner at least six weeks before he and two other civil rights leaders were slain last summer.

Nov. 26, 1964. Drew Pearson in Washington Post. Emmet Thornhill of McComb called Drew Pearson the other day and told him, "I've been out of that outfit (the klan) since they dropped the first three bombs. Let the law handle it, not the klan. This is not why we organized the klans. I thought they were a God-fearing outfit when I got into them. I didn't know they were doing this kind of thing. I'm against it."

Thornhill is a walthy oil man, several times a millionaire, who Pearson had reported was high up in the klan and had invluence with the McComb police force.

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

WP - 10-7-64 "Most Southerners Regard Reborn Klan w/ Contempt" Paul Good.

McComb, Miss. arrests for bombing N homes turned up Klan membership cards in suspects' cache of weapons.

Membership in 20's estimated at 1,000,000!

Today - 75,000 - drawn largely from ranks of ill-educated + economically impatent.

2 major groups: United Klans of Am. Inc & Natl KKK Ass'n.

Washington Post, 4-26-64 ~~LOUISIANA~~

Crosses Set Aflame Across Mississippi Miss.

Cross burnings, most of them about 10:00 p.m. on April 24th, included the following places: Greenville (at least 3), Jackson, Greenwood, Canto Hattiesburg, Fayette, Meridian, Natchez, Vicksburg Utica, Prentiss, Crystal Springs, and Winona. Several other burnings had been reported around the state in recent days.

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Resist. Gps - KKK

Klansman Resigns in McComb

By Drew Pearson

I received an interesting phone call the other day from a Mississippian who has been active in the Ku Klux Klan, Emmet Thornhill of McComb.

Pearson

Thornhill is a wealthy oil man, several times a millionaire, who I had reported was high up in the Klan and had influence with the McComb police.

"I've been out of that outfit ever since they dropped the first three bombs," Thornhill told me. "Let the law handle it, not the Klan.

"This is not why we organized the Klans. I thought they were a God-fearing outfit when I got into them. I didn't know they were doing this kind of thing. I'm against it.

"There never has been a colored church that I haven't contributed something to. I put up $1000 for several. I have lots of friends among the colored people. I have to do business with 'em all the time; I sign oil leases on their property. This publicity you've given me has hurt me with 'em."

I asked Thornhill if it was not true that when the Klan held a big rally on the McComb fair grounds last July he had helped organize it.

"I paid for the advertising and the broadcast for Shelton," he replied, referring to Bob Shelton, Grand Dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan and ardent supporter of Gov. George Wallace.

"But I got out of this outfit the first time three bombs were thrown in Burgland."

Thornhill referred to a Negro community which is part of McComb.

"I'm not in favor of beating a colored man out of a single dime," Thornhill continued. "I've never been against the Nigras. I don't believe in beating Nigras in any way.

"You said my son was a member of the McComb auxiliary police. He's not. He makes $28,000 a month."

"You mean $28,000 a year?" I asked, thinking I had misunderstood.

"No, $28,000 a month," Thornhill corrected. "He makes it from oil wells and hauling oil."

I asked Thornhill what he thought of the petition just signed by 650 McComb residents backing law and order and equal opportunities for Negroes.

"That petition is like one I suggested seven months ago," he replied. "It demonstrates what I said, but at that time nobody paid any attention to it."

Thornhill and Gregory

I am delighted to publish Mr. Thornhill's present views on both the Klan and the race problem, and to give him the benefit of the doubt on his treatment of Negroes. And I would like to go further and make a suggestion whereby Mr. Thornhill may undo any injustice he was responsible for when he promoted the big Klan rally for Grand Dragon Shelton.

Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian, is trying to raise money for 20,000 turkeys to be flown to Mississippi just before Christmas. He thought he had part of the turkey money raised from the Liston-Clay fight, but the bout fizzled.

Probably there is no man in America, even Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who is more hated by the Ku Klux Klan than Dick Gregory. He has given up performance fees of more than $6000 a week to raise money for the Freedom Movement in Mississippi and elsewhere.

Likewise, there is no organization more hated by Dick Gregory than the Ku Klux Klan.

However, if a man who has now renounced the Klan, such as Emmett Thornhill, should join in Dick Gregory's drive to give turkeys to the less privileged people of Mississippi—both white and black—it would prove beyond any possible doubt that he means what he says about a fair break for Negroes.

This being Thanksgiving Day, it might be a significant time to show that two men, with different backgrounds and different philosophies, can agree on the basic principles of the Founding Fathers.

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, approximately 350 years ago, they were seeking a new land where they could be free from Old World prejudices. And after one year of living in the New World, they gave thanks for the fact that they had made a start toward that goal.

Since that time, we have gone a long way toward that goal when it comes to material things. But we have faltered of late in spiritual things, we have faltered in the important goal of "love thy neighbor as thyself."

The people of McComb, Miss., where I was last month, have been among the worst sinners when it comes to this goal. No city west of Saigon has been more torn by the bombs of bigotry. No city has had more churches and Negro homes destroyed.

But recently, 650 of McComb's citizens have turned the town to face the other direction. I am delighted that Emmett Thornhill, former financial backer of the Ku Klux Klan, has turned with them, and I hope he'll go further along with a man he probably doesn't like, Dick Gregory, in healing the wounds of hate.

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MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL

p. 8

Date: NOV 13 1964

Ku Klux Klan

also Mississippi

Winona Weekly Lambasts KKK

Terms Klan Is 'Repugnant To Civilization'

WINONA, Miss., Nov. 12. — (AP) — The weekly Winona Times said editorially Thursday the Ku Klux Klan was as "dangerous to civilization as the 'wrongs' they so self-righteously claim they oppose."

The newspaper described the Klan as a "Southern Gestapo" which retarded the growth of the state.

"If there is one thing Winona or Montgomery County or Mississippi does not need in the least," the Times said, "it is a group of hooded, self-appointed administrators of 'justice,' who themselves are as dangerous to civilization as the 'wrongs' they so self- righteously claim they oppose.

"For as long as Mississippi must continue to put up with bombings, brutal murders and needless violence, our growth will be retarded our finer points obscured, and we will remain the object of the nation's scorn."

The Times said on the eve of the presidential election the Klan distributed pamphlets in the area indicting everything from the Communist Party to public officials who deal with bi-racial groups.

"It is precisely this type of half-witted, irresponsible tension-inciting claptrap that causes trouble. The very idea of grown men, in many instances leaders of their communities and respected church members, participating in the underworld tactics espoused by the Klan is repugnant to the very concept of civilization," the Times said.

June 25th Jones, in interview w/ Ethel Stead now Va. Pilot staff writer, said est. N.C. Klan strength at "under 100,000."

K.K.K.--NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh News & Observer, Aug. 23, 1964, series by Oliver Williams on the Klan in North Carolina (condensed)

A surveillance of Klan activities by state and local law enforcement agencies reveals:

1) strongest in Northeast, principally Wilson, Nash, Martin, Halifax and Warren Counties. In this area enforcement officials believe Klan has upwards of 1,600 followers who are either members or sympathizers. (Klan claims 59 Klaverns in state; about half of state membership here.) Survey believes from 3,000 to 4,000 Klan members & sympathizers in state.

Klan is weak west of Raleigh (although Grand Dragon and four others in top positions are from Salisbury) In January sources said Klan had only 525 paying members, with 13 Klaverns and 12 more being organized. Today the FBI indicates the Klan has 35 to 40 Klaverns. Six years ago the FBI counted no more than 150 Klansmen in state; had names of practically all in their files.)

When Klan announced "show of strength" prior to Democratic primary, crosses were supposed to burn in 55 areas; only 13 did burn, 11 in eastern counties mentioned above) and mainly on court house lawns.

Hillsboro, Aug. 5, 1964. About 400 spectators including a number of students from Duke and University of North Carolina and a number of women and babies attended rally.

Salisbury, Aug. 10, 1964. The State grand dragon of the Klan said Sunday night employes of news media will be barred from taking pictures or attending future Klan rallies.

Cross-burning Saturday night--2,000 spectators and 250 robed klansmen. A small fire was extinguished before it did much damage at a Negro church near Salisbury shortly after Klan rally ended.

Salisbury, Jan. 11, 1964. The commander of the Salisbury Nat'l Guard unit said Friday a KKK rally originally scheduled for the armory here Jan. 25 will not be held in the guard facility. Capt. Leroy P. Spoon of Charlotte said he will "definitely break the contract" under which the armory was being rented to the klan.

Salisbury
Jan. 25, 1964. Klansmen from at least six southern states were expected at the regional meeting of the Knights of the KKK, to be held at a farm near the Dunn's Mountain community.

Durham, March 26, 1964. The KKK will stage a rally Sat. on the outskirts of Chapel Hill. Featured speakers will include John R. "Bob" Jones of Salisbury, N.C. grand dragon, and Robt. Shelton of Ala., imperial grand wizard. Expected are about 100 members from S.C. and Ga., with 200 to 300 from neighboring klaverns.

Williamston, May 2, 1964. Posters announcing a KKK rally May 9 at 8 p. m. have been widely circulated.

May 28 - 50 Crosses were burned in 50 N.C. Counties at 10:00 p.m.

Raleigh, June 6, 1964. The KKK denied Friday that cross burnings the week of theMay 30 primary were intended to affect the vote outcome. Allen Bailey, campaign manager for Dr. I. Beverly Lake, has issued statements claiming the crossburnings had contributed to his candidates defeat.

KKK, N.C. continued:

Wilson, June 9, 1964. An estimated 2,300 people attended a KKK rally near here, sponsored by the Wilson county Improvement Assn. More than 100 klansmen and several klanswomen participated in the crossburning ceremony.

Raleigh, June 13, 1964. The grand dragon of the N.C. KKK, J. R. Jones of Granite Quarry, has indirectly endorsed Dan K. Moore for governor in the Juen 27 run-off Democratic primary. He did this by saying he would not vote for the opposition candidate, and neither would any klansman. (active dues-paying members believed to be not more than 1,000.)

Granite Quarry, June 21, 1964. N.C. KKK grand dragon Robt. Jones and about 250 klansmen from the Elm City area "advised" a group of 12 northern teenagers and two adults to leave Elm City. The group, which returned Thursday night to Pittsburg, Pa., were in town to assist the Rev. James H. Costen, pastor of the Negro Presbyterian churches in Elm City and Rocky Mount. Jones said the Northerners "had been living with a bunch of niggers since Sunday and the white people were mad as the devil."

The group was sponsored by the United Presbyterian Church and its purpose was to paint the church and to conduct a Bible school. Costen said the project was entirely church-related and not a civil rights action.

Charlotte, June 22, 1964. The United Presbyterian Church, USA has been asked to send another white group to Elm City, this time of college age, to replace the high school students and adult advisors from the Mt. Lebanon Church who left town at the request of the KKK. The Executive and Field Service Commission of the church's Synod of Catawba asked that older students be sent and said it was prepared to send a group of ministers also to lend moral support by its presence. The telegram said, in part: "Yielding to such threats as these (of the Klan) place our church in an embarrassing position..."

June 27 - Rally ~~announced~~ in Burgaw Sat. night.

Greensboro Daily News, July 13, 1964. Gov. Sanford assured the interracial group planning to arrive in Rocky Mount Monday night and then proceed to Elm City, that it will have full protection of the law and that the state will back up local officials. He warned the Klan to stay out of the matter of who is painting a Negro church.

Enfield, Aug. 8, 1964. A white civil rights worker Sat. asked state and federal protection from "racial terrorism" for Halifax County Negroes. John R. Salter, Jr. said there was "rapidly mounting klan activity here which resulted in the attempt about midnight Sat. to burn down the store owned by Curtis Pittman of Enfield." He also mentioned incidents of armed and robed klansmen riding thru Negro sections on "intimidation raids." "Crosses have been burned in front of Negro homes and anonymous threats have been made against civil rights workers," he said. Several large fuel tanks stood about 25 yards from the store and had the fire really developed, it could have easily ignited the tanks and destroyed homes in the surrounding Negro community. A large amount of kerosene had been poured on the side of the store and ignited. Police Chief F. C. Sykes refused to answer questions and said Salter "is just a trouble maker..."

Chief F. C. Sykes of Enfield says there have been three crosses burned in the town and six outside the town in a year and a half. He said there had been no increase in racial incidents.

Negroes say the figure is higher, and that crosses have been burned elsewhere in the county. A spokesman for the Negroes said the first cross in the Enfield area was burned in late April, 1963. Others followed, this year, on July 4, Sept. 2, several on Sept. 3, and Sept. 21. A disputed store fire was also reported on July 30. They believe a new klavern has been organized in protest of a local Negro voter registration drive.

(the Klan has scheduled rallies over the weekend at Goldsboro, plans one for Louisburg next Sat. night, and another at Lexington on Oct. 24.

Goldsboro, Oct. 12, 1964. The KKK burned a 55 ft. cross and urged a crowd of about 2,000 to fight thru the ballot box for white supremacy. Speakers criticiaed N. C. newspapers, "most" churches, Gov. Sanford, President Johnson, and Hubert Humphrey, and Dr. M. L. King.

Persons with cameras were escorted to the grand dragon by security guards; persons identifying themselves as newsmen were welcomed by the grand dragon and assigned security guards.

Winston-Salem, Oct. 24, 1964. The KKK burned a cross in a field near Clemmons (Forsyth County) last night--but not without difficulty. Two different meeting places leased to them were cancelled when two owners in succession had a change of heart and a third was obtained at the last minute--a field at Pfafftown belonging to Constable Lucien Mabe, first cousin of R. L. Mabe, exalted cyclops of Forsyth County's klan.

A small army of law enforcement officers was present, with a sizable band of highwaypatrolmen. At 8 p.m. Sheriff Ernie Shore had a bigger crowd than the grand dragon did. But a large group came in as the meeting was being postponed. Speakers were the grand dragon from Florida, Imp. Wizard Shelton of Ala., J. R. Jones, and Geo. Dorsett of Greensboro, chaplain of the klans's security guards. He seemed chiefly opposed to the law enforcement pfficers in the crowd.

Nov. 4, 1964, Dunn. The first public meeting of the KKK in Harnett county in more than 25 years drew about 5,000 to 6,000 people.

Knightdale, Nov. 9, 1964. A torrential rainfall dampened a KKK meeting here Sunday night. While 30 robed klansmen and another 50 dripping persons retreated to their cars, Jones mounted the platform and addressed his followers. There were about 100 cars and most of the 300 or so people present preferred to remain in them. A kerosene lighted cross was burned.

Greensboro Nov. 15, 1964. In an interview, the grand dragon of the N.C. klan refused to give membership figures, but laughed at estimates of news reporters that the total state membership is 2,000 to 3,000. He also announced futur e meetings as follows: Nov. 15, Beauford, Sunday, Lenoir, Nov. 28, Winston-Salem, Nov. 29, Durham (at civic center).

Wilson, ~~xxx29x~~ 11-28-64. Four unmasked men in KKK robes walked out of a racially integrated Thanksgiving Day service here yesterday (Nov.26) when a Negro minister arose to read the Scripture. An estimated 250 persons, including not more than a dozen Negroes, attended the service sponsored by the W Wilson Ministers Asso. in the First Baptist Church. The pastor, the Rev. John Wilson, president of the Asso., termed the walkout "sacriligeous." There have never been any incidents at racially integrated Easter sunrise services held in Wilson in the past.

Richomnd, Oct. 12, 1964. Richmond News Leader, "Klan Loses Ground in N.C." ~~xxxKpjxxG~~ by John Gunn.

N.C SBI director Walter Anderson was quoted as saying that paid membership in the klan has dropped off ~~s~~ considerably since several schools in the northeastern part of the state desegregated peacefully last month.

At one time in August the membership may have reached 6,000; today it is about 600, he said. While membership is on~~e~~ the downgrade, law enforcement officers are still maintaining close surveillance. "Any organization that can arm itself" is dangerous, Anderson said.

NORTH CAROLINA

~~x~~N.Y.Times, 9-6-64
Big Gains Scored by Carolina Klan

A new Ku Klux Klan, which began raising its firey crosses over N.C. 12 months ago, has become the biggest and strongest Klan organization in this state in 40 years. The organization has spread rapidly into a majority of the counties in eastern and Piedmont N.C. Only in the mountainous west has the Klan failed to gain a foothold. As one high Klan official told reporters recently,"There ain't no niggers in the mountains."

While no more than 3,000 persons are dues-paying members, several times that many N.C. are active sympathizers who attend rallies, donate money and follow the Klan's line in politics. More than 40 Klaverns, or local units, meet weekly across the state in lodge halls, private dining rooms, business places and Klansmen's homes.

The Anti-Defamation League, which monitors Klan activity all over the country, now believes the N.C. is among the four most active states in a national Klan revival. The others are Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

present organization seems to be dominated by men i in their 20s and 30s; leader J. Robert Jones, forme sailor, bricklayer and lightning-rod salesman.He is Grand Dragon of the state Klan.

While the Klan's bloc of votes is almost certainly too small to be significant in statewaide races, the Klan still may wield political influence in scattered small towns and rural communities where anti-Negro sentiment is intense.

Despite the new Klan's insistence that it will stic to politics to achieve goals, there have been strong indications that threats, intimidation and even violence are still part of Klan's operations.

Ambivalent leaders: "We are not a violent order, b but it's better to die for something than to live fo. nothing."

"We really mean it (disclaimer of violence) but you gotta watch these young boys. They'll go off and do anything."

Memo

from MONTEZ ALBRIGHT

Resistance Groups - KKK
NY Times
34 9-6-64

BIG GAINS SCORED BY CAROLINA KLAN

Resurgence Most Vigorous Since the Early 1920s

Special to The New York Times

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 5 —A new Ku Klux Klan, which began raising its fiery crosses over North Carolina 12 months ago, has become the biggest and strongest Klan organization in this state in 40 years.

Not since the early nineteen-twenties, when Klansmen were elected in numbers to the State Legislature, has North Carolina witnessed so vigorous a resurgence of the robed order.

Gov. Terry Sanford and state law enforcement officials, worried about the Klan's potential for violence, have kept a careful watch as the organization has spread rapidly into a majority of the counties in eastern and Piedmont North Carolina.

Only in the mountainous west has the Klan failed to gain a

foothold. As a Klan official told reporters recently: "There ain't no niggers in the mountains."

Many Sympathizers

While no more than 3,000 persons are dues-paying members of the Klan, several times that many North Carolinians are active sympathizers who attend rallies, donate money and follow the Klan's line in politics.

More than 40 klaverns, or local units, meet weekly across the state in lodge halls, private dining rooms, business places and Klansmen's homes.

The Anti-Defamation League, which monitors Klan activity all over the country, now believes that North Carolina is among the four most active states in a national Klan revival. The others are Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee.

The league, along with law enforcement men and other students of the Klan, is convinced that Klan operations in North Carolina today are far more widespread and well-organized than in any other period since the nineteen-twenties.

While the new Klan in North Carolina has its share of older men who are veterans of earlier Klans, the present organization seems to be dominated by men in their 20s and 30s, for whom this Klan adventure is their first.

Led by Former Sailor

Their leader, and the man primarily responsible for the Klan revival in the state, is J. Robert Jones, 36 years old, a former sailor, bricklayer and lightning-rod salesman. He is the Grand Dragon of the state Klan.

Jones, the son of a Salisbury, N. C., railroading family, now devotes all his time to organizing new klaverns and encouraging old ones. He says he has driven 75,000 miles in the last year in behalf of the Klan.

It all began, Jones said in a recent interview, in June, 1963, when he got eight friends together to discuss Communism and the civil rights movement.

"We decided something had to be done," Jones recalled, "whether it was on a local or national basis."

After three nights of talk, Jones and his friends agreed to revive the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina and to affiliate with United Klans of America, Inc., the biggest of several national Klan organizations.

Political Strength Doubted

North Carolina's Grand Dragon and his youthful lieutenants insist that their group has disavowed violence as a means for preserving white supremacy. Their energies will be directed instead toward politics, they contend.

Political observers in North Carolina, however, are virtually unanimous in dismissing the Klan as a serious political force in statewide elections.

While the Klan's bloc of votes is almost certainly too small to be significant in statewide races, the Klan still may wield political influence in scattered small towns and rural communities where anti-Negro sentiment is intense.

Despite the new Klan's insistence that it will stick to politics to achieve its goals, there have been strong indications that threats, intimidation and even violence are still part of the Klan's operations.

Potential for Violence

The Klan's own leaders are ambivalent in public statements on the subject. Nearly every disclaimer of violence has been coupled with an implicit threat of violence.

"We are not a violent order," one speaker told a crowd of cheering Klansmen recently, "but it's better to die for something than to live for nothing."

Law enforcement officials believe that whatever the Klan leaders' real views of violence are, the Klan's greatest potential for violence rests with individuals who may decide, without authorization, to translate violent oratory into violent action.

One veteran Klansman from eastern North Carolina summed

summed it all up when asked whether the Klan was serious when it disclaimed violence:

"We really mean it," he said. "But you gotta watch these young boys. They'll go off and do anything."

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WINSTON - SALEM
JOURNAL (N.C.)

Date SEP 30 1964

Minister Tells Of Klan Threats

FARMVILLE (AP) — A Raleigh minister yesterday told of being threatened, harassed and illegally searched Saturday night while attending a Ku Klux Klan rally with his wife and two fellow clergymen.

The Rev. Jack Crum, a Methodist, said he was forced to surrender a roll of film to a so-called Klan security guard clad in military regalia, including a helmet, boots and club.

Before the group could leave the rally, at a field near Farmville, they were shaken down by J. R. Jones of Granite Quarry, grand dragon of the North Carolina Klan, he said.

In driving away from the rally, the clergymen noticed that a tire was flat. They continued anyway, stopping to change the tire when they reached a nearby road where a highway patrolman was directing traffic.

"Through my lifetime, I've only been searched and had something of my personal belongings taken from me against my will in two places," Crum said. "One of those places was in Communist Russia; the other was at the Ku Klux Klan meeting."

The State Bureau of Investigation has been called into the case.

Crum went to the rally with two Farmville clergymen, the Rev. Gordon Kendall, a Catholic, and the Rev. Tom Taylor, an Episcopalian.

"We went because we had heard there was a rally, the public was invited and we wanted to know more about the Klan because of its reputation," Crum explained.

The Raleigh minister, director of Christian social action for the North Carolina Council of Churches, said he doubted the Klansmen were aware he and the others were clergymen. He was carrying a camera.

"A security guard noticed the camera hanging outside my raincoat," he recalled. "'You can't take pictures,' he told me. I went to the car to put the camera up."

As he was doing this, Crum said, a Klansman in a white robe told him, "If you take pictures, that camera won't be here. You may be beaten up, too."

Mrs. Crum was carrying a small telescope in a case. As the rally continued, she decided to put it back in the car.

On returning to the vehicle, Crum said, "we were surrounded by 15, maybe more of those security guards."

"We will have to have the film in that camera," he quoted a guard as saying. "I told them I hadn't taken any pictures and had put the camera up, trying to cooperate with them. They still wanted the film.

"I had little alternative, so I gave it to them. They said they'd send it back to me.

"One of the Klansman remarked, 'I've got his license number. We'll find out who he is.'"

Crum said the Klansmen examined his wife's telescope and then asked him to open his car trunk. Kendall's mention of a search warrant, he said, was ignored.

After the last speaker, Kendall said, "Let's go home."

"A security guard stationed behind us," Crum recalled, "said, 'You're not going anywhere.'"

When Kendall challenged this, one of the guards blew a whistle and "we were surrounded by security guards," Crum said. "We were detained there without our consent for several minutes and didn't know why, and then we found out we were being held so the grand dragon could talk to us."

Crum told Jones about the earlier threat. "If a Klansman said he'd beat you up, you'd better watch out, for he'll do it," he quoted the grand dragon as saying.

After a meeting between the grand dragon and some security guards, Crum said, he was forced to empty his pockets and received a full-dress shakedown from Jones. Then they were permitted to leave.

Crum said the security guards appeared quiet and well disciplined. They used no profanity.

"They reminded me of stories I read of Nazi Brown Shirts—always eyeing people, never smiling," he said.

KKK--SOUTH CAROLINA

Feb. 3, 1964. Columbia. More than a dozen robed and hooded Klansmen appeared on downtown Columbia's Main Street Sunday night. A spokesman for the group said they were not demonstrating, but paying a courtesy call on the head of the local white citizens council. The klansmen had been attending a state meeting of the staff of the grand dragon of S.C., R. E. Scoggin. They had met to discuss organizational procedures for the coming year. About 11 counties were represented.

Aug. 16, 1964. Greer. A motorcade of 40 robed klansmen rode thru downtown Greer Sat. Afternoon. The motorcade of 10 cars was unexpected, but police cars escorted it thru main streets of city.

Aug. 22, 1964. Spartanburg. Robt. Scoggin, S.C. grand dragon of the United Klans of Am. said Friday the "United Klans of Am. along with many other dedicated societies in S.C." are circulating petitions urging the recall from office of Gov. Donold S. Russell. He said the recall was being sought because of the governor's "inability to represent the people of S.C. and carry out their wishes." He did not elaborate.

Aug. 24, Greenville. An estimated 500 persons gathered at a meeting of the United Knights of the KKK here Sat. night and heard three speakers verbally degrade the civil rights movement and criticize government leaders. Speakers were: Robt. Scoggins, Robt. Shelton of Ala., and Dr. Edw. Feels of Birmingham, Ala. Several state and county law enforcement officers were on hand to handle traffic and keep order.

Sept. 22, 1964. The grand dragon of the S.C. Klan, Bob Scoggins of Spartanburg, sat behind Representative presidential nominee Barry Goldwater last week at a Palmetto state appearance. Investigation revealed he was invited by L. Maurice Bessinger, who had headed the "Wallace for President" signature campaign before Gov. Wallace withdrew. He had been given some tickets to distribute.

KKK--TENNESSEE

From a

April 18, 1964. Chattanooga. Chatt. Times ed. "KKK Hall Is Taxed Again after Four Years Exemption. The Glass Street ~~bxuxi~~ building used by the Dixie Klan's Knights of the KKK was exempted from Hamilton county's property tax for the 1960, 1961, 1962, and 1963 tax years, records in the office of assessor Hoyt Selcer showed Friday.

Oct. 26, 1964. Maryville. Robed but unmasked KKK were subjected to jeers of "trick or treat" as they stationed themselves at entrances to Maryville College Sunday and handed out mimeographed sheets of paper assailing Dr. Eugene Carson Black, speaker at the college.

Dr. Blake, stated clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, spoke to about 600 area Presbyterians and visitors as part of Union Presbytery Day.

KKK--VIRGINIA

June 25, 1964. Portsmouth. In an interview with Ethel Steadman, Virginian-Pilot staff writer, J. R. Jones, grand dragon of the N.C. United Klans of America, claimed the demand for membership applications from this area has been so great the Virginia Klan called him to assist in organizing unites. He said he had "chartered three units in two days here."

Jones plans a public rally here "within the next month or six weeks" which he predicted will draw w0,000 people. He did not say where the rally will be staged, but the date and site will be advertised in advance. He left Virginia Wednesday night for West Virginia, but plans to be in Burgaw, N.C. Saturday night for a rally near there.

The membership application he hands out states, "If you are a Native-born Loyal United States Citizen, 18 years old, a White Gentile Person of Temporate Habits, of Protestant Faith, and believe in White Supremacy and Americanism, you are eligible to join the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of Ku Klux Klan."

Raleigh, Oct. 1, 1964. During a Sat. night KKK rally at Farmville, Va., the Rev. Jack Crum, a Methodist minister and director of the Christian Social Action for the N. C. Council of Churches, said he, his wife, and two fellow clergymen were twice surrounded by klansmen and at one time he was forced to hand over a camera he was carrying. Crum said a so-called security guard warned him to put away his camera and while he was in process of returning to his car to put up the camera he was told by a robed klansman, "if you take any pictures, that camera won't be here. You may be beaten up, too." The minister quoted J. R. Jones, grand dragon of the N.C. klan, as telling him, "if a klansman said he'd beat you up, you better watch out, for he'll do it." Crum said he was later subjected to a shakedown by Jones. He was also forced to hand over his roll of film.

State bureau of Investigation director Walter F. Anderson said the incident was a "local matter" and later added he could not understand why the minister had not filed his statement with the SBI.

Charlotte, Oct. 3, 1964. editorial in Charlotte Observer. "Strong Arm Methods of the Klan"

"...The Klan's security guards, whose dress and demeanor are reminiscent of the storm troopers of Nazi Germany, apparently think of themselves as a private police force armed with special authority to intimidate and order people around.

"Private citizens should by now be aware of the fact, of course, that risk is involved in attending Klan meetings out of curiosity. People who think they are a law unto themselves and who don costumes to disply their imagined superiority will not tolerate disagreement or ridicule.

"It is N.C."s shame that bedsheet bigotry is on the rise again in the state. But it would behoove the private citizen, whether he is concerned or merely curious, to depend upon law enforcement agencies to keep an eye on the Klan.

"In that connection, we disagree with SBI director Walter Anderson that the incident near Farmville should be classified merely as a 'local matter.' It has implications for the entire state.

"It is past time for authorities to use existing state law to test the Klan's legal structure. If that law is not sufficient to stop the Klan's threats against people and its clandestine activities, the 1965 General Assembly should turn its hand to strengthening the statute."

KKK. West Virginia

March 22, 1964. Hinton. The recently organized KKK chapter here has a new leader, W. E. Houchins, a 32 year old correspondence course salesman and former John Birch Society member. Houchins and Noah Palmer, plumber, organized the chapter in January "to fight mongrelization of the races." Palmer dropped out of the klan and Houchins (originally wnd in command)moved from grand dragon to imperial wizard last Monday.

Houchins said about 113 "white Protestants" from Mercer, Raleigh, Summers and Broxton counties currently comprise the group but predicted thousands would attend planned summer rallies and 1,400 would join by early June. Several rallies have been held since January, Houchins said, with an average attendance of about 75. He said he had received about 60 letters last week 40 of them from women who are worried about their daughters attending integrated schools.

Newsweek 12-21-64
KKK. Miss.

ready approved Ray Bliss, Ohio's nonsectarian GOP handyman, as Burch's eventual successor. And Bliss has agreed to serve. Ike himself put the frosting on the cake—talking up his own leadership scheme: Bliss as national chairman in tandem with Minnesota's retired Rep. Walter Judd (a conservative but no Goldwaterite) as party spokesman.

"Preposterous," said Burch.

THE SUPREME COURT:

The Bedroom Issues

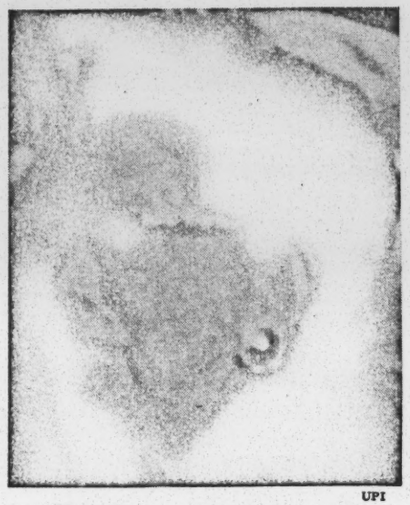
Marriage between the races is against the law in nineteen states—the eleven members of the Confederacy, plus Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Indiana, and Wyoming. But the Supreme Court shook the foundations of those ancient statutes last week.

At issue was an 83-year-old Florida "black code" making it a crime for an unmarried Negro and white to "habitually ... occupy in the nighttime the same room." For violating the law in Miami Beach in 1962, Connie Gonzalez Hoffman, an Alabama white woman, and Dewey McLaughlin, a Negro seaman from Honduras, were fined $150 each and sentenced to 30 days in jail. The Supreme Court unanimously upheld their appeal and struck down the statute.

"There is involved here," said Justice Byron R. White delivering the Court's opinion, "an exercise of the state police power which trenches upon the constitutionally protected freedom from invidious official discrimination based on race." Justice Potter Stewart, in a concurring opinion joined by Justice William Douglas, was stronger: "I think it is simply not possible for a state law to be valid under our Constitution which makes the criminality of an act depend upon the race of the actor ..."

The Court rejected a Florida argument that the law must be preserved to prevent intimacy leading to intermarriage. It did so, said Justice White, "without reaching the question of the validity of the state's prohibition against interracial marriage." But if it prudently side-stepped the miscegenation issue for the moment, few doubted that its views would demolish mixed-marriage laws as soon as the issue was directly posed.

■ The Court also agreed to hear again a case based on an 1879 Connecticut law barring the use and prescription of contraceptive devices. Passed by pious Protestants, the law has been stoutly defended since by Roman Catholics. In 1961, the court refused to rule on its constitutionality on the ground that it wasn't being enforced. But later, two Planned Parenthood members were arrested after opening a birth-control clinic in New Haven.



UPI

Miss Carter: Freedom for 19

MISSISSIPPI:

'Jesus, No!'

The last place in the world Miss Esther Carter might have chosen to be last week was the crowded little Meridian, Miss., courtroom, where she had to conduct a preliminary hearing in the matter of the June lynching of three young civil-rights workers.

Such hearings are among the usually routine duties of her office of eighteen years, as U.S. commissioner for the Southern District of Mississippi. But Miss Carter is a demure spinster in her 60s, never much of a one for personal attention; besides, like most U.S. commissioners, she isn't even a lawyer. Friends said she had asked Sidney Mize, the Federal judge who appointed her to take her off the case and run the hearing himself. Mize couldn't if he wanted to; the best he could do was send a young clerk to sit beside her and counsel on the law.

Associated Press

Mrs. Chaney: Tears for a son

So, with the eyes of her state and her nation fastened on her, Miss Esther Carter did her duty as she saw it. And when she had finished, nineteen of the 21 defendants walked away scot-free—and the prosecution, to its stunned disbelief, was left at least temporarily with no case at all.

Setback: Only six days before, the FBI had arrested nineteen of the men—including Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and Deputy Cecil Price—on conspiracy charges in the triple-killing, and two more for withholding information. Federal authorities had reckoned from the first on the difficulties of prosecuting a racial case in stubbornly segregationist Mississippi. But they plainly hadn't figured on a setback so early. All they had to do was produce enough evidence to show the probability that a crime had been committed and that the defendants had something to do with it—a burden of proof that seemed simple enough with the newest trump card in the FBI's hand.

The nineteen defendants—and almost as many lawyers—had barely settled in their seats when moon-faced Justice Department attorney Robert Owen played that card. He called FBI agent Henry Rask and asked him if he had questioned any of the accused men.

"I interviewed Horace Doyle Barnette on Nov. 19, 20, and 21," Rask replied.

"Did you get a signed confession?"

"I did."

The manful smiles faded along the row of defendants. Doyle Barnette had moved to Meridian from the Shreveport, La., area only last May—and moved back with his pregnant wife, Virginia, on Aug. 7, a bare three days after the discovery of the bodies of Mickey Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney on a tip widely rumored to have cost the FBI $25,000.

'Spending': Back home in Louisiana, where Barnette lived in a modest green duplex and worked as a meat-truck driver, he was known as a quiet, humble, God-fearing young man of 26. "His only fault," a former boss said, "was you sometimes had to hold him down on spending." But now he stood accused of being one of the ten men who actually executed the alleged Ku Klux Klan assassination plot on a back-country road—and, worse still in the eyes of some Mississippians, talking to the "Federal Bureau of Integration."

But what had he said? Members of the defense battery leaped to their feet demanding a copy of Barnette's statement. Miss Carter turned them down on that. But she upheld the defense when it objected to any further testimony about the confession as hearsay, since Barnette—arrested and scheduled for his own preliminary hearing in Louisiana—was not present. And there she held

fast, even when Owen read her a Supreme Court decision upholding the use of hearsay evidence before a grand jury in the income-tax case against gambler Frank Costello.

Thunderstruck, Owen won a recess so he could call acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach for instructions. The Justice Department's official phrase for the ruling was "totally without precedent;" unofficially, one source called it "incredible." It left the Justice command with only one recourse: to abandon the preliminary hearing entirely and take its case to a Federal grand jury (which had examined the evidence once—before Barnette's statement—and refused, reportedly by a single vote, to return indictments).

And so it played. "We will simply not produce any more evidence," Owen told Miss Carter when the hearing reconvened. With that, Miss Carter dismissed the charges, freed the nineteen, and ordered their bail—a total of nearly $100,000—refunded. Next day in Biloxi, at the government's request, U.S. Commissioner Verta Lee Swetman freed a twentieth defendant. And that left only Barnette still nominally charged; he was free on $5,000 bail.

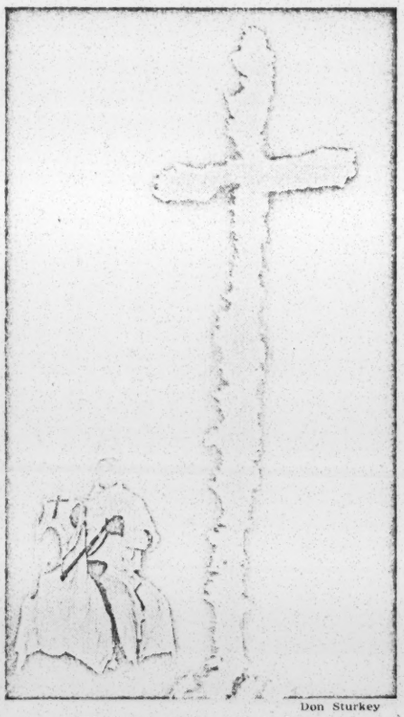
Anti-Klan Speeches: The nineteen were jubilant. Sheriff Rainey and Deputy Price had returned to duty as quickly as they could post bail the day of their arrests, smiling, bantering, shaking hands with well-wishers; their chief counsel, Laurel Weir, talked of raising a defense fund out of public donations. But not everyone seemed to wish them well. Down home in Philadelphia, Miss., the preachers—breaking a long silence—had begun talking about law and order and justice. During the week, Rainey and Price turned up at the Mississippi Sheriff's Association convention in Jackson, heard a fresh round of anti-Klan speeches—and watched the sheriffs pass a resolution praising J. Edgar Hoover.

But now, the ex-defendants left court in a glow of vindication. Never mind that the government planned to press its case before the grand jury; Miss Carter's ruling, the fourteen defense lawyers said in a joint statement, was tantamount to a finding of "not guilty" in a prosecution forced on the President and the FBI by Martin Luther King Jr. Never mind, too, the little knot of demonstrators—James Chaney's weeping mother among them—outside the courthouse, or the Negro woman who swooned to the sidewalk moaning, "Jesus, Jesus, no!" The charges were lifted; while some of the nineteen retired to the Davis Grill across the street, Rainey and Price handshook their way through a sidewalk crowd, and a Meridian cop drawled, "Ole Rainey could be elected governor now."

Ku Klux Klan's White Knights

They Practice a Mississippi Brand of Klansmanship

From every corner of Mississippi they came, in pickups and jalopies and shiny big cars, churning up swirls of brick-red dust on the normally deserted web of backwoods roads in Simpson County. Security was even tighter than usual; invitation was by whisper only, and the pilgrims had to pass through four ranks of guards posted at checkpoints up to 15 miles from the meeting place—a clearing hidden deep in 10,000 acres of piney woods. There were no



Don Sturkey

Klandestine in Carolina

burning crosses to light their way, no bedsheets to identify their order. The heat was on the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—the newest and meanest of a bewildering assortment of pretenders to the century-old Invisible Empire—and the White Knights knew it.

There was, by one solid account, a crisis air about the 300-plus Klan insiders meeting in the woods that Sunday early last month. The FBI was gradually tightening the screws; its evidence had figured in more than two dozen arrests for acts of racial terrorism and intimidation, and its agents wouldn't stop nosing around in the civil-rights murders up near Philadelphia. Worse still, at the behest of segregationist Gov. Paul Johnson, even Mississippi's own highway patrol had sacked two Klan infiltrators and added its weight to the FBI pressure. They'd have to talk to Ole Paul about that. Meanwhile, there was nothing to do but continue a month-old moratorium on the worst of the violence—the killings, the church-burnings, the bombings—until the heat died down.

It didn't. Barely a month later, the FBI rounded up its 21 suspects in the Philadelphia murder case—Meridian's Exalted Cyclops and several other Klansmen among them—and laid the triple-lynching to a Klan-led conspiracy. Once again in its long, ugly history, the Klan's name loomed in black headlines. Once again, the old visions danced in the national imagination: the spectral figures in white robes and hoods, the torchlight rallies, the fiery crosses.

Klanguage: But this time the vision missed the mark. Mississippi's estimated 3,000 to 4,000 White Knights have much in common with the dozen or more major competing Klans now active in the South. They share the same fanciful titles, the same taste for alliterative Klanguage, the same wide-ranging bigotries (not only against Negroes but, according to a Mississippi recruiting leaflet, against "Jews ... Papists ... Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Orientals ... [and] any other person whose native background or culture is foreign to the Anglo-Saxon system of government ...").

But the Mississippi Klan has an all-business turn of mind; it has no taste for bedsheets or public Konclaves, and, during the peak months of last summer's civil-rights campaign, Klan-style night riders burned more churches than crosses in Mississippi. The White Knights are a home-grown Mississippi product, barely ten months old, and their brand of Klansmanship is custom-tailored to suit a deep, dark strain in the Mississippi soul. This Klan is tough. It is insular. It is more secretive than most; its suspected state leader, a small-town pinball-machine man, is so reluctant a Dragon that he denies being head man. For some of its members, indeed, the Klan is hardly more than a name and an organizational convenience for vigilante activities of the sort that have always scarred Mississippi history.

Through most of the state's history, in fact, even the deepest-dyed-in-the-woolhat segregationists felt safe without a Klan; in a state so monolithic from the governor's office down in its dedication to preserving the color line, who needed bedsheets? Even in the bitter Reconstruction days after the Klan was

Here are Twenty Reasons WHY you should, if qualified, join, aid and support the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi:

1. Because it is a Christian, fraternal and benevolent organization.
2. Because it is a democratic organization, governed by its members.
3. Because it is a dedicated and just organization.
4. Because it is a working organization which not only talks but ACTS.
12. Because the KKK has twice saved this nation from destruction as history clearly records.
13. Because there comes a time in the life of every man when he has to choose between the right or wrong side of life.
14. Because there are today many alien forces entering the United

White Knights leaflet: No Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Orientals, or foreigners need apply

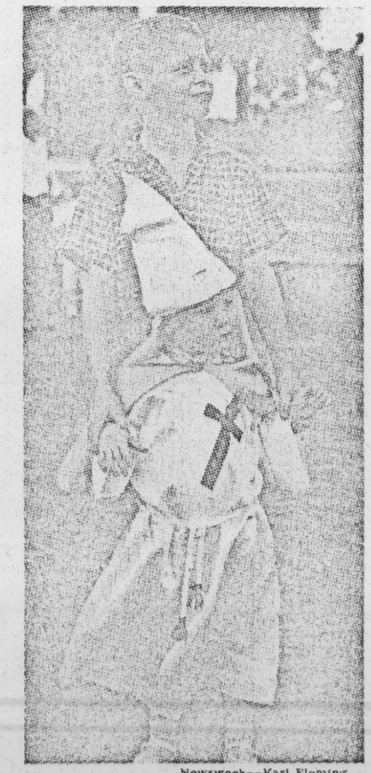
born in Pulaski, Tenn. (and christened with a corruption of the Greek word *kyklos*, or circle), the Invisible Empire found fewer subjects in Mississippi than in her sister Deep South states. So did the leaders of the great Klan revival of the 1920s, when the KKK enlisted perhaps 4 million members on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line and controlled political offices in several states. Though splintered, bickersome, and unsheeted by a succession of state anti-masking laws, the Klans stirred to new life after the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. But once again, Mississippi denied it a toehold; while bitter-enders elsewhere turned to the Klans, Mississippians united behind an intransigent state government and joined the fledgling white Citizens Councils.

Beachhead: Only when its white-collar guardians failed to hold the line against the inexorable advance of integration did Mississippi diehards turn in any real numbers to the white-sheeted apostles of the Klan. First, in July 1963, came the tough, Louisiana-based Original Ku Klux Klan, proselytizing most effectively in bellicose Southwest Mississippi. Its beachhead was partly preempted, in turn, by the South-wide United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the biggest of all the Klans with 10,000 members. One night last spring, the United flexed its muscles, burning crosses in 64 of Mississippi's 82 counties; in May, it brought Imperial Wizard Bobby Shelton over from Tuscaloosa, Ala., for a rally at gritty McComb—the state's first public Klan gathering in memory.

But by then, the White Knights had ridden into the lists to compete for members—and ultimately to eclipse its rivals. Some Klan leaders were irked at the fat cut of local dues siphoned off by the out-of-state headquarters of the United and the Originals. Some found Shelton's United too tepid, besides. Its talk is tough, and two of its members were tried (and acquitted) this year in the shotgun murder of Negro educator Lemuel Penn near Athens, Ga. But the United is the most public—and the most public-relations-minded—of all the major Klans; it favors open, family-plan rallies, attended even by pre-school toddlers. Moreover, Mississippi was still Mississippi, distrustful of strangers.

The dissidents met last February in Brookhaven, formed the Mississippi-only White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and started recruiting. They papered the state with leaflets full of Armageddon-tinged warnings about the "Jew-Communist" civil-rights movement and the scarcely veiled rhetoric of violence. "The issue is clearly one of personal, physical SELF-DEFENSE or DEATH for the American Anglo-Saxons," said one broadside, posted—among other places—on the bulletin board in Philadelphia's Neshoba County courthouse.

Fueled by such heady talk, the White Knights built on a modest foundation—some 480 members by spring—to its present strength, eight to ten times the size of the straggling remnants of the United. At the same time, the equally strident Americans for the Preservation of the White Race started signing up recruits. The growth of both groups paralleled the rise in integrationist pressures on Mississippi: the summer student "invasion," the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the court-ordered school integration this fall. And it was accompanied by a rising tide of terrorism.



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

Georgia rally: Toddlers, too

Warning: The Klans have been a mounting problem in other states as well. But their aggregate size—under 20,000 members by solid estimates—has been held in check by their own bad press, by Dixie's growing acceptance of the inevitability of integration, and by stern control measures. In North Carolina, Klansmen threatened businessmen sponsoring integrated Christmas parades scheduled for last week in two towns. When he got wind of the threats, moderate Gov. Terry Sanford rushed out a warning: "I would urge all members of the KKK to read the Christmas story and the message of goodwill to all men contained in the Bible. In the meantime, I am instructing the State Highway Patrol to provide all aid necessary . . . If there are illegal acts on the part of the Ku Klux Klan, they will be prosecuted." There was no trouble.

Mississippi has learned that lesson well this year. Governor Johnson and other officials mounted an anti-Klan campaign by public and private means; at one point, the governor quietly asked the state's top Masonic leaders to counsel their brother Masons not to join, and Attorney General Joe T. Patterson warned last week's Mississippi Sheriffs Association convention against being made "captive" by groups like the KKK.

But the heaviest pressure has come from the FBI. In the wake of the Philadelphia murders, Hoover opened a full-time Jackson office, called in able veteran Roy K. Moore, 50, to head it, and put up to 150 agents at a time on the Mississippi racial beat. Moore's men set up a full-time Klan division; in the space of a few months, the bureau has effectively infiltrated the White Knights. "A hell of a lot of the Klan people are now specifically known, name by name," a Justice Department official says—and

that list was the starting point in the lynch investigation. The Klan, indeed, can scarcely take a turn without an FBI man hearing about it. Even the top-secret November session in the Simpson County woods had two uninvited guests: a pair of Feds dressed as hunters who slipped the guard and looked in on the meeting.

INVESTIGATIONS:

Jenkins in January

From the start of the Bobby Baker investigation the Senate Rules Committee has imposed sensitive limits on the inquiry. "We're not," said chairman B. Everett Jordan early in the year, "investigating senators." And the Democratic majority shied away from other tender areas. They adamantly refused to subpoena Walter Jenkins—when he occupied a corner office at the White House as Lyndon B. Johnson's right hand. But Jenkins' status changed, and last week so did the committee's attitude. It decided that Walter Jenkins—disgraced, ill, and jobless since his arrest on a morals charge last October—should be called to testify.

With this reversal the committee wound up a two-week round of hearings in its revived study of Robert G. Baker, the onetime page boy who rolled up a private fortune while secretary to the Senate majority. The decision to seek testimony from Jenkins was unexplained—and it was a long time coming.

A full year ago, the committee's star informant against Baker—Maryland insurance man Don B. Reynolds—publicly charged that Walter Jenkins made him buy $1,208 worth of unwanted advertising time from the Johnson family's Austin television station—as a kickback, Reynolds said, on a big life-insurance premium Lyndon Johnson had paid to Reynolds. Jenkins denied the charge in a written statement to the committee. At the time, despite Republican demands that Jenkins appear in person, Senator Jordan of North Carolina and his fellow Democrats saw no need for prying further into his story.

'Depressive Reaction': Now, Jordan announced, Jenkins would be "subpoenaed at an appropriate time" when the hearings resume in January. Jordan added that Jenkins was not called this month because a physician, Dr. Leon Yochelson, reported him in a "depressive reaction of the utmost gravity" that could be complicated by "situations of stress." Last week the former Johnson aide, responding to treatment, according to Yochelson, was on a brief golfing vacation with his wife at the Dorado Beach Hotel in Puerto Rico. Would he appear as a witness? Jenkins said only: "I'll see, after my stay here."

The committee's about-face on Jenkins was the week's big surprise. The hearings, not surprisingly, resolved no basic questions about Bobby Baker's activities. But witnesses did add new detail to the ever-growing Baedeker of Washington's world of wheeling and dealing. For instance:

■ Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon testified that, despite its generosity to Baker, the D.C. National Bank in Washington got no help from Baker when it was seeking a national charter from Saxon's office. The bank's organizers gave Bobby Baker an inside track on initial stock purchases. Nonetheless, Saxon told the committee the Washington bank would be "merged out of existence." He didn't spell out all his

Associated Press

Jenkins: Golfing in San Juan

reasons publicly but later told NEWSWEEK that the D.C. bank, which had granted Baker a loan of $125,000 in 1963 secured only by his house, had made a new loan to him "within the past few months." "It was a shock to me," said Saxon, who didn't complain about "the collectibility of the Baker loan" but about the "suitability," he said.

■ Maywood Boggs, vice president of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Forgers, and Helpers, AFL-CIO, testified that he bought $2,300 worth of Mortgage Guarantee Insurance Co. stock on Bobby Baker's recommendation in 1959 and sold it back to him for $4,600 a year later, when the stock's market value was about $32,000. "Utter stupidity" was the way Boggs described his own generosity—all the while denying that Baker helped get the FHA to approve financing a union-sponsored retirement home in Pascagoula, Miss.

■ Washington lobbyist Wayne L. Bromley, a friend of Baker's, remained silent before the committee—on constitutional grounds. But investigators testified to his unsworn story about a $5,000 check he had received as a fee for helping a California banker get a Federal charter approved by the U.S. Currency Comptroller. Bromley, according to them, said Bobby Baker had endorsed the check—from organizers of the Redwood National Bank of San Rafael, Calif.—and cashed it only so Bromley's wife would not "know about the money." Later Currency Comptroller Saxon denied Baker had intervened in the San Rafael bank's charter application. Then Saxon announced he had just demanded the resignations of [illegible] officials who had paid the check to Baker's friend Bromley. He got them.

Sharp Conflict: Before recessing, the committee agreed to ask the Justice Department to help evaluate the credibility of Reynolds, whose stories have conflicted sharply with testimony by a variety of witnesses. It was Reynolds' story that he was the bagman in a $25,000 political kickback from former Democratic Treasurer Matthew McCloskey to Bobby Baker that prompted the resumption of the Rules Committee hearings. McCloskey flatly disputed Reynolds, and the conflicting stories, at the recess, were left unresolved.

So were persistent rumors that party girls linked to Baker had been used to influence government actions. Chairman Jordan announced that the committee had decided not to investigate at least one party girl—Elly Rometsch—or reports of Democrats shaking down corporations for donations.

GOP committee members were "happy" with the decisions, Jordan amiably reported. But he was promptly corrected by Kentucky's GOP Sen. John Sherman Cooper—the only Republican present when the committee acted. "I," Cooper said, "was not happy."

DEFENSE:

Mac the Knife

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara seems to dote on a steady diet of sacred cows. Just three weeks after he streamlined the once sacrosanct inventory of surplus shipyards and military bases, McNamara took on two of the most powerful lobbies on Capitol Hill: the Reserve Officers Association and the National Guard, curators of the hoary—and expensive—concept of a vast citizens' army. At a weekend press con-

January 13, 1965

Lolis Elie, Esq.
Collins, Douglas & Elie
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Lolis:

This is to confirm the Elie - Dreyfus - Rubin telephone conference of last night.

I would appreciate your looking into the following matter at your earliest convenience:

(1) The enclosed KKK letter contains a clear threat ("Those who do attend this meeting will be tagged as intergrationists and will be delt with accordingly by the Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN."); is it actionable? Can we connect the rights guaranteed under the First Amendment (Peaceable Assembly) and those under the Fourteenth (as Leonard said, what is liberty if not freedom from this sort of intimidation?)? Can we bring suit under any of the Civil Rights provisions?

(2) Can we bring suit as an organization, LCLU vs. KKK? New York will want a voice in this.

I may be able to produce an LCLU member who (a) lives in Bogalusa, (b) had the enclosed left on his lawn at night by parties unknown, and (b) had planned to attend the Brooks Hayes meeting which was called off. (I'm in touch with him at present, but we've got to make sure that anyone who approaches him, including by mail, uses the utmost discretion. He's confined to a wheelchair and is, in Bogalusa, pathetically vulnerable to KKK reprisals. He's also a very courageous man, and has gone up against the Klan publicly.)

The enclosed KKK letter is the one which was left on his lawn.

If it is feasible, I should like this to be an LCLU case -- for selfish, organizational reasons. In addition, I should not like to have our member bring the action; it will be bad enoughh producing him as a witness.

Best,

Steven H. Rubin, President

Bogalusa

PUBLISHED BY THE ORIGINAL KU KLUX KLAN
OF LOUISIANA

On Sunday, December 27, 1964, the Bogalusa Daily News announced that a "renowned layman" Brooks Hayes, is to speak in Bogalusa, on January 7, 1965. His subject will be better community relations. The Bogalusa Daily News stated,

> " a group of civic, religious and business leaders of Bogalusa have invited Hayes to speak here at the St. Matthew's Episcopal Church Parish House. Due to limited seating facilities, the meeting will be by invitation."

The Daily News did not tell you the whole true story concering this meeting and it is the purpose of this leaflet to give you the full story concerning this meeting.

In the first place, this meeting of January 7, 1965, is to be an intergrated meeting. The meeting was arranged by Bascom D. Talley, Jr., the local public or community relations commissioner who is holding this job by appointment of Lyndon B. Johnson under the infamous civil rights act. Bascom D. Talley formed a committee to help shoulder the responsibility of this meeting. This committee of intergration minded people are the group of "civic, religious and business leaders" referred to by the Daily News. Mr. Talley's committee is composed of Bruce H. Shepherd, Minister of the St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Vertrees Young, a member of the Episcopal Church, Reverend Jerry Chance, Minister of the Main Street Baptist Church, Reverend Paul G. Gillespie, Minister of the Memorial Baptist Church, Reverend James T. Harris, Minister of the Methodist Church, Reverend Bob Lambright whose similar escapades have made him a Minister without a church, Ralph Blumberg, owner and operator of the radio station WBOX, and, of course, Lou Major, Mr. Talley's favorite puppet.

In the second place, this intergrated meeting is for the sole purpose of planning the intergration of your Church, Schools, Businesses, Restaurants, Hotels, Motels, etc, and those who will receive invitations to the January 7th. meeting will be people whoBascom D. Talley hopes that Brooks Hayes can convince that they should change their social and religious lives, and that in turn will try to convince you that you should help intergration by sitting in Church with the black man, hiring more of them in your businesses, serving and eating with them in your cafes, and allowing your children to sit by filty, runny-nosed, ragged, ugly little niggers in your public schools.

In the third place, the Bogalusa Daily News did not tell you the whole story about Brooks Hayes. He is a traitor to the South. He assisted Sherman Adams draw the order to send Federal Troops into his own State of Arkansas, to put nine little niggers into white schools, the result of which was spending $5,000,000 of the taxpayers money as well as the beating and jailing of hundreds of white citizens.

As a result of Hayes' intergration efforts, he was defeated in his efforts for re-election to Congress by a political unknown, Dr. Dale Alford. Brooks Hayes is now a member of the Civil Rights Community Relations Committee and he is paid a lucrative salary by the Federal Government to make talks such as he is scheduled to make in Bogalusa, on January 7th., 1965.

The Ku Klux Kan is strongly organized in Bogalusa and throughout Washington and St. Tammany Parishes. Being a secret organization, we have KLAN members in every conceivable business in this area. We will know the names of all who are invited to the Brooks Hayes meeting and we will know who did and did not attend this meeting. Accordingly, we take this means to urge all of you to refrain from attending this meeting. Those who do attend this meeting will be tagged as intergrationists and will be delt with accordingly by the Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN.

There is in Bogalusa a man named Talley,
who with a hand picked committee has planned an intergrated rally;
This man would love the nigger,
in order to grow financially bigger;
He and his committee have come up with an intergration plan,
which is bitterly opposed by the KU KLUX KLAN;
Talley has attended Nigger Churches to sing,
this was done to please Martin Luther King;
While Talley sings with his nigger group,
the KU KLUX KLAN will more Knights recruit;
Soon Talley and his committee will know who is boss,
as the KU KLUX KLAN lights the fiery cross.

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The Saturday Evening Post · January 30, 1965 · 25c

POST

34F

HOW WE'LL REBUILD THE G.O.P.
BY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE GIRL WHO WROTE 'SEX AND THE SINGLE GIRL'

GERM WARFARE □ THE FAKE DOCTOR □ KANGAROO STEW

'The National Committee, of course, has no monopoly on brains in the Party.'

For example, where should the leadership reside when our Party does not control the Presidency? Obviously, the leaders of our Party in both houses of Congress will develop alternatives to Democratic plans and programs and will be responsible for the tactics of opposition—but what should be the role of the Republican National Committee? Should it be the body for coordinating overall Party policy—or should it be more of a civil-service organization staffed by career specialists in various fields of political science, while a separate, high-level body, broadly representative of the entire Party, formulates policies and acts as spokesman on the national level?

On these points, almost every individual who has had experience in government will have his own ideas, some of which may seem radical. For example, I, personally, long have held the view that in the leadership echelon of the Republican National Committee there should be two individuals, each responsible for distinctly separate functions. To one I would assign responsibility for all of the work of organization and administration of every kind; his duty would be to perfect the machinery of the Party and keep it working.

The other would have the task of acquainting himself with the consensus of Republican thinking and would be sort of an evangelist, traveling the land up and down and across, providing the public with a correct picture of the Party's policies and programs and seeking recruits to carry them forward. He would, of course, be assisted by a strong and broadly based Advisory Committee.

Each of these men would, in my view, have a full and highly important job. Together they could do much to strengthen and inspire us.

In any event, the country needs a healthy Republican Party—and never more than in the years immediately ahead. Apparently the current Administration intends to plunge ahead with its many experimental domestic plans and programs. And here is something which I hope will be well understood: As Americans first, Republicans do not quarrel with the *aims* of some of these programs; with others, we do.

Believing that government must have a heart as well as a head, Republicans have pioneered solutions to many of the country's problems. For example, a Republican administration initiated a medical plan for the care of the aged—admittedly not yet perfected, but one which does not introduce compulsion. We led in developing a program of "defense education" to meet pressing national needs without overpowering local responsibility and authority. Republicans proposed methods for bettering the situation of farmers—without diminishing their freedom—and launched what now is known as the Food for Peace program to utilize portions of our farm surpluses to feed hungry peoples abroad. Republicans developed forward-looking plans for conserving our natural resources and for protecting the beauty of our land for enjoyment of present and future generations. We Republicans have striven to promote better cooperation among labor, capital and management to increase the nation's productivity and well-being. In 1954 we secured what was then the greatest tax reduction in history, and we consistently have fought to keep our fiscal affairs and our currency sound for the benefit of all.

Ours is a proud record: In countless ways over the past century, Republicans have proved their dedication to human welfare.

In contrast, I see a real danger in some Administration welfare plans because they are programs *imposed from the top down*, usually well lubricated with subsidy from the Federal treasury. They tend to subordinate the individual citizen and groups of citizens to Federal regulation. This is just the opposite of the Republican approach. We belive in programs that start with the individual, the community, and the state and build toward the top, with responsibilities and costs shared all the way.

For example, we are convinced that it would be dangerous to our free system should educational systems, the fountainhead of our democracy, ever come under Federal control. Certainly Federal aid should be given, when and where necessary to maintain adequate educational opportunity, but *never* in a form that remotely implies Federal control of teachers or the teaching process. This peril is not as remote as we might think. Currently, most of our great universities obtain much of their money for research from government contracts. There were cases some two years ago, I have been told, when misguided Federal bureaucrats threatened universities with withdrawal of this or that contract unless certain professors, opposing governmental plans, were "shut up."

The present Administration evidences a considerable salesmanship in grouping its programs under appealing labels, such as "War on Poverty" or "Great Society," and implying that anyone who finds fault with the proposed methods is a reactionary who would ignore the poor and oppose all progress.

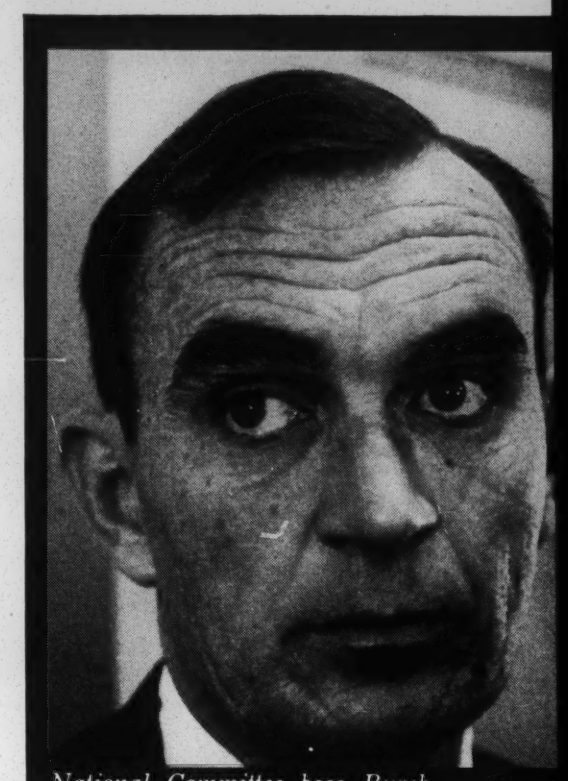
I am among the first to admit that our society, for all of its accomplishments, has serious shortcomings. Some, such as persistent unemployment and pockets of poverty side by side with economic expansion and rising standards of living, may seem baffling. However, I have no doubt that as we meet the urgent needs of the present, these troubles eventually will yield to education, training and a climate of opportunity.

Some of our problems are shameful, such as the violence, terror, delinquency, and murder which have plagued our cities in recent years. Here again, we Republicans emphasize that the primary responsibility for maintaining order remains with communities and states as their duty under the Constitution. And, as those units of self-government are closest to these situations, we can hope for fair, lasting solutions only if they approach their responsibilities in a true American spirit. In the struggle for civil rights we have seen far too much disrespect for the law. But we are making progress and will make more as we enforce the law and build a moral climate in which a majority of people in all areas of our society simply will not permit inequalities and racist fanaticism to exist.

In seeking answers to any of our problems, let us not, above all, discard the common-sense ideals and methods which have proved themselves throughout our national history and embark, as recent Democratic administrations seemingly have been determined to do, on risky, untried theories. A number of those theoretical programs, whether they succeed or fail, are bound to have at least one result—the concentration of more power in Federal hands. Also, just as sure as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West, current fiscal policies are piling up deep trouble for the nation in the future. Deficit spending has not been stopped. The fire of inflation is thus being fueled, threatening the value of our currency. The adverse balance of payments, causing a steady leakage of our gold reserve, ultimately could bring great difficulty for the dollar on a global scale. It is a Republican duty constantly to remind the country that it is time we discipline ourselves, hold expenditures below income except in emergencies, and adopt policies which eliminate adverse balance of payments.

However, my purpose here is not to lay out an indictment against Democratic policies. Rather, I want to emphasize the need—in the interest of our country—for the Republican Party quickly to build its strength as an effective "loyal opposition," and, so doing, become the majority party at an early date.

We must understand that failure to do so creates a danger that is quite real, and no mere partisan alarm. The danger is not that we will lose our liberties by any one accretion of Federal power, or any one deficit, or any one

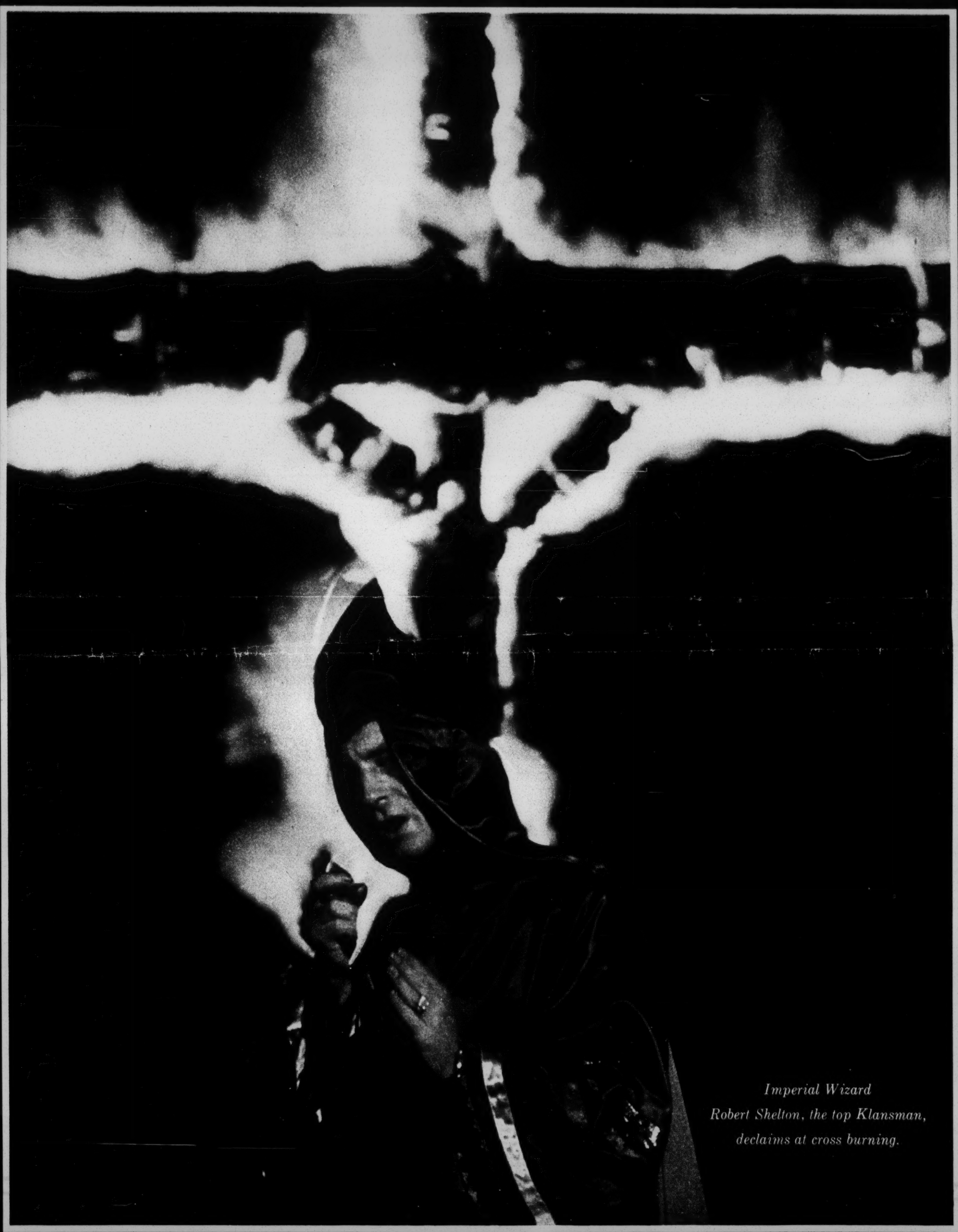


National Committee boss Burch.

threat to a business firm by Federal bureaucrats. Rather the hazard is that our incentives and mechanisms to practice self-government gradually will slip through our fingers by a lack of vigilance—until one day we could discover it is too late. This can never occur as long as we maintain a vigorous, healthy, two-party system.

Thoughtful Americans of either political persuasion will rest easier, I believe, if they know that a strong and alert opposition constantly is watching the majority, seeing that voters hear both sides of every issue, eager to bring to light any evidences of misgovernment or corruption. Do you suppose, for example, that under a one-party system the Bobby Baker case would have seen the light of day? Perhaps so—perhaps not. There always exists a strong human temptation for the party in power, if not to condone, at least to sweep such embarrassing incidents under the rug. As it is, the public certainly has the feeling that up to the time of the election the Baker case had not been thoroughly investigated.

Here is the challenge, perhaps the greatest the Republican Party has faced since the Civil War: Can we Republicans put aside our differences and agree on a plan for increasing the strength and influence of our Party? I believe we can give a positive response. We have a clear opportunity, by building upon a responsible, forward-looking program, to develop plans and leadership behind which the Party can, by action and example, enlist not only confirmed Republicans but thoughtful independents and discerning Democrats as well. That, I am convinced, is the way we can best serve America. □



Imperial Wizard
Robert Shelton, the top Klansman,
declaims at cross burning.

THE KU KLUX KLAN is moving boldly into the open in a last-ditch fight against integration.

'WE GOT NOTHING TO HIDE'

By HAROLD H. MARTIN and KENNETH FAIRLY

Photographs by Lynn Pelham

One starlit evening not long ago, in a tobacco patch near the little town of Hemingway, S.C., 29 robed and hooded men and women gathered in a circle around a 50-foot black-gum cross that had been wrapped in burlap and soaked in crankcase oil. Solemnly they set the towering shaft ablaze and marched around it singing, as a record player hitched up to a loudspeaker boomed into the darkness the opening strains of 'The Old Rugged Cross.' Suddenly the needle stuck, and over the dark woods surrounding the little field, the speaker repeated over and over the phrase that ends the first line of the song: ". . . and shame"—"and shame"—"and shame."

If the Klansmen who set the cross aflame felt any shame at this use of the symbol of Christian brotherhood to publicize an organization which thrives on racial hatred, they gave no sign of it. There was nothing clandestine about the meeting. On the afternoon of the meeting, in the Masonic Hall in Hemingway, ladies of the Klan sold barbecue, slaw, cake and soda pop, and passed out literature extolling the noble purposes of the order.

At the rally itself, on a flatbed truck

In rural South Carolina, the harangue goes on as the fire dwindles. Men in colors are Klan officials.

continued

None of the Dragons, Titans or Exalted Cyclopses wore masks.

Shelton unpacks his Imperial Wizard's robes from the trunk of his automobile and dresses for a rally in Hemingway, S.C.

decorated with Confederate and American flags, the assembled Dragons, Titans and Exalted Cyclopses of the two Carolinas sat proudly in their emerald, white and crimson robes, waiting for "His Lordship," one Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., to bring them the true and lively word. None wore a mask. "We want you to see our faces," bellowed Robert Scoggins, the Grand Dragon of South Carolina, to the crowd of some 800 men, women and barefoot children who stood before the speakers' platform in the glare of the burning cross. "We want you to know who we are and what we are doing. We got nothing to hide."

As Scoggins finished his brief welcome, a Klansman dressed in a shining black military helmet, a gray-green uniform, and black paratrooper boots with white laces, swaggered back and forth across the platform, staring stonily at the crowd. He and a tall, slack-jawed companion with captain's bars on his shoulders were the "Security Guard." They were there to silence hecklers. A German reporter from West Berlin looked curiously at these glowering storm troopers. "I have seen such men before," he said.

The strutting guards, the unmasked Klansmen, the public rally—all were evidence of the Klan's bold resurgence both in numbers and in spirit. The revival was furtive at first. In 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down its school decision, the fragments of the old Klan of the 1940's began quietly to regroup. In the upper rooms of old buildings on the side streets of the bigger towns, in cheap motels and highway restaurants, in abandoned barns and farmhouses deep in the woods, the "sacred altars" were set up. On them were placed the American flag, a sword, and a Bible open at the 12th chapter of Romans—St. Paul's eloquent exhortation to Godly conduct. In the glow of an electrically lighted cross, red-necked "Aliens" knelt to mumble the old Klan oath, swearing to "dedicate heart, mind and body to the preservation of Christian civilization," and to carry with them to their graves the secrets of the order. Sometimes identifying their groups as hunting-and-fishing clubs or county-improvement associations, the Klansmen collected arms and manufactured their own ammunition. Under the tutelage of ex-G.I.'s, they practiced judo and karate and crawled through swamps on "maneuvers," getting ready for the inevitable day when the Jews and the Communists would give the signal and the Negroes would rise to destroy the white race in the South.

Passage of the Civil Rights Bill in June of 1964 brought the Klan boldly into the open. All over the South crosses blazed at public rallies. Fierce-eyed preachers, most of them self-ordained, began to shout in public the twisted doctrine they had proclaimed in the secrecy of the Klaverns—that Jesus Christ was not a Jew, that the Pope of Rome was anti-Christ, that the Negro was a beast who must be destroyed. "Oh, God," prayed one, "please put grace and grit into the white race and let us wipe out this black-ape race before it is too late."

The ignorant and frightened men and women who join the Klan claim to be uplifted by this savage doctrine. To them the Klan is a religion, a holy crusade. In North Carolina, a robed Klansman told reporters: "I feel nearer to God at a rally than at any other time. When I put on this robe it's a grand feeling. It's white—as pure as Jesus Christ. The cross burning is not to make people stand in fear. The cross is what Christ died on."

"It's better than going to church," a woman member said.

At Hemingway, after a robed Klan chaplain known as "The Kludd" had prayed long and fervently for the Lord to bless the Klan and all its works, Shelton rose to speak. He is a tall, slender, hollow-cheeked man with dark, lifeless eyes, and even in his robes of royal purple topped by a gilded cape and hood, he looked withdrawn and wary—"like a man who thinks he is about to be shot at," an Alabama newspaperman said.

His voice was toneless, his theme was the same old Klan refrain. Every patriotic white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant must be ready to give his life if need be to save the purity of his race. But there must be no violence. All must be accomplished by peaceful means—by the boycott and the ballot. Occasionally from the crowd came a deep "Amen" and a scattering of applause.

Shelton told a joke. "You know how they fin'ly found them three boys that was buried in that dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi?" he asked. "The Federal Bureau of Integration didn't find them boys. The mailman found them. He walked by there delivering welfare checks, and the nigger reached up to get his." The crowd roared with laughter and delight.

Shelton droned on, paying his disrespects to the Supreme Court, to the traitors who would modify the immigration laws, to "Light Bulb" Johnson and "Bobby Sox" Kennedy and "Martin Luther Coon." He finished, took off his robes, folded them neatly and put them in the back of his car. Then, dressed in a gray suit and dark red tie, he moved about among the crowd, chatting and shaking hands while the loudspeaker played *When They Ring Those Golden Bells*. Shelton's mood was somber. The presence of so many reporters and cameramen apparently had inhibited him, causing him to tone down his speech. The usual taking of a collection had been omitted, presumably because the sight of the plastic buckets filled with dollar bills coming back up to the platform might give the wrong impression. He seemed to be trying to appeal to a wider audience than the fewer than 1,000 who had come out to hear him. To reporters he was seeking to present the Klan as a peace-loving organization of patriots.

He had brought with him from Tuscaloosa the ancient epic of the silent-movie days, D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*. He hadn't felt it wise to show it, though he finds it his most effective recruiting device, for it extols the glories of the Klan of Reconstruction days, and has for its dramatic climax the Klan's pursuit and punishment of a Negro rapist and murderer. "I killed niggers all night in my sleep after I saw that thing," said a Klansman who had seen the film previously.

By moonrise the flaming cross was sputtering out. The loudspeaker was softly droning *Abide With Me*. Shelton, his brow furrowed, climbed into his white Pontiac Grand Prix and set out on the long drive to Bastrop, La., and another Klan rally.

Earlier, on the 600-mile drive to South Carolina from his headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Shelton had talked at length with a *Post* reporter. Weighing his words, he had painted a picture of

the Klan as an organization opposed to all lawlessness but determined to save the country from the enemies who would betray it. "I don't hate the nigra," he said. "I feel sorry for him. He's been used as a tool by the forces that are trying to take over this country. And the only thing I see to do is bring the old World War II fleet out of mothballs and ship every one of them back to Africa. That would be a peaceful solution, wouldn't it?"

Shelton had sketchily traced his own career. He was 35 years old, he said. His father was a retired Tuscaloosa grocer and a colonel on Governor Wallace's staff. He had gone to Tuscaloosa High School and then briefly to the University of Alabama, hoping to study law. But there hadn't been enough money, even though while in school he worked the evening shift at the B. F. Goodrich plant, making tires. His granddaddy and his father before him had been Klansmen, but he himself hadn't thought much about the Klan until he went into the Air Force in 1947. They sent him to Germany, and there he saw white German girls going about with Negro soldiers. He couldn't stand the thought of that happening in this country, he said, and when he got out of the service and went back to Goodrich to work, he started looking around for a Klan to join.

"I just happened to stumble on a Klavern meeting," he said, "and there was a man there who claimed to be a preacher, though he said some things that a preacher ought not to say, and I found out later he had never been ordained in any church." Whatever the preacher said, Shelton was not so offended that he abandoned his idea of becoming an active Klansman.

"I decided to join the Klan and work to try to better it," he said. "I didn't go for that violent stuff. It was against my training. I was brought up in a religious atmosphere. My daddy and granddaddy built the first Alberta City Methodist Church. My wife and my mother teach Sunday school there now, and my daddy is a member of the board of stewards."

Shelton, who had been promoted by Goodrich to a sales job that required him to travel the Southeastern States, soon got so engrossed in Klan work that Goodrich fired him. "They told me to quit the Klan or else, and I took the 'or else,'" he said.

He then operated his own tire-recapping business for a few years, but soon his Klan duties became so demanding that he decided to devote his full time to them. Now on salary, he will not say how much that salary is—"It ain't as much as Thurgood Marshall makes." But the United Klans' share of the $10 "klektoken," or initiation fee, and of the $12-a-year dues each Klansman pays, is apparently sufficient to pay Shelton and to maintain a handsome office in a somewhat shabby seven-story structure in downtown Tuscaloosa. It also provides funds for Shelton to travel about 120,000 miles a year, organizing new Klaverns throughout the South; to publish a Klan newspaper called *The Fiery Cross;* and to pay heavy lawyers' fees when one of his Klansmen goes into court. The United Klans' main income, he says, is from fees and assessments. No money comes from making and selling robes, a racket by which Klan leaders in the old days enriched themselves. "We look for widow ladies in various towns to make them for us," he said. "We are not in the robe business."

Shelton will not reveal the total membership of his organization, though he hints that it runs into "many thousands," with "many thousands more

Before the rally at Hemingway, South Carolina's Grand Dragon Robert Scoggins (left and below) supervises as Klansmen erect cross.

'When I put on this robe it's a grand feeling. It's white as Christ.'

who are sympathetic to us," and he claims to have active Klaverns in 39 states. Federal agents, who keep a close eye on Shelton and have planted informers in most of his Klaverns, know that Shelton is exaggerating the United Klans' strength when he speaks of "many thousands" of members. Reliable estimates place the present active membership at under 5,000, concentrated mainly in Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Louisiana. Even this small membership, however, enables the United Klans to throw its weight around politically, particularly in rural counties, with a power that far exceeds its strength in numbers.

A law-enforcement officer, assigned to keep constant watch on the Klan, explains: "Suppose you have a race for sheriff or county commissioner in some country county where the civil-rights issue is hot. Klansmen will ride in from all over the South to burn a cross and hold a rally. Then they'll sneak around and put up a lot of little stickers—'The Ku Klux Klan is watching you.' The candidates get scared to death they'll lose the Klan vote, so they try to outdo each other in proving what true-blue Americans they are and how strong they are against the Negro. The fear of the Klan colors the whole election campaign, when the truth is the Klan couldn't deliver a hundred votes in the whole county."

Shelton favors this kind of political leverage. "Our weapon is the ballot and the boycott," he says. "You let a man who runs a little store know how you feel about a candidate, he pretty soon gets the idea he better see it the same way or he'll lose a lot of trade. Our women members do a lot of the political work for us. They baby-sit for folks who want to go to the courthouse to register, and they drive people to the polls on election day, and during a campaign they may go from house to house, passing out literature and talking for the candidates the Klan likes. We work down in the grass roots, and in a lot of counties we can elect just about whoever we want to. We don't have to say outright who we want elected, but the word gets around."

In areas where the Klan feels its strength, a Klan leader may campaign openly for a candidate, or the Klan may put up one of its own members. In Atlanta, for example, Calvin Craig, the United Klans' Grand Dragon for Georgia, ran for the state senate and loudly pledged his support to the Goldwater-Miller candidacy—a startling departure from the Klan's traditional antagonism toward Jews and Catholics. Craig lost his senate race in Atlanta, but the smaller cities and the rural counties, where many share the Klan's defiant attitude toward the Civil Rights Act and school desegregation, gave Goldwater a 94,000 majority and put Georgia in the Republican column for the first time in its history.

Far more dangerous than the Klan's power to influence politics by persuasion is its power to intimidate whole communities through acts of terrorism.

Robed Klansmen flank a helmeted member of the United Klans' burly "Security Guard," which deals with troublemakers.

Federal agents use harsh language when they read Shelton's pious utterances about his aversion to lawlessness. Federal agents know that violence in one form or another—from telephoned threats to arson, bombings, beatings and murder—often follows the formation of a strong Klavern.

In early July, 1961, at a meeting in Georgia, Shelton was elected Imperial Wizard of the United Klans, and some independent Georgia Klans which had been relatively inactive became part of that organization. Within a month, according to the files of both the Atlanta police and the Georgia attorney general's office, fired-up Klans were training members in the use of explosives. An ex-Navy frogman was the instructor, and a "training camp" was set up in rural Clayton County near Atlanta.

Before Shelton went into Mississippi early last spring to organize Klaverns there, Klan activity had been largely confined to those counties where an independent organization called the White Knights of the K.K.K. was forming—a group known to federal agents as the most furtive, vicious, and close-mouthed of the Klans. Although it operated in other areas of the state, its activities were concentrated in southwest Mississippi and along the Mississippi River, where it performed with considerable popular approval.

"What you are up against there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of a whole people," one federal investigator said. "Crimes are committed that are never reported in the press, never investigated by the local law. The victims, if they survive, are afraid to file a complaint. In the event an arrest is made and a man is brought to trial, getting a conviction is almost impossible. But what else can you expect in a state where a judge, in the presence of several other men, told a sheriff: 'If you get into a drove of niggers and have to kill one of them, you might as well go on and kill them all. A dead nigger can't talk.'"

In this atmosphere of defiance Shelton easily formed Klaverns in the Natchez and McComb areas.

A rash of bombings of homes, churches, and places of business broke out in Mississippi in the summer of 1964 as college students and other civil-rights volunteers came into the state to assist Negroes in registering to vote. Among the houses bombed was that of Natchez Mayor John Nosser, who had offended Klansmen by promising Negroes equal protection under the law and the right to vote if qualified. As the frequency of the bombings increased, other political leaders were stirred to belated action. After the bombing of the Lexington newspaper office of Hazel Brannon Smith, Pulitzer prize winner and critic of the Klan, Mayor Allen C. Thompson of Jackson became the first Mississippi official to speak out against Klan violence. Though he did not denounce the Klan by name, he came out strongly against terrorism.

"Do not ever deceive yourself into thinking that these bombers, who do their cowardly work at night, will stop with your neighbor," he said. "Tomorrow it will be your home, your business, or even your family." He offered rewards and pledged police action. Two days later, Mississippi's segregationist governor, Paul B. Johnson Jr., announced that he was building up a force of state police to combat the growing violence in McComb and Natchez.

Soon state and county officers, with the cooperation of the FBI, had three men under arrest, charged with the bombing of two homes in McComb. One of them, a 25-year-old railway carman named Paul Dewey Wilson, was caught as he was hauling a small arsenal from his home to a remote farmhouse. In his possession were four high-powered rifles, a pistol, eight wooden clubs, a blackjack, brass knuckles, a hypodermic syringe—and a deputy sheriff's badge. In his pocket was his membership card in United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It was signed by "Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard, Tuscaloosa, Ala." Wilson also had a black leatherette apron and a black hood, the historic trappings of a Klan executioner.

Though law enforcement agencies have found it easy to penetrate the Klan with paid informers—"They are less clever than the Communists, and easier to infiltrate"—the presence of an informer does not mean that acts of terrorism can be forestalled. In their Klavern meetings the Klansmen are generally as closemouthed with each other as they are with outsiders. The "action groups" within the Klan, known variously as "Holy Terrors," "Knock-Off Squads," and "Killer Squads," range from three to a dozen men. Their identity may be known to other Klansmen—and to the FBI—but they lay their plans for lawless acts outside the Klavern meetings.

"We've learned not to discuss anything in a Klavern we wouldn't discuss on the courthouse square," one Exalted Cyclops told a *Post* reporter.

Many crimes committed by these terror squads are merely senseless acts of sadism. In Birmingham, for example, a Negro man walking home at night was caught, castrated, and warned that the same thing would happen to any Negro who tried to send his children to white schools. The victim of this mutilation was not married and had never taken part in any civil-rights action.

Occasionally federal agents, through informers, sense a growing restlessness in a Klan and anticipate an outbreak of violence, though they have no means of knowing what form it may take. When, for example, Lemuel Penn, a Negro educator from Washington, D.C., was killed last July while traveling through Athens, Ga., the FBI had only to go to its files and to the Athens police and sheriff's office to come up with the names of a dozen suspects. Both the Athens officers and the federal agents had been watching the Athens Klavern of the United Klans. They knew 80 percent of its members. They knew the location of the pegboard on which the pistol-toting Klansmen hung their weapons before entering the Klavern sanctum. They knew also that certain truculent members of the Klan had been riding about Athens at night carrying sawed-off shotguns, "keeping an eye on the niggers."

Twenty-six days after the killing, a Klansman named James S. Lackey made a confession after only 14 minutes of questioning. He described how he had driven alongside Penn's car while two other Klansmen, Cecil Myers and Joseph Sims, had fired into it with shotguns. At the trial before a jury in rural Madison County, where the killing had taken place, Lackey repudiated his confession, claiming it had been forced from him "under fears and threats." The jury found the accused not guilty.

Shelton's speeches often reflect Klan's warnings of a Communist-inspired Negro uprising.

Almost as discouraging to federal officers was the subsequent disposition of the cases growing out of the McComb bombings. Nine men, including Paul Dewey Wilson, the man with the black mask, pleaded either guilty or nolo contendere to charges they had bombed or conspired to bomb three Negro homes. Circuit-Court Judge W. H. Watkins imposed prison sentences and fines, and then, citing their "youth, good families," and the fact that they were "unduly provoked and undoubtedly ill advised," he suspended all fines and sentences and placed them on probation. All were identified by the FBI as Klansmen, probably belonging to a splinter Klan group at the time of the bombings. To investigators, six had admitted being Ku Klux Klansmen and had implicated the others as Klansmen. One said he belonged to the United Klans.

A month later J. Edgar Hoover, in an uncharacteristic outburst of anger, described this action as "scandalous," denounced "bleeding-heart judges," and charged that "all the lynchings and bombings of homes in the South" are the work of the members of the Ku Klux Klan and claimed the FBI "knows pretty well who they are." Shortly thereafter Mr. Hoover proved that this claim was not mere bombast. On December 4, his agents arrested 21 men, including two peace officers and a preacher, in connection with the killing of three civil-rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., last June. According to the FBI, the killings were planned and executed by the Klan. J. Edgar Hoover described most as Klan members and sympathizers. Police investigators believe all were affiliated with the White Knights of the K.K.K.

The arrest of the two peace officers, Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey and his chief deputy, Cecil Price, points up the problem the Department of Justice faces in investigating civil-rights cases in the South. In chasing down bank robbers and car thieves who cross state lines, local officers work hand in hand with FBI agents. In civil-rights matters, particularly when Klansmen are involved, they often not only refuse to cooperate but actually seek to hinder federal agents in tracking down the guilty.

Wherever the agents work, they, of course, soon discover which policemen, sheriffs, deputies and highway patrolmen are in league with the Klan, and the names of these men are immediately reported to higher authority. In Mississippi until recently this was useless. Lately, however, Gov. Paul Johnson has sought to purge his highway patrol of Klansmen, and two cities, Laurel and Meridian, now require that all their employees, including policemen, sign an oath that they belong to no "subversive" organization.

In Alabama, officers have been known to show a solicitude for bombers, arresting them on minor accusations—such as possessing explosives—before the FBI could bring graver charges against them. In Georgia, Klansmen are promptly fired from big city and state police forces. In North Carolina, Wizard

Even in Mississippi, groups of decent citizens are speaking out openly against the Klan.

Shelton has publicly appealed to law officers and other public officials to join his ranks, promising them super-secret new Klaverns in which they would be required to wear no robes, march in no parades, and endure the long Klan ritual only once a month instead of weekly.

Though most North Carolina peace officers have ignored Shelton's blandishments, his success at organizing regular Klaverns in the Tarheel State has startled federal officials. A little more than a year ago the Klan there was dead. It had been an object of derision since 1958, when a sometime preacher named the Reverend "Catfish" Cole attempted to hold a cross-burning in a cornfield near the little town of Maxton, an area heavily inhabited by Lumbee Indians. As the robed preacher began his invocation, there came a wild shouting from the surrounding woods and a band of Lumbees, some in war paint and feathers, swarmed into the clearing firing pistols and shotguns. Led by the Reverend Catfish, the assembled Klansmen hoisted their bed sheets up around their hips and took off through the thorny yaupon scrub, uttering mindless cries of terror. The story made all the papers, and the Klan became a laughingstock.

Today, under the ambitious proselyting of the United Klans' Grand Dragon, J. Robert Jones, onetime sailor, bricklayer and lightning-rod salesman, the Klan has made a fantastic comeback. In a series of articles in the Charlotte *Observer*, reporters J. K. Batten and Dwayne Walls estimated that the state now has some 25 active Klaverns, with a membership of 2,500 paying members. Batten and Walls, in their reports, vividly depicted a typical Klansman. "He was coarse, unshaven and loud," they wrote. "He chomped an unlighted cigar and profanity came as regular as breathing. Yet for an instant tears streamed down his whiskered cheeks. 'My country is going to hell,' he blurted brokenly. 'I hate to see that. These crooked, corrupt politicians are doing it . . . by raising up the niggers. The white man is God's servant, and the nigger is the white man's servant. That's the way it was meant to be. That's the way it's going to be, by God.'"

They quoted another Klansman, a filling-station operator, "his hands caked with grease, his arms blue with tattoos": "'The Jews have got the B'nai B'rith. The Catholics have got the Knights of Columbus. The niggers have got the N.A.A.C.P. Tell me what in hell the white man's got, besides the Klan? What has the white Protestant American Gentile got except the Klan? It's the poor bastard like me who pays the taxes. He keeps the wheels turning.'"

These vignettes point up the deep angers and frustrations that motivate the rank-and-file Klansman in North Carolina and throughout the South. He is rebelling against his own ignorance, ignorance that restricts him to the hard and poorly paid jobs that are becoming scarcer every day. He is angered by the knowledge that the world is passing him by, that he is sinking lower and lower in the social order. The Negro is his scapegoat, for he knows that so long as the Negro can be kept "in his place," there will be somebody on the social and economic scale who is lower than he. In the Klavern, in his robes, repeating the ancient ritual, he finds the status that is denied him on the outside.

Despite the rush to join its ranks, the Klan in North Carolina so far has proved to be a feckless organization. An unsuccessful attempt was made to prevent volunteer workers from the North from painting a weatherbeaten Negro schoolhouse; an effort to prevent Negroes from integrating a restaurant by squirting them with hoses resulted in the arrest of two Klansmen; and a few crosses have been burned, one on the lawn of the governor's mansion. Otherwise the Tarheel Klansmen have seemed content to meet in their Klaverns and make angry speeches. Even there they do not conduct themselves as seriously as their grimmer brethren to the south. In one Klavern, Batten and Walls reported, initiation rituals are enlivened with a prank. The neophyte is required to watch while a piece of iron is heated white-hot and thrust, sizzling, against a piece of raw meat. The iron is then reheated, the quaking candidate is blindfolded, his trousers are lowered, and a piece of Dry Ice is pressed against his backside. With a piercing scream the victim leaps galvanically while the assembled Knights guffaw.

Attorney James Venable of Atlanta, who is Shelton's prime competitor in the Klan business, would probably look with scorn upon such desecration of the ancient ritual. Venable is head of a group called the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., and of another that embraces 19 small, independent Klans in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee and North Carolina, and he looks upon himself as the robed prophet and spiritual heir of the original Klan of the 1860's. A florid, blue-eyed man in his middle 50's, his eyes grow moist and his voice breaks when he speaks of how the Klansmen of that day saved the South from carpetbaggers and renegade freedmen. He refers with great nostalgia to the 1920's, when the Klan was at its peak of four million members and was so potent in politics it could elect governors, congressmen and senators in half a dozen states.

Venable, a Klansman since he reached man's estate, was attorney for the United Klans until 1963. He then

Klansmen's daughters Frances Boit and Lynn Spires sit on a truck bed which is decorated with inverted American flags.

pulled out, chartered his own National Knights, and is now in competition with his old Wizard. Like Shelton, he professes to abhor violence, and he has been heard to describe some members of the United Klans as a "bunch of wild-eyed sons of bitches." He says that he does not do much recruiting in the South. "We are working in virgin soil," he said. "We are planting the seed in the Midwest and the Far West. They are crying for us outside the South, and we are answering the call." This seems true, for Klan watchers report revival of the order in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and California.

Though Venable deplores violence in his affable conversations with reporters, his public utterances, and those of his subordinate leaders, sometimes depart from peaceful themes. Once, when carried away by his own oratory, according to an investigation report, he told a rally at Stone Mountain that a few people, white and black, should be hanged to show that the Klan meant business, and he suggested that standing in a schoolhouse door was no way to stop Negro children from entering a white school; hanging a few Negroes on the school ground would be much more effective. His comment on the Penn murder case was blunt: "It just shows that you won't never convict a white man for killing a Negro who is encroaching on the white people of the South."

Speaking at a National Knights rally in September, 1964, Grand Dragon Charlie Maddox of Savannah, a brusquely outspoken man, told his audience: "We need to do a lot to stop [the liberal legislation of] these national politicians. A boy down in Texas did a lot already, remember?"

It seems obvious that the Klan of the middle 1960's is, as Venable likes to describe it, "the same yesterday, today and forever." It is the same armed underground, the same secret guerrilla force, mocking by its actions the teachings of the Christ it pretends to honor, striking furtively and savagely at the foundations of the democracy it purports to defend. It is potentially more dangerous than the old Klan of the '20's, which was finally destroyed by the venality and corruption of some of its leaders and by the arrogant lawlessness of its vicious hoodlum fringe. Its leaders are not interested primarily in the money, but are grimly dedicated men determined to maintain white supremacy at whatever cost.

Numerically, the Klan still is weak. The best official estimates place the number of active dues-paying Klansmen in the South at fewer than 10,000, with 2,000 in Mississippi, 1,500 each in Georgia, Alabama and North Carolina, 1,000 in Louisiana, 500 each in South Carolina and Tennessee. Loyal to many leaders, operating mainly in their own regions, they are less an organization than the manifestation of a state of mind—the despair of the poor white in a society in which he can find no respected place. They are, in short, an underground movement whose basic weapon is terror.

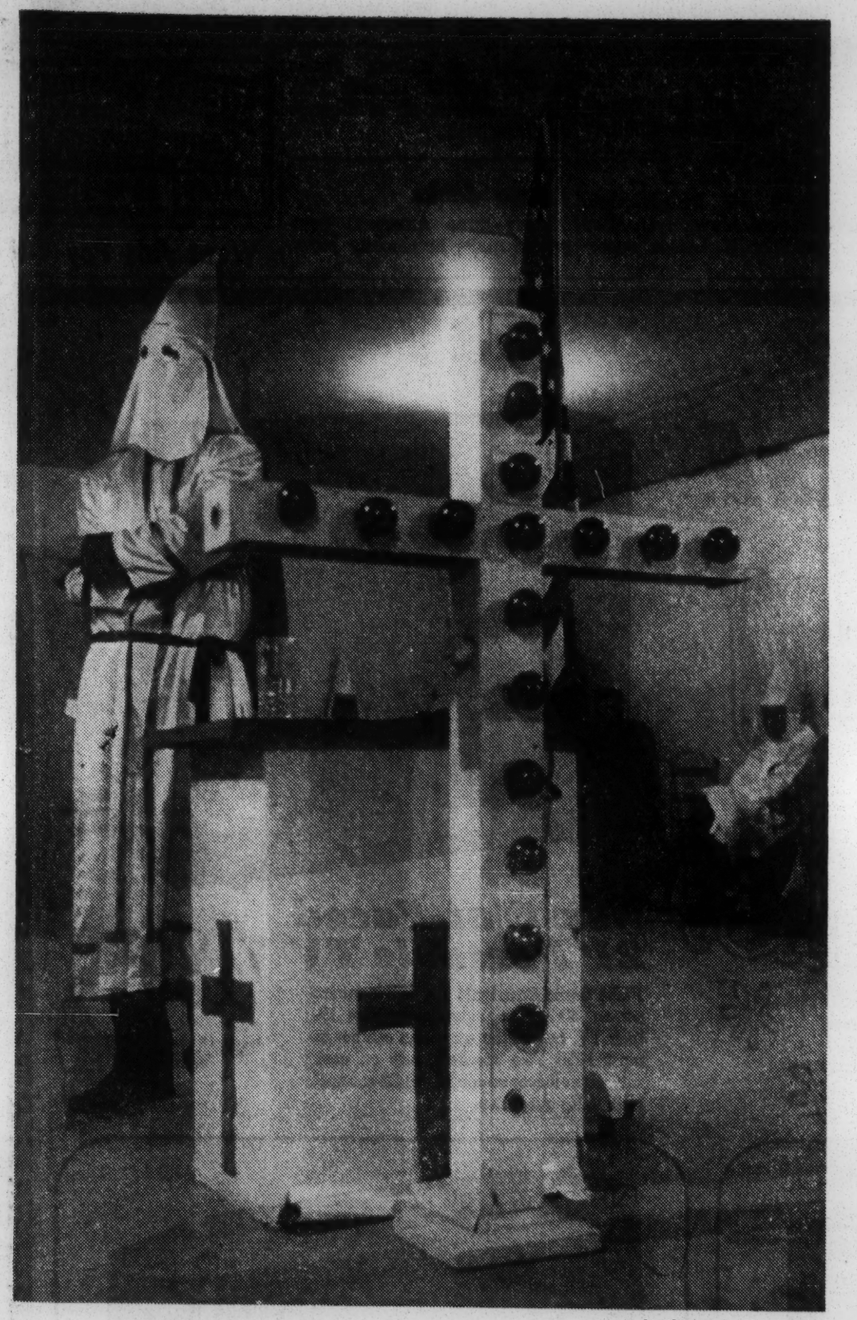
There are hopeful signs. Organizations of decent citizens, as in McComb, Miss., at last are speaking out openly against the anarchy of the Klan. In many a small Southern city, schools are being integrated without violence. Merchants, ignoring Klan threats, are complying with the Civil-Rights Act, and private citizens, when warned that they must fire a Negro servant, are telling Klan tormentors to go to hell. And here and there a tough sheriff or police chief warns Klan leaders that if Klan gunmen want a showdown fight, his men are ready.

"I've told Shelton if his Klansmen ever try to do anything to me or my family, I'll kill him," said an Alabama police chief. "And if they get me first, I've got some boys in my department who will kill him."

Always in the past the Klan has destroyed itself by its own excesses. Events of the past few months give proof that the modern Klan has already gone far down the road to its own destruction. The recent arrests of Klansmen may result in no convictions and no punishment. But the faces of the Klansmen have been exposed. They have been seen in daylight, in the courts, glowering sullenly or grinning arrogantly at the cameras. They now are recognized, not as folk heroes, but as what they are—the misfits, the bitter rejects of society. It is impossible to believe that the millions of decent, law-abiding, truly religious citizens of the South will long permit their lives to be dominated by such as these. □

In Salisbury, North Carolina, cited by a national magazine as an "All-America City," Klansmen brazenly parade up the sidewalk in a daylight demonstration billed as a show of force.

Photograph by Don Sturkey



Staff Photo—Kirk Wooster

MASKED 'TERROR' GUARDS LIGHT-BULB CROSS NEAR LITHONIA
Photo Snapped During Klan Initiation Ceremony in February

Truth About Klan? Team Seeks Answers

The Ku Klux Klan, which has sought above all else to shroud itself in secrecy, has suddenly become the target of increasing national attention.

Ted Simmons

Bill Shipp

President Lyndon B. Johnson has issued to its members what he called "both an appeal and a warning—get out now." The House Un-American Activities Committee has scheduled an investigation of the Klan.

What is this hooded order, this "Invisible Empire," which thrived as a powerful force of political power and of terror, died and, with the coming of the civil rights movement, shows signs of a definite resurrection?

To answer that question, Constitution reporters Bill Shipp and Ted Simmons nailed down membership figures of the various KKK splinter groups, delved into the Klan's history, and talked to Klan officials themselves.

Their report on the Klan and its activities appears here.

For an in-depth study of a subject vital to all Georgians, read Task Force Report every Monday in the Constitution.

Near-Dead Klans Given New Life By Rights Fight

By BILL SHIPP

"We will not be intimidated by the terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan any more than by the terrorists of the Viet Cong."—President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Membership in the Ku Klux Klan has doubled in the past 15 months.

An estimated 10,000 white men in the nation, including 800 in Georgia, wear the robes of the hooded and masked order and have sworn allegiance to the "Invisible Empire."

In January 1964, "the Klan was flat on its tail," said one longtime observer of KKK activity. "Now it has come alive again. The Civil Rights Act got it going."

14 DIFFERENT GROUPS

There are 14 different Klan organizations. But more than half the active Klan members belong to the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Members of the United Klans of America Inc. have been arrested in connection with a number of shootings, beatings, and killings in the past two years. None has been convicted.

The United Klans of America is led by a former tire salesman turned professional Klansman — Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton.

His leader in Georgia is Grand Dragon Calvin Craig of Atlanta, a construction worker and a candidate for the state House of Representatives from Fulton County.

According to Craig, the United Klans of America is only about three years old. It grew out of a merger of the United Klans in Georgia and the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

ACTIVE IN ATLANTA AREA

The klan is most active in Georgia in the Metropolitan Atlanta Area. There are six to eight active Klan Klaverns (chapters) in the five-county area, but no Klavern is active inside the city limits of Atlanta.

The Klan also maintains a "training ground" just south of Atlanta, where members sporadically conduct "demolition demonstrations."

These include practice in the use of Molotov cocktails.

The Klan is considered weak in southwest Georgia, usually "terrors" — the Klan word for its membership.

But the Ladies Auxiliary, for a host of reasons, has stirred controversy within the Klan and the ladies have been banned by several klaverns.

Initiation fees vary from $10 to $15, according to whether the initiate is employed or unemployed. Dues range from $2 to $5.

When two Athens Ku Klux Klansmen were brought to trial on a murder charge, the Klan sent out "the call" for all Klansmen to donate $1 each toward defense of their robed brothers. The response was poor.

A widely publicized Klan is the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan with headquarters in Tucker. Its Imperial Wizard is Atlanta attorney James R. Venable. Its membership totals less than 25.

(One of the 14 Klan organizations — in Mississippi — boasts a total membership of one.)

Some of the other big Klans include the Dixie Klans operating in northwest Georgia and Chattanooga, the 1,000-member United Florida Klan, the Improved Order of U.S. Klans with membership centered in the Atlanta area, White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (the biggest Klan organization in Mississippi) and the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana.

Klan Power Broken by Gov. Arnall

Gov. Ellis Arnall was instrumental in 1946 in splintering the once powerful Knights of the Ku Klux Klan into a hydra-headed host of weak and dying Klan-type organizations.

Arnall ordered suit brought

TASK FORCE report

Weltner's Address: 'This Veil of Fear'

(The following is a speech delivered by Rep. Charles Weltner of Atlanta to the House in which Weltner called for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.)

The year 1965 marks the 100th anniversary of the Ku Klux

a lawful and generous people. It impairs compliance with the law. It impedes administration of justice.

. . . What shall be done? Shall we in Congress ignore the veil of fear descending upon whole communities?

This Veil of Fear

(The following is a speech delivered by Rep. Charles Weltner of Atlanta to the House in which Weltner called for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.)

The year 1965 marks the 100th anniversary of the Ku Klux Klan. In December, a century ago, six young men formed a secret society in Pulaski, Tenn. The weird panoply of the order—along with the rigors of that day—quickly changed the Klan into a vehicle of terror.

Soon excesses compelled its leaders to order it dismembered.

That was in 1869. For almost five decades thereafter, the Ku Klux Klan was but a memory. Then in 1915 a new order arose in Atlanta, based upon old hatreds and fears.

The revived Klan found fertile ground not only in the old Confederacy, but north, east and west alike.

In 1921 the House Committee on Rules considered several resolutions calling for an investigation. Nothing happened. By 1924 membership in this 'Invisible Empire' reached four million. Its influence touched

'A CRITICAL TIME'
Rep. Charles Weltner

courthouses and state houses, national conventions of both major parties and Congress itself.

It grew and prospered on mystery and malice, changing the cross from the symbol of hope to a sign of hate.

For over a quarter century following its rebirth the Klan was a potent factor in American life. But the second world war brought sharp decline to the Invisible Empire.

Once again it slumbered—until the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Since that day, but most significantly during the past two years, Klan manifestations have increased throughout the South.

There are now visible signs of a westward spread.

. . . All this comes at a critical time for the South. We are rising to our full potential. We are struggling for orderly progress. We are turning to real problems and solid opportunities.

"Yet, once again, this madness is in our midst. It impunes a lawful and generous people. It impairs compliance with the law. It impedes administration of justice.

. . . What shall be done? Shall we in Congress ignore the veil of fear descending upon whole communities?

Shall we permit faceless men, under cover of robes and darkness to imperil the liberties of our people?

I believe I speak for a vast majority of Southerners in calling for action. For in doing nothing we will inaugurate a second century for the Ku Klux Klan.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is charged to investigate 'the extent, character and object of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States.' Honest men may differ on the precise limitation of the word 'un-American,' but surely all agree that activities which by force and violence seek to deprive others of rights guaranteed them by the Constitution are un-American.

The weapons of the Klan are secrecy, rumor and fear. Plain fact and simple truth, amply imparted to the public, are adequate remedies. This committee can provide these remedies by thorough and detailed investigation.

Let us turn upon this invisible empire the light of public scrutiny. Let us examine in full its extent, character and objects. Let us reveal for all to see the men behind the masks.

The boast of the Klan, 'yesterday, today and tomorrow,' is true in part. For the Klan of yesterday is the Klan of today. Its means and methods remain unchanged. It will plague us tomorrow unless we quash it today.

The year 1865 witnessed the birth of the Ku Klux Klan. Let the year 1965 witness its final demise."

From Anno Klan To Klavalier— It's in Kloran

The Kloran is the Ku Klux Klan's book of "secrets," written and copyrighted in 1916 by Col. William Joseph (Doc) Simmons.

(Doc Simmons got the rank of colonel when he commanded a Woodmen of the World drill team. He was founder and first Imperial Wizard of the "new" Klan, organized about 1915.)

Doc Simmons' book and rituals are still used by the Klans, including the left-handed handshake in the Klavern meetings.

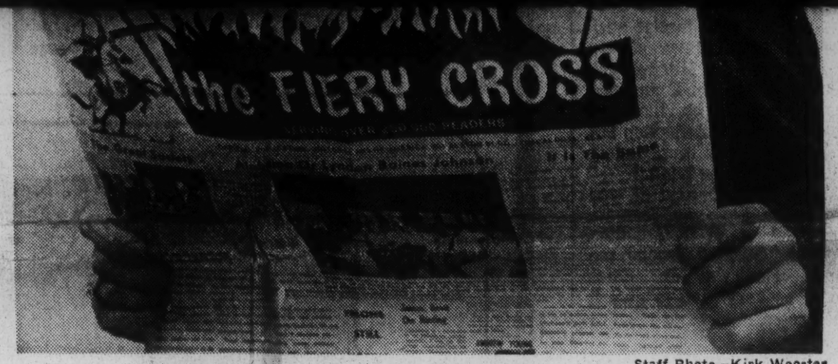
Here are a few terms from the Kloran, to aid the reader in understanding the Klan "Karacter," as the Kloran puts it:

"KLAVALIER — The soldier of the Klan (Military Department), from cavalier—a courtly, polite and very courageous and skillful soldier of the 17th and 18th Century."

"ANNO KLAN — In the year of the Klan; written thus: AK."

"A REALM — A sub-division of the Invisible Empire—a state or territory of the United States."

"THE GOVERNMENT of the Invisible Empire is vested with the Imperial Wizard, the Emperor, assisted by his fifteen Genii — the Imperial Officers constituting his official family; the government of a Province is vested with a Great Titan, assisted by his twelve Furies—the Great Officers. . . ."



Staff Photo—Kirk Wooster

'ANYONE TRYING TO KEEP THE STREETS CLEAN . . .'
Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig Reads Klan Newspaper

Can't Condemn Whole Group For One Man, Craig Replies

"Anyone trying to keep the streets clean is going to get a little dirty," said Calvin F. Craig, grand dragon of the Realm of Georgia, United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Craig made the statement when asked why his Klan organization, the biggest such hooded order in the South and in Georgia, had been linked to so much recent racial violence.

The grand dragon went on to protest the innocence of his "Terrors" and point out that, despite arrests in connection with killings, shootings and floggings, none of his Klansmen have been convicted in recent years.

"You can't condemn the whole Baptist Church just because a member of the church has been arrested. It's like that with the Klan," Craig said.

Who is this man who calls himself a dragon?

Craig is 37 years old, married and has one daughter. He is a heavy construction equipment operator, an active member of the Baptist Church and a not-quite successful candidate for the Georgia senate in the last election. He is seeking a seat in the Georgia House from Fulton County in the next election.

He says he has been a Klansman five years and became grand dragon about three years ago when the United Klans of America Inc. merged with Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton's Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

A former merchant mariner, Craig said he joined the Klan mainly to "fight the Communist takeover in this country, that I saw happen in Shanghai, China."

"I witnessed torturous acts in China," says Craig. "I don't want that to happen here."

What about the "torturous acts" laid to the Klan?

"I have never witnessed anything in the Klan that I would be ashamed of before God or man," said Craig.

Craig said he was aware that the Klan is thoroughly infiltrated by FBI informers.

"We gain by their membership," Craig said. "The FBI informer in Atlanta has donated a large percentage of his pay from the FBI back to the klan."

Craig emphasizes that his organization's main theme now is anti-communism. He says the United Klans of America is allied with the right-wing John Birch Society.

Craig equates communism in the United States with the civil rights movement. He also says the movement is responsible for much of he crime in his country.

"It is my opinion that 99 per cent of the niggers arrested for crimes are members of the NAACP, SNCC or other civil rights groups," the grand dragon contends.

The Klan also maintains a "training ground" just south of Atlanta, where members sporadically conduct "demolition demonstrations."

These include practice in the use of Molotov cocktails.

The Klan is considered weak in southwest Georgia, usually labeled the most segregated area of the state.

ISN'T WEALTHY

Unlike some extremist organizations, the Klan is not wealthy. Even its leaders admit there are no Fat Cats willing to come through with big donations to aid the Klan in its anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-foreign born causes.

The Klans maintain within their organization security units, aimed at keeping out "alien" informers and keeping Klan discipline.

These groups are variously known as the Security Patrol, the KBI (Klan Bureau of Investigation), and The Enforcers.

Their uniforms consist of white crash helmets, flashlights and sidearms.

CARRY SIDEARMS

In Georgia, it is the custom of Klansmen to purchase pistol toters' permits which allow them to carry sidearms.

Despite the number of Klan organizations, all depend upon the Kloran, the secret book of the old outlawed Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, for their rituals, initiations and "lectures."

The Kloran requires an elaborate ritualistic opening and closing for Klavern meetings. But such meetings of the new Klans often are without any formalities and often degenerate into little more than race-baiting bull sessions.

The United Klans have organized a Ladies Auxiliary, made up mainly of wives of

Gov. Arnall

Gov. Ellis Arnall was instrumental in 1946 in splintering the once powerful Knights of the Ku Klux Klan into a hydra-headed host of weak and dying Klan-type organizations.

Arnall ordered suit brought against the Klan, seeking to dissolve its charter on the ground that the organization carried on illegal activities.

After nearly a year of delaying tactics, the Klan surrendered its charter rather than go on public trial.

Dan Duke, fiery assistant attorney general with a long record of fighting the Klan, was appointed by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook to handle the state's case.

In August 1946, Duke filed suit in Fulton County superior court charging that the Klan had violated its charter.

The voluminous suit outlined the organization and plans of the Klan and charged the hooded order with act after act of violence.

Floggings were carried out regularly by a special Klan terror squad, the suit charged.

Most of those flogged were white persons, some for being philandering husbands and some for being labor union organizers.

Duke's suit said the Klan was illegally chartered "since the order has engaged in promoting Nazi and Fascist aims, actions irreconcilable with American Constitutional concepts. . . ."

On June 13, 1947, the Klan threw in its charter without a fight after the state agreed to amend its suit to the single charge that the Klan, chartered as a benevolent organization, was operating for a profit.

That was the end of the old Knights. And for a while, it was the virtual end of Ku Kluxery in Georgia.

Klan Lawyer Venable Remembers Its Heyday in 20s

By TED SIMMONS

"I've been in the Klan since 1924, since I was a boy, you know. I knew all the imperial wizards, except Gen. Nathan Forrest, and was good friends to all of them.

"At one time we had four or five million members. We were in every state in the union. We owned a lot of property . . . we built several hospitals, for the needy.

"But in the election of 1928, we took in everybody who had $10 . . . you know, to beat Al Smith, because he was a Catholic. That was a mistake. Then the leadership got to playing too much politics . . . they got too careless, and got involved in some scandals . . ."

Thus James R. Venable, the paradoxical Atlanta attorney known as the "lawyer for the Ku Klux," described what he considers the disintegration of the once powerful "Invisible Empire" of the Ku Klux Klan.

Venable, soft-spoken and shy-appearing in private conversation but a fiery, red-faced, fist shaking orator, sat at the cluttered desk in his office across the street from the Fulton County courthouse. On the wall at his back hung a profile of Jesus Christ.

His manner was animated as he talked of the past glories of the Klan. It also was wistful, and understandably so. The Klan with which Venable is now associated, National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., has a total of 25 members.

Venable avoids talking about specific numbers. "We've got members, but we're very careful who we take. We try to take people who won't embarrass us . . . high type people," he said.

"We want people who recognize the fact that the only salvation . . . the only way we can win this race war is the ballot box and the boycott. We don't tolerate this violence."

A few years ago Venable was associated with the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., in which the dominant figures are Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of Alabama, and Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig. Then a split occurred.

The report then was that Venable did not want the Klan actively associated with the John Birch Society, because the latter has some Negro members and that Shelton and Craig felt otherwise.

Venable indicates only that he feels some actions of the Shelton-Craig organization are "damn foolish," but says he holds no ill feelings for Shelton and Craig and has represented some of their members in court since the split, without a fee.

This latter is a practice which Venable says has "cost me hundreds of dollars," as have other of his Klan activities such as printing Klan material and hosting meetings at his Stone Mountain home.

"I never have got a nickel out of the Klan. It's cost me hundreds of dollars," he said. "But I feel like I owe it to my race . . . to my children.

As Venable sees it, the sole purpose of the KKK is "to keep this country owned and operated by the white race . . . because niggers are inferior to white people, regardless of education."

"The nigger will always be inferior . . . he's got that animal nature in him. They had, still have, the richest nation (in natural resources) in the world, and still never have been able to [illegible] it."

But, he said, he is not "prejudiced."

"I try to be fair-minded," he said. "I know they can't help what some of them do, and neither can I help what some of these Klansmen do.

"The bad thing about this race war we're having now . . . it's got to where a good nigger won't be able to get justice in the South because of these outside agitators."

Venable counts among his clients a number of Negroes. He once went to Louisiana to defend a group of Black Muslims because, he said, the Muslims could find no one else who would take the case.

He also once represented an alleged Communist here. "One of the biggest criminal lawyers in Atlanta gave me the case, and I split the fee with him," he said.

Venable sees nothing unusual in this. "The law is the law," he said. "I'd represent Martin Luther King if he paid me enough. I'd represent Khrushchev."

Since the split with Shelton and Craig, most of Venable's Klan activity is limited to his role as "lawyer for the Ku Klux" and as "chairman of the National Klan Association," he says.

"I travel around as a kind of good-will ambassador, trying to get them all (the various klans) together. This friction. . .that's why we're having trouble."

As for the pending investigation of the KKK by the House Un[illegible] Committee, Venable says: "It's history repeating itself. There was a Klan yesterday, there's one today, and there will be one tomorrow."

RALPH McGILL

At Best, a Small Exodus

President Johnson, following the night killing of an unarmed, unoffending woman in Alabama, has called on all decent persons to abandon membership and support of the KKK. If there is an exodus, Mr. President, it can at best be small.

The record is old — but consistent.

In January, 1869, the Imperial Wizard, Nathan Bedford Forrest, ordered the Ku Klux Klan disbanded. It had, he said, become perverted in many localities. The decent people were leaving it. The Klan had become a refuge for rascals.

Alabama Klansman Ryland Randolph, cyclops of the Tuscaloosa Klavern in 1869, strongly supported Wizard Forrest. The Ku Klux Klan, he said, had fallen "into low and violent hands."

The "low and violent" paid scant attention to Wizard Forrest, one of the major heroes of the Confederacy and a cavalry leader whose legend continues into our present.

The 1920s

"Revived" in the 1920s as an insurance and money-making scheme, the KKK worked its way into politics, subverted some courts and the processes of law. The "take" was fat. As an old Klansman of that time told me, "I have seen big drawers full of money at the

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McGILL

Continued from Page 1

Imperial headquarters (in Atlanta) and on nights when the top boys got drunk and happy they'd just help themselves." The Klan spread out of the South into the border states and on into Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey. Everywhere it went it took corruption, violence and lawlessness.

The total of criminal and corrupt Klan acts in the 1920s into the present fills many volumes. In Indiana, in the 1920s, David Stephenson, grand dragon, a drunkard and a corruptionist, repeatedly raped a young woman who was a state employe. She took poison and died. Stephenson went to prison. There, angry because his old Klan friends had decided to leave him in so they could cut up the gravy, released his files. They caused a major scandal in political and official life in Indiana.

There were major crimes—and small, pitiful ones.

In an Atlanta suburb of East Point, in March, 1940, a frail barber, who somehow had offended the Klan, was beaten to death at night and his body left in a field. (The big brave men of the Klan like to operate by night and usually at odds of eight or more to one. In Alabama, for example, four are charged with the murder of one defenseless woman.)

The writer recalls having a call from the wife of a Klan leader in the early 1940s. She was in tears. "Is there anything that can be done to help my husband," she said. "He was not a bad man. He was a good husband and father. But, now men come to our home who frighten me. They are brutal, hard-looking men. They praise my husband. They flatter him. He somehow feels big in this position. I know only harm can come of it. Can something be done to wake him." (Harm and sorrow did come of it.)

FBI Reports

In more recent months the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has reported that law enforcement officers in some counties in the South are involved in Klan violence. There were Klan connections with the murder of three men in Mississippi last summer. There were Klan connections with the bombings and burnings of more than 100 churches.

Alabama Klans contributed, investigating officers believe, to the dynamite murder of Sunday school children in Birmingham and to other violence in that state.

Last fall, in the pre-election weeks when the Klan was loud in its support of Gov. Wallace for President, Alabama's dragon, Robert Creel, was quoted as saying that Gov. Wallace and Sen. Goldwater could do only so much by themselves. "They need our help," said Creel.

Continuing, Creel was quoted as telling a rural Klan group that the Klan represented a majority of the people of Alabama and hated "niggerism, Catholicism, Judaism and all other isms."

There can't be much of an exodus, Mr. President.

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Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

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21 Labor

Labor Union Research Departments

By Solomon Barkin,
Textile Workers Union of America,
New York, N. Y.

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Unions are Relying Increasingly upon the Collection and Analysis of Accurate Data for Their Daily Decisions and the Development of Their Long-term Policies. This Reflects the Fundamental Conviction of the New Unionism that Industrial Relations should be Rationalized.

Labor Union Research Departments

By Solomon Barkin,
Textile Workers Union of America,
New York, N. Y.

Research is a necessary tool of contemporary unionism. Effective operation of a modern trade union demands the use of technicians and personnel specially trained in economics, management, engineering, publicity and law to advise its officers and leaders, and also to help in administering unions. A well trained staff is indispensable to the successful use of current trade union techniques and the realization of their goals.

The acceptance and use of these services have epitomized the new trends in unionism represented by the large industrial unions. As the labor movement has adopted more and more of its new characteristics it has accepted these services and made them an integral part of the organization. Union leaders have become aware of their value and have gained an appreciation of their spheres of usefulness.

Demanded by Industrial Workers

The new unionism stems from the upsurge in organization in 1933 and is being crystallized in the large industrial unions formed since that date. The form, attitude, and aspirations of the new unionism are seeping into most unions, and becoming the common property of the American trade union movement. It is an answer to the demand of the large mass of industrial workers in the basic industries for unions which respond to their practical and pressing needs.

Built to reflect the needs of workers employed in nationally competitive industries, the new unionism has, as we see it, five important traits.

Five Aspects of Present Unionism

FIRST of all, it is required to cope with giant impersonal corporations which control directly or, through, diverse financial channels, many plants distributed throughout the country; these corporations often enjoy monopolistic positions, and employ highly refined management techniques with extensive personnel and welfare programs.

Secondly, the strategy of the new unions is built upon an appeal to all workers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, and therefore the industrial union is its characteristic form of organization.

Thirdly, the newly organized workers recognize that American industry is dynamic and mobile, that new industries and regions arise rapidly to replace older ones, and that therefore American union standards will be best protected by organizing all unorganized workers in every industry and region.

Fourthly, these workers want unions which would couple economic action with extensive national legislation to assure them economic security and protect their unions.

Fifthly, the new unionism believes that unions should assume industrial leadership to prevent competition at the expense of labor and domination of labor by monopolistic industries and in time should secure the right to parcipate in the direction and planning of industry.

These new characteristics reflect an expansion of purpose and a new militancy which necessitates a specialized staff equipped to assist those handling these many challenges. In the skilled craft unions established for local industries, individual leaders were able to encompass the facts of the industry through their own personal contacts, and deal with the problems in terms of this experience. But the new organizations, too large for such simple procedures, require more precise and more profound, as well as prompter, information, analysis and understanding to cope with their problems. To secure these materials, trade unions have turned to specialized personnel who, because of their training and insight, knowledge of, and allegiance to, the labor movement, could aid in fulfilling these wider needs.

Work of Union Research Departments

THIS paper will deal primarily with the functions of those people who staff that section of the union generally known as the "research department." While their services vary from union to union, they have an inherent generic similarity. The activities of the research department of the Textile Workers Union of America will serve to illustrate the specific content of their services.

Research staffs composed primarily of economists and socially minded engineers, were established to act in an advisory capacity to union officers, but the variety of trade union activities has made it important also to utilize the research

personnel in other capacities. To perform these services, the research staff usually assembles six different types of data which are of direct interest and value both to the leaders and membership of the organization.

The first relates to each company's financial, corporate, industrial, personnel and labor experience. The second consists of information on wages, workload and labor costs. The third grouping includes data on the economic characteristics and operations of the industry and its many subdivisions. The fourth outlines the major connections of each member of management. The fifth deals with material about the communities in which the mills are located. Finally, the files consist of reports about employer policies and practices, and collective bargaining experience in other industries.

Economic Surveys Made

THESE factual resources furnish the basis for varied services. Economic surveys are constantly in preparation. There are summaries of economic conditions, measures of business activity, forecasts of future conditions, analyses of different economic and market situations within the respective subdivisions, investigations into financial results of an industry's operations, evaluations of the ability of individual companies and industries to increase wages, and descriptions of sources of economic instability of industrial sectors and the remedies for these conditions. The movement of industry or business from one branch to another or from one region to another or from one plant to another is constantly reviewed.

Interindustry competition requires attention since complaints of narrowing markets frequently foreshadow "cut-throat" competition. Technological changes provoke inquiries into the extent of dislocation, methods of protection, alternative employments and compensation. With defense problems arising, the union must more than ever before be able to identify "ghost" towns, and depressed areas, and locate available labor supply and productivity capacity.

Planning Organizing Campaigns

IN THE following paragraphs, we shall discuss several customary uses of these data. Since the industrial units which are being organized are huge in size and intimately interrelated and since each has its own background in unionism, it is becoming increasingly imperative to plan each organizing campaign carefully and completely. Materials must be available to the organizer for his use. The research departments have made available to organizers in such cases information about the specific community, its population, its mores and its institutions. Insofar as workers in the mill differ from those of the general community, their characteristics are defined. If there had been previous efforts toward unionism, these are traced as are strikes, charges of discrimination and governmental action respect-

ing labor laws. The mills, their financial set-up, personnel and other available data on their operations are reported.

Sometimes Advise Against Organizing

FREQUENTLY, it is necessary to caution against all organizational work because of the weak financial position of the company or because of the imminence of other acts such as moving to other localities. The company's attitude and relation toward unions of course is also stated. In the event that a mill's wages are low, special data are furnished to bring that point home. Information on complaints respecting wages and working conditions, or probable sore-spots are of course given to the organizer. With these materials, the job of organizing is considerably facilitated.

As all industrial relations are being increasingly founded on joint consideration of the relevant facts, unions are more than ever before in need of accurate data and thorough factual preparation to negotiate with management. Its own efforts in this connection must be particularly intensive as management frequently refuses to disclose its data unless compelled to do so by the overwhelming force of the union's case. Unfortunately, labor generally has no access to corporate financial statements or to reports on operations or costs. The existence of such secrecy inspires suspicion and prevents true collective bargaining. The union must now secure its materials from outside sources.

Prepare Analyses of Costs

THE research departments therefore carry the burden of preparing analyses for negotiators on the company's costs, degree of efficiency, financial condition, profitability and prospects. The negotiators must have data on sources for wage increases and adequate analysis of comparative wages, production and costs so that they may be fully guided in the formulation of their demands, deliberations and final settlement. In many instances, it is necessary to define the economic limitations on increases as well as the price adjustments which might be required. The company's economic and market advantages must be assayed. Unions are endeavoring to guide their policies and strategy by the facts of each situation.

Companies financially capable of adopting liberal provisions are frequently reluctant to take the lead. In such instances unions have successfully employed studies of precedents for their proposals. Frequency analyses have been made of agreements to establish the extent of provisions for vacations with pay, for a minimum number of hours of guaranteed pay for reporting to work, or for separation allowances for persons displaced by technological changes, or for the sharing by workers of savings due to increased man-hour productivity. Intensive surveys have been made of specific companies and of entire industries with respect to per-

sonnel practices, labor policies, work load and wage conditions to establish uniform competitive standards.

Controlling Technological Changes

ANOTHER function of the research staff is to develop techniques for handling special problems. In the textile industry, probably the most serious question has been that of workload. The Textile Workers Union of America has faced this problem and has experimentally developed a method of guaranteeing workers effective protection against the onrush of technological change. It has insisted that changes be made only after their submission and approval by the union. Unnecessary and improper changes have been vetoed. Where technical alterations are made, the pace has been controlled. The workers now have job guarantees and higher wages. For those who have been displaced, dismissal wages have been obtained. Other types of provisions have also been developed. Entire techniques have been evolved for comating overwork. Similarly special controls are being formulated for regulating incentive wage systems and employer time-study techniques.

Merit rating systems which are formalizing the many qualifications to straight seniority systems require investigations of personnel practice, and of the work forces to determine the probable effects of suggested modification.

Similarly, labor unions are demanding direct participation in plant safety and health work to prevent anti-union activities and to assure effective protection. They require factual materials for these activities. The research department has aided in formulating the objectives, defining and applying the techniques, and supervising the administration of, and the experience under, these arrangements so that improvements may be made. Advice is given concerning these problems to assure adequate contractual provisions.

Rehabilitation of Plants and Industries

AN EVER expanding field of service performed by unions in which research departments play an important role is the rehabilitation of both individual plants and industries. Industrial unions want to create and maintain sound industries. Without such a condition there can be no security for their members' employment and no opportunities for improving standards or maintaining high earnings and good work conditions. Labor cooperation with individual companies in their managerial procedures is becoming more general as management is learning that such assistance results in greater efficiency and the elimination of much waste.

Specific agreements have been arranged in the textile industry covering this kind of cooperation providing for the protection of the union and for labor to

share in the ultimate savings. The results have been generally favorable to all concerned. The research department is called in to guide local committees as well as furnish them with much of the material necessary for their work. Since such investigations reach into marketing problems, types of manufacture, and surveys of alternative production methods and machinery, many phases of the investigation are carried on completely by the department. This kind of union assistance has, for the most part, been superior to that rendered by outside consulting services since the final changes under union-management cooperation plans are usually effected with greater understanding by the worker. These forms of cooperation have of course not been limited to such formal arrangements or extensive investigations.

Moreover, there are entire branches in the textile industry which require stabilization. Several of these are in the process of study. The classic types of assistance for rehabilitation of entire industries are to be found in the apparel industries. Many of the latter are based on advice furnished by technicians and research men who have studied these industries and rendered their reports for guidance.

Adjustment of Grievances

In the actual administration of agreements, the research departments may play an important role. Grievances relating to technical questions which are not settled locally are referred to this department for review. They are frequently able to formulate otherwise vague complaints, identify sources of trouble, review grievance machinery and offer suggestions which facilitate adjustments. Plants with time studies, complicated wage incentive plans, merit rating systems, hazardous and unhealthful employment conditions, wage penalty provisions, substandard wage levels, burden some work loads or excessive rates of change in equipment are constant sources of problems which require the department's aid.

In plants where the union participates in time studies, union representatives have to be trained to supervise and criticize the work effectively. Union wage and negotiating committees must be taught the methods of handling technical issues and critically reviewing management's techniques. These groups need information on comparative conditions and advice on methods of evaluating employer's proposals or measuring units. The training problem becomes a particularly severe one in places where there are complicated wage incentive plans which are enforced by large clerical and professional staffs often exceeding five percent of the total number of employees. A very complete grievance and shop steward system must be established at such mills and each one of these persons must be adequately acquainted with their duties.

Relation to Consulting Engineers

THE employment by textile management of consulting engineers has opened up a new series of issues which research departments are helping to resolve. Unions have found it necessary to deal with these salesmanlike, self-confident and often uncompromising persons. Some of them make proposals without thorough study of local conditions and defend their recommendations with mysterious "confidential comparative information," which they refuse to identify or submit to verification or analysis.

The research department has assisted local unions in reviewing the engineers' proposals and in formulating union counter-recommendations. Through a concerted effort in all instances where such engineers are being employed, the research department is attempting to identify these as employer proposals and to make them as much subject to collective bargaining as any other employer request. It is hoped that franker consideration of verifiable facts will facilitate collective bargaining and replace present secretive habits.

Supply Data for Arbitrations

ANOTHER significant field of service has been that rendered during arbitration proceedings. As in all phases of negotiations, management is preparing itself more adequately for all its relations with unions. Most employers who have adequate personnel and engineering departments are usually well supplied with data for such hearings. It is therefore more than ever necessary for unions to present a complete statement of facts and arguments. As arbitrators are as yet most frequently chosen for individual disputes, the presentation must be particularly complete and explicit.

In most instances, arbitrators rely on the data furnished by both parties in dispute rather than on their own independent studies. Research departments are most often required to aid in arbitrations involving questions of wages, working conditions and work assignment. Surveys are made and offered in such instances on economic, financial, price, industrial and similar questions.

Training and Checking Organizers

NO LESS essential is the general duty of the research department to coordinate, systematize and test the policies, procedures and strategies employed by unions. Just as management has organized its personnel practices in the so-called science of personnel management, so the research departments are modestly creating a similar body of knowledge for the trade union movement. Labor organizers and officials have had to operate on the basis of direct experience and word of mouth instruction. Much of the information they secured they have had individually to test for themselves. Research departments are now collecting this experience and preparing manuals, guides and checklists which shorten the preparatory period, assure more

complete instruction and sharpen the insight of labor leaders. Organizers are being instructed in the union's facilities and services of governmental agencies.

The same effort to apply the principles of preparation, research and judgment on the basis of facts is being widely applied to many types of union activities. Conferences of union members or organizers are being directed by well conceived programs. Union practices such as dues collection, grievance machinery, and administrative forces are now repeatedly investigated to assure the officers that they are efficient and realistic. Union policies are being subjected to similar scrutiny. Solutions for such important problems as wage stabilization are investigated prior to their final formulation. Studies in the experience of other unions precede actual recommendations. The American labor movement is trying to achieve its final goals with all of the tools which it can employ, and it is learning to use the tool of research to this end.

Interests Identified with National Welfare

THE trade union movement is fast becoming the most important progressive force in our nation. Its interests are not provincial; they are identical with the nation's welfare. The attitude of mind of the labor leader focuses his attention upon public welfare and general industrial and economic problems rather than upon the narrow interests of an individual concern. They, therefore, are familiar with industry's problems and those of the country. These, they have realized, must be dealt with to improve the workers' lot. As an example, we may refer to unions' efforts to stabilize constructively the more competitive industries through voluntary industrial controls intended to uproot infested areas. In developing policy and programs in these fields, union leaders have looked to the research departments for much of the basic data. They keep apprized of trends and developments as well as all possible sources of trouble.

Legislative Action

LEGISLATIVE action is becoming an expanding part of the trade unions' constructive program. They realize that the government's compulsory powers are necessary to remedy and to improve labor's economic position. The American trade union movement was in the vanguard for wage and hour, social security, public works, relief, housing and labor relations laws. Even more than in the formulation of these original demands, the research staffs are playing their part in following the administration of these laws and reviewing and formulating necessary amendments. In connection with the wage and hour law, appearances are made before industry committees to argue the merits of union wage proposals and before the administrator to recommend specific limitations on learners or other definitions. Exemptions and complaints of violation are also part of the work of such departments. Social security experience is a constant concern since these staffs handle

many problems and must answer many queries. The progress and effect of National Labor Relations Board decisions are being recorded, studied and appraised.

Contacting Government Agencies

AN IMPORTANT function of the research department which frequently far transcends in importance the above specific duties is that of reviewing the activities and keeping in close touch with all governmental agencies whether local, state or federal, which are administering labor laws or collecting data bearing on labor so that the union's views and reactions may be fully known and appreciated. Aid and advice is given governmental agencies making investigations in unionized industries. Studies are examined and reviewed; techniques are carefully scrutinized; subjects for inquiry are proposed.

With these resources for information, it becomes the duty of the research staffs to keep the union's membership informed of progress in various fields. For this purpose, regular monthly and semi-monthly publications are issued dealing with industrial conditions, labor developments and union events. Special reports and publications are issued from time to time.

Public Relations Work

EFFORTS are also made to acquaint other groups in the community with labor's purposes, policies and activities. Trade union research staffs have stimulated many students and scholars to investigate specific fields of labor conditions and union activity. Inquiries of all kinds from government and public agencies, as well as individuals, are constantly answered. Unions want general understanding and appreciation for their work for it is dedicated to the welfare of the great mass of Americans.

A trade union research department is engaged in the vast variety of activities which occupy the modern trade union. Its purpose is not to make decisions on policy or strategy but rather to offer a tested body of facts and information, and studied counsel. Its value is growing as the activities of trade unions are extending themselves into more complicated and larger national industries; are concerned with more fundamental managerial, financial and industrial problems; as the experience with, and knowledge of, collective bargaining is widening; as formal arbitration machinery for the resolution of differences is multiplying; and as contacts with governmental agencies and the public are increasing.

Fact Finding Agencies

UNIONS are relying increasingly upon the collection and analysis of accurate data for their daily decisions and the development of their long-term policies. The ready recognition of the importance of facts by the new unionism reflects its funda-

mental conviction that industrial relations should be rationalized. The problems of management and labor should be resolved by joint study of the relevant facts involved in each dispute.

The stability of industries in which collective bargaining has become an established fact reflects this effort to rationalize industrial relations. The research departments of modern trade unions are aiding unions in finding the facts, in formulating and documenting their statements, in developing and reviewing their policies and practices, in increasing their effectiveness in dealing with many current economic, industrial and managerial problems, and in establishing more rational industrial relations and more effective administration of labor contracts and labor law.

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THE NEGRO AUTOMOBILE WORKER[1]

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IN JUNE, 1943, Detroit, the center of automobile manufacturing and now a main artery of wartime production, witnessed one of the most serious race riots in the nation's history. But even before the riot many of the industry's employers both in Detroit and in subsidiary automobile centers had come to consider tension between white and Negro workers as one of the greatest single threats not only to peaceful industrial relations but also to the demands of continuous production.[3] Indeed, since 1941, racial tension has been manifested in a series of strikes by white employees at the plants of such concerns as Packard, Hudson, Chrysler, and Timken-Detroit Axle. In view of the fact that the Negro wage-earner has been an integral part of the industry's labor force for over a quarter of a century, the question naturally arises as to why he has become a new focal point of industrial strife. The present article seeks to throw light on this question. In doing so, however, it is necessary to describe in some detail the industrial status of the Negro automobile worker during the period preceding the conversion of the industry to war production.

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Abram L. Harris, Howard University, who read the manuscript and offered several valuable suggestions.

[2] In addition to being a member of the Department of Economics at Howard University, the author is serving as a labor economist in the War Production Board. The views he expresses are his personal opinions.

[3] See, e.g., *Iron Age*, CLI (1943), 86.

I. NEGRO LABOR ENTERS THE INDUSTRY

In 1910 there were 105,758 gainful[4] workers in the automobile industry. Of these only 569—less than 1 per cent—were Negroes. Negro workers first entered the industry in significant numbers during and immediately following World War I. Induced by the accelerated war and post-war demand for labor, their entrance coincided with the influx of southern workers, generally, to Detroit, Pontiac, Lansing, Flint, Saginaw, Toledo, and South Bend—the centers of automobile production. Although the number of Negroes increased significantly, it still was a relatively small fraction of the total number of southern migrants who found employment in the industry. And the fact that from the beginning of the industry's major expansion Negroes were greatly outnumbered by southern whites was to exert an important bearing on the relation of Negro workers to the industry and to the automobile unions.

Although actual employment naturally fluctuated widely from year to year, the number of workers—white and Negro—normally attached to the industry was stabilized by 1930 and remained fairly constant until wartime conversion was completed. Thus, of the 640,474 gainful automobile workers in 1930, 25,895—roughly 4 per cent—were Negroes. Ten years later Negroes accounted for 23,015—again approximately 4 per cent—of

[4] "Gainful" is used by the Bureau of the Census to indicate actual employment plus those out of work but normally employed.

the 617,132 gainful workers in the industry. The labor force in 1940 was predominantly male. White females comprised just under 10 per cent of all white workers. But Negro females numbered only 264, or slightly over 1 per cent of the male Negro gainful workers.[5]

II. THE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO WORKERS

At first blush it would appear that the employment of Negroes should occasion no grave problem, since they are of small numerical importance. But Negro automobile workers have been highly concentrated geographically, plant-wise, and by departments and occupations. This concentration has made them, at least in the short run, an indispensable part of the labor force. Moreover, it has established a particular pattern of racial employment—a pattern that assumed crucial importance when the industry converted to war production.

TABLE 1*

TEN LARGEST EMPLOYERS OF NEGRO AUTOMOBILE LABOR—PRECONVERSION PERIOD

Company	Wage-Earners		
	All	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Ford Motor Co.†	90,000	11,000	12.22
General Motors Corp.‡	100,000	2,500	2.50
Chrysler Corp.†	50,000	2,000	4.00
Briggs Manufacturing Corp.†	14,000	1,300	9.29
Midland Steel Products Co.	4,100	1,250	30.49
Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corp.	2,798	668	23.87
Packard Motor Car Co.	16,000	600	3.75
Kelsey-Hayes Corp.	3,050	365	11.97
Murray Corp. of America	7,000	350	5.00
Hudson Motor Car Co.	12,200	225	1.84

* Source: Company personnel departments and Labor Division, Office of Production Management.

† Michigan establishments only.

‡ Michigan and Indiana automobile plants only.

With respect to geographic distribution, Negro workers have been unduly concentrated in Michigan, and more particularly in the Detroit area. In 1940 Michigan accounted for 60 per cent of the white workers as compared with 83 per cent of the Negro labor force. Probably 70 per cent of all Negroes in the industry were employed in the Detroit metropolitan area alone. On the other hand, only 34 of the 19,152 automobile workers in Wisconsin (which ranks fifth in the industry from the standpoint of employment) were Negroes. Three factors appear to explain this geographical concentration: (1) the rate of industrial expansion, and thus the labor shortage, was higher in Michigan than elsewhere; (2) the occupations in which Negroes have been used are to a large extent confined to that state; and (3) the attitudes toward Negro employment in automobile plants have been more unfavorable in other sections of the country. Of these three factors, the first two are of most importance.

The bulk of the Negro labor force has been employed by a few firms in the industry and, in the case of the "Big Three" (Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler), in a few plants of the parent-concern. Table 1 presents normal employment data for the period 1937–41 for the ten largest employers of Negro workers. The most striking feature of these data is that Ford employed more than four times as many Negroes as any other concern, though it normally ranked third in the production of finished vehicles and second in volume of employment. In fact, nearly half of all Negroes in the industry were employed by this concern. On the other hand, the

[5] U.S. Decennial Census. These figures include both those workers actually employed at the time of enumeration and those unemployed but normally attached to the industry. Thus the 1940 figures represent actual employment plus "experienced persons seeking work." Previous censuses made no such breakdown.

proportion of Negroes to total employment was higher at Midland Steel and Bohn, largely because these concerns are engaged primarily in foundry operations.

The concentration of Negroes in particular plants of the major companies was even more striking. Fully 99 per cent of all Ford Negro employees were found in the Rouge plant in Dearborn in 1937. The bulk of the General Motors Negro employees worked in Buick plant 70 in Flint (there are several Buick plants in that city), the Pontiac foundry in Pontiac (where there are five major Pontiac plants), and in two of the several Chevrolet plants—Chevrolet Forge, Spring, and Bumper in Detroit and Chevrolet Grey-Iron Foundry in Saginaw. The majority of Chrysler's Negro employees worked at the main Dodge plant in Hamtramck (a Detroit suburb), site of the chief Chrysler foundry.[6]

The concentration of Negroes in particular plants and departments resulted primarily from the types of occupations in which these workers were used. Negroes were largely confined to the most undesirable jobs in the industry. Most of them were unskilled. A small minority performed semiskilled and even skilled operations, but the latter were almost invariably hot, noisy, dirty, dusty, hazardous, or required exceptional physical exertion. This pattern has been only slightly altered since the beginning of war production.

The most recent industry-wide occupational tabulation is provided by the 1930 census.[7] These data show clearly that Negroes were concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder. Nearly three-fourths of them were found in unskilled capacities as against one-fourth of the whites. Approximately one-half of the white employees but only one-eighth of the Negroes were white-collar or skilled workers. Were Ford employment eliminated from these figures, the Negro's concentration in the lower occupational classifications would have appeared much greater, for his occupational distribution in that concern (where nearly half of the Negro automobile workers were found) has been much broader than in the rest of the industry.

These statistics do not tell the whole story, however, for jobs within the same classification as to skill vary greatly in their desirability. Outside of the coreroom nearly all foundry jobs are unpleasant, yet a substantial portion of them are semiskilled and skilled. The same holds true for the heat-treat and sanding and paint operations. Yet most of the semiskilled and skilled Negro workers were found in such departments, where they were confined to the most hazardous or otherwise undesirable occupations—such jobs, for example, as shear-operator, heater, sprayman, chipper, rough-snag-grinder, and sand-blaster. Likewise, Negro unskilled workers filled the more undesirable jobs in that broad occupational category. In brief, Negroes were not only concentrated in occupations requiring less skill but were also attached to the worst jobs within each occupational classification. The sole exception to this general characterization was the Ford Rouge plant—though here, as described below, the difference was largely one of degree.

The pre-war position of Negroes in Chrysler plants may be taken as typical of those plants where Negroes were used in substantial numbers. In March, 1940, 51 per cent of the approximately two thousand Negro employees of Chrysler were classed as unskilled (production helpers, janitors, common laborers, etc.);

[6] Derived from data obtained from the companies in question.

[7] Occupational data by industry for 1940 were not available at the time of this writing.

30 per cent as foundry workers; 5 per cent as paint-department employees (chiefly sanders and sprayers); and 14 per cent were classified in "miscellaneous occupations."[8] All of these employees were found in the Chrysler Michigan plants, no Negro workers being employed in the company's Indiana and California establishments. In fact, most of the relatively few Negro automobile workers found in all assembly and parts plants located outside the Michigan-Ohio-Indiana region were janitors, porters, material handlers, and other unskilled employees.

The number of Negroes in supervisory positions (exclusive of the Ford Rouge plant) was negligible. Only six Negro foremen were found in nineteen motor-vehicle and twenty-one body and parts companies surveyed in the spring of 1940.[9] The number of straw bosses was somewhat larger. In every case Negro foremen and straw bosses supervised all-Negro crews.

In all Ford establishments save the River Rouge plant in Dearborn the occupational status of Negro wage-earners was similar to that prevailing in the industry generally. In the Rouge plant, however, their distribution by occupation was much broader. Table 2 presents a tabulation of Ford Rouge hourly-rate employees by race, major division, production, and nonproduction, as of October, 1937. It will be noted that the relatively new tool and die and airplane-motor buildings are not included. Each of the divisions shown here contained a related group of operations. The foundry and foundry machine shop divisions are self-explanatory. Operations conducted in the other divisions were as follows: motor building—manufacture and assembly of various motor parts and final automobile motor assembly; "B" building—manufacture and assembly of bodies and various chassis parts and final assembly; spring and upset—sundry

TABLE 2*

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES IN THE FORD ROUGE PLANT, OCTOBER, 1937

Division	Production			Nonproduction			Total		
	All	Negro	Per Cent Negro	All	Negro	Per Cent Negro	All	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Foundry	8,980	4,199	46.76	3,274	460	14.05	12,254	4,659	38.02
Foundry machine shop	3,524	609	17.28	428	7	1.64	3,952	616	15.59
Motor building	11,723	580	4.95	2,854	174	6.10	14,577	754	5.17
"B" building	5,671	243	4.29	3,797	321	8.45	9,468	564	5.96
Spring and upset building	3,842	500	13.01	1,642	74	4.51	5,484	574	10.47
Pressed steel building	4,754	375	7.89	2,292	180	7.85	7,046	555	7.88
Rolling mill and open hearth	5,510	889	16.13	2,683	293	10.92	8,193	1,182	14.43
Toolrooms	.....	.....	.....	5,131	51	0.99	5,131	51	0.99
Construction	.....	.....	.....	3,515	232	6.60	3,515	232	6.60
Miscellaneous	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,476	638	4.41
Total†	44,004	7,395	16.81	25,616	1,792	6.99	84,096	9,825	11.68

* Source: Ford Rouge pay-roll department.

† As the ratio of production to nonproduction jobs in the "miscellaneous" category is unknown, the corresponding ratio for total figures may be slightly in error.

[8] Derived from data supplied by the Chrysler Corp.

[9] Field investigation and correspondence.

machining operations; pressed steel—fabrication of steel stampings; rolling mill and open hearth—two buildings which comprise the Rouge iron and steel plant; construction—various building and furnace construction operations performed throughout the plant; miscellaneous—remaining sections of the Rouge establishment, among them being the glass plant.[10]

It is seen that Negroes were used in every major department in the plant. Moreover, since the Rouge establishment was the most nearly self-contained plant in the industry, this is tantamount to stating that they performed practically every operation related to automobile manufacturing. An examination of more detailed occupational data, which cannot be presented here, would also show that Negroes were engaged in every occupation in the plant.

It was nevertheless true that Negro wage-earners were disproportionately concentrated in the less desirable occupations and divisions. Thus they constituted nearly half of the production workers and over one-third of all workers in the foundry, but less than 1 per cent of the tool and die makers. In the most disagreeable jobs the proportion of Negro workers was over 50 per cent, as exemplified by the following percentages on Negro proportion of total employment: shakeout, 56.97; molding, 62.62; reels, 55.97; melting, 51.86; and chipping, 51.06.[11]

Thus, at Ford's, as in the rest of the industry, Negroes were employed in greatest numbers in those jobs and in those sections where the general nature of the work was least desirable. Yet the Rouge plant was the only instance in the industry in which Negro workers were used in every occupation. In addition, the number of Negro foremen in the plant, though small in relation to the volume of Negro employment, exceeded the total for the rest of the industry. The relatively superior occupational status, as well as aggregate employment, traditionally enjoyed by Negroes at Rouge helps to explain their strikebreaking role during the April, 1941, strike and the difficulty experienced by the automobile unions in organizing Negro workers.

III. THE NEGRO-WHITE WAGE DIFFERENTIAL

In two or three plants race differentials for the same work existed, wherein for pay-roll purposes Negro employees were given classifications lower than warranted by the job actually performed.[12] But such instances have been disappearing. The Negro-white income differential has not been as large as might be surmised from a study of the Negro's occupational status. With few exceptions, the industry's policy has been "equal pay for equal work."

No race breakdown of hourly wages in the industry has ever been made, but data on annual earnings by race for 1939 are available. In that year the average annual income of white and Negro employees (including salaried workers) amounted to $1,291 and $1,092, respectively. This race differential ($209) was smaller than in any other manufacturing activity except the leather industry. Moreover, Negro automobile workers' average annual earnings exceeded the 1939 average income for all workers in all manufacturing industries

[10] For a more complete description of the Rouge plant organization see Hartley W. Barclay, *Ford Production Methods* (New York, 1936).

[11] Data obtained from Ford Rouge pay-roll department.

[12] Glen E. Carlson, "The Negro in the Industries of Detroit" (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan unpublished doctoral diss., 1929), p. 139; interviews, Negro workers and U.A.W.–C.I.O. officials, Detroit, February 24, 1940.

($975), exceeded the average for all white manufacturing employees ($1,002), and were nearly twice the corresponding figure for all Negro manufacturing employees.[13] The race differential for wage-earners was in reality less than $209, since the inclusion of salaried employees (among whom almost no Negroes were found) overstated the income of white wage-earners. It appears from field investigation that the race differential in average hourly rates has always been greater than in the case of annual earnings, principally because Negroes have been more heavily represented in maintenance work (such as janitorial duties) and in continuous operations such as milling, rolling, and blast-furnace operation—primarily at the Ford Rouge plant, where employment is steadier during the year.

The comparatively small race differential in income has been due to several factors. Negro workers have been unduly concentrated in Michigan, where wages are higher than elsewhere in the industry, and in the large concerns, which pay wages above the industry average even within Michigan. Moreover, as in most high-wage industries, there has been a high concentration of hourly earnings about the average in automobile manufacturing, and this is only slightly less true of annual earnings. Likewise, minimum rates have consistently been comparatively high.[14] Finally, the most disagreeable jobs (and hence those in which Negroes were found in greatest numbers) frequently pay wages above the plant average. Examples are iron-melting, iron-pouring, and the knockout (a foundry operation).

IV. PERSONNEL POLICIES

While the industry's general policy has been to use Negroes only in the poorest jobs, there have been notable deviations from this policy. The deviations exist as between regions, among firms in the same region, and even among particular plants of the same concern in the same region. In the Detroit area, for example, during 1940 Negroes were used at one Chevrolet plant in occupations from which they were barred in another Chevrolet establishment one block distant. Briggs (a body manufacturer) has been a large employer of Negro labor, yet the Fisher Body plants of General Motors have been well known for their "lily-white" policy.[15] Other examples of divergent Negro employment practices could be given. In many instances mere accident accounted for the origin of these policies—for example, the employment in past of a personnel director unalterably opposed to the use of Negroes in any capacity. With the passage of time such a policy becomes established as traditional in the plant.

Neither the complete refusal to employ Negroes nor their confinement to the lower occupations has borne any relationship to a supposed difference in the efficiency of white and Negro workers. All of the industry's major employers of Negro labor report that Negro employees have proved, in general, as capable as white workers. Some few have expressed doubt that the Negro could perform highly skilled operations satisfactorily, but at the Ford Rouge plant, the only establishment where a significant number of skilled Negroes

[13] U.S. Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, *Employment and Wages of Covered Workers, 1939* (1941), pp. 51, 55, 59. Earnings in excess of $3,000 per year in the service of a particular employer are excluded from these figures. These data are based upon a 20 per cent sample.

[14] "Wage Structure of the Motor-Vehicle Industry, Part I," *Monthly Labor Review*, LIV (February, 1942), 295–96, 301; "Part II," *ibid.*, LIV (March, 1942), 740–41, 749.

[15] Field investigation, December, 1939, through March, 1940.

have been employed, officials profess to see no race difference in this respect.[16] It may be noted, however, that prior to conversion highly skilled positions were not of great importance from the standpoint of the volume of employment, since over 25 per cent of the occupations in the pre-war industry required no experience and only 10 per cent demanded more than one year of training or experience.[17]

V. THE PROBLEM OF UPGRADING NEGRO WORKERS

White workers came to accept the employment of Negroes *en bloc* in certain sections of particular establishments, such as in the foundry, as more or less normal and not seriously in conflict with the traditional conception of the Negro's place in industry. Upgrading within the area defined for Negro workers could hardly be considered a threat to the white man's status. But the increased employment of Negroes during wartime and the necessity of advancing them to positions above this status in the occupational scale have tended to diffuse them within a few plants. This has disturbed the pattern of employment and has thus occasioned race friction.

The tendency for race friction to develop upon the rise of Negroes to higher occupations was apparent long before the outbreak of the present war. As a rule, promotions for Negroes outside their traditional sphere of employment hardly existed. There were isolated instances in which Negro workers were upgraded to better jobs. But in most such cases white employees in the higher occupation or department displayed such intense animosity that the Negro worker was either withdrawn or quit voluntarily. Tools mysteriously disappeared, a Negro was pushed into a machine, or other "accidents" occurred. In many plants the mere rumor that Negroes were to be upgraded was sufficient to create animosity.

Of the distinguishable groups among workers in Michigan the southern white and the Polish appeared to exhibit the highest degree of race feeling. This situation is at least partially explained by the fact that these two groups were both relatively recent entrants into the automobile labor market, felt the least secure, and came into the most direct contact with Negroes in the competition for jobs. The following statement of a white Packard worker (who was also a minor official of the union local) typifies many reports of reaction to Negro upgrading before the war:

> About 40 per cent of the workers here are Polish. There are also a lot of southern whites. Both of them are very prejudiced. . . . . The rumor got out not long ago that Negroes were going to start working in the trim department—where I work. Most of the men there are southern whites. They said, "I'll be goddamned if I'm going to work with a goddamn black nigger."[18]

At about the same time a Packard official stated in an interview:

> White and colored get along all right in the foundry because the average white worker doesn't want a foundry job anyway. White foundry workers are foreigners. . . . . Sometimes we've been able to work a few colored into other departments. . . . . But you've got to do it gradually. . . . . The southern whites resent the colored fellows most. . . . . We employ a large number of Poles here. The younger generation of Poles seems to hate the colored almost as much as the southern whites. The Poles got so fed up with being called "Polacks" when they first came to this country that now they're trying to take it out on the Negroes.[19]

[16] Field investigation and correspondence.

[17] Estimates of the Automobile Manufacturers Association based upon a study of the U.S. Employment Service, *Job Specifications for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry* (1935).

[18] Interview, Detroit, February 24, 1940.

[19] Interview, Detroit, March 7, 1940.

In contrast to the general reaction to Negro upgrading in the industry, it is interesting to note that race tension on this issue has never developed at the Ford Rouge plant. Since 1920 the Rouge management has followed a definite policy of employing Negroes in all capacities, and it has been well understood that demonstrations by white workers over Negro employment and upgrading would result in dismissal. Since no definite racial occupational pattern had been established, Negro upgrading did not challenge the status quo.

The upgrading of Negroes became a crucial issue within the automobile unions soon after the organization of the industry. Negro workers were slow to participate in the automobile labor movement. This was due partly to their awareness of the latent antagonism of certain sections of white automobile labor but also to the fear that incurring management's displeasure might produce a further deterioration in their already inferior occupational status. Perhaps most important was the Negro's skepticism of trade-unions in general. The fact that some labor organizations excluded Negroes from membership, either officially or by tacit agreement, while still others confined them to membership in controlled auxiliaries,[20] made Negro automobile workers reluctant to join the automobile unions. This was in spite of the fact that the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers–C.I.O. (U.A.W.–C.I.O.) from the very beginning accepted Negroes equally with white workers.[21]

The skepticism and sometimes hostility of Negroes to unions accounted for their absence during the wave of sitdown strikes in 1936–37. Some Negroes cooperated with Ford adherents who attacked unionists during the so-called "Battle of the Overpass" at the Ford Rouge plant in May, 1937. They comprised a majority of the workers who engaged in an abortive back-to-work movement at the Dodge main plant during the Chrysler strike in November, 1939, and participated as strikebreakers during the Ford Rouge strike in April, 1941.

Yet largely due to the vigorous organizational drive of the U.A.W.–C.I.O., the membership and general union participation of Negro workers have steadily increased. A 1940 survey of 110 U.A.W.–C.I.O. locals, comprising approximately 66 per cent of the total union membership, disclosed, for example, that 55.3 per cent of the Negroes in the plants covered, as compared with 76.7 per cent of the white workers, held union membership. At the present time Negro workers are probably as highly organized as white workers, since the Ford union-shop agreement of 1941 absorbed approximately 50 per cent of the Negroes in the industry. It seems unlikely that the picture has changed substantially in the intervening two years. On the other hand, Negro membership in the U.A.W.–A.F.L. is still relatively smaller than among white workers.

Negro participation in the affairs of the union locals has not been as great as membership figures would indicate, however. A substantial proportion of all automobile union members do not carry union participation beyond the stage of paying dues, and this seems more true

[20] See Herbert R. Northrup, "Organized Labor and Negro Workers," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. LI, No. 3 (June, 1943).

[21] Unless otherwise noted, subsequent reference to automobile unions concerns the U.A.W.–C.I.O., the dominant trade-union in the industry. The position of Negro workers in the United Automobile Workers–A.F.L. (U.A.W.–A.F.L.) is substantially the same. Negro membership in the independent automobile unions is virtually nonexistent.

of Negroes than of white automobile workers. Yet Negro workers have become increasingly integrated in the union movement in the face of continued discrimination by white workers in certain union locals; and even in the strikes referred to above, in which some Negroes allied themselves with management, others were found co-operating with the union.

Had organized labor been able to lower the barriers confronting the upgrading of Negro workers, a 100 per cent Negro union participation would probably have been assured. Many Negroes in the industry expected that the institution of seniority clauses in collective agreements would automatically insure equal promotion opportunities. In fact, this expectation was largely responsible for the union's moderate success with Negro employees during the early organizing period. But in the main these hopes did not materialize. Whereas layoffs and recall are administered primarily on the basis of straight seniority, promotions depend on both seniority and ability. Some contracts merely state that both criteria shall be considered, without indicating the relative importance of each. Others use the provision found in the 1939 Chrysler (U.A.W.–C.I.O.) agreement, which declares that promotions "are based primarily upon merit and ability, but when all things are equal the employe having the greatest seniority will receive the preference."

Under this arrangement Negro workers were almost entirely overlooked in the upgrading process. Where Negroes were concerned the term "ability" was construed as acceptability to management and to white workers in the new occupation or department. Numerous cases of alleged discrimination were carried to the union, but union officials, conscious of management's traditional Negro employment policy and aware of the racial antagonism of many of their own members, usually side-stepped the issue. As a matter of fact, refusal to face squarely issues of racial discrimination has been more prevalent among officials of union locals than among the national leadership. Local officials are more directly dependent upon the political support of their members and have thus been more responsive to the racial feelings of the white membership.

An aggressive position on the promotion question has been made even more difficult by the rise of racial bigotry and demagoguery in Michigan, particularly in the Detroit area, during the past ten years. The depression during the last decade affected Michigan automobile centers more severely than most urban communities, and the consequent intensified struggle for jobs produced a fertile field for the sowing of discord. As a result the Negro became a convenient scapegoat for such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, and other groups that began to flourish after 1931. For several years Detroit was even a hotbed of pro-Nazi activity.[22] The presence of a substantial southern white element—and the Poles to only a slightly less extent—with its transplanted racial mores came into natural conflict with the growing Negro group that had left the South largely to escape the status to which it had been confined there.[23] This underlying friction

[22] See Thomas Sancton, "The Race Riots," *New Republic*, LI (1943), 9–10.

[23] A March, 1943, analysis of the wage-record files of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission disclosed that, of 292,000 workers who had originally obtained their social security numbers in other states, 101,000 (approximately 35 per cent) were from southern states. Of these, 60 per cent came from four states—Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, and Arkansas. Most of these migrants are believed to have arrived since 1940, obtaining employment primarily in the Detroit area. These figures, of

thus contributed to the success of local subversive groups and produced a state of racial tension. In Detroit, where this tension was most acute, it was reflected in minor racial clashes in municipal schools, in public conveyances, and in Negro allegations of police brutality. Only a year before the June, 1943, outbreak in Detroit there occurred a riot involving white opposition to Negro occupation of Sojourner Truth Homes, a federal housing project.[24]

It was not surprising that in this atmosphere the union found it difficult vigorously to enforce the upgrading of Negro workers. Yet in several plants Negro workers were able to advance in small numbers before the war period. At Kelsey-Hayes, Murray, and Buick a few Negroes were upgraded before conversion. In the Ford Rouge plant where Negro employees had always shared in promotions (though to a less degree than whites), the upgrading of them continued after consummation of the U.A.W.–C.I.O. agreement in June, 1941. But outside of the Rouge plant promotions were rare. Most of the advance was probably due to union support, but the gains were far less than would have occurred had equal promotion opportunities been granted.

VI. CONVERSION TO WAR PRODUCTION

The cessation of civilian automobile output and conversion to war production placed Negro workers in an extremely critical situation. The sudden shift to the manufacture of war goods involved a larger proportion of skilled operations, such as machining and skilled assembly, and a somewhat smaller proportion of certain types of "rough" work characteristic of most foundry operations. This required considerable transfer and upgrading, particularly in the case of the Negro workers who were most heavily represented in departments whose relative importance had diminished.

The Negro's share in the job transfers and upgrading arising out of the conversion of existing plants and the opening of new establishments (such as the Chrysler Tank Arsenal) that took place during 1941 was extremely small. At the close of that year, for example, only 170 of the 5,000 employees in the Chrysler tank plant were Negroes and all were janitors.[25] The Briggs management of the new airframe subassembly plant placed a few Negro workers in unskilled positions. But it refused to employ them in skilled and semiskilled occupations and admitted them to the company's training school only after strong protests were made by Negro citizens and the union local. The first Negro graduates of the training school were placed in jobs below their skill.[26] Similar situations prevailed throughout the industry. Yet there were some notable exceptions. At the new Ford Rouge airplane-motor plant Negroes were employed in all capacities—skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled. Also at the Murray airframe subassembly plant a substantial number were placed in the better jobs.[27]

The agreement of September 17, 1941, concluded by the Office of Production Management between the automobile manufacturers and the unions provided for industry-wide seniority on transfers and gave priority on war-production jobs to workers already in the industry.[28]

course, do not include thousands of recent migrants who had no previous jobs or were formerly in non-covered occupations.

[24] *New York Times*, March 1–3, 1942.

[25] Data supplied by Labor Division, Office of Production Management.

[26] Interviews, Detroit, July 10–18, 1941.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] This agreement was amended on June 18, 1942.

With the complete cessation of civilian vehicle production early in 1942 this agreement forced management to arrange for the orderly transfer of thousands of employees to war work. As already indicated, this compelled the transfer of large numbers of Negroes to totally different types of jobs and necessarily involved upgrading in numerous instances, particularly in view of the high seniority of many Negro workers.

The policy described above was put into operation slowly and piecemeal as it concerned Negro workers. Because of this, Negro employees and organizations interested in Negro welfare became increasingly restive. Viewing the problem as serious, the U.A.W.–C.I.O. executive board, after an investigation, adopted late in September, 1941, a resolution which follows in part: "The sharp curtailment in automobile production further intensifies the problem regarding racial discrimination and if such discriminating acts are not stopped it will mean almost total unemployment of Negro union members." The board established an interracial committee to investigate questions of employment discrimination and directed the union locals to take similar action.[29]

Meanwhile, small numbers of Negroes were being transferred or upgraded to semiskilled or skilled war-production jobs which previously had been held exclusively by white workers. This was stimulated by the insistence of Negroes, top union officials, and representatives of the federal government that Executive Order 8802, promulgated June 25, 1941, for the purpose of prohibiting employment discrimination in government departments and war plants, should be observed.[30]

[29] The committee was abolished in July, 1943.

[30] This order has been amended by Executive Order 9346, issued May 27, 1943.

White employees finding themselves working with Negroes for the first time were frequently antagonistic. Considerable opposition developed in Flint General Motors plants over this issue, while in the Detroit area numerous strikes, some of them severe, occurred. Among these were two at Packard (November, 1941, and June, 1943), four at Chrysler (February and June, 1942), two at Timken-Detroit Axle (July, 1942), and one at Hudson Naval Ordnance (June, 1942). General outbursts of race feeling in automobile centers coincided with those occurring in the plants. The most violent was the Detroit race riot in June, 1943. Less severe outbursts occurred in Saginaw and other automobile centers.

In each of these strikes over Negro employment and upgrading the U.A.W.–C.I.O. national leadership gave its official support to the Negro workers and co-operated with representatives of government agencies in insisting upon the repression of discriminatory actions by many of the white workers. But in numerous instances the union local leadership, while disclaiming sympathy with white strikers, failed to show the aggressiveness exhibited by the national officers.

In spite of the opposition of prejudiced elements among white labor, the transfer of regular Negro employees to war work was largely completed by the middle of 1942. The hiring of new Negro workers has also progressed to such an extent that Negro employment in the industry is now substantially higher than the normal peacetime level. A U.A.W.–C.I.O. survey conducted in April, 1943, covering 389 individual establishments (which included a few plants outside the industry) tabulated 676,275 workers, of whom 54,398 (8 per cent) were Negroes. The forty-one General Motors plants covered employed 7,156 Negroes

out of 146,617 workers. Negro employees comprised 4.9 per cent of the total and were found in thirty of the forty-one plants. Of eighteen Ford plants covered, with a total pay roll of 138,626 wage-earners, nine plants employed 17,656 Negroes, 12.7 per cent of the total labor force. The study covered fifteen Chrysler plants employing 58,538 workers. Twelve of these establishments employed a total of 4,909 Negroes, 10.3 per cent of the entire labor force. An analysis of available records shows, however, that the increase in Negro employment has been confined primarily to the traditionally large employers of Negro labor. Little progress has been made thus far in eliminating artificial hiring restrictions in those establishments that have never used Negro workers in any capacity.[31]

The upgrading of Negro workers in accordance with their seniority and ability, and the hiring of trained Negroes in occupations for which they are qualified, have not registered as much improvement as the volume of Negro employment. The occupational distribution of Negro employees is unquestionably superior to the situation prevailing prior to the war, yet many Negroes are still working in positions which do not fully utilize their skill.

The wider utilization of female workers has contributed to the increased racial tension in automobile plants. It was noted earlier that the industry employed relatively few women during peacetime. Two problems have arisen with the rapid increase of female employment. The Negro woman worker found the door to employment almost completely closed when the industry first began to seek female labor.[32] Even Ford was slow to hire Negro women. Though the Willow Run personnel office began employing white women in the spring of 1942 it was not until December, 1942, that Negro women were hired, and then only in small numbers.[33] A similar situation prevailed at most of the other concerns. During the latter part of 1942 Kelsey-Hayes, Murray, and Briggs employed a few Negro women, but, on the whole, barriers to their employment have been far greater than those facing white females or even Negro males.

The U.A.W.–C.I.O. survey referred to above disclosed that only 74 of 280 individual establishments in the industry using female labor employed Negro women, who accounted for 3 per cent of the total female employment. General Motors employed 407 Negro women, 1.1 per cent of total female employment, and these women were found in only thirteen of the twenty-seven plants using female labor. Only seven of the fifteen Chrysler plants employing female workers used Negro women, but they accounted for 10.4 per cent of the total female labor force. The proportion of Negro women to total female employment in Ford establishments (five of the eight Ford plants using female labor employed Negro women) was 3.6 per cent. Approximately two-thirds of these Negro women were employed at the Rouge plant.[34] While a substantial number of Negroes have been employed at the Willow Run bomber plant, such employment is still far more restricted that at the Rouge establishment, particularly in the case of Negro female labor.

[31] Results of this survey made available by the U.A.W.–C.I.O. research department.

[32] The few Negro women employed prior to the war were used almost exclusively as janitresses or in other menial capacities.

[33] *Michigan Chronicle*, December 12, 1942.

[34] U.A.W.–C.I.O. research department.

A growing number of Negro women are being used in production jobs, but the union survey revealed that a majority are still employed in such capacities as janitresses and matrons. A few have recently been used as government inspectors. Although total Negro female employment has been rising, artificial hiring restrictions continue to prevent full use of the available supply of Negro females. In spite of the acute labor shortage in the Detroit area the United States Employment Service estimated that in June, 1943, there were 28,000 Negro women currently available for war work, the largest neglected source of labor already resident in the area.[35] Stated a Michigan U.S.E.S. release of April 9, 1943, on labor-market developments in the Detroit area: "Although employers [the majority of whom are automobile concerns] do not show discrimination against non-whites [in job orders] it is still difficult to place them in jobs other than those at unskilled levels. This is particularly true of non-white women." Yet the utilization of Negro women has gone further in the Detroit area than in other automobile centers.

The second problem accompanying the introduction of female labor concerns the relations of white women workers to Negro men. The increased employment of male Negro workers in the more desirable positions and the rise in white female employment have brought the two groups into contact. Resentment among white workers, male and female, over white women working in close proximity to Negro males has become a potent factor in creating race tension in the workshop.[36]

[35] Statement of War Manpower Commission area director for Detroit.

[36] This was one of the major grievances advanced by white workers, especially by white women, during the Packard strike in June, 1943.

VII. CONCLUSION

It is apparent that the answer to the question posed in the introduction to this paper lies in the fact that the exigencies of war production produced an accelerated change in the Negro's traditional position in the automobile industry. Rather than a portent of a deterioration in this already inferior status, racial strife in specific plants and in automobile manufacturing communities generally is to a large degree the result of the feeling that the superior status of the white worker is challenged by Negroes. But in the eyes of white automobile labor this challenge has not been confined to industry. The Negro's historically inferior economic status has been linked with a subordinate civic and social position. And white workers have tended to look upon Negro progress away from this subordinate position as a bid for social equality. The factor of social status has been as responsible for racial outbreaks in automobile plants as the issue of economic or material advancement.

This view has been reinforced by a change in the Negro's position in the community as a whole. The change has been most noticeable in the Detroit area, where most of the plants employing Negro labor are located. Thus, Detroit has received the bulk of the recent Negro migration to automobile centers, and Negroes already in the community have manifested the most marked improvement in economic status. Negro automobile workers and the Negro business and professional class whose economic position has improved correspondingly have moved in large numbers to middle-class white neighborhoods, while their former living quarters have been occupied by incoming Negro job-seekers. With more money to spend, Negroes who seldom left the slum areas for amuse-

ment have been patronizing downtown theaters and restaurants. They have been driving better cars, are better dressed. A more aggressive attitude has become evident among most Negroes in the community.

Large sections of the white community have viewed these developments with misgivings. There has thus arisen a rather widespread demand for Negro segregation—in the plant and in the community. White Packard strikers repeatedly disclaimed any opposition to Negro upgrading but urged the segregation of Negroes in particular departments.[37] According to one observer, shop stewards in several Chrysler plants have made the same demand.[38] Such an arrangement could only result in a permanently inferior industrial position for Negro automobile workers. Similar proposals have been made by white groups with respect to housing and establishments catering to the general public.

Dismal as the situation appears from the foregoing analysis, the problem of integrating Negroes into industry, while admittedly difficult, need not necessarily involve group conflict and work stoppages. If trade-union leadership could inculcate in white and Negro workers a spirit of fair play and if at the same time management and the union could be induced to work together in eradicating the sources of friction, the problem would lose much of its gravity. Recent experience in the Briggs plants justifies this statement.

Historically, Negro employees at Briggs were largely confined to the paint department (where they worked as sanders and sprayers) and to unskilled occupations, such as janitor work, trucking, and material handling. In 1942, however, the company revamped its employment policy with a view to integrating male and female Negro workers throughout its operations. Foremen and other supervisors were instructed in the management's nondiscrimination policy and are held accountable for violations within their jurisdiction. Moreover, management and the union local leadership work in close co-operation. The union local educates its membership in the necessity for practicing real democracy, and shop stewards are directed to see that the policy is carried out in the shop. Several weeks before a Negro worker is introduced into an all-white department the employees there are notified. Any prospective friction is settled before the Negro is brought in. Likewise, Negro applicants are carefully but impartially selected by means of performance tests and interviews (one of the personnel officials is a Negro, though he is not confined to handling Negro applicants). Upon graduating from the company training school Negroes are properly impressed with the importance of their trail-blazing work in the plant.

This carefully designed program has yielded dividends, for in recent months several hundred Negroes have been hired into semiskilled and skilled positions in the company's plants without race friction.[39] This performance is particularly outstanding because of the rigid racial-occupational pattern that had prevailed at Briggs for over twenty years. A few other plants have turned in similar—though less notable—performances. No insuperable barriers appear to prevent the rest of the industry from following in this path.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

[37] See *Detroit Free Press*, June 4, 1943.

[38] Interview, Washington, D.C., July 13, 1943.

[39] See *New York Times*, April 11, 1943.

"Colored Soldiers may be Good Enough to Risk Their Lives In Battle for Their Country. They Are Not Good Enough To Operate A Philadelphia Street Car."

The New York Times

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1944

BEHIND PHILADELPHIA'S CRISIS

The Philadelphia rapid-transit strike continues in defiance of the United States Army. The ugly situation revealed by the strike remains. In the background there may have been an inter-union struggle, with James McMenamin's "general emergency committee" trying to undermine the Transport Workers Union. But Mr. McMenamin resorted to a weapon which the TWU and the parent CIO have specifically abjured. He called in race prejudice. He and his followers are willing to paralyze a city of two million people, to cut war production, to impede war shipments—and for what purpose? Not for more pay. Not for better working conditions. No, in his own words, to "get a written guarantee that there will be no further hiring of colored operators and no further instruction of the colored operators now in training." In Mr. McMenamin's opinion colored soldiers may be good enough to risk their lives in battle for their country. They are not good enough to operate a Philadelphia street car.

Mr. McMenamin and his followers have refused to call off their strike after the Federal Government has taken over and after the Army has announced that it will operate the Philadelphia rapid-transit system with or without their aid. They are now under threat of legal penalties. The suspicion has been voiced that persons hostile to the war purposes of the United States had something to do with stirring up this trouble. But why should this sinister achievement have been possible? One can't believe that six thousand rapid-transit workers deliberately set out to make a mockery of collective bargaining, to stir up racial conflict, to weaken the fighting fronts, prolong the war and lengthen the American casualty lists.

They cannot have had these things in mind. Let us say that some, perhaps a good many, went out because they were afraid not to—afraid of violence, afraid of being abused, afraid of being considered disloyal to their fellows. There must remain a good many others, the dominant element, who struck because their minds were distorted by a mean and ignorant prejudice. We all know that there are organized groups in this country whose leaders fatten on such prejudice. They are trying to destroy American democracy from within just as earnestly as the Nazis and Japanese are trying to destroy it from without. Their poor dupes in Philadelphia seem to have learned little during the past four days. Nevertheless one must hope and believe, also, that there will be no weakening on the basic issue of equal opportunity in employment, without regard to race or creed. This is a case where compromise would be indecent.

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Fascism

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NATIVE FASCISTS:

how to spot them
and stop them

TEXT BY U. S. WAR DEPARTMENT

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CIO Rejects Work Week of 45 Hours

REPORTERS BANNED AT GM WAGE TALKS

NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 20, 1945

Detroit Fre

SPORTS

MICH., WEDNESDAY, NOVEM

.GM Seeks t

Entry of C

Corporation Sug of Wage Meeting

G. M. REJECTS C. I. O. OFFERS

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BRANDS PLAN DEMAND FOR 'ABDICATION'

Proposal to Boost Pay Withdrawn

METRO FINAL

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Continued Cold
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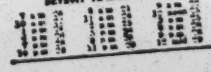

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THE WEATHER

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UAW OFFERS WAGE ARBITRATION TO AVERT GENERAL MOTORS STRIKE

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GM Seeks to Delay Entry of Conciliators

Corporation Suggests U.S. Stay Out of Wage Meeting; UAW Protests

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GM REFUSES TO ARBITRATE; U.S. CALLS PEACE PARLEY

UAW WILL FIGHT AUTO PRICE RISE

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GM MUM ON NEW TALKS

PRICE RISE

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(U. S. Weather Bureau Forecast)
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St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

VOL. 71—NO. 171—PART ONE

ST. LOUIS, TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 27, 1945—3 SECTIONS—22 PAGES.

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GM REFUSES TO RESUME PAY PARLEY

RAIN
Cloudy with Rain and Moderate Winds
DETROIT TEMPERATURES

The Detroit Free Press

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1945

On Guard for Over a Century

Vol. 115—No. 207

Five Cents

METRO FINAL

GM TURNS DOWN NEW TALKS

SNOW
Light rain changing to snow, little change in temperature
DETROIT TEMPERATURES

The Detroit Free Press

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1945

On Guard for Over a Century

Vol. 115—No. 208

Five Cents

METRO FINAL

PEACE TALKS TO OPEN WITH GM ON SIDELINE

REPORT OF NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON G.M.-U.A.W.-C.I.O. DISPUTE

The Michigan Citizens Committee believes that the issues involved in the General Motors-UAW strike are of vital public concern. In order that these issues may be more widely discussed and understood, the Michigan Citizens Committee has published this report of a committee of distinguished Americans who studied the verbatim record of collective bargaining negotiations between the union and the corporation.

45 outstanding citizens were invited to Detroit by the UAW to examine the complete transcript of negotiations. In spite of short notice, 14 of those invited met in Detroit December 4 and 5, constituted themselves as a National Citizens Committee on the GM-UAW-CIO dispute, elected their own officers and conducted their own investigation. The report on this page is the complete text of their findings.

Because of the importance to the whole country of the issues involved in the current work stoppages in the General Motors Corporation, we were glad to accept the invitation of the UAW-CIO to examine the transcript of its negotiations and to inquire into the problems raised thereby. We have also sought and received from the Corporation materials setting forth more fully its position. C. E. Wilson, President of the General Motors Corporation, H. W. Anderson, Vice President, R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW-CIO and Walter P. Reuther, Vice President, were invited in person to present further information to the Committee. Mr. Thomas' office informed the Committee that he was out of the city. Mr. Reuther appeared and answered questions put to him by the Committee. The Corporation did not respond to the invitation.

The Committee has read the 739 page record of the negotiations between the Corporation and the Union and has sought all available information on both sides of the controversy.

Our review of this very complex and strategic industrial controversy leads us to believe that the public should be more fully apprised of certain facts. The members of this Committee have reached a number of conclusions which they hope may contribute to the public understanding of the controversy and to the measures necessary for effecting a just and prompt settlement of the issues. We have neither been asked, nor have we sought, to serve as conciliators or otherwise to usurp the functions of the active government agencies in this matter. But in view of the apparent stalemate in negotiations and mounting losses from the continuing stoppages, we deem it proper to express our opinion on the issues.

As background for consideration of the issues, we here present a summary of the contentions of each side of the controversy.

THE CONTENTIONS OF THE PARTIES:

For the Union:—

The controversy arose over the Unions proposal of a 30% wage increase under the terms of its existing contract with the Corporation. Part of this increase, it urged, should be allocated to an equali-

high levels of profit is an essential element in the American economic system.

The Corporation submitted general figures to contradict the Union's estimates, but declined to furnish the detailed components on which these general figures were based on the ground that this was not a proper subject of inquiry for the Union.

The Corporation's representatives constantly urged the Union to eliminate questions of prices and profits and to confine the collective bargaining to the wage issue. It denied that the effects of wage increases on profitability was a proper subject for negotiations with the Union and refused to make any wage increase offer tied to an agreement not to raise prices. Prices, like profits, it urged, are the Corporation's, not the Union's business. It characterized the Union's effort to bargain on these matters as unwarranted invasions of management's province. It also introduced material which suggested that unionism in America should be reduced in the scope of its bargaining power.

The Corporation also offered counter-proposals of (1) Six percent wage increases along with a change in the wage and hours law to make 45 hours the standard work week in place of the present 40 hour provision; (2) wage increases sufficient to make up for the cost of living increases since 1941 of about 10%. Both proposals were to be free of any stipulation as to prices.

The Corporation rejected the Union's proposal for arbitration on the ground that the terms of the proposal would represent an "abdication" by management.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE . . . . . .

1. After reading the transcript of the negotiations between General Motors and the UAW-CIO, we believe it would be a contribution to public understanding of the dispute if the transcript were published.

2. The Committee was impressed by the serious and statesmanlike approach of the representatives of the Union as shown in the transcript of the negotiations. If President Truman and his advisors had had access to

the Union's 30% demand was subject to reconsideration if and when management proved the 30% wage increase was impossible without a raise in prices.

7. Considerable data from the General Motors Corporation and U. S. Government reports were submitted by the Union in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford a substantial wage increase without raising prices. Outside of a flat denial supported by figures based upon sources not open to the Union, to this Committee or to the public, no convincing evidence has been

THE CONTENTIONS OF THE PARTIES:

For the Union:—

The controversy arose over the Unions proposal of a 30% wage increase under the terms of its existing contract with the Corporation. Part of this increase, it urged, should be allocated to an equalization fund to make wage rates more uniform throughout the Corporation, part to a social security fund and the balance to a blanket increase in all hourly wage rates. The Union asked this wage increase to make up for reductions in take-home pay resulting from shorter hours and downgrading of workers, and to advance the general purchasing power necessary to support full employment.

A cardinal point in the Union's proposal was that this increase be granted without any increase in the prices of General Motors' products. It submitted much data in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford such raises, while keeping present prices, and still earn high profits. Increased volume of output, tax reductions, new equipment and higher labor productivity were analyzed in detail. Union estimates suggested that price *reductions* might even be possible if volume is as high as recently predicted by the President of General Motors.

The Union constantly reiterated its willingness to reconsider its 30% proposal if the "arithmetic" of the Corporation's financial condition showed such a wage boost would necessitate price relief or undue profit cuts. It refused to eliminate from the negotiations the consideration of the effects of its wage demands on prices and profits and requested Corporation data to show what these effects would be. It elaborated an argument for stable prices and rising purchasing power as necessary to the health of the highly productive American economy.

In the final stages, the Union offered to refer the issues to arbitration for a binding decision, after rejecting the Corporation's counter proposals (noted hereafter) on the ground: (1) that the first proposal (that the work week be increased from 40 to 45 hours) would contravene federal legal standards for hours of work and would increase unemployment, and (2) that the second (an offer of a wage increase of 10%) was predicated on the Corporation's plan to seek higher prices to meet the added wage cost. It asked for the Corporation's answer within 24 hours to the proposal of the arbitration principle.

FOR THE CORPORATION:—

For the Corporation:—

The Corporation rejected the proposal of the Union for a 30% increase in wages, stating that this would bring a general increase in costs that would necessitate a 30% rise in prices and lead to inflation. It derided the Union's computation of Corporation profits, expected costs, volume of production and labor productivity. It emphasized the value of low prices and the key role of high production levels in achieving them and argued that the possibility of

2. The Committee was impressed by the serious and statesmanlike approach of the representatives of the Union as shown in the transcript of the negotiations. If President Truman and his advisors had had access to this record, we believe they would have been in a position to insist more firmly on the full use of the collective bargaining process before suggesting intervention of the government. We believe that the full possibilities of collective bargaining have not yet been exhausted, and that it is not too late to renew the efforts toward a voluntary settlement. We urge that the two parties immediately resume negotiations.

3. The Union's request to participate in a determination of the wage issue on the basis of full knowledge of the basic wage-price-profit relations is not a "taking over" of management. This request is based on a principle widely approved by responsible leaders of business, labor and government. Although the setting of actual prices remains a managerical function, at a time when there is a threat of inflation, the level of prices becomes a matter of legitimate public concern.

4. If collective bargaining fails to result in a settlement, we recommend that any fact-finding commission appointed by the President be authorized and directed to determine what increase in wages can be given on the basis of the Corporation's ability to pay without increase in prices. The Corporation's ability to meet a wage increase is a sound factor in the determination of wages, both in good times and bad.

5. From the record it is clear that the Union in its refusal to accept a wage increase that involves price increase has lifted the whole matter of collective bargaining to a new high level by insisting that the advancement of Labor's interest shall not be made at the expense of the public. The Union has shown a sense of social responsibility that indicates its growing maturity and is certainly to be commended. The public has a vital interest in holding the line of present prices against inflation.

6. Because of confusion in the public mind, the Committee wishes to emphasize that the record of the proceedings clearly shows that the Union's proposition was not "30% or else". The transcript repeatedly shows that

can afford a substantial wage increase without raising prices. Outside of a flat denial supported by figures based upon sources not open to the Union, to this Committee or to the public, no convincing evidence has been submitted by the Corporation to show that the Union's wage proposal cannot be met.

8. While future profits cannot be computed with absolute certainty, it is common practice to base the prospects of them upon experience and estimated volume and costs. The Union is asking that wages be projected in such a forecast as other cost factors and profits are projected. It is the concensus of the Committee that the Union is making a legitimate claim in asking that wages be negotiated in terms of future expectations.

9. With regard to the Union's 24 hour ultimatum on the acceptance of arbitration, the public should be reminded that the ultimatum was on the question of the willingness of the Corporation to arbitrate and not on the basic wage demands, which would have required longer consideration.

10. The Committee reviewed carefully the Union's supporting argument for the maintenance of take-home pay. It was based on the thesis that purchasing power must be commensurate with production. The Committee agrees with this principle of wages since without adequate purchasing power to buy the products of industry there can be neither full employment nor general prosperity.

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December 6, 1945

Printed in U. S. A. 43

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

For Fair Labor Standards

An Organization Through Which Informed Citizens Unite to:

- *investigate conditions*
- *stimulate public opinion*
- *promote progressive legislation*

"We have broken a path perhaps, but there are mountains to climb, great roads to be opened up—no rest for us yet, we must keep on." Florence Kelley

"We have broken a path—"

The names of those who founded the League in 1899 and all who have given it leadership are written large on the rolls of economic and social progress. Secretary of the Consumers League from 1899 to 1932 was Mrs. Florence Kelley, described by Newton D. Baker as the most brilliant woman America ever produced. Mr. Baker was president of the League for many years. Its other presidents have included John Graham Brooks, John Winant, John H. Commons, Josephine Roche and Dr. Alice Hamilton.

• • • •

The National Consumers League introduced to the United States the idea of **minimum wage laws** as a means of putting floors under wages, particularly for unorganized, unskilled workers. The legal defense of these laws before the Supreme Court was historic. Facts concerning the cost of living and current rates of pay in many fields were gathered by the League and embodied in a series of briefs which stressed the benefits to health, efficiency and general welfare arising from enlightened labor statutes.

• • • •

As a natural sequel, the League helped to secure passage of the **Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.** It has opposed any weakening of the Act, either by legislation or by crippled enforcement, and is actively working for substantial improvement in the law.

• • • •

As labor saving machinery and greater efficiency in production is developed, shorter working hours for working men and women

become possible. But experience shows that the possibility is not realized without some struggle. The hours that can be exacted from workers in exchange for a living wage have been gradually shortened since the advent of the Industrial Revolution by the persistent efforts of labor unions, while production has been increased. However, women workers are not 100 per cent organized and long hours have persisted in many fields in which women predominate, necessitating bulwarks against exploitation. The League's briefs in support of **hours' laws for women** were based on research showing the consequences to the individual and to the community of long hours and industrial strains, particularly for women. There are now but four States in the Union which have no statutory regulations of women's work days.

• • • •

In 1904, when few States had awakened to the prevalence of child labor, the Consumers League issued the first handbook showing the inadequacy or total lack of **child labor laws** in many States. It also published the first model child labor law and fostered the organization of the National Child Labor Committee. The idea of the Federal Children's Bureau, conceived by Lillian D. Wald and Mrs. Kelley, was first promoted by the National

Weeds Among the Flowers

Consumers League and, in 1912, largely through its efforts, the bill establishing the Bureau was passed by Congress.

• • • •

Industrial home work has been the subject of investigation and attack by the Consumers League for nearly half a century. The tenement work-shop has been scotched to a marked degree by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

• • • •

It was through the League, particularly in New Jersey, that the terrible **hazards of radium painting** became known and subjected to new safety standards.

"But there are mountains to climb—"

Full and productive employment, with use of our entire industrial power, in peace as well as in war, is essential to the economic welfare of all Americans. The National Consumers League believes this challenge is the greatest this country has ever faced. An economy of full production is the only one under which a democracy can flourish. We have seen in our time how failure to achieve it is attended by the poverty and economic insecurity which breeds dictators and wars.

• • • •

"With full employment and full production, we can have a complete and adequate **social security system** at a modest cost," Senator Wagner pointed out in the U. S. Senate, adding, "If we do not achieve full employment, it is all the more important that we have a complete and adequate social security program."

The United States has accepted the principle of social security for old age and unemployment as evidenced in the platforms of both political parties, but we have planned too meagerly. Not only have millions of people been left out, such as agricultural

workers, small business men, employees of non-profit agencies, seamen, etc., but most of our State unemployment compensation laws are inadequate, providing too little insurance for too short a time. Moreover, the demands for sound health insurance measures and more adequate facilities for public health are becoming more insistent.

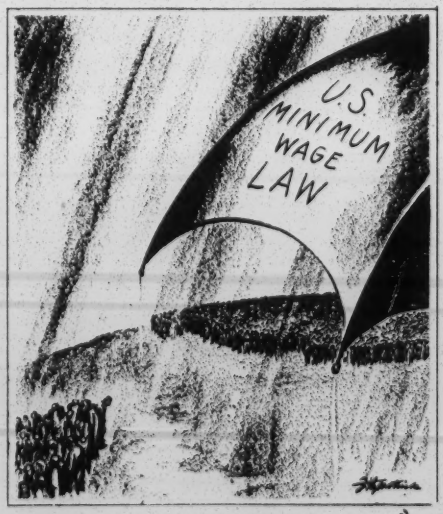
• • • •

Full employment does not mean the employment of children, particularly in factories. The Consumers League supports the recommendation of the Children's Bureau that the State child-labor laws be so amended that no child under 16 be employed during school hours, and no child under that age be allowed to work in a manufacturing or mechanical plant at any time.

At present thirty-three States have a lower minimum; in fact, in twenty-eight States the minimum is 14 years.

• • • •

Full employment at a living wage is necessary for the economic stability of the country. Over twenty million wage earners in the United States are unprotected by Federal minimum wage laws. Whole fields of employment, such as retail stores and the service trades, are not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. Twenty-two States have no minimum wage laws and those in many other States cover only women or have not been used nor enforced to the limit of their provisions. In periods of scanty employment, competition



forces the pay of the unskilled worker below the cost of living, jeopardizes the wages of the skilled, and produces a dangerous downward spiral which draws into its vortex the entire public.

• • • •

America itself is faced by a flood of its own displaced citizens, in the form of **migrant workers.** The number of farm migrants alone is estimated from 700,000 to a million and a half. We must solve a whole battery of social and economic problems if these rootless thousands are not to become second-class citizens. The National Consumers League is urging that a vigorous attack be made, both on the Federal and the State level, so that recruiting be rid of its present abuses; housing and camps be responsibly managed with due regard to the sanitation and safety of the entire community; medical care and education be assured migrants; the benefits of social security, fair labor standards, and labor legislation be applicable to them, and that settlement laws be revised so the migrants are not deprived of their rights as citizens.

• • • •

The Consumers League vigorously supports both Federal and State legislation providing that men and women receive **equal pay for equal work.** Six States now have such laws and national legislation is needed.

But the Consumers League is unalterably opposed to the so-called "Equal Rights Amendment" which would "eliminate all discrimination under the law between the sexes." It is convinced that this would be a tragic step backward because it would throw into constitutional jeopardy all the Federal and State wage and hours laws applying to women, and laws prohibiting the employment of women in hazardous occupations. Furthermore, it would deprive wives and mothers of needed support and so endanger family relationships.

"Great roads to be opened up—"

Low standards reflect themselves as a contagion, spreading to all classes and persons. Not only the economic welfare of our nation, but the peace we have won, is dependent upon the well-being of the great working majority of our people.

At San Francisco, when the people of the United Nations determined "to promote social progress and better standards of life," they recognized that the impoverished may become the prey of dictators and make war in the hope of improving intolerable conditions. By embodying in the Charter the organization of an Economic and Social Council, the international organization indicated that it was ready to go further than phrase-making on these fundamental concerns.

America, rich in resource, invention and industrial organization, must lead the way in demonstrating that human freedom is compatible with economic security. It is not a task to be left to labor alone. All groups rise or fall together in the fabric of our economy.

"A new challenge is offered to the people of America to establish along with political democracy an opportunity through productive employment to earn an income sufficient for the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, health, recreation and cultural pursuits, and assurance to every individual of whatever race of an equal and unsegregated opportunity for worship, protection in time of unemployment, illness or need, and full political and civil rights." *

* *From the Statement of The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

"—We must keep on."

THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
For Fair Labor Standards

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LABOR REPORTS

ISSUED IN THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN ORGANIZED LABOR

175 EAST BROADWAY NEW YORK 2, N. Y.

JULY 1946 VOLUME III NO. 15

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LABOR'S ROLE IN RACE RELATIONS

By: Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers Union of America

In the fight against discrimination and for tolerance and a functioning democracy in all spheres of American life, the trade union movement has a tremendous responsibility and potential.

We are all aware of the varied national, racial and religious composition of the American working population. We have learned, from the tragic experiences of Europe under fascism, that attacks upon the security and freedom of any segment of a population undermine the rights and freedoms of the entire society; and we of the trade union movement are particularly aware that in a nation where attacks upon minorities are given sanction, free trade unions, free churches, and free schools cannot long endure.

What, then, are the responsibilities of trade unionists who would root out the ugly sore of bias and discrimination?

We must jealously guard the traditions and practice of free collective bargaining, the essence of industrial democracy. We must practice democracy in the day-to-day operations of our organizations. We must throw our full weight behind the political fight for wider democracy.

If it is necessary for the Congress to pass a law stating that it shall be the policy of our government to enforce what already has been written into our Constitution - the right of every American to equal opportunity regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin - we must fight for that law.

If it is possible through legislation to widen the economic, political and social benefits of the people, to give them full employment, better housing, more nearly adequate education and medical care, higher minimum wages and reasonable prices, we must fight for these laws.

If the representatives of our democracy fail either to be representatives or to be democratic, we must replace them with men of tolerance who hear the voice of the people and take heed.

I am proud to say that the members of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, are aware of the restrictions now placed upon the practice of real democracy and tolerance and of the possibilities, through political action, of removing these restrictions.

At the recent national convention of TWUA-CIO, the full weight of the organization was placed behind such measures as the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, legislation to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting, and a wide variety of health, housing, education and social welfare bills now before Congress.

A permanent FEPC will not automatically guarantee equal opportunities in employment. Ideal conditions of health, education and economic opportunity will not automatically create a climate of complete understanding and tolerance or erase the problems and sufferings of the Jewish people, the Negro people, or any other minority group. Prejudice is blind. Its roots strike deep in the hearts of the stubbornly ignorant. But I firmly believe that the broad social and economic legislation for which trade unionists can and should work will go far to reduce discrimination to widen the opportunity of all our people.

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LABOR ON GUARD!

DEMAREST REMOVED FROM OFFICE

(L.R.) NEW YORK Horace A. Demarest, New York State Deputy Commissioner of Motor Vehicles, who was one of the incorporators of Alpha Pi Sigma, a fraternity which later blossomed forth as The Knights and Women of the Ku Klux Klan, was removed from office on May 6th, by direction of the president of the State Tax Commission. The request for Demarest's removal was made by Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein, who has started proceedings to revoke the Klan's charter. The Attorney General stated that "he was unfit to hold public office," that his conduct under questioning had been evasive, and thus he had violated the "spirit of the recognized rules of conduct expected of public officials."

* * * * * * * * *

"YOUTH" MEETING IN DETROIT

Detroit, Mich. (L.R.) A Gerald L. K. Smith rally, under the auspices of Christian Youth for America, was held at Detroit's Fort Shelby Hotel on April 29th. The total absence of youth in the composition of the audience of some 500 was notable. The meeting was heavily picketed by labor elements, with over 300 police on hand to maintain order.

Lorence (Larry) Asman was chairman and sponsor of the meeting. Opening the meeting with an invocation, he promptly launched into a violent anti-Semitic tirade. He was followed by Donald Lohbeck who pictured himself as a martyr because of his conviction for comtempt of court in connection with the A.W. Terminiello trial in Chicago. Lohbeck told the meeting that "the Jews are a scourge, and must be dealt with, for if we don't hang together now, we shall hang separately." Hearty "amens!" from the audience punctuated these and similar statements. His address was interrupted by the entrance of Gerald Smith who was greeted by the crowd with a standing ovation.

Smith treated the audience to his rabble-rousing routine covering such subjects as his conviction for contempt, disturbances at several of his previous meetings, A. W. Terminiello's suspension and his own forthcoming Nationalist Congress at St. Louis on May 27th and 28th.

* * * * * * * * * *

KISTER GROUP MEETS

CHICAGO, ILL. (L.R.) The Christian Veterans of America held a meeting at Kimbal Hall, Chicago, on April 24th, approximately 250 persons attending. Frederick Kister, who was recently convicted of contempt of court, presided.

Kister gave the group one of his "book reviews," which he uses as springboards for his anti-Semitic sentiments. He said that the Jews were responsible for the murder of 300,000 in Spain; that out of 388 Communists who assembled in Petrograd to form the first Soviet government, 265 were Jews; and that the chaotic conditions prevailing in Germany in 1932 were caused by Jews.

Elizabeth Dilling, the other speaker of the evening, supplemented Kister's remarks by discussing "the Jewish problem in Spain."

* * * * * * * * *

ANDERSON PLEADS GUILTY

CHICAGO, ILL. (L.R.) Charles Anderson, Jr., recently defeated anti-Semitic candidate for Congress in the Chicago primaries, pleaded guilty on May 7th, in Chicago's Felony Court, to the crime of assault with a deadly weapon. The charge arose out of Anderson's shooting a fifteen year old boy whom he surprised in a prank on his automobile.

The Judge, William V. Daly, ordered a Behavior Clinic examination for Anderson, stating that he wished to see whether the defendant had "a cog or two loose upstairs." On May 17th Anderson was placed on two years' probation by Judge Daly.

* * * * * * * * *

MEETING OF COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah (L.R.) Jeremiah Stokes of Salt Lake City, leader of the Pro-American Vigilantes, a group engaged in the publication of anti-Semitic literature, was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Committee for American Independence, held in Chicago, on April 26th. The chairman was Earl Southard. Among those present were William J. Grace, Charles Anderson and Frederick Kister.

* * * * * * * * *

JULY ITEMS OF IMPORTANCE

RUTGERS LABOR INSTITUTE

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. (L.R.) The 16th Annual Institute of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, held as usual in cooperation with Rutgers University, met in New Brunswick on June 5 to 8. The general topic was "Labor's Part in Building a New World."

Despite mid-summer weather, an average of 200 delegates participated vigorously in as many as 7 discussions daily. Two forums were broadcast. Topics included Labor Management Cooperation, Labor Legislation, International Affairs, the Labor Veteran, a showing of film strips on combating intolerance prepared by the Jewish Labor Committee, and almost every current problem of importance to Labor.

John D. Connors of the Workers Education Bureau and the State Federation's planning Committee merit plaudits for the valuable program of this pioneer Labor Institute.

* * * * * * * * * *

BISHOP O'HARA ABOLISHES NEGRO CHURCHES IN BUFFALO DIOCESE.

BUFFALO, N. Y. (L.R.) The Catholics of the United States have in recent years taken the lead in fighting racisms and advancing programs calculated to promote better inter-racial understanding, thus making a large contribution not only to American civilization but to world peace. Perhaps more than any other denomination, certainly as much, the Catholics have waged an earnest campaign to wipe out racial intolerance and to build up in its place a spirit of brotherly love between men of all races and nationalities. As a result of this program membership in the Catholic Church in the United States has increased tremendously.

Especially impressive is the inroad the Catholic faith has made among the Negro people of this country now represented as 300,000 converts. Much of this increase is doubtless due to the Catholic approach to the race problem in America during the past few years. Racial discrimination has diminished more and more in the Catholic Church and its doors have been opened wider to welcome Negro converts. Catholic leaders have manifested a keen desire to attract Negroes to the faith in all sections of the country, including the Southern states where the customs of most white people run counter to the true principles of the Christian religion.

* * * * * * * * * *

JULY ITEMS OF IMPORTANCE

TERMINIELLO FINED $100; SMITH SENTENCED TO 60 DAYS.

CHICAGO, ILL. (L.R.) After a hectic court appearance marked by the sentencing of his colleague, Gerald L. K. Smith, on a contempt charge, the suspended priest, Arthur W. Terminiello, was found guilty of disorderly conduct by a Municipal Court jury in Chicago and was fined $100. Terminiello's lawyer, Maximilian St. George - long identified as legal counsel for anti-Semitic individuals - has moved for a new trial.

The charge against Terminiello grew out of disorders which broke out at a G. L. K. Smith rally in Chicago the night of Feb. 7. The trials of Smith and Frederick Kister, anti-Semitic leader of the "Christian Veterans of America," have been deferred until Terminiello's appeal is heard.

The courtroom was crowded with many Smith followers, members of such organizations as "We the Mothers Mobilize" and Kister's "Christian Veterans." Smith's contempt sentence of 60 days was pronounced after he distributed circulars in the hall outside the courtroom assailing "hysterical Jews", "agitators", and "communists." Commented Judge John V. McCormick in sentencing Smith:

"If the conduct of you and your associates in and toward an American court of law affords a test of your attitude toward other American institutions, then it behooves Americans to look squarely at this philosophy which confronts them!"

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BISHOP TOOLEN STATES VIEWS ON ARTHUR W. TERMINIELLO, FASCIST EX-PRIEST.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. (L.R.) Replying to a recent inquiry by a citizen of Mobile, Alabama, the Rt. Rev. T. J. Toolen, Bishop of the Diocese of Mobile, splendidly expressed his sentiments concerning the suspended priest, Arthur W. Terminiello, rabid Jew-baiter and aide of Gerald L. K. Smith, and concerning Terminiello's anti-Semitic publication, the "Christian Crusader." Bishop Toolen said in part: "We are very much disturbed about this, but there is nothing that I can personally do. I have gone as far as I can and he is no longer under my jurisdiction, but is on his own, so I have no authority over him nor can I do anything about it.

"I am not afraid that Terminiello will undermine the record of the Catholic Church, as he has been suspended and is not a Catholic in good standing. The people in this section of the country well understand that, so he cannot do much harm from a Catholic viewpoint."

* * * * * * * * * *

THE KU KLUX KLAN: AN ASSOCIATION OF STOOGES

By: Elliott Carlton,
LABOR REPORTS Columnist

Times have changed.

It used to be that, if you looked inside a pillow case, you'd find a pillow - but now the chances are more than fair that you'll find some ugly guy's head. Still, some similarity does exist, for both pillows and heads are often stuffed with one thing or another.

That's true, of course - but the head that you find inside a pillow case is not stuffed with brains. Of that you can be sure.

* * * * * * * * * *

How can a guy who goes around with a pillow case over his head be said to have a brain? No matter how ugly the guy is, it simply doesn't make sense.

Especially is this true when one considers that most of these dummies live in the warmer sections of our country. And, to top it all off, these dopes spend a lot of their time around bon-fires!

* * * * * * * * * * *

But the Kluxers were short changed in other parts of their anatomy, too. They not only lack brains; they don't seem to have hearts, either!

Think it over: No one with a heart could possibly formulate a program based on hatred. No one with a heart could find so much evil within himself that he is literally forced to run counter to everything that is characteristic of the American tradition: freedom of religion, freedom of speech, the right of trial by jury - the firm belief that neither religion nor color should deprive a person of equality of opportunity.

* * * * * * * * * *

No brains, no hearts - is it any wonder that the Ku Kluxers are also stooges? Right now they're stooges for a few racketeers who are clipping them for ten spots or so for the privilege of going around with pillow cases on their heads.

Guys that dumb can be dangerous. The danger does exist, for instance, that the organizing drive now being launched by an awakened labor movement will stir the feudal barons into mobilizing the pillow case boys for their own anti-union purposes.

* * * * * * * * * *

So union men everywhere have a job to do.

We've got to show the unorganized that the attempt to divide workingmen along the lines of color, religion, creed or national origin is based on the old idea of divide and rule.

It's an idea gotten up by those who believe more in profits than they do in human beings.

It may well be the idea of selfish employers and they will not hesitate to use the Kluxers to spread their poison.

* * * * * * * * * *

But workingmen possess a really great advantage.

Workingmen have learned that a man is a workingman because he knows how to work with his hands and his brains - and that is why we care nothing at all about a guy's ancestry or relgion.

After all, the first Christian, who gave us the Golden Rule, was born a Jew.

HE WAS ALSO A CARPENTER.

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21 - Labor
also pub/church & social action

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

"CHRISTIAN LABOR RELATIONS"

Sermon Preached by

R. Edward Dowdy

Associate Minister

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Washington, D. C.

Sunday Morning, September 1, 1946

"CHRISTIAN LABOR RELATIONS"

The first picture of God in the Bible is that of the Creator, the Divine Workman. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. On one of the significant occasions in his ministry Jesus is reported to have said thus, "My Father worketh even unto now, and I work." Is it not significant that the highest revelation of God came to us incarnate in the human form of a carpenter?

Tomorrow is Labor Day. One wonders what that Carpenter of Galilee would be saying were he standing in this pulpit today or were he standing in any one of the thousands of pulpits that represent his message to the world of this day. I was very much interested the other day when studying in the library of the National Labor Relations Board to discover along side a volume that was labeled "History of American Working Class," a black bound volume labeled "Holy Bible." I think this is no accident, for all of the interests of the American working class are exactly the interests that lie within that Holy Book.

Yet, for the most part, the Church this day will be silent even as it has in the long past because it has been by-passed or has lost its courage and daring to speak on this important issue. When I discussed with the librarian in that National Labor Relations Board library the material that I was seeking for this sermon, she seemed a little bit surprised, and

asked the pointed question, "Are you proposing that the church begin to interfere in the labor problem"? To which I replied, "Not at all, it is my firm conviction that if the church had been on the job, if Christians had been sharing as they ought to share in the total life of the community, there would be many fewer labor problems than there are today."

When the industrial revolution brought to Western civilization the machine age and all of its attendant evils, it was the Church and the forces of religion that rose up together in order to protect women and children from the exploitation of unscrupulous employers. In his volume, "Labor and Tomorrow's World," Bishop Oxenham of the Methodist Church points out the contrast between the position of his church in the early beginning of the labor movement and its present position. If you will exchange the word "Baptist" for Methodist I think it would be equally as true for us.

Said he, "Methodism has become increasingly respectable, it has become wealthy, it is in grave danger of spending the strength of its mighty forces for the purpose of maintaining its amazing organization. Methodism came from the coal pits of Britain, from the poor of the great industrial cities, from the laborers in the field. We dare not forget the pits from which we were dug, nor the rocks from which we were hewn. Methodism has never been, and please God, never will be, a class institution, but it must not in its day of

institutional success become separated from the workers of the world.

"In the beginning of the labor movement it was the Methodist local preacher who became an outstanding leader. It was in large measure due to the contribution of Methodism that the British labor movement has refused the revolutionary tactics of the Communist and the destructive doctrine of class war. The preaching of the early Methodist was heard upon the Sunday, but the man who preached was at work on Monday. They saw in him the doctrine he really believed. They found them good, because he was good. They chose him to represent them and he representing them, also represented his Lord.

"It was for such reasons that the British laborers when parading continental streets carried the banners that surprised the workers of Europe; banners that spoke of God as Father and Christ as Saviour. Is it too much to believe that the day may come when we may find the labor movement of America carrying banners in Labor Day parades that speak also of God the Father, and of Christ his Son, and what will be much more significant, of practices in the economic life that are fit to be called Christian?"

With this bit of historical background from a Methodist Bishop, does it not seem a little bit strange all the recent storm and furor that occurred in a neighboring state when a Methodist minister was appointed to act as a Chaplain to labor. You would have thought that

something revolutionary had been proposed and that it was entirely unheard of for the Christian Church to be interested in the affairs of working men. So today I choose to speak with you about "Christian Labor Relations," hoping that I may speak simply enough and plainly enough as not to be misunderstood, but with such clarity as to point the way for Christian participation in our world so that in fact we may rightly represent the Christ whose name we bear.

In a college textbook of 1905 entitled, "Labor Problems" by Adams and Sumner I found a statement that might well characterize one of our major difficulties even to this moment. Said they, "We believe that the gravest differences of opinion about the labor problem are caused by the failure to view the problem broadly. The labor problem is greater than the problem of trade unionism, far more important than the problem of industrial peace." This is true, even in our day. But if you ask the man on the street to give you his opinion about the American labor situation, he is very likely to say to you something about either a present, past or pending strike.

Suppose I should have asked you your opinion about labor on those mornings when you were walking to work during this past year when the Capital Transit workers were out on strike? I probably would have gotten a great deal of comment about the inconvenience to you and about the right to strike in a public utility, but it was only on a second

thought that any of us considered the more basic, the broader and the moral problems that were involved. Because there are moral problems involved in our labor policy, I am suggesting this day that we speak about them in light of the standards of Jesus.

The first Christian axiom with reference to labor is this: *Labor is more than a commodity.* This is exactly contrary to the belief and practice of so many in our world. There are many who say that labor is a commodity, it is to be bought like any other commodity in the open market and the price you pay is determined by the law of supply and demand. Now it is precisely this pagan standard which has brought us so much industrial chaos in the last ten or fifteen years. The Christian standard which proclaims that labor is not a commodity means that the work done by human beings cannot be divorced *from their personal needs and rights.* Recall that parable of Jesus when an employer paid the same wages to the man who had been working just an hour as he did to the one who had been fortunate enough to have been employed for the whole day. He was not paying for the work done, but in view of the equal needs of the men and their families.

Man hours are not to be bought as one would buy scrap iron or coal. Jesus said, "One is your master and all ye are brethren." *The Christian ideals that all men are brothers and children of a common Father, God, is not abrogated in the industrial world.* This con-

cept has only slowly become a part of Christian practice. Social change always comes slowly. You will recall that it was a long time after the coming of Jesus of Nazareth who proclaimed that all men are brothers, that Christians gave up slavery. In the middle ages it was also this Christian concept of brotherhood that helped to undermine serfdom, a modified form of slavery. In our own day, where you will find industrial relationships at their best you will discover that men, whether employers, managers, foremen or day laborers, are conceived as co-workers.

A corollary to this axiom that labor is not a commodity is that *there are certain rights which the laborer has, among which are the rights to organize and to bargain collectively.* At times Christians have been in the vanguard striving to make this right a reality. At other times they have frustrated any attempt for workers to exercise this right.

I can point to you a community in a neighboring state where workers in a certain factory were receiving far less than an adequate wage, while the personal owners of that factory were reporting millions of dollars of income every year. When the pastor of the local Baptist Church began to be interested in the rights of his members, asking for the privilege of their being organized and bargaining with the employer, the employer became exceedingly hostile to this interference into what he called "his own private business."

About that time there appeared in the com-

munity one of the Pentacostal sects and the employer saw in the coming of this new religious group an opportunity to further his own ends. So upon the promise that they would preach only a jolly, happy gospel and never touch upon any moral issues that might concern industry, he footed the entire bill of constructing a handsome meeting place for this Pentacostal sect. He believed that religion ought to be a sort of opiate, that it ought to make people content with indecent housing, that it ought to make them satisfied to take home pay checks that would not pay next week's grocery bill. This good employer thought of himself, and indeed was thought of by the whole community, as an outstanding Christian man. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The exercise of this right of organization and bargaining also includes the responsibilities of such a right. Here I think organized labor has failed, in some degree, to live up to what ought to be expected of it. To be sure, just as there are employers who violate their sacred responsibilities, so there are unions that equally violate their sacred responsibilities.

This leads me to the second Christian axiom. *Labor-management relationships are the mutual responsibilities of both labor and management.* If these mutual responsibilities are to be exercised properly, then there are two or three things which must be done. The first is, *there must be good faith;* that is, that an honest effort is made both by labor and by

management to make the agreements work which have been mutually accepted. If either party by its neglect or by its wilfull guidance allows the relationship to break down so that work stoppage becomes inevitable, then that is a violation of this Christian standard. Work stoppage which brings unemployment is not just an economic phenomenon, it is also a moral evil. Unemployment breaks hearts, destroys homes, unbalances minds and visits upon innocent children the same kind of privation that war itself, the greatest of evils, brings.

During the year 1944 which is the most recent year for which the total compilation is now available, there were some 4,616 strikes in which 3,069,300 workers were involved in a work loss of 24,360,000 man days. These statistics compiled by the Bureau of National Affairs in no way reflect the suffering, the anxiety, and the fear that was in the homes of those three million workers; nor the privations for lack of milk and cod liver oil and the essentials for a child's life reflected in the loss of income for 24 million man days. Although nearly 25% of these strikes brought substantial gains to the workers, in 51% of the cases, the workers went back to work pending the final decision. This seems to indicate to me that had the relationship been on a higher plane of good faith, the work stoppages and the consequent loss of time might have been avoided with equally as good results to the workers and to the employers alike.

You will be interested to note that in 60% of the work stoppages involving 72% of the workers and 81% of the total idle time, solutions were brought by Government. Indeed this seems to be one of the areas where people look to Government for solutions in each case. That is why the librarian was concerned about my interest in the matter, for she was a little bit afraid that perhaps I was going to propose that the church go into the labor relations field. Would you not agree that the church is already in the labor relations field: that if its activities were more successful there would be fewer occasions of violence and fewer occasions of work stoppages? For if men and women of good will, whether they be employers or employees, sat down together with the mind that was in Christ Jesus there would be little occasion for violence and little occasion for suffering.

The second thing that needs to be considered in the mutual responsibility of labor and management is that *there must be continuous communication.* The industries with the highest record of peace are those with machinery always in operation for contact between management and labor. Difficulty always arises out of failure to understand one another, whether it be in the case of a man with his secretary in an office or the great industrialist and a hundred thousand men in the plant.

The third essential in this Christian understanding is that *there be respect for the re-*

ciprocal function each for the other. I doubt that the owner of an industry can ever put himself in the place of the men and women who tend the machines. And it is equally difficult for the worker to intelligently say what he would do were he the employer. But if each respects the functions and contributions of the other, there will be peace. Not a peace that is but an armed truce, but that peace which passeth all human understanding because each, motivated by the spirit of the same living Christ, will work together not only for the mutual advantage of each, but for the welfare of all humanity, as well.

There is yet another aspect to this area of Christian labor relations that I should like to touch on briefly. *Not only have Christians an obligation one to another, but they also have an obligation to the whole world.* Not only is the Christian concerned about an adequate standard of living for his own family, nor the maintenance of a certain level of culture in his own land; but we are indeed world citizens, and what affects us affects every human being in the whole world, and conversely what affects every human being in the world affects us. When we receive products from abroad like coffee and tea and rice and rubber, we cannot be concerned only to ask what price are we paying for it now. But the Christian must also ask "what wages were paid to the men and women by whose sweat the original product was produced?"

A recent Reuters report from Brazil indi-

cates how deeply involved each of us is in the problems of labor the world around. According to this account, the Brazilian government used American money to dispatch 50,000 workers to the jungles of the Amazon in search of rubber during the war, and only 3,000 have returned. When the Brazilian authorities were interrogated in Parliament, the government admitted the facts, but refused to comment on them. Members of Parliament declare, however, that the entire 50,000 were abandoned to their fate in the fever ridden marshes of the upper Amazon. They charged that the large majority have perished from tropical disease and that the survivors are trying to find their way home in the face of insuperable difficulties. If this is only half the truth, it demands immediate action by the United States. The fact that we sought the rubber and paid for the costs of getting it out of the jungle posed on us an inescapable moral obligation to do all in our power to guard the welfare of those 50,000 workers. Simple justice and decency require that we, once and for all see, that human beings are not yet reduced to the level of surplus war machinery which can be abandoned at will.

A recent revision reveals that only 18,000 were sent into the jungle; but 17,000 failed to return. The United States sunk $300,000,000 in the project and received little rubber. I am prepared to go further than the "Christian Century" which reports this incident, because I believe that every single one of us

who during the war were clamoring for tires for our automobiles, urging that rubber be found from whatever sources were available, we too, share in the responsibility for this awful atrocity. Our desire for full employment and adequate wages for the American worker and a just return for the employer and the holders of stock must now be met with equal concern for our brethren around the world.

If we fail to progressively inject the standards of Jesus into our industrial order, the consequences are most discouraging. On one hand lies the picture of increased industrial chaos with strike following strike, with everyone believing that a contract is no more secure than the moment may demand, that an agreement may be broken when it is expedient, that labor-management relations will forever be on the level of a dog and cat fight. The other alternative is that, as many people now fear, Communism will offer more to the workers of the world than our democratic way of life. Whether this threat be real or not, the fear of it is shared by many folk.

What if the Communist should seem more interested in the worker, than the Christian whose Lord said, "And I, if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me." What if the Communist manifest more of racial brotherhood, then we in whose holy writ it is recorded that all men are created in the image of God, and in another place that God has made of

one all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth.

To these two alternate ways, the way of industrial chaos and the way offered by Communism, there is yet a third and Christian way. It is essentially the way of Christian brotherhood which is no different in this area of industrial relations than it is in any other realm of life. I think Jesus would simplify it by saying as he did when asked what was the great commandment, after saying that the first of all was to love God supremely, he then went on to say, "a second like unto it, thou shall love thy neighbor as thy-self."

If someone should ask him in this day, "And who, sir, is my neighbor"? He might well coin another parable, not unlike the parable of the Good Samaritan, but this time instead of a single man, beaten and left half dead along the Jericho road, Jesus could easily picture the entire human family, laborers, employers, managers, stockholders alike, equally frustrated and beaten and discouraged along the road of life and each one needing equally the love, the compassion, and the help of each other. Industrial peace, prosperity and hope for the world today and tomorrow can be brought about only when men and women learn to behave in their relationship one toward the other in the same spirit of Christ. *One is our Lord and Master and all we are brethren.*

Georgia Workers Education Service
353 COURTLAND ST., N. E. WALNUT 1961
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 5, 1946

Mr. Henry W. Chandler
Atlanta Federation of Trades
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Chandler:

Enclosed is a descriptive pamphlet announcing the inauguration of Georgia Workers Education Service.

This program is receiving the wholehearted support and cooperation of the Georgia labor movement.

If you have an education committee in your local union, will you please refer this communication to them for action. If you do not have a special committee, please have your local officers go over this material, or better yet, have the union set up a committee for this purpose.

The facilities offered by this program will bring many benefits to our membership. The service is rendered without discrimination. We should see that all who desire to participate have an opportunity to do so.

Workers education is becoming more and more meaningful to the labor movement. In this complex world, if our members are to keep up with the times we must continue to study and learn. New responsibilities bring new challenges.

This is a call to all members to get behind this movement and make the Georgia workers education program a real success.

Fraternally yours,

E. L. Abercrombie
George L. Googe
Thomas W. Culpepper
Carmen Lucia
Artie White

314 I.P.E.U.

Education Plan Announced For

for meetings and special events. It will help put on local radio programs.

The policy and program of the Georgia Workers Education Service is governed by an Executive Committee consisting of:

E. L. Abercrombie

George L. Googe

Thomas W. Culpepper

Carmen Lucia

Artie White

314 I.P.E.U.

Education Plan Announced For Georgia Workers

A unique educational service in Georgia has been announced by Frank McCallister, Director of the Georgia Workers Educational Service, with headquarters in Atlanta at 353 Courtland Street, N. E., across from the Atlanta Dental College. The Georgia Workers Education Service is an association of representatives of the public, American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

It is financed by labor organizations, committees, and foundations interested in the field of adult education. The service is made available to interested groups any place in the State at no cost.

As the sponsoring groups see the purpose of the Georgia Workers Education Service, it is:

To bring about more effective functioning of trade union members within their respective organizations and communities.

To develop a more intelligent appreciation of the common interests of organized labor and the community as a whole.

To promote better human relations within the union movement and between the unions and the general public.

The Service offers to help interested groups plan educational programs for their members to suit the interests of the particular groups. That might cover such things as discussion groups, forums, institutes, conferences, public speaking classes, how to take part in meetings, the how and why of collective bargaining. It will furnish teachers for such groups.

For the less problem-minded, the Service will help set up hobby clubs for dabblers in the arts and crafts, singing groups, dramatic clubs. It will send out program leaders to conduct parties with games for kids and grown-ups.

Mr. McCallister has scoured the country for experienced program leaders in the field of adult and workers' education and by September expects to have his staff complete. The Service will also run a circulating library of books and films and will supply movies for meetings and special events. It will help put on local radio programs.

The policy and program of the Georgia Workers Education Service is governed by an Executive Committee consisting of:

E. L. Abercrombie, Southern Representative, Laundry Workers International Union, AFL.

William H. Crawford, District Director, United Steelworkers of America, CIO.

Thomas W. Culpepper, President, Atlanta Division Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL.

Kenneth Douty, Georgia Direc-

(Continued on Page Two)

(Continued from Page One)

tor, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO.

Charles H. Gillman, Regional Director, CIO.

George L. Googe, Southern Representative, AFL.

Carmen Lucia, Vice President, United Hatters, Cap, & Millinery Workers International Union, AFL.

George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council.

James Moore, President, Atlanta Local, United Transport Service Employees of America, CIO.

Ira De A. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University.

Thomas J. Starling, Southern Regional Director, International Union of Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO.

Paul L. Styles, Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board.

Artie White, Atlanta Representative, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL.

An Advisory Council to the Executive Committee includes:

Elizabeth Bowles, Director, Industrial Dept., YWCA.

Harris P. Dawson, Jr., Regional Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor.

Grace Towns Hamilton, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League.

C. L. Harper, Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers and Education Association.

Joseph Jacobs, Director, Labor Service Bureau.

M. J. Merlin, Secretary of Local Branch, Jewish Labor Committee and Workmen's Circle.

Henry J. Meyer, Chairman fourth Region, Wage Stabilization Board.

Frederic Meyers, Regional Director, Labor Bureau of Middle West.

Walter Paschall, News Editor, WSB.

Harold L. Trigg, Assoc. Director, Southern Regional Council.

In addition to the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council, Georgia Workers Education Service is to have the assistance of a Consultative Committee composed of the leading national figures in workers' education.

The present staff includes:

Frank McCallister: 38, Director. Mr. McCallister has been very active with labor problems throughout the southern region for many years. He served as Executive Secretary of the Southern Workers Defense League, a non-partisan agency to investigate violations of labor's civil rights, until he accepted a post as labor member of the Fourth Regional War Labor Board. While on the War Labor Board, he also served on a panel of the National War Labor Board which resolved an important dispute involving the southern textile industry. He served on the southern Cotton Textile Commission, which was set up to administer the War Labor Board ruling. At the annual meeting in Birmingham this spring of the Southeastern Division of the American Association for Adult Education, Mr. McCallister was elected to the Executive Committee.

Herman Erickson: 41, Field Program Leader. Mr. Erickson received his M. A. degree from the University of Minnesota, and has taught in high school in Wisconsin, in the Workers Service Program in Minneapolis, and has served as director of the St. Paul Labor College.

Doris W. Naiman: 25, Field Program Leader. Mrs. Naiman attended Agnes Scott College in Decatur, and received her A. B. from the University of North Carolina. She has taught in the Atlanta Public Schools and has been active in educational and recreational work for various public service and labor organizations.

Ruth Warren: 32, Office Secretary. A native of Illinois, Miss Warren worked for the U. S. Department of State as a member of the Embassy staff in Rio de Janeiro before coming with GWES.

Rebecca Boorstein: 26, Stenographer. A graduate of the University of Georgia in 1940, Miss Boorstein was recently honorably discharged from the WAC after two and a half years service, and has worked for the Georgia Department of Labor, the Social Security Board, and the U. S. Department of State.

Joining the staff in September will be Mrs. Olive M. Haskins, who is at present teaching Workers Education in the Extension Division, University of Michigan. She is now President of the Michigan League of Women Voters. Her husband formerly taught at Mercer University and Mrs. Haskins was connected with the Georgia Public School system.

A Labor Extension Service for Wage and Salary Earners

To Equip Labor with Knowledge and with Training in Its Use

Extension of Remarks of

Hon. Elbert D. Thomas

of Utah

in the

Senate of the United States

Thursday, June 5, 1947

Not printed at Government expense

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Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Labor Extension Service

REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 16, 1947

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have this day introduced a bill to broaden and develop the extension system as established by the act of May 8, 1914, and acts supplemental thereto. This bill will aid in extending useful and practical information among the wage earners of the United States and increase the resources and facilities available to them. It will establish a labor extension service in the Department of Labor, administered by the Secretary of Labor. It will greatly aid the creative capacities of workers who, together with farmers, comprise the Nation's basic productive assets.

I wish to extend for the benefit of the Members, a few questions and answers which will simply and concisely reveal the contents of this legislation.

Question. What is the labor extension service bill?

Answer. A bill to establish for wage and salary earners a publicly supported Labor Extension Service in the United States Department of Labor.

Question. How would the service operate?

Answer. Through a cooperative plan between the Department of Labor, colleges and universities in the States and local groups of wage and salary earners requesting this service.

Question. What kind of services?

Answer. Classes and discussion groups for wage and salary earners who need to know more about their everyday problems in industry and in their communities. Institutes and forums, motion pictures, library services, research projects, help with the conferences and exhibits. Under this plan, workers would be able to secure teachers in labor history, labor economics, collective bargaining, labor journalism, labor-management relations and civic and community programs.

Question. How did the plan start?

Answer. This plan has been discussed by labor organizations and other interested groups for the past 10 years. The National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education was formed a year ago to frame such a bill and organize support for it. On the committee are officers of a number of international labor unions, education and research directors, persons from labor education agencies, and from interested colleges and universities. The committee serves as a clearing house through which all groups concerned may cooperate for this legislation.

LOCAL PLANNING

Question. How can a local union get labor extension service?

Answer. By having an education committee which—

First. Decides what services are needed.

Second. Draws up a request for these services and confers with the nearest college or university which is cooperating with the State labor extension board making sure that the local requests are forwarded to this board.

Question. Will such services benefit organized workers only?

Answer. No. Any group of workers may apply for these services.

STATE BOARDS

Question. Who will be responsible for the labor extension service in each State?

Answer. A State labor extension board, consisting of at least 9 and not more than 15 members, working in cooperation with approved institutions.

Question. Who will appoint this board?

Answer. The Governor of the State will choose the majority from a panel submitted by bona fide labor organizations State-wide in scope. The other members will include the head of the State labor department or industrial commission, representatives of institutions participating in the program, someone whose main work is in adult education, and, where possible, someone from the field of workers' education.

Question. What will be the duties of the State Labor Extension Board?

Answer. The Board will:

First. Receive the local requests.

Second. Approve the services given by cooperating universities and colleges.

Third. Make sure that funds are spent without discrimination of race, color, creed, sex or national origin.

Fourth. Submit plans and reports to the United States Secretary of Labor.

Question. How will the cooperating institutions be selected?

Answer. First. The State boards, following local requests from groups of workers, will determine which institutions will develop and offer services for which these funds may be allocated.

Second. Standards set up by the Department of Labor for these services will have to be met by these institutions.

Third. Through local extension centers conveniently located and through the use of union halls, wage and salary earners in every part of a State may be serviced.

FEDERAL OFFICE

Question. Where and how will the labor-extension service be set up?

Answer. In the United States Department of Labor, under a director of labor extension directly responsible to the Secretary of Labor and appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Question. Will the director have advisers?

Answer. Yes. The bill provides for a National Labor Extension Council of 15 members "to advise the Secretary of Labor and the Director in formulating general policies."

Question. Who will serve on such a council?

Answer. A majority will be chosen by the Secretary of Labor from a panel submitted by bona fide labor organizations national in scope. The other members will be appointed by the Secretary of Labor from cooperating institutions conducting labor-extension services, from workers' education organizations, research agencies operating in the field of social science, and someone whose chief interest is adult education.

FUNDS

Question. How much money is needed for this service?

Answer. The bill provides for an initial sum to be determined by the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee for the first year; doubled the second; tripled the third year and each year afterward.

Question. How will the money be divided?

Answer. Every State meeting the necessary requirements will receive funds based on the number of wage and salary earners in that State compared with the total number in the United States.

Question. Will these services be entirely paid for by Federal funds?

Answer. No; Federal funds will cover three-fourths of the cost; one-fourth will be provided locally.

Question. How will this contribution be raised?

Answer. It may be provided by the State Legislature, by cooperating institutions, by local groups from their own budgets, by moderate fees, or by contributions, such as rent of space, equipment, light, heat, or janitor service.

SERVICES LONG OVERDUE

Question. Is there a precedent in Government for this service?

Answer. The Morrill Act of 1862 and other acts of Congress provide agricultural extension services for families of 6,000,000 farm operators, costing in Federal funds $23,500,000 a year. This is the first bill to provide a labor-extension service for 50,000,000 wage and salary workers.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1947

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Labor Education Extension Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 16, 1947

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following statement explaining H. R. 4078, known as the Labor Education Extension Act, which I introduced in the House of Representatives July 2, 1947:

This bill is a constructive piece of labor legislation. It has the united and wholehearted support of all labor organizations. This is what labor says:

AFL: "Such a service would give workers the material and tools with which to meet their educational needs."

CIO: "All affiliated international unions, councils, and local industrial unions are urged to support this program by resolution, publicity, financial assistance, and communications to their respective Members of Congress, and cooperate with the Committee for the Extension of Labor Education toward this end."

Railroad labor: "Our association endorses the principle and objectives of this proposed legislation."

Through this bill labor is asking for better access to and more training in the use of the modern tools of facts and reason. This will promote orderly collective bargaining and peaceful industrial relations. It will likewise promote wider and wiser exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in the community, State, and Nation.

HOW THE SERVICE WOULD WORK

The bill would extend to some 42,000,000 wage and salary earners a program similar to that carried on by the Agricultural Extension Service for families of 6,000,000 farm operators.

Instruction would be provided at times and places and in forms convenient for wage and salary earners.

Teachers would be drawn from institutions of higher learning cooperating in the program.

Requests by groups of workers for classes would be worked out with these institutions and presented to State boards for approval.

Approved requests would be incorporated in a State plan and budget to be presented to the Secretary of Labor. Upon approval, he would request the Secretary of the Treasury to release from funds earmarked for the several States, payments to the cooperating institutions.

Sums deemed by Congress to be adequate to meet the demands for this service are to be appropriated and in each instance matched by at least 25 percent from sources within the State.

WHAT IS ASKED FOR BY WORKERS

This list is based on specific requests from workers, reported by universities, unions, and teachers of labor education classes.

Basic courses: Economic problems of American industry; economics of individual industries; labor legislation and law; social security; collective bargaining; history of the labor movement (related to economic and political history); consumers' problems; current national and international events; health and safety; government; community programs; public relations.

Tool subjects: Parliamentary law; public speaking; shop steward training; time and motion studies; grievance procedures; publicity workshop; radio workshop; writing; techniques of workers' education.

Other services: Research projects; exhibits, pictorial material; conferences; library services; moving pictures; occasional speakers.

NEED FOR THE BILL

Typical reports from universities conducting labor extension programs:

Wisconsin: "Winter off campus service is needed. Field staff should be placed immediately in 9 cities to serve 35 cities and towns in those areas. Estimated teaching staff needed is forty-four. Summer and winter institutes on campus are in demand. Training for union leadership requested. Research and preparation of printed material for union use and more audio-visual material are needed immediately."

State College, Pennsylvania, 1946: "Provided a week's summer training on its campus for 400 steelworkers. Is repeating this program for 1947. Textile and hosiery workers and many other unions are planning similar institutes. AFL, CIO, and railway organizations are making inquiries about educational services. At request of steelworkers, extension classes in union halls were undertaken, autumn 1946. More than 75 locals requested classes in contract administration, grievance and adjustment procedures, and related subjects leading to improved industrial relations. Penn State lacks resources to meet more than a fraction of these growing demands."

Chicago: "Because of lack of staff we reached less than 5 percent of the union members who want to attend classes. Requests for case materials have come from 60 leading universities. Five international unions have asked for text materials. None of these requests can be adequately filled unless we have assistance in the form of grants."

Michigan: "Classes held in 300 union halls, 21 college or university campuses in 43 cities. We believe there is tremendous need for extension of more informal types of educational programs through additional personnel in areas of: (a) community services; (b) socio-economic problems (national and international); (c) local and State government.

"More printed and visual materials are needed. The training program for people from other institutions and unions engaged in labor education should be started. Except for the year 1944–45 we have not dared carry on any kind of promotional program because with an inadequate budget we cannot extend our services beyond trying to care for the most pressing requests."

Rhode Island State College: "Classes requested by workers: Trends in labor legislation, mediation and arbitration, methods of handling grievances, railway labor legislation, introduction to principles of stewardship. Requests from local unions and other groups are increasing but cannot be met with present resources.

"At present more than 75 colleges and universities are conducting some type of labor extension service.

"As the above reports show, they cannot begin to meet the need that exists. Many of them are aware of the need of a pooling of experience and information so that improvements in teaching methods and materials worked out in one institution may be immediately available to all."

THE LEGISLATIVE BASIS FOR THE BILL

"A bill to broaden the cooperative extension system as established in the act of July 2, 1862, the act of August 30, 1890, and acts supplemental thereto, by providing for cooperative extension work between colleges receiving the benefits of these acts and other qualified colleges, universities, and research agencies, and the United States Department of Labor

"Be it enacted, etc., That in order to broaden and further develop the cooperative extension system as established by the act of July 2, 1862, the act of August 30, 1890, and acts supplemental thereto, and to aid in diffusing useful and practical information among the wage earners of the United States and increase the resources and facilities available to them, there shall be established in cooperation with colleges receiving the benefits of the aforementioned acts and other colleges, universities, and research agencies as designated in the several States a Labor Extension Service in the Department of Labor, administered by the Secretary of Labor.

"It is declared to be the policy of the Congress that the purposes of this program shall be to enable the Secretary of Labor, in accordance with his duty to promote the welfare of wage earners, through a program for the dissemination of useful knowledge to provide a means by which the Nation may conserve the creative capacities of workers, who, together with farmers, comprise the Nation's basic productive asset."

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1947

GEORGIA WORKERS EDUCATION SERVICE

MANAGEMENT-LABOR COOPERATION IN CUTTING COSTS

A Statement by the
Labor Committee on National Policy
of the
National Planning Association

August 8, 1947

Our economic efficiency as a nation depends basically upon our productivity. Our national productivity is particularly important at this time because the economy is entering a period of critical readjustment of prices and costs. Fortunately for sound policy, virtually all serious discussions of costs have been in terms of productivity rather than in terms of wages.

All parties to production and distribution--labor as greatly as any--have a stake in rising productivity. For rising productivity is the principal source of our economic progress and increasing wellbeing. Workers increasingly realize that high wages are made possible and continuation of their rising trend can be insured only by the high and increasing productive efficiency of our economy; businessmen increasingly realize that the answer to shrinking profits lies not in wage cutting, but in the increase of productivity.

Productivity is simply the measure of how efficiently we Americans are combining our labor, our equipment, and all our other resources in the business of production and distribution. Not only improved personal efficiency of workers, but better management, better relations between labor and management, better machines, new products and new industries, better organization and methods, better information and broader research, better transportation and communication, and many other factors contribute to the increase of productivity.

At the very heart of the matter, moreover, as our wartime experience demonstrated, lie human attitudes. Machines have a standard efficiency, but the efficiency of the human beings, whether managers or workmen, using those machines and developing new ones, is powerfully affected by the goal they have before them. We must seek to make the peacetime goals of our economy as real, as important, as morally compelling as were its wartime goals.

For many years the American economy has forged steadily ahead in productivity at a pace outstripping that achieved anywhere else on earth. Over the past fifty years this progress has averaged, in manufacturing, about three percent a year. During the war this rise was obscured by many factors which seriously affected the statistical measurements. There is recent evidence, however, that a strong upturn in productivity is now under way,

one which may well equal or even exceed the striking increase which followed the first war. It is not too well known that, starting in 1920, the second year after the end of hostilities, productivity in manufacturing increased ten percent a year for three successive years.

Our concern today must be to reinforce the current rise and to carry it forward. Government can provide effective aid through policies that head off depression and give business and labor freedom from fear of bankruptcy and unemployment--freedom therefore from constraint to protect markets and jobs by restrictive practices. Labor can make effective contributions--as our experience in the war demonstrated--if the setting is provided and management genuinely seeks labor's participation. But it is management that must lead the way in achieving increased productivity. This is indeed management's job; questions of efficiency lie at the very core of managing a business.

Even though the initiative lies with management, labor's contribution to increased efficiency can be extremely significant. But unless labor's cooperation is actively enlisted, maximum progress cannot be hoped for. Let management set the stage, explain the goals, and join with labor to agree on rules that are fair, and the way will be open for management to receive powerful labor support and follow-through.

The ending of hostilities ushered in a period during which attention was focused primarily on the problems of reconverting our resources to peacetime production. With reconversion now behind us, both management and labor can serve the general welfare and their own best interests by considering how to go about applying the lessons of war production to the problem of increasing our peacetime productivity.

Wherever unions find it possible to take the initiative in making operations more productive--and where past experience indicates that management will welcome such initiative--we urge that they do so. As indicated, however, we are convinced that the first step must in general come from management.

We urge managements everywhere in American industry to invite the unions they deal with to sit down with them and explore how to eliminate inefficiency in production and distribution. We are confident that such invitations, issued in good faith, will evoke a surprisingly satisfactory response from the unions. Our confidence, we may add, is not based on theory, but is rooted in concrete examples of successful teamwork between management and unions.

There are, as everyone knows, many types of restrictions on production. Some of these have been highlighted by official inquiries. Others, particularly those on the part of labor, have become bywords by reason of widespread publicity given them. It is easy for pot and kettle to call each other black. Management and labor must, however, work together to remove the soot wherever it may be found.

We have called for teamwork between management and labor in improving operations generally. We especially stress the need for such teamwork in overcoming restrictive practices. Teamwork is needed because the restrictive practices of management and of labor so frequently go in pairs. In some cases, the insecurity of markets has led management to restrict output and this in turn has forced workers to adopt restrictions designed to protect their jobs. In other cases workers may have been prompter than management to recognize the threat of insecurity and management's practices may have followed rather than preceded labor's.

We stress insecurity of markets and jobs because we are convinced that this is the root cause of restrictive practices. It follows that, to the extent this insecurity is the result of the swings of the business cycle, a complete solution must include effective policies, public as well as private, to insure a sustained high level of production and employment.

The methods which management and labor should follow in cooperating to raise productivity will of course vary from industry to industry and from plant to plant. We should draw on the large body of experience which has developed over the years, before as well as during the war. How far, for example, the labor-management production committees of the war period should be reestablished, and with what modifications, must be determined individually. The same holds for the reinstitution of the training programs, which also were so unfortunately abandoned when hostilities ended. Training can always increase productivity, but today, when happily there is no supply of idle manpower to draw upon to expand total output, it is of especial importance.

There are, however, three general principles that must be recognized in any campaign for increased productivity:

(1) The first of these is that workers must have assurance that the cards are not being stacked against them. They must have no ground to feel that the cost accounts are being loaded with dubious items. Suspicion on this score--no matter how petty the questioned items may be in dollar terms--must be avoided. Many of the practices with which labor is charged are also petty; and, without regard to the importance of either, workers are prone to regard the one as justifying the other.

(2) The second principle is that the passing on of the benefits of increased productivity must be equitable and reasonably clear and certain. As we have said, productivity grows from many sources and neither management nor labor nor stockholders nor the consuming public has an exclusive claim to its benefits. Workers want higher productivity to mean higher wages and lower prices. They want management and stockholders to get their fair shares, too. But they are not interested in stepping up productivity if the entire benefits that result are to go to increase profits which may already be ample. This should be elementary common sense, but it is all too frequently ignored in discussions of industrial efficiency.

(3) Finally, if our national productivity is to benefit to the maximum, any program to increase it must be put in terms that carry a basic appeal to every participant in production. Pecuniary incentives have their place, but they do not and--as men live not by bread alone--they cannot evoke our deepest and fullest, indeed our happiest, efforts. The efforts that we put forth in war were not the desperate efforts of a frightened people. They were the determined efforts of a people who were united by a common vision. That is what we must have in time of peace as well, if we are to demonstrate our full strength, our full capacity for growth.

The United States stands today a giant among the nations of the earth. We are strong and we have the responsibilities that the strong cannot escape. Our national strength lies in our national productivity. If we are to remain strong and if we are to share our strength in binding up the wounds of the rest of the world, and helping it to regain a sound foundation for peace and prosperity, we must not neglect that source. This is a challenge that must not go unanswered. We know it is in the American people--American labor, American management, and American agriculture--to answer it as ringingly and as decisively as they answered the challenge of war. We found our answer then in the teamwork of production and it is in the teamwork of production that we must find it today.

Signers of the Statement are:

CLINTON S. GOLDEN (Chairman)
Solebury, Pennsylvania

MARION H. HEDGES (Vice-Chairman)
Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

SOLOMON BARKIN
Director of Research
Textile Workers Union of America

J. A. BROWNLOW
Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades
Department, AFL

L. S. BUCKMASTER
President, United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers of America, CIO

JAMES B. CAREY
Secretary-Treasurer, CIO

NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK
Dir., Social Insurance Activities, AFL

KATHERINE POLLAK ELLICKSON
Asst. Director Research, CIO

FRANK FENTON
Director of Organization, AFL

H. W. FRASER
President, Order of Railway
Conductors of America

SANDER GENIS
Vice-President, Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America

CARL HOLDERMAN
President, N. J. State Council, CIO

DAVID KAPLAN
Chief Economist, Intl. Brotherhood
of Teamsters

A. F. KOJETINSKY
District Director, United
Steelworkers of America, CIO

ROBERT K. LAMB
National Legislative Representative
United Steelworkers of America

JULIUS LUHRSEN
American Train Dispatchers' Association
Railroad Retirement Board

A. E. LYON
Executive Secretary, Railway Labor
Executives Association

JAMES L. McDEVITT
President, Pennsylvania Federation
of Labor

WILLIAM MITCH
President, District 20,
United Mine Workers of America

ROBERT OLIVER
Texas State Director
CIO Organizing Committee

ERIC PETERSON
General Secretary-Treasurer
Intl. Association of Machinists

WALTER REUTHER
President, United Auto Workers
of America, CIO

EMIL RIEVE
President, Textile Workers Union
of America

SAMUEL E. ROPER
United Association of Journeymen
and Apprentices, Plumbing & Pipe Fitting,
U. S. & Canada

BORIS SHISHKIN
Economist, AFL

TED F. SILVEY
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LAZARE TEPER
Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union

FLORENCE C. THORNE
Director of Research, AFL

WILLARD S. TOWNSEND
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Service Employees of America, CIO

RAYMOND WALSH
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ARNOLD S. ZANDER
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Employees

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President, United Hatters, Cap
and Millinery Workers Intl. Union

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Please note the change in the subscription rate. See the announcement on page 3 of this issue. Your special attention is drawn also to the article "The Peoples of America Series" and the [illegible] tisement on the page opposite it. . . .

TRENDS & TIDES — A Paper of Information and Opinion

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WILL AMERICAN LABOR, TOO, LEARN ONLY THE HARD WAY?

The cartoon reproduced here is as true and significant today as it was when Boardman Robinson drew it a generation ago. It tells at a glance much of the recent Capital-Labor story in the U.S., climaxed by the Taft-Hartley law.

Note the brass-knuckles on Capital's hard and ready fists while Labor's hands are bare and down. *But it was Labor itself that, in the* 1946 *congressional election, helped to give Capital those brass-knuckles.* If the democratic process in the U.S. is to continue, and evolve, this fact must soon begin to penetrate into millions of American heads—especially those of workers. And we must begin to ask questions like these: Is American Labor like labor nearly everywhere else? Is it like nearly all the rest of humanity? Will it . . . *can* it learn only the hard way?

In the Roosevelt period, Labor leadership and the rank-and-file relied too much on one extraordinary politician to advance and protect its immediate interests. Relying too much on him, Labor failed to equip itself with the necessary political intelligence and character to prepare it for the Truman period—a period marked by perfidy on the highest levels and by political-economic developments which historians a few decades hence are likely to regard as criminal from the patriotic true-American or human point of view, as opposed to the currently dominant vested-interest point of view.

— *By Boardman Robinson*

In the absence of firm political sagacity, program and character, during the summer and autumn of '46, too many union leaders and rank-and-file workers fell easy victims to the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, anti-New Deal, anti-FDR, anti-economic-controls, and even anti-Labor propaganda drives of the NAM and related big-business organizations, and of the Baruchs, Hoovers, Dulleses, Spellmans, Hearsts and McCormicks, aided by the Trumans, Byrneses, Vandenbergs, Deweys, Tafts, Hartleys, Rankins and Thomases. Too many AFL and CIO folk, intimidated or confused by this propaganda, were turned into NAM-fools, and in Nov. they voted Republican or, in disgust, abstained from voting at all. This was a main factor in creating the reactionary 80th Congress with its large Republican majority, which found ready allies in the Southern Democrats and in Harry Truman, who (as Harold Ickes has pointed out) wanted the Taft-Hartley fascist monstrosity to become law but, true to his Pendergast beginnings and looking to '48, vetoed it with typical insincerity, certain that Congress would override the veto.

Urgent Need of Labor Education

The '46 election and the Taft-Hartley law constitute an all-important lesson for Labor. Not only Labor's but the country's future depends greatly on whether Labor can take this lesson to heart and turn it over in its mind.

There is an urgent need for Labor to acquire a steadfast, unmistakably progressive political point of view and start a nation-wide educational movement which, repudiating once and for all the old "unionism pure and simple," will concern itself not only with domestic social, economic and political affairs but also, perhaps at first specially, with foreign policy; which will spread beyond organized workers to reach out for the wide masses of the American people now floundering in a morass of NAM lies and distortions; which will aim to frustrate the open and secret trends toward fascism and war on the part of vested interests, the military, and the Catholic Hierarchy; which will proceed on the idea that such enlightened, selfishly intelligent capitalists as Cyrus Eaton and Robert Young* are exceptional and no factor in capitalist

*Cyrus Eaton's article on Capital-Labor relations in the April '47 Univ. of Chicago Law Review and Robert Young's piece on U.S. foreign policy in the March 8, 1947, Saturday Review of Literature are worth some trouble to get hold of.—*L. A.*

George S.Mitchell
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Economic Justice

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

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New Haven Building Trades Council Takes Churches to Task for Employing Non-Union Labor

Open Letter to Council of Churches Cites Cases and Asks for Meeting to Discuss Issues

In a letter to the New Haven Council of Churches made public August 16th, the New Haven Building Trades Council asked for a meeting between the Executive Committee of the Council of Churches and of the Building Trades Council "to settle the issue of the relation between New Haven's churches and organized labor."

The letter charged that Center Church (Congregational) and Trinity Church (Episcopal) two of the richest churches in the city, had awarded painting contracts to open shop contractors. "This has been done," the letter asserts, "despite the fact that we had been led to believe that the churches support organized labor."

"Frankly, we see a paradox between sermons which favor recognition of the right of working men to collective bargaining; and practices by some churches which ignore this right.

"As a basis or discussion, may we point out that we have been told that both Center Church and Trinity Church are using non-union labor because the bids presented by the open-shop contractors were lower than those offered by union contractors? Our answer to this is: Of course the open-shop contractors have lower bids. They do not pay the prevailing or union rate, and thus are able to underbid union contractors. In effect, this means that the churches which use open-shop contractors have their work done by men who receive sub-standard wages. We doubt that religion favors this policy.

"One of the basic reasons for the existence of organized labor is to insure decent wages and working conditions for working people. When churches ignore the unions, they go counter to many of the basic principles of religion."

The letter was signed by Saul Kreas, President, and Bernard Gilbride, Secretary.

CHURCH COUNCIL SEEKS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH LABOR

There are evidences that the New Haven Council of Churches is seeking to establish friendly relations with organized labor. One is that the Council has urged its members, in a letter, to give consideration to their labor relations. Another is that the ministers of the principal churches involved held a long conference with a representative of the Foundation to discuss the issues as they affect the churches.

The text of the letter:

"We have been instructed by the Executive Committee to inform you that serious labor difficulties have arisen with some of our churches, which are attempting major and minor repairs, or building projects this summer.

"Therefore, to avoid any unnecessary inconvenience, or delay, because of labor disputes, we suggest:

1. "That contracts entered into by management and labor should be carefully studied in order to assure both employer and employee, fair and proper treatment.
2. "That you acquaint yourself with the rules of the labor union involved.
3. "That in no case should you employ union and non-union labor at the same time.
4. "We trust that this reminder may spare you and your Church the embarrassment suffered by some of our Churches recently because these matters were not given thoughtful consideration."

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 1)

Catholic Bishop Supports Employment of Organized Labor

The Catholic position on the responsibility of priests to employ union labor only in the construction and repair of church buildings is clearly stated. In reply to a letter from Bernard Gilbride, Secretary-Treasurer of the New Haven Building Trades Council, asking his cooperation, Bishop Henry J. O'Brien, Diocese of Hartford, wrote the following:

My dear Mr. Gilbride:

I am grateful for your kind letter of July 1st in which you ask me to use any influence with the pastors of the New Haven area so that they will insist upon union work in constructing and repairing church buildings.

For many years the Bishops of Hartford have taken every opportunity to remind the priests of the diocese that it is entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Papal Encyclicals to insist upon the employment of union workers. I am always glad to do what I can to further the cause of the unions which have done so much to improve the conditions of the workingman.

You may depend upon my support wherever and whenever it may be useful to you.

I wish to assure you specifically that I will bring this matter to the attention of the New Haven pastors at the earliest possible opportunity.

"Wishing you every success, I am,

Sincerely,
HENRY J. O'BRIEN,
Bishop of Hartford.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE

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RLF Events

Fall meeting of the General Executive Board at the Parkside Hotel in New York, Monday morning, Septemer 22d.

This is to be followed by a special luncheon at the Parkside at which some twenty representatives of the social action departments of denominations and International unions will join with Board members in a discussion of the program of the RLF's Fifteenth Anniversary Conference to be held toward the end of the year.

The General Executive Board of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, CIO, has asked the RLF to set up a luncheon meeting of representatives of the International and of the Boston clergy at the time of the union's convention in that city, September 15-19. The clergymen will be the guests of the union.

In a few days the call will be issued for the Annual Conference of the Interseminary Division of the Foundation to be held in Boston October 13-18. The conference, following the practice of a number of years, will be held at the time and place of the National CIO Convention to permit theological students to attend sessions of the convention and to meet and hear labor representatives at its own sessions.

Boston Area RLF members will assist in locating speaking engagements in churches and synagogues for CIO officers and delegates while the convention is on.

Judgment Must Begin In The House Of The Lord

By WILLARD UPHAUS

This article is taken in modified form with permission, from the Fall 1945 issue of "Prophetic Religion," official quarterly of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, because it bears upon the front page news in this number of "Economic Justice."

The Federal Council of Churches in America has, since 1912, stood for the right of collective bargaining and decent working conditions, and the constituent bodies in the Council have generally done likewise. Today this declaration is usually construed to refer to workers in all major industries, such as steel, autos, mines, railroads, and the like, and not to big businesses operated by denominations themselves, such as hospitals, colleges and universities, theological seminaries and printing establishments. And the right to organize is interpreted usually to say to the worker, "You have the right to take all the risks, suffer intimidation, discrimination or discharge, even physical violence, while we stand by and watch what happens." Institutions of religion ordinarily do not consider themselves under obligation to provide funds and personnel to help workers win their rights.

Many religious bodies have failed deplorably to put their own economic houses in order. This applies both to the local church and to the denominational organizations. For example, church janitors are probably among the worst paid workers in the country. The policy often is to employ someone on part-time, who needs to supplement a meagre income.

Or janitors may be older persons disqualified for work in regular industry. These attendants rarely know anything about unions and they are not covered by Social Security legislation. Because of their loyalty to the church, they often take it on the chin. Too often there is no thought-out employee policy with respect to hours and wages, sickness, vacation, or adequate care upon retirement.

One pastor known to the writer who serves a large congregation in an eastern city has taken the matter of the ideals of his denomination to heart and with the full consent of his people worked out a retirement scheme for his janitor, organist and office secretary.

A point at which the local minister and the church board often fall down is in the matter of printing. I have hundreds of letters from ministers in my files, but very, very few letterheads bear the union label. The temptation is still strong to shop around to get the lowest price, regardless of the pay and working conditions in the print shop. Religious leaders and laymen rarely have any feeling for the long, hard struggle of the Allied Printing Trades to turn unhealthy sweatshops into decent places to work. Every failure of churchmen to recognize this is a distinctly anti-social act, for patronizing unorganized printers is a constant threat to hard-won standards.

Churches too often fail to employ union labor when they build or repair. One pastor with whom I talked shrugged his shoulders and said, "I am in charge of the spiritual affairs of the congregation, and have nothing to do with material matters." In the same city another minister, serving a large and conservative congregation, held a different view. The interior of the church was to be redecorated. He knew his committee was tight financially and anti-labor. He took the problem to the business agent of the Painters' Union. The latter was sympathetic and persuaded his local to contribute in labor the difference between what scab work and union work would cost. Thus a compromise was effected in which the church honored the union and union members contributed to a worthy cause.

ISSUE DRAMATIZED IN NEW HAVEN

This situation is being dramatized in New Haven today. The Building Trades Council has just made public a letter assailing a number of the leading Protestant churches in the city for letting non-union contracts for some major repairs on their buildings. The charge is true. Through inadvertence, open hostility, or for reasons satisfactory to them, church committees have permitted this to happen. Officers of the Council of Churches and the ministers concerned are taking steps to prevent

the recurrence of similar mistakes. As I move from one group to another in an effort to resolve the conflict in terms of justice to labor, I am once more impressed with the wide gulf between, a gulf created by fear, prejudice, misunderstanding and misinformation, vested interests, and varying conceptions of what constitutes the social responsibility of the church. Through the National RLF informal conferences are being arranged to clear the air.

The failure of denominational boards and educational institutions of religion is much more serious, in a way, than the infractions of the local church. We look to them to set a better example.

Another point at which judgment should begin is in the matter of denominational printing. The most dramatic case in point today is the moral and financial support a few leading denominations have given to union-busting by spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on church school and other religious literature at the R. R. Donnelley and Sons Lakeside Press in Chicago.

This failure to implement the creed on collective bargaining is not regional, but nation-wide. Our attention has been drawn recently to the fact that the huge printing establishment of the Methodist Church located in Nashville, Tenn., is unorganized. It does an immense and profitable business, printing not only general church literature but volumes written by church men whose books have much to say about Christian ideals.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES

My experience is that theological seminaries are greatly at fault. Here is where the prospective minister should be getting some demonstration of the economic implementation of his Christian ideals, as well as grades and a degree for his ability to store up knowledge. Many administrators dread the very thought of dealing with a union. There is something abhorrent and upsetting about the whole business. It is easy for them to rationalize that unions are led by racketeers, that the officers are corrupt, or that Communists are in control. Another illusion which they sometimes try to hide behind is "that fine family spirit" that is said to characterize their particular institutions. "We get along congenially here. Any worker can bring his grievances to me. The union would spoil all this."

REMEDIES SUGGESTED

There are at least three approaches to a solution. First, administrators and faculties of theological seminaries must re-think the content and method of theological education. This reconsideration will mean more than adding a course in Social Ethics, with a passing reference to labor. It will take more than such a concession, grudgingly given by those who guard the old classical subjects. To recall an expression of Professor George Coe, this would be like adding a side vestibule of freedom to a cathedral of conformity. Just to add a label to a printed document (to esthetic souls it looks too much like a bug) seems such a silly bit of ceremony, until the act is related to a full understanding of the historic role of labor in society. Surely this whole area of life deserves a logical and proportionate place in an educational set-up in keeping with the times. There is not a daily paper or a weekly journal worthy of attention whose headlines do not regularly shout at the reader about labor, social unrest, unemployment, cutbacks, reconversion, AFL, CIO, NLRB, NAM, C. of C., cartels, monopolies, and what have you, and yet hundreds of seminary students go out almost completely unaware of the issues. Having no historical and economic ground on which to base their judgments they fall for misrepresentation and often wilt at the first suggestion of a conservative layman that they had better stick to the Gospel and preach what will bring peace and quiet to the soul. These students have never been fully convinced that Christianity has an economic responsibility, both for the ends of life and the methods of realizing the goals. A revised curriculum will see that their studies are broadened and that they will have personal contact with the leaders and members of the labor movement, which, I believe, has done more than any other movement to put an economic floor under the common man and to erect a social structure in which religious freedom can survive.

In the second place, Christian Boards of education, owe the young people and adults in the local church school lessons more replete with situations and suggestions out of contemporary labor and industrial life. Thoughts and activities that encourage social enterprise should replace thoughts and activities that seek to restore forms of economic life which are gone beyond recall. Religious education still needs to develop the materials and methods for an educational process that is continuous from childhood to adulthood. It is not enough to spend money and scholarship on a few specialized courses that the few intellectually curious and more radical spirits select. Editors must take the responsibility of putting what is needed into the heart of the regular curriculum, with the thought of "transforming the enormous inherited routine of the church into a free and self-changing activity."

Finally, an inseparable part of the total program is that of leadership training and creative group action in the local church. By and large, our present church school teachers are not prepared to handle the kind of materials we have in mind. Very often the materials now prepared have an excellence not appreciated and utilized. Teachers are still schooled in the idea that children's minds are empty receptacles into which religious teaching is poured. Many of them would be terribly shocked if their pupils took seriously much of the Sunday morning discussion about race, labor and economics. It is permissible to believe in justice to Negroes on Sunday morning, but just see what happens when a Negro family wants to purchase the house three doors from the church. It is rarely assumed that the class is to bring back a report on successive Sundays, about some social building or transformation for which they are responsible. The tacit understanding is that they had better not rile the brethren or challenge the political and economic institutions of the community.

Here again the chief responsibility falls upon the local minister, and his response is generally in keeping with what he has been taught as right and proper in the seminary. Through him there is a possibility of developing an educational program that will relate love and conduct, and persistently follow through on the implications of Christian teaching for the church and the community.

RELIGION and LABOR NEWS

By John G. Ramsay

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

The Greensboro R–L Fellowship has held two meetings. The first was held in May, when the Burlington Joint Board, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, was the host. Bruno Rantane, TWUA Manager welcomed the guests and all took part in get-acquainted remarks. Rantane in extending an invitation to labor to participate in R–L discussion said, "This dinner is not sponsored by any one group, and will be entirely a 'dutch treat.' With the hysterical statements made about labor it was the thought of a few of us in labor that it wouldn't be a bad idea to meet with various groups influential in our community to have a frank discussion about what labor really is and what it is out to do. In view of the legislation passed in our state and the nation, all of us are conscious of the great amount of misunderstanding we have to clear up."

It would really take a society editor to give you the details of the luncheon. Mrs. Ruth Gettinger, Public Relations Representative of the N.C. CIO Organizing Committee arranged the luncheon with finess, flowers, name cards and all.

The second meeting was held in June at the YWCA. The chairman was Dr. Clyde Darsie, Pastor, Elm Street Christian Church and President, Greensboro Ministerial Association.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

The Baton Rouge Religion and Labor Fellowship is an action group. It has been meeting monthly for the past eight months. It held one public forum, and is planning another for September.

This Fellowship, at its June meeting, sent the following telegram to Sen. Allen J. Ellender and had a representative committee sign it. The telegram:

"The members of the Baton Rouge Religion-Labor Fellowship, consisting of leaders in Protestant and Catholic churches and in various labor organizations earnestly urge your sustaining President's veto of Taft-Hartley bill."

The signing committee: E. T. Prothro, Secretary, Msgr. L. A. Cailouet, Dr. Philip Werlein (Episcopal), Dr. John Melton (Presbyterian), Rev. W. E. Trice (Methodist), Harry Cochran (Oil Workers Union), Bruce Millen (CIO Organizing Committee), Ed. Bourg (AFL), Sec'y, State Federation of Labor, Cyril Dominguez (Gulf States Utilities), Independent Union, Marshall Sharp (Telephone Workers).

Spartanburg, South Carolina, Baptist Church Condemns Acquittal of Greenville Lynchers

On June 1st the Saxon Baptist Church, of which John B. Isom is pastor, adopted in conference a resolution condemning the acquittal of 28 men charged with lynching Willie Earle and advocating a Federal anti-lynch law. The text of the resolution is:

WHEREAS, A jury of twelve men serving in a South Carolina Court, convening in Greenville, S. C., have recently acquitted 28 men charged with lynching Willie Earle, and

WHEREAS, A large number of those acquitted were, according to their own signed admissions, guilty, and

WHEREAS, This flagrant disregard for their sworn duty and the established law of the land, coupled with the obviously prejudiced and biased application of the penalties provided by the law constitutes a travesty upon justice that should not be condoned or tolerated by any right thinking people, and

WHEREAS, The right of every citizen to a fair and speedy trial before a jury of his peers is an inherent, and a constitutional, right of every citizen without regard of race, creed, or color, and

WHEREAS, It is evident from the history of the case in question and other related cases that this objective is not likely to be attained at any early date unless State legislation is supplemented by Federal legislation; therefore, be it

Resolved:

1. That we go on record as advocating a Federal anti-lynch law as an aid in protecting all citizens and as an instrument for meting out proper punishment to all who undertake to be a law unto themselves.

2. That we give the press a copy of this resolution, and that a copy of it be sent to our Congressman and our Senators with a request that they use their influence to have enacted a Federal anti-lynch bill.

"We have no R–L Group yet in Spartanburg. A start has been made with a few clergymen, and one of these is Reverend Isom. The action of his church is quite a contrast to the following reply I received from the Spartanburg Ministerial Association, when I requested an opportunity to speak to it. Here is the reply of the secretary:

"I was instructed as secretary to let you know that the ministers and churches are interested in the religious welfare of all people and they may be called upon for spiritual leadership at any time.

"On the other hand, it has been the continuous policy of the Association to take no part in political disputes or controversial subjects between labor and management as it is the duty of the church to serve both wherever they may be found. For that reason, the ministers do not wish to take any part for or against organizing unions and for that reason cannot extend an invitation to speak to them upon the subject mentioned.

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA

A new Religion and Labor Fellowship was formulated in Rock Hill, S. C., at a luncheon July 21st, in which the Textile Workers of America, CIO, entertained an inter-faith and inter-union group.

This was an outgrowth of action taken by the Rock Hill Ministerial Association when I had the privilege to speak to them in June. A motion was unanimously passed to the effect that the ministers would accept an invitation from management.

The arrangements for this luncheon were also made by Mrs. Gettinger. Don McKee, TWUA Representative of Rock Hill chaired the meeting. Dr. Gregg, Pastor ot fhe First Presbyterian Church, gave the invocation.

The usual round of introductions and comments of each individual present brought out that the local union officers are used to making testimonies in their churches. Some of these are:

"I have been saved and love to tell people about that. Organized labor is to help and not hurt anyone. It helps management. We need a balance of power."

"If the labor movement interfered with my Christianity I could not be a part to it."

The CIO has improved my ability to serve my fellowmen. We should have a right to say what is an honest day's work and an honest day's pay."

These were third shift workers. All R–L Groups should make an effort to have the local union leaders at their meetings as well as the full time labor representatives.

Nancy Blaine — TWUA — was selected as the secretary and the program committee consists of Father Maurice Shean; Mr. Seagel, President, AFL Musicians Union, Rev. Stokes, Pastor, Methodist Church, and Don McKeen, TWUA-CIO.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

The New Orleans Group was started in June, 1946, by a small group I met during my first visit here. They were Fred C. Pieper, Director, Louisiana CIO Organizing Committee; Dr. R. F. Buck, Evangelical and Reformed Church, President, New Orleans Ministerial Union; Rev. George W. Damerion, Methodist; and Fathers O'Connel and Drolet of the Catholic Church. This group is an inter-racial, inter-faith, inter-union group.

Marjorie Grier, Secretary, reports for New Orleans:

"The Church and Labor Committee in New Orleans is interfaith, interunion, and inter-racial. Jewish rabbis, Catholic priests, Protestant ministers three YWCA secretaries and representatives from CIO, AFL and The Southern Federation of Telephone Workers make up its membership.

"Once a month the group meets for lunch at the YWCA after which there is a discussion on some topic of interest to the members. Among the topics already discussed are "The Churches' Attitudes Toward Labor," "The Toledo Plan and Its Implications for New Orleans," "Anti-labor Legislation Pending in Congress," etc.

"Not long after the Committee had its beginning, the initial enthusiasm began to wear off, and a few luncheons were skipped because of lack of interest.

"A special meeting was called to discuss ways and means of reviving interest. At this meeting, a planning committee was set up to act for a four-month period at the end of which time, each member of the committee will choose a successor. The duties of the committee are to plan and carry out the luncheon programs for four successive months. The subjects to be discussed, however, are presented in advance to the whole group for approval, and members of the group are asked for suggestions as to subjects. A membership committee was also set up, and one person delegated to send out the notices and make the necessary arrangements for luncheon reservations. Meetings are now held regularly and interest has grown.

"Thus far, the group has been purely a discussion and fellowship group, and its main accomplishment has been to give the representatives of the different church and labor organizations an opportunity to get acquainted with each other's viewpoints and attitudes. However, the possibility of some social action by the group arising out of the discussions is not remote and has been suggested by some of the members. Attendance averages about 15 members and includes a nucleus which attends regularly and shows a great deal of interest in the committee."

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Using as its theme, "Religion's Message to Labor," the Greater New Haven Religion and Labor Council put on a thirty-minute Labor Day broadcast on WNHC.

Rev. Robert Fichter, Pastor, Summerfield Methodist Church, gave the invocation: Professor Robert C. Dentan, of Berkeley Divinity School, spoke on "The Bible and Labor;" Rabbi Leon Spitz of Congregation Keser Israel, on "Labor and the Synagogue," Secretary Willard Uphaus made a statement about the National R–L Foundation and indicated how the New Haven branch implements the aim of church-labor cooperation.

ACTION IN CANADA

Rev. E. Harold Toye, Executive Secretary, The Religion-Labour Foundation of Toronto and Ontario, reports progress across the line.

In a letter to the National RLF he writes: I am in the process of setting up units in a number of larger industrial centers. We have succeeded in Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Sarnia, and things are proceeding nicely in London, Brantford and Kitchener. Our Provincial Conference is due this fall. Certainly we are winning the confidence of labour groups. We have received the official endorsation of the Canadian Congress of Labor.

The Toronto Conference of the United Church gave us their official blessing in June and recommended that a special session of each of the 10 Presbyteries plan a session this year to deal with the problem of Industrial Evangelism and that the pulpits of the conference be opened to the RLF."

CONNECTICUT RLF MEETS IN HARTFORD

Rabbi Spitz Calls for Three-Fold Program

RABBI SPITZ

"The threefold job before the Religion and Labor Foundation is for clergymen to educate labor unions in religion, for labor leaders to present their problems to the groups that comprise organized religion, and for the two groups to present a united front in educating the public in the ways of liberalism," said Rabbi Leon Spitz of New Haven, in addressing a Connecticut conference of the RLF in Hartford on July 1.

"What we need most to insure the success of the movement," the Rabbi continued, "is to secure perhaps fewer outstanding citizens but more men and women of the upstanding type, to stand up for a greater and more courageous spirit of liberalism in the time of postwar reaction and witch hunting."

Other speakers presented their views on the relation of the church and labor at the present time. Harold Senior, Organizer and Publicity Director for the Connecticut CIO declared that the Taft-Hartley bill is anti-religious, since it strikes at fundamental liberties." "Labor should have had the universal support of the church in opposing the bill. Too few clergymen were active." Mr. Senior pointed out that each side has a tendency to criticize the other without adequate information or exchange of views. He encouraged labor representatives to attend church, and to assist the church in such practical ways as helping in membership drives and fund-raising.

Charles C. Haas, Norwalk hat manufacturer, said that "the basic principles of unions are as fine as one could want from a religious point of view" As a representative of management he constantly encouraged business associates to understand this, he said. When the Wagner Act came in, he called in the workers and told them that all had to join in making the law of the land effective.

"Ministers, by and large, will not go to bat for labor and jeopardize their jobs," declared the Rev. J. George Butler, Minister, Park Methodist Church, Hartford. In proving this point, Mr. Butler cited some experiences he had had. The speaker strongly urged labor leaders to to become active in the church." Bore from within and become members of the official board," he advised.

"Formal church attendance on the part of labor is not to be expected until bread and butter problems are solved," asserted Harold Strauch, representative of the Connecticut Federation of Labor. "Labor is more interested in economic security." Mr. Strauch expressed the belief that more of the initiative must come from the clergy side.

Following the address, National Executive Secretary Willard Uphaus led in a discussion on practical steps to be taken to effect cooperation. Among the points brought out were:

1. Exchange of speakers; 2. Labor ought to support its friends in the churches, when they get into trouble; 3. Churchmen and labor representatives should alert rural parsons to what is going on. Rural areas send disproportionate representation to state legislature.

4. Labor should publicize church activities. 5. Effort should be made to clear conflicts in calendars. 6. Clergymen should be more aggressive in approaching local union leaders; 7. Investigate the possibility of a united demonstration on Labor Day Sunday; 8, Exchange literature freely.

CHURCH - LABOR ACTION FOR JUSTICE

ECONOMIC JUSTICE here offers a few suggestions for study and action many of which have been tried successfully on the local level. With the rising tide of reaction, dramatized by the enactment of the Taft-Hartley bill and similar punitive state legislation, by witch hunts, by profits and living costs at an all-time high, and by a fizzling GOP Congress, it is more imperative than ever that we stand shoulder to shoulder in resisting encroachment upon our democratic liberties.

The National office is eager to serve as a clearing house for the exchange and interpretation of experiences in local R — L groups, whether in cities or seminaries. Will secretaries please send reports to John G. Ramsay (79½ Poplar Street N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.) or to the editor?

WHAT CAN CHURCHMEN AND LABOR REPRESENTATIVES DO FOR ONE ANOTHER?

I.

Churchmen

Make a serious effort to know personally as many labor leaders as possible.

Watch the local papers for news about labor leaders, especially in relation to particular labor-management problems in the city.

Secure, through the national headquarters of the AFL, CIO and Brotherhoods, or through local unions, samples of the constitution and by-laws of labor, and make them the basis of discussion.

Invite representatives of labor to address various groups in your congregation.

If you are in a city of sufficient size, where central labor bodies exist, become informed about their make-up, purpose and activities. Invite a spokesman for labor to address the Ministers Association or Council of Churches' meeting.

Exchange fraternal delegates on a permanent basis.

See that an Industrial Relations Committee of Ministers' Assn., Council of Churches, or Interfaith Committee is formed and functions constantly. Have permanent labor members on this committee.

Labor Representatives

Make a serious effort to know personally as many clergymen as possible.

Watch the local papers for news about pastoral changes and send greetings to new arrivals.

Secure through the headquarters of the faiths and denominations or through the local clergy, recent pronouncements on labor. Distribute copies at union meetings.

Invite a clergyman to address your union meeting.

If you are in a city of sufficient size, where a Ministers' Association, Council of Churches or Interfaith Committee exists, get in touch with the chairman of the organization and invite him to send a speaker to a meeting of central labor body, or local union.

Exchange fraternal delegates on a permanent basis.

It would be in order to have standing Public Relations Committee as part of Central Labor organization or local union, with special reference to the churches.

(Continued on Page 7, Cols. 2-3)

NEW HAVEN CHURCHES

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 2)

On September 4th, the Rev. Dr. Frank M. Swaffield, President of the New Haven Council of Churches, held an informal conference with local church leaders to discuss the misunderstandings between local churches and the Building Trades Council, which arose when non-union contracts had been let by Calvary Baptist Church, Center Church and Trinity Episcopal Church and some other local churches.

Those attending besides Dr. Swaffield were the Rev. C. Lawson Willard, Jr., Rector of Trinity Church, the Rev. Dr. David N. Beach and the Rev. Howard Worth of Center Church, the Rev. Dr. John L. Gregory, Executive Secretary of the New Haven Council of Churches and Dr. Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, who was invited to be present to explain the point of view of the Building Trades Council.

It is anticipated that a small informal conference will soon take place between representatives of the churches involved and the unions in an effort to find a solution to the issues that have been raised.

Money For Peace, Not For Compulsory Military Training

Dr. Donald DuShane, Secretary of the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education of the National Education Association, while testifying before the House Military Affairs Committee on November 28, 1945, said:

"The cost of compulsory military training, as estimated by the War Department under the May bill, will be from $1,750,000,000 to $2,000,000,000. It is probable that these estimates are low as they do not include refresher courses and payments to the reserve force of which the military training system is a part. Those refresher courses and payments have been intimated by officials of the War Department before this committee. It may well be assumed that the costs when the system is fully in operation will approximate $3,000,000,000 annually.

"To members of this war Congress, $3,000,000,000 may not be overwhelming as it is to me, yet I ask your indulgence while I attempt to show some of the social betterments that could be obtained with this sum of money, and which I believe would add much more to our national defense than would military conscription.

(Continued on next page, Col. 1)

Civil Liberties Taking a Beating, Say ACLU

Increasing Hostility to Labor

The American Civil Liberties Union report, a pamphlet entitled **In Times of Challenges**, describes an atmosphere increasingly hostile to the liberties of labor, the political left and many minorities; a general retreat to nationalism, militarism and defense of the status quo."

The year's major blows to civil liberties are listed thus:

¶ Four lynchings with one notorious aquittal of 28 confessed lynchers at Greensville, S. C.

¶ The Taft-Hartley Law.

¶ Approval by the Supreme Court of the use of public school funds for religious schools.

¶ A decision of the high court extending the legality of searches without warrants.

¶ The President's order for dangerously vague" loyalty tests of Federal employees.

¶ The continued witch-hunting crusade" of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"Excitement, bordering on hysteria, characterized the public approach to any issue related to Communism," the report said of the year.: "In such an atmosphere of militant conservatism it was inevitable that practically all forces seeking reform should be blocked, and that even established liberties associated with them should be attacked."

With $3,000,000,000 a year it would be possible:

1. To construct a 10-room modern school building in every county in the United States each year;
2. To construct a $50,000 library in every county in the United States each year;
3. To construct annually a $150,000 hospital in each county;
4. To employ 10 full-time school and public health doctors and 10 full-time school and public health nurses in every county in the country;
5. To purchase 10 new modern school busses in each county in the United States each year;
6. To maintain one psychiatric and behavior clinic in every county in the United States;
7. To provide 10 full-time recreation and juvenile guidance workers in every county in the United States;
8. To bring all schools of the country up to a reasonable standard of efficiency and by that I mean with an expenditure of $300 to raise the level of our poorer schools;
9. To provide free education for the 3 million children under 18 who are now not attending school keeping every child in the county in school until 18 years of age;
10. To meet the pay roll of one junior college with 10 instructors in every county in the United States;
11. To provide all the expenses of a three-year post graduate course for 10,000 selected students and scientists each year;
12. To pay the full maintenance and tuition at college or technical school for one year of the 9,000,000 boys who would be conscripted under this May bill;
13. To erect a three-quarter-million-dollar trade and technical school in each congressional district each year.

"This would leave an unexpended balance of $15,300,000 annually. If in the second and subsequent years additional busses, hospitals, and libraries are not needed in each county, and a second technical school were not needed in each congressional district, the cost would be reduced to less than two billion dollars a year.

"While there are various possible plans of spending $3,000,000,000 annually for the social improvement of the United States, the above proposals indicate methods by which our national welfare and defense could be tremendously improved for the same amount that would be wasted at the present time on compulsory military training."

CHURCH-LABOR ACTION FOR JUSTICE—(Continued)

Churches

The Industrial Relations Committee of community organized religion should work out a form of procedure for reaching agreements with the building trades for the repair and construction of churches.

The local pastor should make the most of Labor Day Sunday. Plan a special service, and invite unions to be present. Labor now has organizers who make splendid addresses.

Preach a series of sermons on the social creed of your church or synagogue, stressing its position on organized labor.

Set up literature display and lending library in your church or synagogue. Be well supplied with books and pamphlets on labor and related questions. Feature "The Book of the Week" in the Sunday morning bulletin.

In many communities Councils of Churches conduct fall training institutes for officers and teachers in church schools. Include lectures and a course on the church and labor.

Let both the Church and Labor make an effort to clear schedules of conflict, so that there may be reciprocity in attending meetings.

Make special mention in the Sunday morning bulletins of labor events of community importance.

Let the Social Service Committee of the local church set up a special supper meeting at which members of the congregation become personally acquainted with union officials. This might be an annual event.

Labor

Let Building Trades Council be on lookout for all announcements about the repair or construction of churches and synagogues.

See that representatives of the different faiths take part in Labor Day programs. One city made a great success of Labor Day Sunday. A joint religious service was held Sunday morning in the University Stadium. A number of churches gave up their regular services, and labor called off all Monday programs.

Labor representatives have a responsibility to the church and synagogue. Let them join and help build the kind of religious institution that will best serve the cause of working people and the community.

Set up reading table or reading room in union offices and labor temples. Secure the help of the right religious leaders in selecting materials union members will read.

Form an inter-union committee to sponsor city-wide programs of workers' education. Make the maximum use of religious leaders who are prepared to teach public speaking, parliamentary law, labor economics, etc.

Let both Labor and the Church make an effort to clear schedules of conflict, so that there may be reciprocity in attending meetings.

Local union and central labor periodicals should give prominence to religious activities that bear on labor, excerpts from sermons, etc.

Unions and central labor bodies might arrange an outing for clergymen and church officials, with entertaining program for the families.

II.

WHAT CAN THE CHURCHES AND LABOR DO TOGETHER FOR THE COMMUNITY—LOCAL, NATIONAL, WORLD?

1. Form a permanent Religion and Labor Fellowship or Council that meets regularly and coordinate a complete program, including activities listed under Section 1.

2. There are many dangerous organizations in this country actively fomenting racism and anti-Semitism. They are led by demagagues skilled in the techniques of misleading the people. Our answer is an organized relationship in which the members of various faiths and races work together to get at the roots of friction. Fear and insecurity are at the bottom of much racism.

3. Bring nationally known leaders to address community-wide forums and town meetings. General areas of interest:

Security and Freedom
Wages, Prices and Profits
The 1948 Campaign
Licking the Causes of Depression
Production and Distribution
More TVA's for America
Effect of Monopoly on Our Economic Life
The United Nations and World Peace

(Contined on Page 8)

CHURCH-LABOR ACTION FOR JUSTICE—(Continued)

4. Work for a community Religion and Labor Week-end in addition to the regular Labor Day. Labor Day is poorly timed, especially from the viewpoint of the churches, when the attendance is small.

5. Ask your local radio stations for time. Stations are required under the regulations of the Federal Communications Commission to devote some time to community service. Get personally acquainted with radio station offcials. Appoint a committee to write scripts or secure suitable recording.

6. Under the auspices of a joint committee set up courses in workers education and church-labor cooperation.

7. Defend and support clergymen or labor leaders who lose their jobs or otherwise suffer because of their action in behalf of justice.

8. Set up a Speakers' Bureau that will arrange appointments for labor leaders at religious gatherings and for clergymen or laymen at labor meetings.

9. When industrial conflict situations arise in the community, let the R — L Fellowship be the first to ascertain the facts and seek settlements on the basis of justice to management, labor and the community.

10. June 23rd was the beginning of a new era for all Americans who cherish free collective bargaining and civil liberties. The Taft-Hartley Act is not only unworkable, as viewed by impartial experts on labor-management relations, but it dramatizes social retrogression. Our best defense is a mighty offense. We have a date with 1948. All must join hands in electing a Congress that will repeal this Act. Some eighty Congressmen, many of whom are anti-labor, were elected in 1946 on a five per cent margin.

III.

PROJECTS FOR STUDY AND ACTION

1. Equitable taxation.

2. Flood control and soil conservation.

3. A nationally integrated and socially owned power system, built along the lines of the TVA.

4. Social ownership and democratic control of all monopolies affecting the general welfare.

5. Guaranteed annual wage.

6. The national health S 1320, HR 3548.

7. Attack on the present profit and price structure on all fronts (a) revealing the facts and figures; (b) consumer organization; (c) support of super co-op markets, etc.

8. Expanding social security to cover all the people.

9. Housing. Secure enactment of Taft-Wagner-Ellender bills.

10. Lift the minimum wage. S 1404, HR 3764.

11. Extend hand of mercy to displaced persons. HR 2910 permits entry of 400,000 homeless Eurpeans into U.S. under unused immigration quotas.

12. The extension of labor education. S 1320 introduced by Senators Morse and Thomas (Utah).

13. Extend organization to the unorganized with a new vigor, not only to give individual workers and their families a decent livelihood, but to improve the balance in our economy and escape depression.

14. General campaign of education on our foreign policy. Save America from imperialism that leads to war. Develop international-mindedness.

SECRETARY UPHAUS ATTENDS LABOR CONVENTION

Extends RLF Greetings to OWIU

"The labor movement has, historically, been the one great organized pressure for justice and right in our economic relations. It is the chief ally of free and vital religion in achieving the humanitarian aims of both. We have a joint responsbility today to save our domestic economy from collapse, with all the attendant miseries, and our world from war," said Secretary Willard Uphaus in extending the greetings of the National Religion and Labor Foundation to the Eighteenth National Convention of the CIO Oil Workers International Union, meeting in Kansas City, August 11-15. The speaker praised the OWIU for its remarkable achievements so far in organizing workers in one of the toughest industries in the country.

At the conclusion of Dr. Uphaus' remarks, a delegate from Wellsville, N. Y., brought a slip of paper to the platform listing the ministers in his town and expressing the wish that the Foundation send them materials and try to get them to be more cooperative. President O. A. Knight strongly recommended that other delegates do the same Copies of the Foundation's leaflet, They Had Unions in Those Days, Too," were distributed among the delegates.

AFT TOO

Secretary Uphaus attended the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held in Boston, August 18-22. As a delegate representing AFT Local No. 204 in New Haven, he served on the Committee on Social and Economic Trends. Among the resolutions the committee framed, and succeeded in getting through the convention, were those calling for:

A national integrated public power system, set up along the lines of the TVA.

Continued civilian control of atomic energy development.

Support of the Department of Justice drive to prosecute the participants in restraint of trade agreements which fix prices and restrict output.

Support and encouragement of Rochdale cooperatives.

Repeal of all special laws restricting the rights of teachers and other public employees to employ practices and methods permitted to other groups of non-public employees, such as denying them the right to strike.

Extension, of federal rent controls to March 1, 1950.

Coming !

The issues raised at the Oil Workers' Convention and the American Federation of Teachers' Convention, with their implications for the churches, will be treated more fully in the October issue of ECONOMIC JUSTICE. Mrs. Mabel M. Wier, Assistant Research Director for the OWIU and the unions RLF representative, will contribute an article. The authors for the AFT article will be Herrock Roth, vice-president of the Denver Federation of Teachers, and George A. Cavender, member of the executive committee of Colorado Federation of Teachers.

An announcement will be made of the winners in the National Prize Winning Contest on the subject, "The Contributions of Trade Unionism to Democracy."

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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21-Labor

Economic Justice

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

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Putting a Ball and Chain on Labor Unions

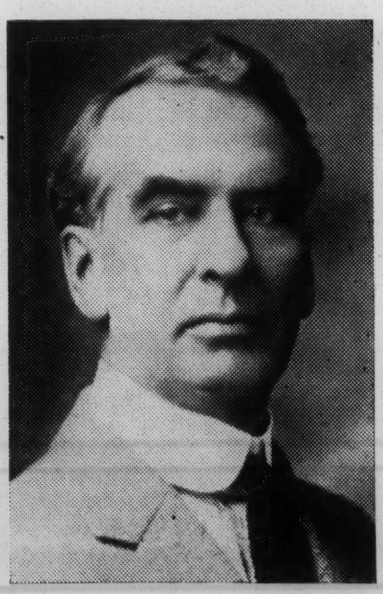
By ALVA W. TAYLOR

This is the fifth of six statements being prepared by Dr. Taylor for the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Dr. Taylor, nationally known churchman and life-long friend of Labor, lives in Nashville, Tenn. He is a teacher, lecturer, author and arbitrator.

The Taft-Hartley Bill is now law. It puts a ball and chain on labor unionism. Senator Murray declares that "it strips labor of many of its essential rights" and wonders if it can be carried out in free America; then he adds that "in Italy, in Germany, and elsewhere anti-labor legislation was the prelude to fascism." Progressive young Mayor Humphry of Minneapolis declares that "it strikes at the heart of our democracy and free enterprise system." A leading business man's journal says it "will be hell for labor, purgatory for business, and a paradise for lawyers."

President Truman's veto message, written after study and consultation with several keen expert minds is perhaps the best analysis of the law and its evils obtainable. As the average reader of newspapers has not seen it, we undertake to give here the most pungent quotations from it.

Mr. Truman denounced the bill from the standpoints of both principle and workability and said, "The Bill, taken as a whole would reverse the whole direction of our national labor policy, inject the government into private economic affairs of an unprecedented scale, and conflict with important principles of our democratic society. It would contribute neither to industrial peace nor to economic stability and progress. It would be a dangerous stride in the direction of a totally managed economy. It contains seeds of discord which would plague the nation for years to come." (Now that the bill is law, substitute "will" for "would" in the above quotation.)



Alva W. Taylor

He declared it to be "completely contrary to the national policy of economic freedom" by making the government "an unwarranted participant at every bargaining table." He expects it to "encourage distrust, suspicion, and arbitrary attitudes" at the bargaining table by inviting management and labor to "engage in costly, time-consuming litigation, embittering both parties." He expects it to nullify many existing employer-employee agreements, to involve the National Labor Relations Board, established to promote labor's rights and collective bargaining, "into a maze of pitfalls and complex procedures," and "so greatly increase the backlog of unsettled cases that the parties might be driven in despair from peaceful procedures to economic force." He calls it a "pattern of inequality" instead of, as it claims, equalizing management and labor. He believes that "the highly complex and burdensome requirements on labor organizations" will probably result in compelling labor to "strike or take other direct action." (It requires that every union official from the least in the local to the highest in the international—i.e., thousands in the large unions—must sign a declaration that he is not a communist, and that all union offices, local, district, regional, craft, national, and international, shall have submitted complete reports before even a local union is legitimized.)

It is, he declares, "a clear threat to the successful working of our democratic society." ". . . This bill would (will) go far toward weakening our trade union movement, . . . far toward destroying our national unity, . . . develop a class bias for political action, . . . injecting political considerations into normal economic decisions . . .," rejecting "the informed wisdom of those experienced in labor relations." It burdens NLRB with "an unworkable administrative structure, . . . straitjackets the Board by a series of special restrictions unknown to any other similar government agency, . . . authorizes inequitable injunctions," and, on the whole, "one could hardly devise" a worse method of preventing strikes. "Its provisions would (will) cause more strikes, not fewer." It contains "seeds of discord which would (will) plague the nation for years to come."

It "would (will) remove the settlement of differences from the bargaining table to courts of law. . . . We cannot create mutual respect and confidence by legislative fiat. . . . Cooperation cannot be achieved by force of law." It will "discourage the growing willingness of unions to include no-strike provisions in bargaining agreements . . . and a labor organization signing such an agreement would (will) expose itself to suit for contract violation if *any* of its members engage in an unauthorized wildcat strike."

The law bans the closed shop and makes the union shop so difficult to obtain, even when the employer favors it, "that union security and responsibility would (will) be largely cancelled," will "limit the freedom of employers and employees to establish and maintain welfare funds, . . . can be used to prohibit agreements on safety provisions, rest period rules, and many other legitimate practices." There is a possible construction of some clauses that may cause employers to regret that their National Association of Manufacturers could not more effectually

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

21, Labor

Labor Is Necessary

By ROY COCHRANE

WORK is the transference of energy, say the physics books. Labor is more than this. It cannot be measured in kilowatts or horsepower. Manpower cannot be calculated with interchangeable units. Labor of all kinds involves thought, response, purpose, goals, needs and satisfaction, none of which is measured by erg, dyne, watt, volt, or coulomb.

As we move into the development of atom-power, we cannot assume that labor is to be replaced by dumb energy. We cannot dream of a push-button world unless we agree that everybody will have a share in getting the button ready to push.

Miners beneath the earth must tear out metal for the button and its machinery to be made of. Atom power may reduce their hours of work and may make mining more enjoyable. But it cannot do away with mining skills. There will be something to mine for a long time. When the exploration of the earth's interior begins in earnest, mining will be different, but miners will still be needed, atom or no atom. And a miner is a man who *knows how* to mine.

A Million Different Skills

A million different skills are required to produce our present civilization. Labor is the application of these skills. The skills are practiced by people in more than 10,000 occupations. These again can be summarized in 10 social-economic groups. You do not have to read a list of 1,000,000 skills nor even the 17,452 occupational titles described by the government. Ten social-economic groups are enough to show the diversity of talent required to keep the world going.

The following are ten social-economic levels. The list cannot be exact because there is great overlapping of these categories, but it will serve to suggest the tremendous differences of skill and of preparation needed by our civilization.[1]

[1] Edwards, Alba M. *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States 1870-1940*, Sixteenth Census, 1940, Population, Government Printing Office, 1943, $1.50, p. 175 ff.

★ *Roy Cochrane is Director of Guidance and Counseling, Vallejo Unified School District, 801 Nebraska Street, Vallejo, California. He is a member of Phi Delta Kappa.*

Laborers
Service Workers
Operatives
Craftsmen
Clerical Workers
Salesmen
Managers
Proprietors
Professionals

The skills of the laborer are so readily learned that professors usually refer to these people as unskilled. Certain qualities and traits, however, are necessary for the successful continuance in a job as a laborer. The laborer must have a high monotony resistance coefficient. That is, he must be able to do repetitive work without distress, and he must follow simple directions without insisting upon more detailed instructions.

A misplaced person who does not have this ability may be assigned a task and when the foreman leaves, he may think of ten different ways the task could be accomplished. He may run after the foreman and try to find out just which way is expected in that particular company. This disqualifies him as a laborer. The foreman has other things to tend to and in good time will let the laborer know in no uncertain terms if he did the job the wrong way.

Service workers must have skills and attitudes different from the other groups. The classification is pretty wide, embracing activities all the way from crime detection to shoe polishing. In almost all kinds of service work, the man works with the attitudes of his employer, the customer, or others, more than is required in most of the jobs of most of the other groups. The service worker is typically sensitive to the other person's feelings and skilled in satisfying them.

The operative is typically the assembly-line fac-

Phi Delta Kappan Nov. 1947, Vol. XXIX, No. 3

tory worker. Here again routine and monotony must be faced day after day and the temperament that can stand these things will last well in these jobs.

Craftsmen are distinguished from other manual workers by the pride they take in the special skills traditional to the particular craft. Either by an apprenticeship, school training, or informal helping work, these crafts are learned to the point where interchangeability has become impossible between crafts. The locomotive engineer could no more do the work of the plumber than could the doctor or the lawyer. The tailor and the baker could not change jobs without long re-learning periods. If one craftsman cannot replace another, how is either one to be replaced by unconscious atomic energy?

The Clerical Worker

Clerical workers keep the wheels of business running. It is hard to imagine how atomic power will ever do away with the clerical worker. Technological improvements, to be sure, are changing this field from day to day, but they cannot replace the duties necessary for the routine transaction of all business. The phone call has replaced the confidential messenger, but calls, appointments, contacts, contracts, memoranda, and directives remain unchanged.

Salesmen, sometimes called *creators of jobs,* are by no means replaceable by brute power, unless it be power wielded by a ruthless dictator.

The managerial group may be tremendously expanded by atomic power, as it has already expanded due to other technological progress. It takes more brain power to keep the greater horsepower under control, but managers deal with men.

The proprietary group, which ranges from the farmer who owns a few acres to the controller of vast industrial empires, cannot find any hope of relaxation in the progress of power methods. Greater risks than ever before are now involved in putting a product on the market, and risk is the basis of this occupation. Adventure into what the public will buy means danger to his capital and livelihood, but gauging this risk is his job.

The professional workers will be more in demand than ever before. One could hardly mention a profession that will not require more workers. Take, for example, lawyers. Technological progress gives rise to jurisdictional disputes which constantly challenge the old foundations of law. More and better work will be demanded in this group.

To Make Houses

In order to get the picture a little more concretely before us, let us consider the starting of a new project. Let us suppose at the outset that we have an unlimited supply of atomic power. We will need first of all a purpose to use this power. So let us take as a purpose the manufacture of houses. We will need then a *proprietor* to supply the capital and exercise enough control to see that the purpose is carried out, and the capital conserved, or perhaps increased. We will need a *managerial* staff to figure out *how* houses are to be manufactured, to figure out how a factory is to be obtained, and how each necessary process is to be arranged. Since the outer shell of factory-made houses will perhaps be molded of some insulating plastic, we would need *chemists* to design and operate the production of this insulation and the waterproofing that goes on it. If the insulation is a fiber product, paper makers may be required. These men go by such romantic names as *Digester Operator, Soda Cooker,* and *Sulfite Cooker* and they know how to do things that are mysterious to every other craft or business. Actually a *Lime Cooker* might be the craftsman needed since ordinary straw, pressure cooked with ordinary lime, produces acceptable wallboard.

But to get back to the professional field, *artists* or *architects* will be needed to work out the finished shape of the product. It must be narrow enough to be transported by rail, yet convenient and attractive enough to satisfy the customer. The practical limitations of a 10 x 50 foot flat car for delivery require a complete revaluation of the functions of housing and furnishing. The need for meticulous planning is enormous, but beauty and convenience must get prime consideration.

Statisticians will be needed to figure out how many of the houses can be sold and in which direction they should be shipped, and *lawyers* will be needed to advise on the possibilities of circumventing obsolete housing laws which were never designed to face the problems of factory-built houses.

We would need *salesmen.* Perhaps we would

have the houses sold by real estate agents throughout the country, thus cutting down on the far greater mark-up usual for the household appliances which would surely be part of the package. Instead of a sales cost of 20 per cent or 30 per cent on a refrigerator, stove, radio and washer, we would include these items in the total price and let the real estate salesman sell the furnished house for his usual 5 per cent commission.

We would again need lawyers. We would need them to find out whether selling a complete house would be a monopoly, since we would want to avoid violating laws originally provided for entirely different contingencies.

Long before we got this far on the project, we would have to have *clerical workers* of various types, and so far we have only mentioned the "white collar" contingent.

The Skills Change?

Anyone who has seen the smooth working of a coating machine knows that it is much better than messy spraying or brush painting. But even the parts that can be coated by machine need the technical skills of the *painter*. The best painters, really skilled ones, spend considerable time preparing paints—getting them ready for less-skilled painters to apply. The coating machine whether atom-powered or not will require some different skills, but it will still require painters to do the work.

Then we will need *labor leaders* to figure out which craft has the right to the process of rolling smooth coats of varnish on a floor. Would painters thereby infringe the rights of the printing industry which traditionally has worked with rubber rollers?

Though we build the shell of porous plastic or matter wood fiber and mold it in a huge mold, we do not dispense with *carpenters*. Doors and widdows must be fitted with carpenterial skill. Long ago carpenters used to make mortise-and-tenonned doors by hand. This process is still carried on in some countries, but is not characteristic of America. Newer carpentry skills will be needed, but many of the old ones will remain. It is certain that economic reasons will require that parts of the new structure be made of wood and that this wood be put together correctly. It cannot be done by undirected atomic-power. Carpenters must also transport the house from the flat-car and put foundation forms in place for another craft, the *cement finishers,* to fill. In the delivery process the carpenter will be assisted by *truck drivers* and *laborers,* each with specified tasks to perform, for which brain and brawn are needed regardless of available atom-power.

The Big Cost

The chief bar to education in any country is the cost involved. . . .

The base rate of pay for a laborer in the Chicago steel district is one dollar an hour. This means $2,000 a year, or, with some overtime, $2,400 a year. A college-age young man, foregoing college, can expect to earn an equal amount. Four years of work would mean nearly $10,000. That is the first and big cost of college: the only additional cost is the total sum of tuition.—*George D. Stoddard.*

Then and Now

The first day of an apprentice carpenter 25 years ago was spent running a hand saw in a miter box. The carpenters fixed up this miter box for the boy and showed him how to work the saw in the slot. He asked why a buzz saw was not used to do this work. The men said that if a buzz saw were used on the job, higher insurance would have to be paid on every man working on the project. A safe saw had not been invented.

Twenty-five years later when this man began to teach boys their first carpentry lessons, he had a power cut-off saw for them to use which did the same job with far greater precision and speed. It was almost as safe, particularly if the workers were properly instructed in the use of the safety precautions necessary to this new instrument.

Atom-power in the rough may be dangerous for many years; but even when it has been controlled so that its use is safe, the craft skills in changed form will still be needed. In fact new managerial occupations, crafts, and labor jobs will be added.

Operatives to carry on the routine assembly processes will be indispensable, and service workers also. Our house-factory will need a *cleaning man* to shine up the knocker on the front door for the delight of the customer.

Historians can look through all the history books they wish and count the rise and fall of civilization after civilization but nowhere will they find any society in which common labor is not an

important factor. Nor will the dreams of the past give us any clue as to how common labor is to be dispensed with (if such an eventuality be considered desirable). Education may be able to render every man fit for jobs of greater complexity, but it does not thereby dispense with the need for laborers. Even if it indoctrinates all boys against this level (and unfortunately it often does this) the need for laborers will remain. Invent all the ditch-digging machines you wish—*some* ditches still must be dug by hand. Devise conveyor belts and package lifters without end—*some* items will remain to be shifted by hand.

Many Skills Are Required

Thus we have seen that in order to start any new project a great many skills are required. We can imagine a time when power will be as free as water in a spigot, but we cannot realistically picture a time in which this power will satisfy all the needs our imaginations can dream up unless it is guided by tens of thousands of different kinds of workers with millions of different skills. The complexity of modern life is easily keeping pace with the technological improvements which would supply our needs. This trend undoubtedly will continue. We will be able to think up new wants faster than we will be able to supply them.

The purpose and direction of these wants require a good sense of moral values. Writers who are partial to their own state of life may view a stratified society as ideal and give little thought to the convenience and welfare of those who do not belong to the top class. Such writers should not guide our moral values.

The dead hand of the past clutches our growing youth. Two-thirds of them aspire to the jobs and social positions now occupied by the most favored twentieth of the population. There is something unequal about these fractions. It would take fancy mathematics to squeeze anything like two-thirds into a twentieth; 69 per cent into 5 per cent.[2]

All guidance workers are faced with the problems of reorienting students into reasonable life-goals. Sometimes teachers have set up the dreams of the past as life's only ideal. The class reacts by jamming itself towards vocations in which there is little room.

Students must be taught that *all* labor is the honorable and necessary application of skill.

If schools and colleges are to teach a larger segment of the yearly crop of youth, it follows that they must offer a larger segment of civilization's skills.

Craft skills, clerical skills, sales skills—yes, and even some common laboring skills—must be offered in parallel with managerial and professional training.

[2] The figures are from Cochrane, Roy, "Daydream Curricula," *Sierra Educational News*, November, 1946.

The Question in Alcohol Research

By DEETS PICKETT

Science has by no means as yet said the last word as to the mystery of alcohol and the human body and mind; it has perhaps said only the first words concerning it.

We know many things about ingestion of alcohol; muscular output decreases 10 per cent, perception decreases 7-10 per cent, finger movements and dexterity decrease 9-60 per cent, within an hour after taking one to three ounces of alcohol.

It has been suggested that alcohol interferes with the transmission of nerve impulses at the junction between the nerve cells, which do not connect directly with each other but by means of tiny fibrils at the end of the nerve fibers. The gap between them is the synapse and the nerve impulse must jump across to complete a circuit. Alcohol may operate here to cause first, a lack of coordination and later, fumbling inefficiency.

There is also the theory that because of the affinity between alcohol and fats, the lipoids or tiny fat globules in the cell substance and the brain cells, absorb alcohol as they seem to absorb all other drugs having a narcotic effect, and thus the functioning is affected. These are reasonable hypotheses, but unproven.

There is abundant evidence of the overt, psychological behavior which results from the consumption of alcohol. Reaction time, perception, and the various reflexes are all affected, as shown for example by the over 200 researches in the Laboratory of Applied Physiology at Yale University. There is no lack of evidence that the changes actually occur; what we lack is information as to the mechanism of the changes produced by alcohol.—From *Some Notes on the Alcohol Problem,* published by the Board of Temperance, 100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington 2, D. C., pages 14-15.

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

DECLASSIFIED

Amendment to Fair Labor Standards Act Relating to Minimum Wage

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 26, 1948

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. McGRATH], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MYERS], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], I introduce for appropriate reference a bill dealing with the subject of the minimum wage, and I ask unanimous consent that I may make a brief explanatory statement of the bill.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the Senator may proceed.

The bill (S. 2062) to provide for the amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. THOMAS of Utah (for himself, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. GREEN, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. McGRATH, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. MYERS, Mr. TAYLOR, and Mr. WAGNER), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, in introducing this bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, I am not merely carrying out a routine legislative function. The Fair Labor Standards Act is a cornerstone of the social legislation for which Americans have fought for generations, and it occupies a special place in our history.

The principle behind the wage-hour law was stated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his message to the Congress on May 24, 1937. He said:

> A self-supporting and self-respecting democracy can plead no justification for the existence of child labor, no economic reason for chiseling workers' wages, or stretching workers' hours.

When, Congress, almost 10 years ago, enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act, the representatives of all the people agreed for the first time in our history that there would be at least a bare minimum which a man must be paid for his work. They defined a general maximum working week and provided that work in excess of that maximum receive special compensation.

Today, the act is still on the books, but its purpose has been to a great degree negated. The passage of years, a war, and resulting inflation have combined to render the 40-cent minimum completely meaningless. Those 40 cents today will buy barely half as much food as they did when the law was passed. And over half of our working population is still excluded from the benefits of the act.

The time is long overdue for action to change this law from a historical landmark to a living reality. Wage-hour legislation was originally conceived as a continuous and expanding process. Standards set up were to be extended and improved to match the growth of the Nation. President Roosevelt said, and the Congress then agreed, that we must "take further action to extend the frontiers of social progress" for the benefit of those "who toil in factory and on farm." And it was recognized that the rudimentary standards set up in the act were but a first step.

We have hesitated and we have allowed the minimum wage to be slashed by inflation. To maintain the wage-hour law we must again make it meaningful. In the amendments I am introducing, I have sought to take the next steps in the continuous process by which we will approach not merely bare minimum standards but fair standards.

The bill I am proposing would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act in a number of principal respects:

First. It would raise the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour 120 days after its enactment. It would again put into operation the procedure of the original act whereby industry committees composed of industry, labor, and the public may raise the wage to $1 an hour where this is found feasible. The special procedure for determining wages in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are not changed.

Second. It would broaden the coverage of the minimum wage and overtime provisions by extending these provisions to workers engaged in any activity affecting interstate or foreign commerce. The exemption for employees in retail selling and servicing enterprises is narrowed so that it would not apply to employees in chain stores or department stores. Seamen are granted protection under both the wage-and-hour provisions. Industries processing agricultural or horticultural commodities or fish are covered by the minimum wage and overtime provisions. Both the seasonal industry exemption and the unworkable area-of-production exemption provisions have been deleted. Employees of motor carriers are covered by the overtime-pay provisions, unless, at the time the work was performed, the Interstate Commerce Commission had set qualifications and maximum hours of service for the covered occupation. The newspaper exemption is the same as in the present act. The telephone-operator exemption is removed so that switchboard operators of all exchanges will be covered by the minimum-wage and overtime provisions. The agriculture exemption is narrowed so that workers on large, industrialized farms—those regularly employing eight or more, not including the children of the farmer—will have the protection of the wage provisions of the act.

Third. It would abolish the exploitation of children in industry and industrialized agriculture. It would do this by directly prohibiting the employment of children in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and by narrowing the agricultural exemption to the child-labor provisions so that this exemption would not apply to children in industrialized agriculture; that is, to children employed on farms with more than eight employees. I deem it a matter of national shame that we have for so long permitted the narrow coverage of section 12 in the present act to limit the so-called prohibition of child labor to service performed in and about plants producing goods for interstate commerce. By interpretation this has been held to exclude from protection of the act thousands of minors who need and are entitled to such protection. Now the weakest and most necessitous wage earners will be given protection equivalent to the protection which has, for 10 years, been given adults under this act.

Fourth. The definition of "wage" in section 3 (m) is changed to exclude the cost of food and lodging in the calculation of minimum wages for seamen and dining-car employees. This amendment is necessary in order to assure an adequate minimum wage for a group of employees who have no choice in the acceptance of certain subsistence facilities.

I recommend these amendments with the same pride and spirit which I felt when I came before this body years ago in recommending the original Fair Labor Standards Act. It is with a full understanding and thankfulness for the good that has come for the thousands and thousands of people who have benefited by this act that I urge this body to give serious consideration to these proposals which would take us another step toward assuring a secure and full life for our millions of working people.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1948

Economic Survey of the South

Article No. 22—THE LABOR SITUATION IN THE TEXTILE - APPPAREL INDUSTRIES

By HARRY E. RESSEGUIE
Chief, Washington Bureau
Fairchild Publications

When one studies the labor situation in the textile-apparel industries of the South, one is immediately struck with two significant facts:

1. The relatively small percentage of employes in these industries who are working under union agreements or contracts, and

2. The number of unions which are contending for members in the same industries.

To these possibly should be added a third: That none of the unions contending for the cotton-textile industry (which would be the great prize if it could be organized) is making any great effort to organize new plants at the moment, having adopted the philosophy that an inflationary period is a poor one in which to attempt new gains in an industry as admittedly hard to organize as cotton textiles.

The latter is the explanation of the seeming failure of "Operation Dixie" (and the competitive American Federation of Labor drive) in the cotton textile industry.

Although they are among the oldest industries in the South and more effort has been expended by unions in efforts to organize them over a longer period of years than has been spent on any other, the textile-apparel industries have been far less rewarding to the unions than have many others. Although it is seldom realized, the degree of union organization as a whole is considerable, as was pointed out in Article No. 12 of this series, which dealt with the general labor situation in the South. Many of the new industries, such as oil and pulp and paper, are almost completely organized, while many others are from 60 to 75 per cent organized.

The textile-apparel industries and the lumber industry, two of the South's oldest, have always lagged behind, from the union standpoint—and still do.

REASONS FOR LAG.

Part of this is due to the stubborn resistance which unions have met from management in these fields, but an objective analysis of the situation leads one to the conclusion that, in the textile-apparel industries, at least

America. The latter currently has the status of an independent union, while John L. Lewis makes up his mind whether he will rejoin the AFL for the third time or the CIO for the second, or start a new national federation of his own.

In the cotton textile industry, there are currently only two unions operating. These are the TWUA-CIO and the UTWA-AFL.

In the hosiery field, there are again three unions. These are the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, a one-time subsidiary of the TWUA which recently secured a divorce from that union by the expedient of non-payment of dues after having failed to come to an amicable understanding with the TWUA leadership concerning its ambitions to stand on its own feet; the hosiery branch of the UTW, and the United Construction Workers.

In other branches of the knit goods industry in the South—knitted underwear and knitted outerwear—the ILGWU is generally regarded as having an inside track, although in specific instances it has had competition from both apparel and textile unions affiliated with the CIO and from the United Construction Workers.

In the cotton garment industry, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO; the United Garment Workers of America, AFL; the United Construction Workers of America, UMW, and the ILGWU all are active to

Directors of Unions' Southern Drives

GEORGE BALDANZI
Textile Workers' Union America, CIO

NICK COLLINS
United Textile Workers of America, AFL

GLADYS DICKASON
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO

this industry in the South were still, in September and October of last year, earning less than 65 cents an hour, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America had succeeded in establishing a 65-cent minimum for its own members in the region, as well as in other parts of the country. The Amalgamated, however, has been less successful than the textile unions in forcing its own wage scales on the unorganized section of the industry.

In the individual branches of the textile-apparel industry, the situation in the South is as follows:

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Of all the workers in the textile industries in the South (probably between 575,000 and 600,000), less than 25 per cent are organized.

This covers workers in the cotton textile industry, the woolen and worsted industry, and the rayon weaving industry. The majority, about 560,000, are in the

capitalize such a situation never have coincided.

There have been a number of occasions on which such spontaneous demands for unionization have swept through Southern mill villages. The most recent were in 1929 and 1934.

In both instances the existing unions muffed their opportunity.

The 1929 flare-up resulted in the debacles of Gastonia and Marion. The 1934 situation, featured by "flying squadrons" of mill workers who traveled in auto caravans from plant to plant shutting off the power and bringing out the workers to join the trek to the next plant, was called off by the United Textile Workers after 22 days on the basis of four recommendations made by a board of inquiry appointed by President Roosevelt.

These recommendations were: (1) That a new textile labor relations board (under the National Recovery Administration) be ap-

the strongest organizing staffs the South ever has seen.

This is particularly true of the Textile Workers' Union, which, as an affiliate of the CIO, has the support of that federation's organizing staff throughout the region. Thus, the TWU not only has complete State organizations in every Southern textile State but can call on the CIO organizing staff in the State for support. In fact, it is the CIO organizing crews which seem to do most of the new organization work in the textile field at the moment. The same is true on a lesser scale of the UTW, which, of course, has the backing of the AFL Southern regional staff.

Therefore, the unions are in better shape to capitalize upon a spontaneous demand for organization among Southern textile workers than ever before, should such a wave of emotion again sweep the region.

Until it does, however, most unless leaders will privately admit

and the lumber industry, two of the South's oldest, have always lagged behind, from the union standpoint—and still do.

REASONS FOR LAG.

Part of this is due to the stubborn resistance which unions have met from management in these fields, but an objective analysis of the situation leads one to the conclusion that, in the textile-apparel industries, at least, the unions themselves must bear much of the responsibility for their lack of progress.

One of the reasons apparently is that the unions contending for the textile-apparel industries in the South spend as much or more time fighting each other as they do in endeavoring to extend the general field of unionization.

In this policy, of course, the Internationals and other branches actually represented in the South only reflect the situation at the federation level, where the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers are constantly at one another's throats.

In the textile-apparel industry in the South, however, the situation is even more competitive because, in addition to the two main national federations (AFL and CIO) and the UMW, there are two additional contenders for the adherence of the workers.

These are the independent unions or, as labor leaders term them "the company unions", and, the greatest of them all, the inchoate mass of Southern workers in the textile-apparel industries who are represented on National Labor Relations Board representation ballots—and only on NLRB representation ballots—by the significant phrase: "No Union".

A mere listing of the unions active in the respective branches of the textile-apparel industry in the region is sufficient to emphasize the foregoing statements. (In this listing, the independent and "no union" groups will not be repeated for each industry. It can be assumed they are each a factor in almost every situation, the extent of which will be discussed in the summaries for each industry.)

THE VARIOUS UNIONS

In the rayon industry (which is organized to a greater degree than any other branch of the textile-apparel industry in the South), three unions contend for the honor of representing the employees.

They are the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; the United Textile Workers of America, AFL, and the United Construction Workers, a subsidiary of the United Mine Workers of America. It has had competition from both apparel and textile unions affiliated with the CIO and from the United Construction Workers.

In the cotton garment industry, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO; the United Garment Workers of America, AFL; the United Construction Workers of America, UMW, and the ILGWU all are active to varying degrees — sufficient, at least, to confuse the average employe of these industries who does not carry a history of the American trade union movement in his head.

In the woolen and worsted industry, the textile dyeing and finishing industry and the rayon weaving industry the contenders are the same as in the cotton textile industry.

In the shoe industry one finds the United Shoe Workers of America, CIO, and the Boot and Shoe workers Union, AFL.

These overlapping efforts of dual unions are confusing to students of the labor movement themselves, to say nothing of the Southern worker — or for that matter the managements of Southern mills and factories. **It is entirely conceivable that some employers who might otherwise be willing to deal with a single strong union in his industry might be deterred by the complexity of the situation in which he could be involved by doing so.**

THE UNION'S JOB

However, it is possible that the textile-apparel unions should be credited with doing a qualitative, if not a quantitative, job in the South. If they have not signed up a large part of their potential membership in the region, they have, on the other hand, consistently obtained wage increases for their members, and, by playing a good American game of bluff, have forced the non-union employers in the South to adopt the same increases.

The cotton-textile industry in the South, for instance, entered the war with a 40 cent minimum wage and the last increase secured under the auspices of the War Labor Board set the minimum hourly wage at 55 cents. **From that point up to the present 87-cent minimum, the increases have first been won by collective bargaining in the unionized mills and reflected by the unorganized employers, or the latter have endeavored to beat the unionized mills to the punch while they still were negotiating with the union.**

In the cotton garment industry (the largest of the apparel industries in the South), although **58 per cent of all employees of** Iowa.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Of all the workers in the textile industries in the South (probably between 575,000 and 600,000), less than 25 per cent are organized.

This covers workers in the cotton textile industry, the woolen and worsted industry, and the rayon weaving industry. The majority, about 360,000, are in the cotton textile industry.

Probably 20 per cent of the total has been organized by the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; the remainder by the United Textile Workers of America, AFL.

This is all that organized labor has to show for 50 years of intermittent organizing work in the Southern textile industry. Practically all of the current union membership has been secured since the Wagner Act was held constitutional by the Supreme Court in 1937.

Considering the determined opposition which unions have had to meet in the textile field, the present position of the unions is probably better than it would appear from a simply numerical viewpoint. It may be significant, however, that, except for one or two "strong points" in the Deep South, the union membership is principally concentrated along the Northern rim of the Southern textile region, in Southern Virginia and in Northern North Carolina.

Both the TWU and the UTW have won their present positions without a general region-wide strike.

Efforts of the TWU in the region date from March 1937, when its predecessor, the Textile Workers Organizing Committee was formed under Sidney Hillman and with the blessing and financial support of the Amalgamated in agreement with the United Textile Workers, then affiliated with the CIO.

In 1939, a group of locals of the UTW was reinvested with the charter of that union by the AFL and in the same year the Textile Workers Union began functioning under its present name and officers. When rechartered in 1939 by the AFL, the UTW had only 1,500 members, so that whatever it has at present has been won since that time.

Relatively small as is the union membership in Southern textile industries today, it is probably the greatest heretofore attained.

One of the reasons for this is that the spontaneous desire of the Southern textile workers for organization and the ability of whatever unions happened to be functioning in the Southern textile industry at the moment to the power and bringing out the workers to join the trek to the next plant, was called off by the United Textile Workers after 22 days on the basis of four recommendations made by a board of inquiry appointed by President Roosevelt.

These recommendations were: (1) That a new textile labor relations board (under the National Recovery Administration) be appointed; (2) that the Federal Trade Commission investigate the ability of the industry to support a higher wage structure; (3) that the cotton, wool and silk codes be amended to permit the functioning of a special committee to regulate the stretch-out; (4) that a study be made by the U. S. Department of Labor or occupational wage rates in the industry.

"This greatest of all textile strikes (about 170,000 textile workers in the South were out at the peak) brought few tangible or immediate gains to the workers," says the Bureau of Labor Statistics in its study of unionism in the South entitled "Labor in the South." "The companies did not recognize the union, wages remained unchanged, and, as it turned out, the new labor board was no more effective than the old in protecting the rights of the workers to organize and bargain collectively. The use of the 'stretch-out' was apparently tempered. The workers themselves interpreted the result as a defeat. Many were refused employment at the end of the strike and union membership declined sharply during the months that followed."

UNION PROGRESS

Since the 1934 strike failure brought the total of major defeats for labor unions in the Southern textile industry to a score or more, to say nothing of minor engagements which also were lost, the organizing campaigns which began for TWU in 1937 (when Mr. Hillman was chief of the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee), and for the UTW in 1939, are the more remarkable because the Southern textile worker had become thoroughly disillusioned about unions and union leaders.

Therefore, while the unions have made few major gains in the Southern textile industry since 1941, they have held on to practically all of the membership and contracts which they had achieved by that date, and have added to both in a small way. They also have negotiated a number of wage increases in the organized mills, which have also been put into effect by most of the unorganized mills. These, from one point of view, are major accomplishments.

The unions also have built up the UTW, which, of course, has the backing of the AFL Southern regional staff.

Therefore, the unions are in better shape to capitalize upon a spontaneous demand for organization among Southern textile workers than ever before, should such a wave of emotion again sweep the region.

Until it does, however, most union leaders will privately admit that they have little hope of making any further gains in the Southern textile industry comparable to those made between 1937 and 1941.

In the meantime, they feel they can afford to play a waiting game, concentrating their efforts upon narrowing or eliminating the wage differential between the Southern mills and those of the North, which they have whittled down to about 8 cents an hour.

TIME NOT RIPE

There is nearly full employment in the Southern textile industry at the moment, many mills are working from five to eight hours overtime each week, and earnings of Southern textile workers are the highest in history. Under such conditions, workers with so slight an industrial background as that of the average cotton textile worker can see little need for a union. Having come to understand the psychology of the Southern textile worker, this is a situation that the union leaders tacitly accept as inevitable.

However, with this situation existing, observers familiar with the background of labor unionism in the Southern textile industry are hesitant about writing off "Operation Dixie" (and the corresponding AFL organizing drive) as a failure. The organizing machinery of the TWU and the supporting CIO has not yet been tested.

It is true that the TWU has lost several strikes at individual mills, but it has frankly admitted defeat in these instances and sent its members back to work rather than risk more by calling out workers in other mills in a sympathy strike. It also is true that TWU seriously threatened to strike against the unionized mills last November when it seemed for a short time that its demands for a wage increase might not be granted. But there was never much chance that it would not reach an agreement at most of the mills, and in the one instance where it seemed as though a strike might materialize (in fact, the union had called it for the next morning), the union leaders receded on one of the most important non-wage issues of the strike at 3 a.m. (with the strike call set for 6 a.m.).

As a consequence, the Cone

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Southern Series

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Directors of Unions' Southern Drives

A. D. LEWIS
United Construction Workers

JOHN MARTIN
International Ladies' Garment Workers of America, AFL

HERBERT W. PAYNE
Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO

Continued from Page Four

Mills at Greensboro are said to have the only TWU contract in the South, which does not exempt the union from suit under that provision of the Taft-Hartley Act which makes a union liable for a violation of the contract.

This was the issue rather than the question of the 9 per cent wage increase, which brought the Cone Mills to the verge of a strike during the first week of November last year.

The management maintains that it agreed to the wage increase as soon as the first mill (Dan River Mills) settled. However, it was adamant against signing a contract absolving the union from responsibility for wildcat strikes unless it received in return authority to discipline the strikers. The union must either take the responsibility for wildcat strikes or allow management to take it, the latter insisted. The final compromise, reached only a short time before the strike deadline of 6 a.m. omits all reference to the subject, but since the union is not specifically released from such re-

ized and non-union mills in the South. It is a situation which the union directors of public relations seem to have neglected to publicize to their own advantage. An advertising agency would snap it up quickly as the basis for a great sales presentation.

The unionized mills have not won this increased efficiency without effort. The vice-president in charge of manufacturing in one unionized mill said that, when he took over his present job five or six years ago, his preliminary studies convinced him that there was a slack of at least a third in the then existing work loads in the mill. Since the annual wage bill of this mill then was about 5 million dollars annually, and is now about 9 million dollars, this inefficiency was costing the mill a pretty penny.

Most of it has since been eliminated. More will be eliminated in the future.

Practically all of the unionized mills have had strikes as a result of readjustments of their work loads. Most of these have been unauthorized walkouts from the

he turned to display it to the man and found that the worker was nearly at the other end of the spinning room and going fast. Calling the worker back, the executive inquired why he had walked away.

"I'm quitting," was the reply. "You know how to do this job much better than I do, so you'd better do it yourself."

Not all textile workers are that independent, of course, but most of them are sufficiently so to resent immediately anything which they consider an imposition, as a heavier work load, and most executives of unionized mills are free to admit that the substantial adjustments in work loads which they have been able to make in recent years have been possible only with the assistance of the union. (One executive of a unionized mill, on the other hand, said that the union had fought every work load adjustment that had been made.)

Therefore, the next crisis in the Southern textile industry may come when the demand for cotton textiles has slumped off and

25 contracts and 20,000 members in the South. By 1943, the number of contracts in the South had grown to 60 and the membership to 52,000. At the end of 1947, TWU claimed 157 contracts in the South and a membership of 120,000. Both contracts and membership presumably covered the rayon as well as the cotton, woolen and rayon weaving industries.

In 1939, when it was rechartered by the AFL, the United Textile Workers had only 1,500 members nationally. It now claims 35,000 members in the South alone includng presumably, as in TWU's case, its membership in the rayon field.

If the progress of TWU or UTW were measured by the results of the current Southern organizing drives alone, it would not be impressive, but, as has been pointed out, there are specific reasons why that is probably not a valid criterion.

ORGANIZING DRIVES.

At the end of the first year of "Operation Dixie" last summer, the CIO claimed only 39 additional textile mills as a result, and admitted to having lost elections at 18 others, although claiming to have won in six of these when a second election was held.

AFL, in a report covering the first year of its own Southern organizing drive, issued about Aug. 1, claimed to have won elections in eight textile mills, and to have obtained from 6,000 to 7,000 new members.

Winning an NLRB election, however, is not the same thing as obtaining a contract, as both unions know all too well, and there is a whole list of cases before NLRB in which mills have refused to bargain collectively with a textile union, even though that union had won a representation election in their plant and the company had been cited by NLRB at least once for failure to bargain.

Some cases involving a situation in which an employer consistently refused to bargain with a duly certified union have dragged on for years.

Two cases now in Federal Courts in the South should go a long way toward determining whether an employer actually can be made to bargain with a union certified to represent his workers

a subsidiary of the United Mine Workers of America, headed by Denny Lewis, a brother of the big boss, John L.

In addition there are independent unions and the great amorphous "No Union" group

TWUA has blanket national agreements with the American Viscose Corp. and with Industrial Rayon Corp. covering all of these firm's plants. Consequently, this union has the American Viscose plants at Front Royal and Roanoke, Va., and its cellophane plant at Fredericksburg, Va., as well as Industrial's one Southern plant at Covington, Va.

TWUA also has the Rome (Ga.) plant of the Celanese Corp. of America and of some of the Celanese weaving and knitting plants in Virginia.

Collectively, its agreements in these plants therefore make TWUA the representative for about 10,000 rayon and allied workers in the South.

United Textile Workers of America, AFL, has organized the plants of the American Bemberg Corp. and of the North American Rayon Corp at Elizabethton, Tenn., and of American Enka Corp. at Asheville, N. C. It came within about 400 votes last November of losing control of the Bemberg and North American plants to TWUA in a closely contested NLRB election.

These agreements (renewed in December, 1947, for a two-year period at all three plants) make UTW also the representative of about 10,000 Southern rayon workers — 6,000 at Elizabethton and 4,000 at Asheville.

United Construction Workers' main stronghold in the South at the moment is the Narrows (Va.) plant of the Celanese Corp. of America, which employs more than 4,500. UCW has also organized the Hopewell (Va.) weaving plant of Celanese (another old Tubize plant), which has about 750 employes.

UCW, therefore, represents about 5,300 rayon and allied employes in the South.

The du Pont rayon plants, and that of the Tennessee Eastman Corp. are as yet unorganized by any of the major international unions.

union must either take the responsibility for wildcat strikes or allow management to take it, the latter insisted. The final compromise, reached only a short time before the strike deadline of 6 a.m. omits all reference to the subject, but since the union is not specifically released from such responsibility, the management considers it is responsible, and could, presumably, therefore be sued under the Taft-Hartley Act for any damages resulting from wildcat strikes.

STRIKE AVOIDANCE

The TWU, as the largest union in the Southern textile field, is obviously anxious, therefore, to avoid not only a general textile strike in the South until there is again a spontaneous demand on the part of textile workers for organization but also to avoid a strike over a non-wage issue in any of the mills with which it is under agreement.

When can another such spontaneous demand on the part of the Southern textile workers be expected?

The answer to this is to be found in the quotation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics concerning the 1934 strike.

BLS says, correctly: "The use of the 'stretch-out' was apparently tempered."

In fact, since 1934 use of the stretch-out has been tempered to such a degree in the unorganized milsl in the South that, in many of them, the adjustment of work loads to the newer and faster machinery has not progressed beyond the point at which it stood at that date. On the other hand, this process has gone steadily forward in the unionized mills, in most cases with the cooperation of the union.

It is the unionized mills in the South that have the stretch-out today, therefore, rather than the unorganized ones.

One of the heads of a unionized mill says that at the time his weavers were operating 32 looms each on denims, the top executive of a non-unionized mill located deeper in the South used to kid him about signing up with the union because the weavers in the non-union mill operated 38 looms each on the same type of fabric.

Today, however, weavers at the unionized mill operate 54 looms, while those at the non-union mill still operate only 38 looms.

UNIONS AND WORK LOADS

This situation can be duplicated by contrasting work loads in many other departments of the union-

Most of it has since been eliminated. More will be eliminated in the future.

Practically all of the unionized mills have had strikes as a result of readjustments of their work loads. Most of these have been unauthorized walkouts from the department which was under adjustment at the moment, and have not been supported by the union. These are soon settled, or if the workers do not care to return to the higher workloads, they are replaced, with the union supporting the management.

In a few instances, however, such as that at the Erwin Mills in Durham, there have been strikes against the principle of the higher workloads which have been supported by the union. In every instance, however, these have been lost, and the principle is now well established in the unionized mills.

One mill executive who operates a chain of mills, some of which are organized and others unorganized, says that he makes all of his workload adjustments in his organized mills first. After the higher workload is established here, he has no trouble in securing acceptance for it in the unorganized plants.

This is possible because the union helps in maintaining discipline and in forcing acceptance of the new workloads. The battery hands in this mill were recently stepped up from 60 to 100 looms each. A wildcat strike followed, but the union supported the management. Only half of the battery hands returned to work, but they returned to the new workload. The places of the others were filled by new workers. But the new workload was established.

Unorganized mills hesitate to make similar drastic adjustments in the workloads of their employes for fear of a strike, it is said; a fear which probably is well founded, since if strikes occur in unionized mills under such circumstances, they would be inevitable in a like situation in an unorganized plant.

WORKER INDEPENDENCE

The independence of the Southern textile worker is traditional.

One mill executive tells a story which well illustrates it. Walking through the mill one day he noticed a new spinner was very awkward in knotting the broken ends. Having come up the hard way in the mill himself, he thought he would help the man by showing him how the job should be done.

When he had finished the knot,

ized mill, on the other hand, said that the union had fought every work load adjustment that had been made.)

Therefore, the next crisis in the Southern textile industry may come when the demand for cotton textiles has slumped off and when the competition of the unionized mills has compelled the unorganized mills (the major portion of the industry) to make comparable adjustments in their own work loads.

If, as many observers feel will be the case, that situation is followed by wildcat strikes and by a spontaneous demand for organization on the part of the workers in the non-union mills, "Operation Dixie" will receive its first real test. Until then, it is premature to write it off as a failure.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

In the meantime, while waiting for a break, the textile unions, in addition to building what seems to be a permanent organization and membership in the South for the first time, have gradually extended their spheres of influence and have been instrumental in the phenomenal increase in wages that has taken place in the South in the past ten years.

It hardly seems possible that, in 1938, the statutory minimum wage in the cotton textile industry was only 25 cents an hour. The first wage order under the Wage-Hour Act increasing this was made in 1939 and established a 32½ cent minimum. In July 1941, the wage-hour administrator again ordered an increase to 37½ cents an hour and the industry voluntarily then adopted the statutory 40 cent minimum.

Representatives of employer associations maintain that the minimum in the South never could have gone above this point had it not been for the war. The final War Labor Board award, however, made in February 1946, brought the minimum only to 55 cents an hour. The increase to 87 cents an hour minimum in the South since that time has been the result of negotiations between the unions and the management of the unionized mills, establishing a pattern which has been followed by the non-unionized mills.

During this period, both major textile unions have consistently increased the number of union contracts and their membership in the South.

In October 1937, the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee (predecessor of TWU) had only

refused to bargain with a duly certified union have dragged on for years.

Two cases now in Federal Courts in the South should go a long way toward determining whether an employer actually can be made to bargain with a union certified to represent his workers under the Wagner Act, as that law is amended by the Taft-Hartley Act.

On the plea of the CIO Textile Workers Union, the Federal Court at Greensboro, N. C., recently enjoined the Amazon Cotton Mills of Thomasville, N. C., from committing an unfair labor practice by refusing to bargain with the TWUA. This seems definitely to be one round for the unions.

In Virginia, the NLRB is pressing for action in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States to compel the Craddock-Terry Shoe Co. of Lynchburg to bargain with the CIO United Shoe Workers. The union in this case won bargaining rights some time ago, but the company has consistently refused to bargain and has refused an NLRB directive that it do so. The case gains added interest from the fact that NLRB recently revived it when the shoe union complied with the non-Communist affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley law after having dropped prosecution when the union at first failed to comply.

THE RAYON INDUSTRY

The rayon industry has the highest degree of union organization, and pays the highest wage rate of any of the textile industries in the South.

It also illustrates best the internecine battle between major international unions for control of this obvious prize package, which now has close to 50,000 employes in the South and is getting bigger every year.

Three major union organizations are perched on the back fence of the Southern rayon industry, arching their backs and making hissing noises at one another—and at the management of unorganized plants. The last thing any of them wants to be is a "tame cat" for management, although each realizes that it must share management's problems if it is to succeed in its ambitions.

Consequently, there is a high degree of cooperation between unions and management in Southern rayon plants.

The three unions are, as previously noted, the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; the United Textile Workers, AFL, and the United Construction Workers,

UCW, therefore, represents about 5,300 rayon and allied employes in the South.

The du Pont rayon plants, and that of the Tennessee Eastman Corp. are as yet unorganized by any of the major international unions.

DU PONT COMPANY UNION

In each of the du Pont plants, however, there is an independent union of du Pont employes, and these unions are, in turn, organized into a du Pont Workers Council, which meets once a month to consider problems common to employes and management

However, TWUA is edging in on du Pont.

It has thus far won representation only at minor units comprising about 800 workers, or less than 6 per cent of du Pont's possibly 14,000 employes in the South.

These are the Old Hickory Chemical Co. at Old Hickory, Tenn., jointly owned by du Pont and Stauffer Chemical Co. and the cellophane unit at Old Hickory. The first of these employs about 200 workers, the cellophane units about 600. The last election at the Old Hickory cellophane plant gave TWUA 456 votes, the Independent Cellophane Workers Association 202 votes, with 14 for "No Union" and one challenged.

This was the second election TWUA had won at this plant. It was arranged by NLRB when the independent union challenged TWUA's continued representation upon the expiration of its first contract with du Pont.

TWUA also claims an increasing membership in the Old Hickory rayon plant itself, and both the local union and CIO State headquarters in Nashville are working hard to increase this to a point

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where an NLRB election can be demanded.

However, in little more than a year, TWUA has lost elections at three other du Pont plants. In December, 1946, it lost an NLRB election at the du Pont rayon plant at Richmond, Va. In this election, the United Construction Workers occupied the show position, while TWUA placed. The winner was the Ampthill Rayon Workers, the independent organization.

In June, 1947, TWUA lost an election at the Waynesboro, Va., acetate rayon plant of du Pont to the Independent United Workers, 1,433 to 513. In the same month it also lost an election at the Richmond cellophane unit to the Transparent Film Workers Union, 401 to 246. United Construction Workers did not contest this one.

PERSONNEL POLICIES

The Tennessee Eastman plant at Kingsport, Tenn., remains entirely unorganized, although all the major international unions have endeavored at one time or another to organize it. The United Construction Workers is reported to be most active at the moment.

One of the probable reasons for Tennessee Eastman remaining unorganized is its advanced personnel policies, patterned after those of the parent company, Eastman Kodak Co., which has enabled that firm to keep its Rochester (N. Y.) plants unorganized during its entire business life.

Part of this personnel policy is the "wage dividend" or bonus, the amount of which is determined annually by the directors or the company in March. In the case of employes who have worked for the company a number of years, this amounts to a considerable sum, the distribution of which is obviously within the power of the directors to discontinue at their pleasure.

Du Pont's advanced personnel policies also have had much to do with keeping its plants unorganized. Du Pont has published a little booklet which it distributes to visitors at its Waynesboro plant, which says in part:

"When an individual enters the employ of the du Pont Co., he is entering a kind of cooperative en-

caused by hydrogen sulphide and carbon bisulphide fumes, the company established a medical department and spent several million dollars to improve ventilating systems in churn and spinning rooms.

The company, of course, says that it inaugurated these enlightened policies; TWUA claims that it won them.

Wherever the credit is due, however, the fact that they were in existence probably helped TWUA to defeat the United Construction Workers the last time that union challenged it at the American Viscose plants, in July, 1946. In that NLRB election, TWUA secured 9,000 votes to 1,700 for UCW.

The new blanket contract signed last summer between TWUA and Industrial Rayon Corp. also provided for fringe benefits estimated to be equal to 6 cents an hour in increased wages. These included liberalized hospitalization and sick benefits, revised holiday and vacation schedules. The contract provided for a $2,000 insurance for all eligible employes, both male and female, hospitalization to a maximum of $8 a day for employes and their dependents, readjusted paid vacations to give three weeks annually to employes of 15 years or more service, two weeks for employes with five or more years and one week for employes with between one and five years of service.

The new contract negotiated in December by the United Textile Workers at the plants of American Bemberg Co., North American Rayon Co., also provided for a "life insurance and hospitalization package for all employes to be paid for by the company," plus six paid holidays and other perquisites.

Du Pont apparently pays more liberal shift differentials than the unions have been able to negotiate with the managements of other Southern rayon plants, however, since at Old Hickory (and presumably at its other plants as well) workers on the second shift get a 10 per cent differential over first shift rates, while those on the third shift receive a 20 per cent differential.

At most plants, the second shift differential is 5 per cent an hour and that for the third 10 per cent an hour. At the Bemberg and

which TWUA has been able to establish in the South, as the site of its new Celriver plant. TWUA has organized five of the 10 textile and finishing plants in Rock Hill, and Celanese expects, of course, that as soon as Celriver has started to operate, TWUA will ask for an election. TWUA expects so, too, and expects to win it; has been making plans to do so for the past year.

However, Celanese will not hand TWUA a contract at this plant, since its general policy is against company wide agreements and it expresses itself as being equally as well satisfied with the United Construction Workers at its Celco plant, Narrows, Va., as with TWUA at Cumberland, Md., and Rome, Ga. (Incidentally, TWUA renewed its contract at the Celanese Cumberland plant last June only after a 29-day strike. It participated in the first NLRB election at Celco in 1941, when both it and UCW lost to "No Union." TWUA ran a bad third. At the next NLRB election at this plant, in 1943, when UCW won control, TWUA did not participate.

At Rock Hill, therefore, while TWUA has the advantage, it certainly will have to compete with UCW before it wins this plant, and probably with the UTW and "No Union" as will, since there is a strong non-union movement at some of the unorganized textile plants in Rock Hill.

United Textile Workers likewise expects that it will be handed a contract at American Enka's new rayon plant at Morristown, Tenn., and will probably have the inside edge there because some of its members are being transferred from Asheville to that plant as instructors. However, it probably will be disappointed in its expectations of receiving a contract without an NLRB election, since the management says that any union securing representation at the plant will have to win it. To do so, UTW is certain to have to compete with both UCW and TWUA.

"No union" is on every NLRB ballot.

The new du Pont nylon plant just outside of Chattanooga is also in an area in which a number of unions are active, but, since no international union has yet succeeded in organizing any of the

wage scales and fringe concessions in all plants. From the union's point of view, conducting the election on a company-wide basis enables it to take advantage of its strength in some plants to hold control of all, whereas, if the elections were on a plant by plant basis, it might lose one or more to another union.

That the company-wide policy also places greater responsibility on the union, particularly at a new plant, also is obvious, since the employes at such a plant, walking into the highest paid textile jobs in the South with all of the additional perquisites, are prone to take all of these hard-won gains for granted and as their right. The result is little interest in the union, poor attendance at union meetings and consequent lack of union discipline which makes it difficult for the union to carry out its obligations to management.

Such conditions impose additional burdens on union leadership.

At Front Royal, Va., for instance, TWUA, which has over a 100 shop stewards at the American Viscose plant, holds a joint meeting of these stewards and of the company's foreman each Monday morning with the union's business agent and the personnel manager of the plant as co-chairmen, for the purpose of studying the union's new shop stewards manual. This is based on the last agreement between the company and the union, negotiated Aug. 20, 1947. Principles involved in recent disputes between workers and management are discussed at these meetings, and suggestions as to how such disagreements can be avoided in the future are advanced by both sides.

The meetings have been mutually helpful, it is said.

RAYON PLANT CHANGES

Rayon plants are in a continual state of physical change. Some of this is due to plant expansion. Du Pont's Waynesboro acetate plant, for instance, is now 20 times larger than when it opened in 1929 so that it must have been involved in an almost continual expansion. A good share of the physical changes at the various plants is due to technological improvements in the process of ray-

erable number of workers, as no doubt have the almost automatic processes for the production of staple fiber developed at the Nitro and Front Royal plants of American Viscose and in Celanese's staple fiber plant at Celco.

What is true of these most modern plants is true of all other rayon plants to a lesser degree.

(The fact that, at both viscose and acetate plants, the engineering departments, which include maintenance workers, are the largest departments in the plants, is significant of the importance of technological change in the rayon industry.)

Consequently, an important part of any contract between a rayon company and a union is that which deals with the manner in which such technological changes shall be handled for the protection of the workers.

TWUA appears to have developed the standard clause covering technological changes in its various agreements with American Viscose, Industrial and Celanese. (UCW is said to have picked up the same clause when it negotiated its first agreement with Celanese at Celco, but apparently it has alolwed this clause to remain static since then, because, under the UCW contract, three years' employment is required to entitle the workers to the provisions of the technological change article calling for job transfer to other employment or severance pay, whereas TWUA had, in some of its contracts at least, reduced this required employment period to 60 days.)

A technological change is defined in the TWUA contract as follows:

"A technological change is defined as a change in plant, process, equipment or method of operation diminishing the total number of employes having sixty (60) days or more service required to operate the department or departments affected by the change.

"An increase in productivity of employes diminishing the total number of employes having sixty (60) days or more service required to operate a given department will be considered a technological change.

"The term shall not include layoffs caused by denier changes

pleasure.

Du Pont's advanced personnel policies also have had much to do with keeping its plants unorganized. Du Pont has published a little booklet which it distributes to visitors at its Waynesboro plant, which says in part:

"When an individual enters the employ of the du Pont Co., he is entering a kind of cooperative enterprise. In return for his labor, skill and intelligence he contributes to this undertaking, he receives fair treatment, good wages, an opportunity for advancement and a reasonable measure of security during his service with the du Pont Co."

Thus introduced, the booklet goes on to describe various plans covering safety and health, group accident and health insurance, group life insurance, paid vacations, service pins (a white gold pin with four diamonds after 25 years) a lay-off notice plan, disability wage plan, a pension and retirement plan, etc.

While, collectively, these features represent a liberal policy, it apparently does not give the du Pont worker much more than employees of some of the other rayon producers secure through the joint medium of their union agreements and additional personnel plans of the various firms.

Celanese Corp. of America, for instance, in addition to lay-off and other subjects covered in its union agreements with TWUA and the United Construction Workers, also has group insurance plans for both its salaried and hourly employees, and on July 1, 1947, inaugurated a retirement income plan for its employes, to which both employes and management contribute.

UNIONS AND BENEFITS

American Viscose Corp. stated recently that it spends $4,500,000 annually for sickness, accident and medical benefits, life insurance, vacation pay, retirement pay, etc., amounting to about $250 a year for each worker. The American Viscose-TWUA contract contains several model clauses, such as retirement on part pay for employes over 65, hospitalization and surgical insurance for workers and their wives, full time pay for time lost because of "fume eyes" or sore hands resulting from handling chemicals, etc.

As a result of workers' complaints of dizziness, black spots before the eyes, stomach disorders and other ailments, a plant survey of the Viscose plants was made by Dr. Alice Hamilton of the United States Department of Labor and, after her report had indicated these were probably other Southern rayon plants, however, since at Old Hickory (and presumably at its other plants as well) workers on the second shift get a 10 per cent differential over first shift rates, while those on the third shift receive a 20 per cent differential.

At most plants, the second shift differential is 5 per cent an hour and that for the third 10 per cent an hour. At the Bemberg and North American plants, it is only 3 and 5 cents an hour, respectively.

Since in rayon plants the shifts are rotated among all employes (in contrast to the custom of "freezing" an employe to a specified shift which prevails in the cotton textile industry), these higher differentials in the du Pont plants are probably an important factor in continuing the adherence of the employes to the independent unions.

With the intense competition among unions for the honor and emoluments of representing employes at existing rayon plants in the South, it is evident that there will be a battle royal for control of the two rayon plants and the new nylon plant, all of which will come into production during 1948.

CELANESE AND TWUA

Since all of its other plants are organized, Celanese Corp. of America had no hesitation about picking Rock Hill, S. C., one of the advanced "strong points" the plant will have to win it, to do so, UTW is certain to have to compete with both UCW and TWUA.

"No union" is on every NLRB ballot.

The new du Pont nylon plant just outside of Chattanooga is also in an area in which a number of unions are active, but, since no international union has yet succeeded in organizing any of the major du Pont plants in the South the workers at this plant probably will be represented by an independant union for some time. (The UMW's District 50 represents workers at du Pont's big Belle, W. Va. plant; but that is not in the South as this series defines the South.)

COMPANY-WIDE PACTS

The Celanese policy against company-wide agreements is interesting in view of the fact that that two other major rayon producers, American Viscose and Industrial Rayon, both have company-wide agreements with TWUA.

There are, apparently, arguments both for and against such a policy, as it affects both the employer and the union.

It apparently simplifies contract negotiations for the company, since agreements covering all of its plants can be negotiated at one time with one set of union representatives, rather than separately with two or more groups. It also insures uniformity of

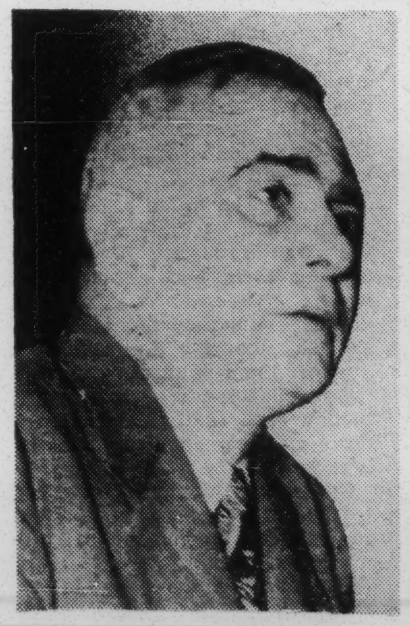
Rayon plants are in a continual state of physical change. Some of this is due to plant expansion. Du Pont's Waynesboro acetate plant, for instance, is now 20 times larger than when it opened in 1929 so that it must have been involved in an almost continual expansion. A good share of the physical changes at the various plants is due to technological improvements in the process of rayon manufacture, as might be expected in an industry which spends as much for research as does the rayon industry.

These technological changes, since they usually reduce the manpower required in the production of a pound of rayon, are an important factor in labor-management relations in rayon plants.

The continuous spinning process used by American Viscose at its Front Royal plant is said to reduce the numbers of workers required in spinning and subsequent operations from 30 to 50 per cent.

The automatic process which Celanese has developed in its manufacture of cellulose acetate at its Celco plant and the substitution of automatic handling of the acetate "dope" for the old individual batch loading process in the preliminary spinning processes (which are now being installed at the Ancell plant at Cumberland, Md., as well) are said to have eliminated a considerable number of workers.

Directors of Unions' Southern Drives



ROY R. LAWRENCE
Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO

JOHN J. McCOY
American Federation of Hosiery Workers

FRANK ROSENBLUM
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO

quired to operate the department or departments affected by the change.

"An increase in productivity of employes diminishing the total number of employes having sixty (60) days or more service required to operate a given department will be considered a technological change.

"The term shall not include layoffs caused by denier changes, variations in customers' requirements, shutdowns for plant repairs, curtailment of production, or temporary or seasonal interruptions of work."

In all, seven pages of the agreement are required to cover all of the details of the understandings which have been arrived at between the company and the union to protect employes displaced by technological changes.

JOB TRANSFERS

These include transfer to other jobs, if such are open, and the worker is qualified to fill them, or, in the event that no other employment is available for him, a severance pay of one week's pay for each full year of the employe's past continuous service with the company.

While such technological changes as the installation of continuous spinning could mean the displacement of from a third to one-half of the production department workers in a given plant, the fact that production has never been able to keep pace with demand since the development of this process has thus far prevented any such wholesale reduction.

Workers, naturally, are hopeful that, as technological improvements reduce the number of man-hours required to produce a pound of rayon, the capacity of the plants will be increased so that present employment may be maintained.

However, the decline in labor costs of rayon production has been considerable since 1939 and still is continuing. In his report to the Pace Committee on rayon production Robert B. Evans of the Southern Regional Research Laboratory said on this subject:

"Between 1939 and 1945, the pounds of rayon produced nearly doubled while the number of man-hours worked in the rayon and allied industries increased by only 28 per cent. From these facts, it might be concluded that there has been a huge increase in the productivity of labor in the rayon industry during these years. Most of the increase, however, was in staple rayon and in heavier denier yarn for tires, which

Continued on Page Seven

Southern Series

ALABAMA • ARKANSAS • FLORIDA • GEORGIA • KENTUCKY • LOUISIANA • MISSISSIPPI • NORTH CAROLINA • OKLAHOMA • SOUTH CAROLIN A • TENNESSEE • TEXAS • VIRGINIA

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do not require as much labor as fine continuous filament yarns . . . the estimated output per man-hour increased 36 per cent from 1939 to 1942 but thereafter declined. In the first six months of 1946 it was estimated to be 27 per cent above the 1939 level."

Because payrolls of rayon companies increased beginning with 1941 much more rapidly than either man-hours worked or production, the unit labor cost was estimated to be 33 per cent higher in November 1946 than in 1939, Mr. Evans said, and about 41 per cent higher than in 1941 and 1942. However, he points out:

"The declining trend in labor costs during 1939-1941 was mainly brought about by installation of more efficient, labor-saving processing equipment. Existing methods for washing, desulphurizing and bleaching rayon yarn in skein form were replaced in some plants by a more highly mechanized process for handling the rayon yarn in cake form. In other plants, the continuous spinning process, eliminating all manual handling of the rayon yarn prior to coning or inspection, was installed. Manufacture of staple fiber has been highly mechanized since its introduction but the plants completed just before the war were the most advanced in this regard."

Although wages in the rayon industry still were advancing through 1947, the labor saving adjustments described by Mr. Evans as featuring the 1939-1941 period have been resumed and great technological advances have been made in all processes of rayon manufacture, which will probably result in a continued reduction of labor costs.

THE APPAREL INDUSTRIES

Approximately 125,000 workers are employed in the apparel industries in the South, of whom not more than 20 per cent are organized, notwithstanding the fact that four unions have carried on vigorous organizing campaigns among them for years.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, for instance, has been active in the South since 1933. It has constantly broadened its field of operations and its number of organizers. It now claims from 20,000 to 25,000 members in the South.

The United Garment Workers

During the war, employment in the apparel trades in the South reached a peak of 135,000 or more. It had dropped back to 129,000 by 1946, and is believed to have been stabilized at about the above figure during the past year, which has seen the closing down of a number of plants which were active during the war, and short time for others. This is an increase of 35,000, or 29 per cent, over prewar employment.

Of the groups listed above, union membership probably is greatest in the dress shirt and nightwear group of the cotton garment industry, since many firms in the South which fall into this category are branch plants of the big nationally-known shirt manufacturers, such as Cluett Peabody & Co., Manhattan Shirt Co. and Phillips, Jones & Co. This group probably is about 50 per cent organized. It represents about 30 per cent of the total national employment in this category.

Of the 12,300 employed in the cotton work shirt group — about 79 per cent of the national employment—not more than 10 per cent are unionized.

Of the nearly 25,000 in the cotton work pants group — 70 per cent of the national total—possibly 15 per cent are organized.

Of the 8,000 plus in the overalls and industrial garments group—38 per cent of the national total, not more than 10 per cent are organized.

Of the 31,000 to 32,000 employed in other branches of the apparel industries in the South — men's wool clothing, men's summer clothing, men's and women's sportswear, lingerie, women's dresses, men's neckwear, etc. — again it is doubtful if more than 10 per cent are organized.

Resistance to Unions

The comparatively small totals of organized workers in the groups listed above reflects not any lack of energy on the part of most of the unions in the field or their organizers, but the bitter-end resistance which union efforts have met in their organizing campaigns in the South, particularly in Tennessee, Alabama and Texas, and the amazing complications—legal, War Labor Board, National Labor Relations Board and inter-union—in which some of the individual cases have become involved.

In some instances, such as that

with headquarters in Dallas and Fort Worth have scattered branch plants about the State in a number of small towns, has presented a serious problem for the Amalgamated, too, but here the union appears to have made greater progress than in other parts of the South.

It has organized most of the branch plants of the Haggar Co. and of Conro Mfg. Co., two of the largest of the Texas firms, and a number of the individual plants as well.

Notwithstanding a resistance to union organization in the Southern apparel industry which is only mildly implied in the foregoing summary, the directors of the Amalgamated's Southern drive do not appear to be downhearted.

"Organizing the South is tough, but no tougher than any of our past organizing drives," they say. "We experienced the same difficulty when we organized the shirt industry in Pennsylvania and the men's clothing industry, before and after the first World War. Since our real drive in the South began in 1937, we have organized shops and have active membership at present in every Southern State, excepting only Arkansas and Oklahoma."

One of the reasons for such success as the Amalgamated has had in the South is that it has built a staff of organizers who are themselves Southerners. Gladys Dickason, a vice-president of the union and assistant director of the Southern drive, is a Southerner, as is practically every one of the organizers working in the region.

One of the major accomplishments of the Amalgamated in the South has been to wipe out the North-South wage differential, in so far as the plants which it has organized are concerned. It has established a 65-cents-an-hour minimum wage in all organized shops in the cotton garment industry, no matter where they may be located.

That is one of the reasons why the Bureau of Labor Statistics has found that the differentials in average hourly earnings between workers in union and non-union plants amount to about 26 per cent in the over-all industry, 13 per cent in work pants, 20 per

lored suits and coats by men's tailors (a type of garment over which the ILGWU claims jurisdiction), the two organizations do not appear to get into each other's hair to any extent in the South; possibly because the ILGWU has such a limited operation there.

The stubborn resistance of the Southern apparel manufacturers to the unization of their employes, and the determination of the union in this effort, has caused the campaign to be waged on many a front, including that of public relations. Because of this a reporter investigating the labor situation in the Southern apparel industry encounters many queer stories.

One current at the moment is that the apparel manufacturers in Tennessee (and possibly other States) are trying to build up a large reservoir of semi-trained labor in the area by stepping up the turnover in their plants.

Union organizers maintain that, in some plants in the State, a new employe is seldom retained more than 10 weeks or three months or just about long enough to become proficient in her job. They have two explanations for this practice, assuming it exists. One is that the rapid turn over makes it harder for the union to organize the plant; the other is that, when such organization inevitably occurs (as the organizers believe it will) and a strike follows, there will be enough semi-trained workers in the area so that the management can replace the strikers without difficulty.

Analysis of the geographical distribution of ILGWU's Southern locals indicates that that union, apparently, is having as much difficulty in organizing the manufacturers of women's apparel in the South as the Amalgamated is having in its own field. There are growing women's apparel markets in Dallas, Atlanta, Miami and a few other scattered centers, and a children's wear market of considerable size in San Antonio.

However, the ILGWU claims only 271 members in Miami, none in Dallas, none in Atlanta, and none in San Antonio. Most of its members are in scattered individual plants throughout the region, the largest numbers being employed in knit underwear factories in Knoxville and Chattanooga.

However, notwithstanding the comparatively small number of or-

tion Workers, a subsidiary of the United Mine Workers, has recently made some overtures to workers in the seamless hosiery industry, which centers around High Point, N. C. Apparently the UCW does not as yet have representation in any hosiery plant in the South, however.

While exact figures of the Southern membership of the two principal unions in the Southern hosiery industry are not available, it is probably that the American Federation of Hosiery Workers has 80 per cent or more of the total.

Last November, when 6,500 workers in 11 seamless and full-fashioned hosiery plants received a wage increase, it was announced that, while the United Textile Workers represented only 500 boarders, the only organized workers in the 11 plants, the entire group, nevertheless, had accepted as an industry pattern the agreement reached between UTW's representative, John Pollard, and the Guilford Hosiery Mills, one of the 11 plants.

UNDERWEAR WORKERS

In the knit underwear industry, which employs about 12,000 workers in the South, the percentage of unionization will again run about 25 per cent.

Here, also, at least three unions are in the field. TWUA and the United Textile Workers are two of them, largely for the reason that a number of knit underwear plants in the South also operate cotton mills for the purpose of spinning their own yarn.

In some instances where the yarn mill has been organized, however, the union has not been able to extend its organization to the underwear plant itself. The P. H. Hanes Knitting Co. at Winston-Salem, N. C., is an instance of this situation, since TWUA reprepresents the employes of the yarn mill but not those of the underwear plant itself.

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL, not generally regarded as operating in the knit underwear field, has organized one of the largest plants in that field in the South. Appalachian Mills of Knoxville, Tenn., which has employed as many as 1,200 workers. In January, 1946, relations were so cordial between the ILGWU and the management of the mill that the union gave

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, for instance, has been active in the South since 1933. It has constantly broadened its field of operations and its number of organizers. It now claims from 20,000 to 25,000 members in the South.

The United Garment Workers of America, AFL, probably has seniority among all apparel trades unions in the South—and has least to show for it. UGW's activities in the South date back at least 50 years; Samuel Gompers once spent a year in the South as a UGW organizer during the only interregnum in his career as president of the AFL, from the time of its founding to his death. Its exact Southern membership is not available, but it is inconsiderable.

The United Construction Workers of America, a subsidiary of the United Mine Workers, is active in certain sections of the South, especially in Tennessee and Kentucky, which adjoins coal-mining regions. UCW's exact membership is not available, either, but, in the apparel industries, it is, like that of the UGW, inconsiderable.

The fourth union in the field is the International Ladies Garment Workers of America, AFL, which on Jan. 1, 1947, had a membership in the South of 5,353, or about 1½ per cent of its total national membership of 367,062. The report on the AFL's first year of its Southern drive, as of Aug. 31, 1947, indicated that the ILGWU had secured about 2,000 new members during that period, most of which presumably had been added since the January, 1947, report had been prepared.

The ILGWU probably has, therefore, about 7,000 members in the South at present. The relative smallness of this group reflects, to a considerable extent, the embryonic status of the women's apparel industry in the South.

Employment in the Southern apparel industries breaks down as follows:

Cotton Garment Industry		
Overalls and industrial garments	**8,100**	
Cotton work pants	**24,650**	
Cotton work shirts	**12,300**	
Dress shirts and nightwear	**16,700**	
Total		**61,700**
Men's wool and summer clothing, sportswear, dresses, coats and suits, neckwear, etc.		**63,300**
Total		**125,000**

paigns in the South, particularly in Tennessee, Alabama and Texas, and the amazing complications—legal, War Labor Board, National Labor Relations Board and inter-union—in which some of the individual cases have become involved.

In some instances, such as that of Salant & Salant, Inc., with seven or eight plants in Tennessee alone, the Amalgamated has been endeavoring to organize the various plants for ten years, and has had an involved Salant & Salant case before the National Labor Relations Board for five years.

In fact, so far as the Amalgamated is concerned, Tennessee rather than Kentucky might well warrant the name "the dark and bloody ground" which the Indians bestowed on the latter State, since it has been compelled to wage constant battle there not only with strong, well-financed employers there such as Salant & Salant, the Henry I. Siegel Co., the Washington Mfg. Co. and others, each with a chain of small-town plants, but also the United Construction Workers as well.

Some of the battles in the latter class have actually been bloody affrays. In 1943, for instance, two Amalgamated organizers, Franz Daniel and Ed Blair, were shot at and beaten in the union's office at Lafollette, Tenn., and the Amalgamated accused the UCW of this attack. There have been other cases when Amalgamated pickets claimed to have been driven from the picket lines by UCW members.

DIFFICULT GOING

Another location which has given the Amalgamated much trouble in its Southern drive is Andalusia, Ala., where three firms under the same ownership—Alabama Textile Products Co., Andala Manufacturing Co. and S. & B. Mfg. Co.—have stubbornly resisted its organizational efforts. In 1947, the Amalgamated lost a strike at these plants. It has since lost two NLRB elections there.

New Orleans, where a number of manufacturers of men's summer clothing, pants, neckwear, etc., are concentrated, also has been a nut that the Amalgamated has thus far found impossible to crack. Notwithstanding the considerable number of potential members which it has in that market, it has thus far organized only the city's laundry workers.

Texas, where cotton garment and sportswear manufacturers

That is one of the reasons why the Bureau of Labor Statistics has found that the differentials in average hourly earnings between workers in union and non-union plants amount to about 26 per cent in the over-all industry, 13 per cent in work pants, 20 per cent in work shirts and 23 per cent in dress shirts. In the Southeast, cutters in union cotton work pants factories were receiving 87 cents an hour in April, 1945, while similar workers in non-union plants in the same area were receiving only 69 cents an hour. Pressers in unionized dress shirt factories in the Southeast at the same time received 75 cents an hour in comparison with 58 cents an hour in non-union plants.

INTER-UNION CONFLICT

Internecine warfare is, as has been indicated, a serious problem in the Southern organizing drives in the apparel industry. Only where the UCW-ACW forces are involved, however, is this warfare featured by violence.

The Amalgamated accuses the United Garment Workers of accepting "tame cat" contracts from firms which it has itself failed to organize and there is much verbal battling between these two organizations, but no bloody heads. And, although the Amalgamated and the ILGWU have been squabbling for years in the men's clothing markets of the country over the making of women's tai-

ANTHONY VALENTE
United Textile Workers of America, AFL

none in San Antonio. Most of its members are in scattered individual plants throughout the region, the largest numbers being employed in knit underwear factories in Knoxville and Chattanooga.

However, notwithstanding the comparatively small number of organized workers in the Southern apparel industries, the same situation prevails as in the textile industries. The dominant unions have competent organizing staffs in the field (which could be supplemented to any required degree if necessary) and are building permanent membership even in places where they have met their worst defeats, as in Andalusia, Ala.

They are, therefore, in a position to capitalize on any situation which might be favorable to them. The situation in the apparel industries is not as clear cut as in the textile industries, and it is, therefore, not as easy to determine just what might bring about such a favorable situation, but it might be a wage reduction which would give the apparel trades unions their postwar opportunity for large scale organizing efforts, as the readjustment of work loads in the textile industry may do in that field.

HOSIERY AND KNIT GOODS

Of the 85,000 or more workers in the hosiery and knit goods industries in the South, it is probable that not more than 25 per cent are members of a union—although six or more unions compete for the honor of representing them.

The highest degree of organization probably has been reached in the full-fashioned hosiery field, which employs about 28,000 workers and is at least 25 per cent—possibly 30 per cent—organized.

Both the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, formerly a subsidiary of the Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO, but now divorced for non-payment of dues and striving for independent CIO affiliation, and the hosiery branch of the United Textile Workers, AFL, have contracts and members in the full-fashioned hosiery field.

Both of these unions also operate in the seamless hosiery industry, which has a considerably larger number of workers in the South than has the full-fashioned end of the industry—about 44,000—although a smaller percentage of them are organized. Most estimates agree that the seamless hosiery industry in the South is not more than 18 per cent organized.

In addition, the United Construc-

ized one of the largest plants in that field in the South, Appalachian Mills of Knoxville, Tenn., which has employed as many as 1,200 workers. In January, 1946, relations were so cordial between the ILGWU and the management of the mill that the union gave a dinner in honor of W. A. Brownlee, the mill president.

ILGWU also is the dominant union in the knit outerwear industry in the South, which is of miniscule proportions, probably employing no more than 2,000 workers in all. However, this industry probably will grow in the future, and, since it is a field in which ILGWU is strong in the Middle Atlantic and Great Lakes States where the knit outerwear industry is now concentrated, the ILGWU seems the logical labor organization to sign up the new plants as they move into the South.

THE SHOE INDUSTRY

The shoe (and leather) industry is a growing one in the South, even though at the moment it is a small one compared with such dominating industries as cotton textiles and rayon.

It is growing both through the expansion of indigenous firms and through the establishment of branch plants in the South by firms with headquarters in other sections of the country.

Of the 16,000 to 20,000 workers in the shoe industry in the South, possibly 30 per cent are organized. Most of these men and women belong to the United Shoe Workers of America, CIO, although the AFL union, the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, also has some representation in the region. There appears to be less conflict between the two shoe workers' unions, however, than between some of the overlapping unions in the textile and apparel fields.

The CIO union has been endeavoring to organize the Craddock-Terry Co. of Lynchburg, Va., since 1942 without success, although it has won representation of the firm's workers in an NLRB election. The firm has consistently refused to bargain with the union, however, and the NLRB is now seeking to compel such action through the courts.

During the past year, the CIO union has succeeded in establishing new locals at some of the Arkansas locations at which International Shoe Co. of St. Louis and other St. Louis shoe manufacturers have been establishing branch plants at a rapid pace for the past two or three years.

21-Labor File

WORLD of LABOR
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UNIONS AND UNION ACTIVITIES

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UAW-GM Talks Go On In Shadow Of Chrysler Strike

Detroit (LPA) - The auto wage picture showed no signs of clearing last week as 76,000 Chrysler workers continued their strike and 225,000 General Motors employes filed a strike notice with the State Mediation Board. The United Auto Workers-CIO intensified their bargaining sessions with GM in an effort to avert a strike May 28 when the GM contracts expire.

Action from the bosses' side came when John S. Bugas, vice-president of the Ford Motor Co. proposed that the auto workers accept wage cuts to accomplish an objective of "public security." UAW Ford Director Ken Bannon replied that "Ford workers will be happy to withdraw their demands for increases in hourly wage rates at the Ford Motor Co. if that company will successfully exert its influence on the rest of American industrial management and upon Congress to effect a substantial rollback in the cost of living."

"If the Ford Motor Company were really concerned about the public security," said Bannon, "It would not have recently and unjustifiably increased the prices of one line of its cars $315 to $420. It certainly can't blame labor cost on that increase because there have been no increases in labor cost."

Governor Kim Sigler ordered state police to the Highland Park plant of Chrysler when there was a fight on the picket line last week. The police have had nothing to do, however, because UAW has made clear its policy of letting non-striking office workers pass the lines. Meanwhile, the state's Attorney General, Eugene F. Black, ordered that UAW officers be prosecuted under the Bonine-Tripp law for walking out without having the Michigan State Mediation Board conduct a strike vote. The union immediately appealed to Circuit Judge Theodore J. Richter who granted an injunction preventing the attorney general from such action until there can be a hearing on UAW's claim that the law is unconstitutional.

The general council of Ford Local 600 has voted $125,000 for support of the strikers, declaring that "the fight of the Chrysler workers is a fight for a cost of living wage increase not only for themselves but for all organized labor."

In a statement about "why Chrysler workers are on strike" UAW listed as No. 1 the fact that "Chrysler management asked for it." In line with the attitude of the steel and electrical industries, the company made no attempt to negotiate from Feb. 27 to May 12, the date the strike began.

"The strike of the Chrysler workers," the statement points out, "is the fight of the whole American people against monopolistic corporate power that would rob wage-earners of adequate purchasing power. Such draining off of extortionate profits at the top would insure a depression in which independent businessmen, farmers and professional people would lose markets for their goods and services and again, as in 1929-1933, join unemployed wage-earners in breadlines and on relief rolls. The strike of the Chrysler workers is a fight to prevent American so-called free enterprise from committing suicide by a conspiracy to starve its own customers."

Chrysler workers are asking 30¢ an hour to meet the unprecedented high cost of living. GM workers are asking 25¢ an hour, 10¢ of which would go to a health and welfare insurance program.

-LPA-

Coal Talks
Break Down

Washington (LPA) - Negotiations for a new contract for the nation's 350,000 bituminous coal miners broke down last week when coal owners insisted on seating Joseph E. Moody, southern mine owners' spokesman over the objections of United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis.

Lewis said that he was willing to bargain with Moody as representative of the 14 separate southern coal associations which sent him to the conference, but he won't accept the idea of one man speaking for all of them at one. The UMW leader pointed out that the 14 groups signed the 1947 contract individually, and their present scheme seems to be forming "a holding company."

Other mine owner spokesmen have written the UMW asking a resumption of the conferences and asserting that under the rules no one bloc can veto the signing of a contract between the union and those associations who wish to sign.

Union delegates to the bargaining session noted however a remarkable unity among the operators over the question of Moody's status.

Lewis himself placed responsibility for the outcome of the negotiations on US Steel President Benjamin Fairless, George Humphrey of the M. A. Hanna Co. and James D. Francis of the Island Creek Coal Co.

The business newspaper, the NY Journal of Commerce, expressed last week the hunch that a lot of people have had for some time--that "big steel" which owns 30 coal mines will try to block a wage boost for the miners.

Referring to Fairless' recent refusal to talk wages with the United Steelworkers-CIO the Journal of Commerce asks: "How can Steel say 'no' to the CIO and 'yes' to Lewis?"

President Lewis and other miners' leaders said last week that a strike in the coal fields would be "tragic" but refused to comment on whether or not they considered a work stoppage likely.

The bituminous conference didn't reach the point of the union's presenting its demands to the employers, and so far they have not been revealed. They are, however, believed to include wage increases, more employer contribution to the welfare and pension funds, a shorter work week and some changes in working rules.

In the courts last week the government made an effort to untie the shackles it put on the miners during the unofficial stoppage in March which result from the operator's reluctance to put the 1947 welfare plan into operation.

Assistant Attorney General H. Graham Morison, the man who pushed the Taft-Hartley injunction case against the UMW, asked Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, who last month fined the union $1,420,000 on criminal contempt of court charges, to drop the civil charges against the union.

He suggested too that the 80-day anti-strike injunction be lifted, since the dispute during which it was issued is settled.

Goldsborough agreed to dismiss the contempt action but is insisting that the government prepare a formal brief on the injunction problem and prove that the pension problem has been settled.

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Repeat from Midweek Issue, May 18

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CIO Oil Union Wins
17½¢ For Biggest
'48 Nat'l Pay Boost

Fort Worth, Tex. (LPA) - Big business hasn't held the line against wage boosts in 1948, so far as the 9000 employes of Sinclair's production, refining and pipeline operations are concerned.

Last week, a 17½¢ an hour raise was negotiated with Sinclair by the Oil Workers Int'l Union-CIO. OWIU President O. A. Knight announced that similar terms are being pressed in negotiations with other oil companies.

(MORE)

The pay boost, the union asserts, is "the largest increase won in the third round by any union in a nation-wide contract." Nearly all of the union's major contracts are now open or will be opened within the next few weeks.

"Faces are red," the OWIU reports, in the circles of Standard Oil's "independent" union. After urging from the company, which was racing to beat the Sinclair settlement, the Standard union in two days of negotiations humbly asked for 12¢ an hour--and "won" it. The 12¢ raise was in pay envelopes before it was made public in Baton Rouge, La. Now, OWIU reports serious dissatisfaction over the 5½¢ difference won by the Sinclair workers' genuine union over the Standard puppet union.

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Last three paragraphs repeat from Midweek Issue, May 18

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AFL Demands Inquiry--
Di Giorgio Strike Head
Shot At Union Meeting

Washington (LPA) - Governor Earl Warren of California has ordered a "complete investigation" of the shooting which injured President James Price of Local 218, Nat'l Farm Labor Union, while he was presiding at a meeting of the union's strike committee. The union is on strike at the Di Giorgio Corp. ranch near Bakersfield, Calif.

Monday night, a meeting of the eight-member strike committee of Local 218, Nat'l Farm Labor Union-AFL, was held in the cottage residence of one of the union members. Suddenly five shots were fired thru a window. President James Price was shot thru the head, and is in Kern County Hospital. The other men and women escaped injury as four bullets went wild.

"It was obviously an attempt at assassination," Gov. Warren asserted. "Such diabolical acts call for the full force of the law being brought to bear against those who are responsible for them. I have therefore requested the attorney general to make a complete investigation of the crime and to assist the sheriff and district attorney in every way possible, and report the results of the investigation to me."

The Nat'l Farm Labor Union has offered a $1000 reward for information leading to arrest and conviction of the would-be murderer. NFLU President H. L. Mitchell asserts "it was a planned job done by hired thugs," and lists three groups "quite capable of an attempt to assassinate leaders of our organization." The three he names are; management of the Di Giorgio Corp., the Associated Farmers of California, Inc., and "Communist agents of the CP controlled Food, Tobacco & Agricultural Workers Union-CIO."

Earlier, AFL President William Green had wired Warren: "In the name of justice, I respectfully urge you to order an immediate investigation into the shooting."

"I am informed that Price was presiding at a peaceful meeting of the strike committee inside the private cottage of one of the union members in Arvin," the AFL president reported, "when five shots were fired into the room. One bullet struck the local union leader in the head.

"This brutal assault climaxing the cruel and fascist methods used to break the Di Giorgio strike is too grave a matter for local police to handle. I earnestly call upon you to supersede them with an investigation by state law enforcement agencies. This investigation should encompass not only the shooting but all the oppressive and intimidating efforts to break this strike which have flouted justice and the law."

The 1100 Di Giorgio strikers have held firm for eight months in a strike aimed to win union recognition. The giant corporation--which grows and distributes grapes, wine, asparagus and other produce over the entire country--has been backed up by Associated Farmers because it is considered the opening wedge in the AFL drive to unionize the workers who plight was described in The Grapes of Wrath, novel by John Steinbeck.

-LPA-

CIO Public Workers
Split On Red Issue

Atlantic City (LPA) - The federal employes division of the United Public Workers-CIO split wide-open this week when UPW's "left-wing" leadership retained control of the union. A seceding group, claiming to represent nearly 10,000 of UPWA's 86,000 reported members, said that it supports national CIO policy. It expects to find "a new home" in the CIO, and organize those thousands of government employes who want effective unionism but will not follow the "left-wing" leadership of UPWA's President Abram Flaxer.

Co-chairmen of the new union, which as the anti-Communist caucus was known as the Build the Union Committee, are William Mirengoff and Morton Lifton. Mirengoff is a US Employment Service economist, Lifton a Justice Dep't lawyer. Both are World War II veterans.

They said: "The major organizational task of the new group will be directed towards bringing into the fold of the labor movement, into the CIO, the hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers who have a pressing need for effective trade union representation who are not in sympathy with left-wing policies of UPWA."

Immediate issue at the convention was how to meet the threat of the Keefe rider to federal agencies' appropriations bill. Both groups agreed in wholehearted opposition to the measure which would prevent the payment of salaries to members of unions whose officers have not signed the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. But BUC maintains that if the rider is passed the officers must sign to protect the rank-and-file members' jobs. President Flaxer would not agree to do so, limiting himself to the statement that "the union will see to it that your jobs will be protected."

Behind the dispute was the conviction of the BUC that the Flaxer administration is pro-Communist. The no formal endorsement was accorded Henry Wallace's presidential campaign, sympathy with it was expressed by the Flaxer majority forces. Similarly, the no resolution attacking the Marshall plan for European recovery was discussed, Flaxer was bitterly critical of President Truman's foreign policies in his convention speeches.

When the convention opened UPWA claimed 86,000 members. Only 23,000 of these are federal employes, the rest being state and city government workers. About half of the federal workers in UPWA are native workers in the Panama Canal Zone. Altho the anti-administration forces had only seven delegates out of the 400 at the convention they claim to represent close to 10,000 members. Several anti-administration locals are suspended by the international and were not represented on the floor.

BUC supporters assert that they have discussed their problems with "right wing" leaders in the CIO, and that they don't expect much difficulty in securing affiliation with any of several CIO unions.

Anti-administration forces are believed stronger among the federal employes division of UPWA than among its local government sections. At least one strong state government unit, in Michigan, however, has repudiated Flaxer's leadership.

The vast bulk of the delegates enthusiastically reelected Flaxer and other incumbent officers, while abolishing several vice-presidential posts. Budget problems were said to explain the reduction in posts.

In addition to all-out opposition to the Keefe rider the UPWA's program includes a $3000 minimum wage for government employes, and opposition to the Hatch Act which bars them from participating in politics.

Principal speaker at the convention was President Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers-CIO who accused CIO President Philip Murray and other CIO leaders of betraying the interests of labor by opposing the candidacy of Henry Wallace UPWA's Flaxer like Fitzgerald is a member of the Wallace Committee.

Fitzgerald also attacked CIO's support of the European recovery program. But he hastened to add that UE will stay in the CIO "and fight to keep it a progressive body."

He denied Murray's charge that the Communist Party set up the Wallace movement. "I had a lot to do with getting Henry Wallace to run for President, and I've never been to a Communist meeting in my life," Fitzgerald said.

NOTE TO EDITORS: You may want to use this as a box with either the previous story or the Fur Workers' story.

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UE Local Asks
Head To Quit

Springfield, Mass. (LPA) - While United Electrical Workers-CIO President Albert Fitzgerald in Atlantic City was asserting that he played a part in getting Henry Wallace to run for president, UE Local 202 demanded that he resign his union job.

The Springfield local said that Fitzgerald should either quit the Wallace movement which is "spreading chaos in the American labor movement" and advancing the interests of "an unfriendly foreign power" or resign the presidency of UE. In the local's judgment the Wallace party is "Communist controlled."

Lee Benoit, local business agent, said that the motion was adopted at a full membership meeting. Fitzgerald last week attacked CIO President Philip Murray, and reiterated his loyalty to the Wallace campaign at the conventions, in Atlantic City, of two "left wing" CIO unions, the Int'l Fur & Leather Workers, and the United Public Workers.

-LPA-

Typos' Election
Upholding Battle
Against T-H Law

Indianapolis (LPA) - Victory by a wide margin for President Woodruff Randolph and his slate was reported here this week at headquarters of the Int'l Typographical Union on the basis of incomplete, unofficial returns.

The election contest was one of the hottest ever waged in the union. Randolph's policies and methods in fighting the Taft-Hartley Act, including the strikes under his regime, constituted one of the big issues in the contest.

The ITU leader's foes, backed by the "Independent Party" in the union, strongly denounced Randolph's policies, and promised a regime of "peace, harmony and order," while Randolph's supporters, endorsed by the "Progressive Party," campaigned on the basis of a "vote of confidence" for the present policies.

Returns from a substantial number of locals showed Randolph to be rolling up a three-to-two majority over John R. Evans, Washington, in the race for the presidency. Evans is a vice president of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101 in the nation's capital.

Evans won out by a two-to-one margin in the Columbia local, but Randolph came through with smashing majorities in New York and Chicago. In the Windy City, where the printers have been on strike since last November, the vote for Randolph was 2,843 to 868.

Meanwhile, the IUT's battle with publishers and printing industry owners for maximum protection against the shackles of the Taft-Hartley Act were marked by these major developments:

1- Local 16 in Chicago rejected a "final" contract proposed by the city's newspaper publishers--which included a $9 weekly wage increase--on the ground that various provisions of the proposed agreement do "not conform with ITU laws."

2- A National Labor Relations Board trial examiner, Arthur Leff, finally completed hearings on the American Newspaper Publishers' Association's "unfair labor practice" charges against the union. The hearings--cut off from time to time by recesses--had dragged on for six months.

3- The "Big Six" local in New York framed a new contract proposal to the city's newspaper publishers to replace an earlier one which the international executive board of the union had rejected as conflicting with ITU laws. This time, the local asked for a $15-a-week wage increase, in lieu of a previous tentative agreement on $9; for jurisdiction over varitype machines and similar processes used to by-pass composing rooms, and for various other additional safeguards.

-LPA-

CIT Launches Inter-American Radio Show

Washington (LPA) - The Inter-American Confederation of Workers (CIT) last week launched a continent-wide radio program for the workers of South America. CIT, formed in Peru last January, is represented in this country by Secretary-Treasurer George Meany of the AFL and Bert Jewell of the Railway Labor Executives Ass'n as well as AFL's Latin American representative, Serafino Romualdi. The organization was vigorously opposed and is continually attacked by Fascists and Communists alike.

Opening the radio series, CIT President Bernardo Ibanez of Chile declared, "Our program of action includes the fight for planned social guarantees to protect the working classes thruout their lives, when they are sick, when they are injured, when they are in need, when they are unable to work, and when they die, because social guarantees are newly come to America and because in the majority of our nations where they already exist, they are imperfect and insufficient.

"Our program includes the commitment to fight for a technical, social and human solution for theproblem of the land and its exploitation. We want the millions of rural folk to benefit inour continent by civilization and culture, and for this reason we propose an agrarian reform which will permit the farmers to enjoy the benefits of technical progress in the cultivation of the land.

"Finally, we will fight to have the workers of America group together for the realization of a just, democratic and permanent peace for the peoples of the world.

"In general terms, these are the ideas which will guide the work of the Confederacion Inter-Americana de Trabajadores in its fight for social justice, social progress and the welfare of the people. On explaining them once more to all of our friends and companions, we invite them to fight with us in the realization of these high ideals."

The executive board of CIT holds its first meeting in San Francisco June 12 to map its plans for achieving some of the goals of the inter-American labor movement. Headquarters of the confederation are in Santiago, Chile.

-LPA-

UAW Wins Tractor Plant After Commies Pump For 'No Union'

Peoria, Ill. (LPA) - A UAW-CIO victory at the giant Caterpillar Tractor plant here ended one of the oddest union election campaigns on record. A weird twist of the NLRB representation election found the Communist-dominated Farm Equipment Workers-CIO whooping it up for a "no union" vote while the Caterpillar Company was spending thousands of dollars urging the workers to vote for a union, any union on the ballot.

More than 17,000 workers had been on strike at the plant since April 8, when FE called a walkout in an effort to force the company to negotiate a new contract and a wage increase. At that point, an NLRB election was called with three unions competing on the ballot: Int'l Association of Machinists-unaffiliated, United Auto Workers-AFL and United Auto Workers-CIO. FE, ruled off the ballot for its failure to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act, campaigned openly for "no union."

The election was held May 12 and UAW-AFL came out with the most votes but without a majority. FE called off its strike, the plant was reopened, and a run-off election was ordered. Results of the runoff: UAW-CIO 7702, UAW-AFL 5644. Said Caterpillar president Louis B. Neumiller, "We look forward to a new era of labor-management relationship."

Roy Reuther heads the bargaining committee which immediately began negotiations to bring Caterpillar wages up to those in the rest of the industry. FE, badly burned, has called off its plans for strikes in 12 International Harvester plants in Illinois, Kentucky, New York and Indiana.

-LPA-

NOTE TO EDITORS: First seven paragraphs repeat from Midweek Issue, May 18

'Get Out Of Way'
Wallace Told By
Hatters' Union

New York (LPA) - To match up the political strength of organized labor with the economic strength of the unions will require more vigorous measures than are now being taken, President Max Zaritsky advised the national convention here this week of the Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers Int'l Union-AFL.

While calling for independent labor political action, along the lines of New York's Liberal Party, Zaritsky severely criticized presidential aspirant Henry Wallace's claim to speak for labor. "Wallace talks labor and acts Communist," Zaritsky told the delegates. "Unless he withdraws from his present adventure, labor and liberals will condemn him as an agent of betrayal and disruption of their cause."

Mayors of New York and Newark, N.J., greeted the delegates. Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York was introduced by Zaritsky as a man "destined to serve the people beyond the boundaries of New York." A similar enthusiastic reception greeted New York's mayor at the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-CIO in Atlantic City last week.

Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark, himself an AFL building trades official, told delegates that residents of his state "bow their heads in shame" because of their spokesman in Congress, Fred Hartley.

Zaritsky, reporting on conditions in the millinery industry, pointed out to delegates that the high cost of living had gravely affected sales of hats. The rising prices have thus hurt the union members two ways--by reducing the purchasing power of their wages, and by cutting the volume of work.

World trade policies directly affect the headwear industry, the union head reported. Since the war's end, he said, there has been a revival of imports of hats and hat materials, which will become even stronger when the new trade agreements are approved by Congress. Conceding that such trade is very necessary to world economic stability, Zaritsky nevertheless proposed several safeguards.

Denial of trade treaty benefits to countries behind the Iron Curtain, where forced labor is used, is proposed by the union. The union has already protested with the State Dep't imports from Czechoslovakia on this ground.

Delegates to the convention heard a lengthy discussion of the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill Liberal Party Chairman Adolph A. Berle, and the union's counsel, Louis Waldman. Emphasizing that he spoke as an individual, Berle said: "I feel the bill is not ripe yet and needs some serious improvements, but I will be everlastingly damned if I don't see why we shouldn't have a pure food and drug bill for politics as well as we do for food. What goes into people's heads is just as important as what goes into their stomachs."

The two speakers indicated these changes which they'd like to see incorporated in the Mundt-Nixon bill: opportunity for those accused of being Communists to have an impartial hearing before a board; a statute of limitations protecting persons who leave the CP; a clearer definition of Communism in terms of "subservience to a foreign political group and not ideology."

AFL President William Green called for political action to defeat the supporters of the Taft-Hartley law, which already, he maintained, is "breaking apart at the seams." He urged the government to lift the embargo on arms to the new Jewish state of Israel.

-LPA-

'Stalin Endorses Wallace'--Hoffmann

Philadelphia (LPA) - The exchange of correspondence between Russian Premier Stalin and third party candidate Henry Wallace brought comment last week from President Sal B. Hoffmann of the Upholsterers Int'l Union-AFL. "The courtship in the newspapers between Joe and Henry has reached a whirlwind finish with Wallace clasped to the bosom of the man who rules the greatest slave state in the history of the world," Hoffmann remarked. He compared a Wallace administration dealing with Stalin with the situation that would prevail if the unions dropped their anti-Taft-Hartley campaign, but secured the right to name management's representatives at the bargaining table.

-LPA-

Two-Months Meat Strike Is Over

Chicago (LPA) - After two months of bitter industrial warfare the strike of 100,000 members of the United Packinghouse Workers-CIO is over. Workers are returning to their jobs in plants of all the "big four" and several score of independent packinghouses except those of Wilson & Co.

Settlement was finally agreed to on the basis of a 9¢ an hour pay boost, retroactive to March 16, when the strike began, retention of all seniority rights by strikers, and arbitration on the rehiring of strikers accused of unlawful action during the heated dispute.

Wilson & Co. refused to agree to the third stipulation, reserving to itself the right to judge the cases of all it thinks fought too hard, and the strike against Wilson continues.

The companies offered 9¢ prior to the outbreak of the strike and have uniformly refused to bargain in good faith on the basis of the union's brief explaining its 29¢ an hour demand. A Presidential fact finding board set up when the strike began conceded the reasonableness of the union's case, but even this did not budge the profit-swollen packing industry in its determination to hold wage raises to a minimum.

Repeated efforts by the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service to reach a settlement broke down on the basis of corporation resistance.

From the start the "big four" and their satellites were resolved to use the strike to weaken if not break the union. Strike breakers were recruited. No genuine bargaining was forthcoming. Friendly local magistrates were successfully appealed to for anti-picketing injunctions.

Thruout the country local government officials allied themselves with the packers against UPW. Literally scores of injunctions were issued. In Kansas City police beat up 110 strikers, and for weeks the US Justice Dep't ignored CIO President Philip Murray's demand for an investigation.

But as the strike was ending a subcommittee of the House Labor Committee, headed by the insanely anti-union Rep. Clare Hoffman (R.,Mich.) arrived in Chicago to investigate strike violence. The subcommittee was created in the midst of the public outcry against the Kansas City police brutality. But by the time Hoffman got moving he had turned it into an investigation of picket line incidents.

In two states--Iowa and Minnesota--Nat'l Guard units, complete with tanks and local brasshats were called out against the packinghouse workers. It is the first case of national guard interference since before World War II.

The justice of the strikers' case was attested to by both Catholic and Protestant religious leaders. But the combined weight of meat combine and subservient local authorities was too much for the strikers whose families have to eat.

By holding their lines firm, however, they beat the company's attempt to destroy their union.

-LPA-

European Transportation Recovery Planned By ITF

London (LPA) - The March meeting in London of all trade unions anxious to assist in the success of the European recovery program was followed last month by a special conference of the Int'l Transportworkers Federation. Held in Luxemburg, its purpose was to secure a maximum of cooperation among seamen, railway workers and longshoremen in their efforts to make the Marshall plan work.

Over 80 democratic unions of transportworkers are affiliated with the ITF. Bert Jewell, the international representative of the Railway Labor Executives Ass'n. is the American member of ITF's board.

The transportworkers spokesmen unanimously recorded their gratitude for "the openhandedness of the American government which has offered economic help on a hitherto unheard of scale." But the success of the program depends primarily upon two things, the trade unionists pointed out: "the support given to it by the workers in the participating countries," and "a large measure of economic integration of Europe."

(MORE)

In their own field, the transport workers are not satisfied with progress towards inter-European cooperation. "Since the end of the war no significant progress has been made in the organization of European transport to further the economic integration of Europe."

Better connections with neglected areas, standardization of equipment, a repair program, planned development of power facilities used in transportation, and voluntary movement of labor to overcome shortages of skilled men are necessary, the ITF pointed out. It called upon its constituent unions to "press strongly for a democratically constituted European Transport Authority."

The ITF leaders voiced their determination to do all in their power to aid democratic forces in the labor movement throughout the world, noting ITF's failure to work out an understanding with the World Federation of Trade Unions whereby ITF might affiliate with WFTU without losing its autonomy. Material aid was pledged to new non-Communist CGT-FO in France.

Bert Jewell reported on the formation of the Confederation of Inter-American Trade Unions (CIT), and the ITF voted to send Trifon Gomez, a member of its executive committee and leader of the outlawed Spanish trade unions, to Latin America to secure participation by its transport unions in ITF.

Another resolution called upon the British and American authorities in Germany to cease diverting traffic in andout of their zones from its traditional routes thru Dutch and Belgian ports.

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: For other phone wages information, see story on fact-finders in AUTW dispute, Unions & Govt. section

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Phone Unions Okay Three-Year Contract

Washington (LPA) - Four more divisions of Communications Workers of America-unaffiliated last week approved contracts providing for fringe improvements, running for three years, with two possible reopenings for wages. No immediate across-the-board wage increases were won from the Bell system companies.

Following rapidly on the settlement won by traffic employes in the District of Columbia, came similar contracts in Virginia for all departments, Wisconsin for traffic and plant workers, for Illinois traffic workers. In Illinois, 2300 of the 11,000 operators won raises ranging from $1 to $5 thru reclassification of their present jobs.

In Washington, the 3000 traffic workers approved a contract which provides for reopening of the wage provisions at any time during the next 12 months by either company or union, and cancellation at the end of the first year if no agreement is reached on wages. If agreement is reached, the contract will continue in force, but may be reopened on wages again at the end of another 12 months.

-LPA

Hosiery Union Still Aids PAC

New York (LPA) - More than 200 delegates to the 36th annual convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers were urged by Vice President Alfred Hoffman to cooperate with the CIO Political Action Committee.

"The most drastic wave of reaction against unionism" in US history is predicted by Hoffman in the year ahead, and the hosiery unionists were urged to combat this on the political front.

The AFHW, formerly a part of the Textile Workers Union of America, was dropped by the parent union earlier this month, as a result of a dispute over per capita payments.

-LPA-

Economists Say Steel Capacity Must Increase

Washington (LPA) - CIO President Philip Murray's contention that our steel producing capacity must be expanded sharply received support from a group of the nation's leading economists last week. A report issued by Our Economy, Inc., on whose board are Robert R. Nathan, Leon Henderson, Isador Lubin, Lauchlin Currie and Randolph Paul, explains that increased ingot production is needed not only to meet defense and foreign policy requirements, but also to insure full employment and a rising standard of living when these programs are completed.

Nearly a year ago, the report recalls, United Auto Workers-CIO President Walter Reuther pointed out that from six to seven million cars and trucks can be marketed annually, but because of the shortage of steel only five million are being produced. Shortages in oil, housing, railroad equipment, as well as automobiles can be traced to the lack of sufficient steel.

All in all, steel using industries could produce 15% more if there was enough basic steel. The higher rate of productivity that would result from ample stocks of steel, and more regular employment for the industry's labor force, would mean that more production of durable goods wouldn't require shifting substantial numbers of workers into them from other industries.

Strikes are not, despite the claims of some industrialists, responsible for the steel shortage. Since the end of the war average peace-time use of existing capacity has been maintained, the report points out.

Nor should we be impressed by the industry's claim that the shortage is a temporary one. This will prove true only if there is a depression. Per capita consumption of steel has steadily increased since 1900, when it was 300 pounds per American. By 1941 the rate was 1200 per person, and the demand in 1947 was for 1300, but production fell about 130 short of meeting that need.

"Big steel" says that in 1960 we'll only need 62,000,000 tons of steel per year. Presuming a population of 162,000,000 then, the per capita average consumption will have declined to the 1929 level.

The Commerce Dep't has estimated that in 1950 we'll need 98,000,000 tons, and the former New Deal economists think that by 1960 our requirements will be almost double "big steel's" figure. They point out that if "big steel" is right on the question of how much of its product we'll be using there will be about 14,000,000 people unemployed in 1960.

But, as the report comments, "It seems unreasonable to assume that we are nearing the point where we will have satisfied the demand for an increasing total of consumer durable goods. Many families in America have never had a car, a telephone, a washing machine, modern sanitary facilities, or decent housing. We have a long way to go before we can consider production only for replacement purposes.

"Certainly the next ten years of steel demand will be high if we want to maintain full employment and gradually increase and extend the standard of living for our citizens."

The steel industry is fearful of a repetition of the 1929 depression, when production averaged 40% of capacity, and sometimes only 20%. It has adopted "a philosophy of controlled scarcity," and during the war and since has refused to expand basic production facilities. So the government had to spend a billion dollars to "induce" the industry to expand production 10,000,000 tons in the war years.

One industry claim that must be conceded is that the cost of expanding capacity is high. But steel profits have been high too, and new facilities may be more efficient than present equipment, and so result in a higher profit rate once in operation.

About 1,000,000 tons of steel are required to increase capacity 5,000,000 tons. But with no end of the shortage in sight among both civilian and informed government officials the feeling is growing that the long-run benefits of expansion more than justify the diversion of some steel to plant construction now.

Governmental action--either thru providing incentives to the reluctant industry or direct investment by the government--are required to get the steel we need, the report concludes. "Our capacity to produce steel will not be increased sufficiently to meet our needs within the next few years if the expansion of facilities is left to the decision of the steel companies."

Fur Workers For Wallace

Atlantic City (LPA) - The Int'l Fur & Leather Workers-CIO last week declared itself firmly in the Wallace for President camp. Only a handful of delegates to the convention of the traditionally left-wing controlled union objected to the departure from national CIO policy.

Its president, Ben Gold, and vice-president, Irving Potash, are both members of the Communist Party National Committee. Both are, of course, enthusiastic supporters of Henry Wallace this year.

Gold told delegates that he did not believe reports that CIO President Philip Murray plans to drive the "left wing" unions out of the CIO. For the time being, at least, he quelled rumors that the Communist-led unions intend to bolt.

Albert Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers-CIO, largest of the left-wing unions, who denies any personal connection with the CP, denounced CIO President Philip Murray, United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, and Textile Workers President Emil Rieve for their support of the Marshall plan for European recovery and their refusal to endorse the Wallace campaign.

Based originally on the luxury fur industry in Manhattan, where Gold took the lead in rebuilding a badly beaten union in the 1930's, the Fur Workers now have 100,000 members including four locals of animal trappers in Louisiana, and a solid bargaining position in the industry.

UNIONS and GOVERNMENT
LPA
LABOR & ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATES

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Week ending May 22, 1948

Rail Talks Suspended
Industry Refuses Good
Faith Bargaining Offers

Washington (LPA) - As their lawyers prepared to fight a long-term anti-strike injunction, last week the chiefs of three embattled railway unions terminated another round in their fight to make rail management bargain in good faith.

Following the nominal seizure of the railroads by the Army, a federal court issued a temporary anti-strike order against the Engineers', the Firemen's and the Switchmen's Unions. The brotherhoods immediately stated that they would obey the court order, altho they doubt its legality.

Then they settled down to another long drawn out series of meetings with railroad managers.

But again the industry refused to bargain in good faith. Concession after concession was offered by the union leaders--combinations of downward revisions of demands. Not a single counter offer was forthcoming from the employers.

Finally their reply was: "You know the emergency board report; take it or leave it."

This is the report that the unions rejected before issuing their strike notices. As the three presidents, Alvanley Johnston of the Engineers, David Robertson of the Firemen, and A. J. Glover of the Switchmen, remarked in their press conference after the phoney negotiations were over: "That is not bargaining, and it is obvious that at no time during the four days did management have any intention of bargaining either in spirit or in fact."

This week Judge T. Alan Goldsborough, the man the miners know so well, will hear the unions and the government contest the legality of the government's request for a long-term injunction against a rail strike.

It is the hope of this injunction, the rail labor chiefs believe, that stiffens management in its refusal to bargain. They charge that the employers "are determined that the voluntary spirit of the Railway Labor Act shall be converted into compulsion."

Management's recalcitrance has not been limited to the wage issue. It has stood just as firm against union demands for changes in working rules.

The emergency board report called for a 15½¢ wage increase, and denied most of the working rules changes the unions have asked for.

These rules have a dull, technical sound to the average citizen. But to railway workers they mean the difference between equal pay for men doing similar work, and inequitable differences between groups of employes. Sometimes they mean the difference between an engineman's sleeping in a decent bed, or working a schedule which forces him to spend his sleeping hours in a freight engine.

It was men who don't understand these rules who wrote the government report the union leaders point out.

-LPA-

State Anti-Labor
Laws Win At NLRB

Washington (LPA) - The NLRB will not conduct union shop elections in any of the 13 states which prohibit union security contracts, the board decided last week. In a three to two decision the board interpreted Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law as a barrier to its holding union shop polls in those states, mostly in the south, even when employers are agreeable to the ballot's being conducted.

Section 14b of the 1947 union-baiting law says: "Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any state or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law."

Board members Gray, Murdock, and Reynolds think that this constitutes a barrier against the board's conducting elections to determine the attitude of workers in interstate commerce towards the union shop. Chairman Herzog and member Houston point out that their position amounts to saying that Congress delegated its power to the individual states making a state offense also a federal offense.

A trick point in the case was the fact that involved was a food store chain--Giant Food Shopping Centers--operating stores in Virginia where there is a local law against the closed shop and in Washington D. C. where union security contracts are permitted. The Washington and Virginia shops have constituted a single bargaining unit.

The majority ruled that the unit for general collective bargaining representation and for union security contracts need not be identical. So, the Retail Clerks-AFL will have to work out two contracts, where one has done the job before.

In another decision handed down this week the board refused to conduct collective bargaining representative elections for the Retail Clerks and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen-AFL in a 13-store chain in Texas. It is said that the company is not in interstate commerce.

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Repeat from Midweek Issue, May 18
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Anti-Union Speeches
Sanctioned By NLRB

Washington (LPA) - Reversing a decision of the Wagner Act days, the NLRB last week ruled that it is not an unfair labor practice for an employer to compel workers to listen to anti-union harangues on the eve of a collective bargaining agent election.

The section of the Taft-Hartley law guaranteeing "free speech" to employers was cited by the board as its reason for reversing the previous ban on compulsory attendance at anti-union "pep talks."

The Babcock and Wilcox Co. of Augusta, Ga., "invited" all its employes to listen to the opinions of plant superintendent Carl Claus shortly before the holding of an NLRB vote. Endeavoring to organize the plant was the United Stone & Allied Products Workers-CIO.

In his first speech to the workers, Claus, while attacking the union, asserted that the workers were perfectly free to vote for it and that the company would not hold pro-union votes against them. But his later addresses omitted these reassurances.

A trial examiner ruled that forcing the employes to listed to these speeches on the eve of the election, plus less formal efforts of other supervisors to discourage the workers from voting union constituted coercion.

But citing the Taft-Hartley provision, and the remarks on employers' free speech in Congress when the 1947 anti-union law was being debated, the board overruled him.

-LPA-

NOTE TO EDITORS: First eight paragraphs are repeated from Midweek Issue, May 18.

Taft-Hartley Test
On Way To Courts

Washington (LPA) - The NLRB last week rejected the United Steelworkers-CIO's challenge of the constitutionality of the non-Communist affidavit section of the Taft-Hartley law. The road for a clear-cut test of the issue in the Federal courts is now open.

Next round will be fought in the federal circuit court in Chicago.

The case is based upon an April NLRB decision in which the board instructed the Inland Steel Co. to bargain with the union on pension programs--conditional upon USA's filing the Communist disclaimers.

CIO General Counsel Arthur Goldberg asked the board to make its order unconditional. USA has "complied with all those provisions of the act which are not illegal or unconstitutional," the union's brief said.

USA told the board that CIO President Philip Murray and other steelworkers' officers had not filed the non-Communist oaths "for the sole reason that the provisions of Section 9h are illegal, unconstitutional and void." They interfere with unions' exercising the basic freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, the Steelworkers maintain.

Financial data also required by the Taft-Hartley law from unions using the NLRB has already been submitted by the Steelworkers' international union and the locals of Inland Steel employes. So the test is confined to the non-Communist affidavit section.

Last week's convention of the USA in Boston authorized the union's executive board to decide whether or not to file the affidavits. The 41-man committee decided to press the test case on the Taft-Hartley section which had already been initiated by Goldberg.

No question of Communist tendencies among the Steelworkers' representatives is involved. The convention voted overwhelmingly to make it impossible for a Communist to obtain union office. USA's action is based upon its firm conviction that this part of the 1947 labor-baiting act is unconstitutional.

Meanwhile, the Nat'l Maritime Union-CIO, whose case against the non-Communist section of T-H was rejected by a special three-man federal court, has appealed to the US Supreme Court.

Last week NMU asked the highest court to declare the section unconstitutional, and to issue an injunction preventing the NLRB from conducting an election in the shipping industry without the NMU on the ballot. The sailor's union is also questioning the validity of the requirement that unions file financial data.

-LPA-

Unions Don't Have
To Pay Non-Strikers

Washington (LPA) - An NLRB trial examiner said this week that unions don't have to pay non-strikers for wages lost because pickets kept them away from their jobs.

General Counsel Robert Denham's office had said that workers kept off the job against their wishes by mass picketing, or threats by pickets, should be reimbursed by the union. It is similar he said to the case of the boss' having to pay back wages to a man fired illegally.

But examiner William F. Scharnikow pointed out that while a worker discharged for union activity has no way to get his wages back without legal assistance non-strikers kept out of a plant by pickets "may immediately secure entrance to the plant with protection from the police."

The case arose out of a strike against a Cumberland, Md., plant by the United Furniture Workers-CIO.

(MORE)

Sharnikow found, however, that the strikers, with knowledge of their local and the UFW, threatened non-strikers, and forcibly prevented them from crossing the picket line. He said that the union must be held responsible for this, and ordered it to "cease and desist."

-LPA-

Employers Can't
Force NLRB Votes

Washington (LPA) - The NLRB ruled in several cases last week that if a union does not claim to represent workers in a particular plant the employer cannot force the calling of a collective bargaining election.

Key case was the one brought by the Ny-Lint Tool & Manufacturing Co. in an attempt to prove that the Int'l Association of Machinists doesn't represent all its employes. IAM told the board that it doesn't claim the right to be exclusive bargaining agent in the Ny-Lint plant. Therefore NLRB ruled that no election is necessary.

Board member Reynolds dissented. He recognized that the ruling destroys one of the hopes of the Taft-Hartleyites--that by giving employers as well as unions the right to petition for elections the unions might have to submit to a ballot at an unfavorable time. Under the law the union is not then allowed to call for another vote for a year.

-LPA-

Unions Pull Out Of
Citizenship Meeting
Featuring Richberg

Washington (LPA) - The pious words about good citizenship uttered by speaker after speaker at the third Nat'l Conference on Citizenship, held here last week, were twice broken by sharp dissents by spokesmen for organized labor.

Although AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray were both on one of the three "front" committees listed in the Conference program, neither was adequately consulted on plans for the sessions, union officials say.

CIO delegates pulled out before sessions began, because of the "unrepresentative and prejudiced composition of the program." They said it was "totally lacking in representation from labor and other democratic groups whose record in the fight for progressive social legislation is second to none."

The choice of Donald Richberg, anti-labor lawyer who also has vigorously opposed FEPC legislation, as final speaker was attacked both by the CIO and the AFL.

AFL Legislative Representative Lewis Hines found Richberg's speech too much to stomach. He demanded the floor after the session, and the 700 delegates heard him charge that "Mr. Richberg collaborates with labor's enemies on the Hill, and I object to his having this opportunity to circulate propaganda against organized labor."

Richberg had told the Conference referring to so-called union monopolies, that "The abuses of this labor power by many labor leaders in recent years, the recklessness with which the entire public interest has been sacrificed, even in time of war, to advance the private interests of well-organized minorities, have made it plain that the dominance of the general welfare must be re-established by law."

Only last week, Richberg testified in favor of stricter curbs on unions before the House Labor Committee.

The conference was sponsored jointly by the Justice Dep't and the Nat'l Education Association.

-LPA-

Fact Finders Named
By Truman To Report
On Long Lines Fight

Washington (LPA) - The three members of the fact-finding board appointed by President Truman in the dispute between a CIO union and the long lines department of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. are working this week and next, against the June 8 deadline set for their report by the White House.

The fact-finders, named under the Taft-Hartley law, are Sumner Slichter, Harvard economics professor, Aaron Horvitz, New York labor relations expert, and Charles A. Horsky, Washington attorney.

The American Union of Telephone Workers-CIO greeted the naming of fact-finders as an "opportunity to air the facts of the case and to bring the telephone workers' story to the public's attention."

President John J. Moran said, "An impartial investigation will prove our contention that the giant telephone monopoly has been remiss in its obligations to the workers, that it has refused to bargain fairly and that the wages of the workers are lagging behind those of workers in other industries."

Spokesmen for AT&T were not so enthusiastic about Truman's move to avert a threatened strike of about 25,000 long lines workers covered by AUTW negotiations. They expressed surprise that Truman had acted without consulting the company. Negotiations have been deadlocked since May 8 when the last contract expired.

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: First five paragraphs are repeated from Midweek Issue, May 18

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AFL Says CIO Should
Quit WFTU To Assist
ERP Administration

Milwaukee (LPA) - AFL President William Green last week told Paul Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administrator, that the AFL would not go along with Joint AFL-CIO representation in the Marshall plan agency so long as CIO continues a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Hoffman is reported to have asked the AFL executive council to give him a list of names from which he might pick an AFL spokesman to serve as labor adviser in the Washington headquarters of ECA. A CIO man was to get the corresponding job on roving ambassador Averill Harriman's Paris staff.

The AFL position is that the strong Communist anti-Marshall plan influences within WFTU make it "inconsistent and contradictory" to give CIO the sort of representation Hoffman proposes so long as CIO is affiliated with WFTU. Green said that the AFL did not object to cooperation with CIO as such, and said that he thought CIO's support of the Marshall plan should prompt it to quit the international body which includes the Russian and other Communist-dominated unions.

The WFTU, the AFL believes, "is definitely and uncompromisingly opposed to the Marshall plan." Continued AFL support of the program was pledged to Hoffman.

To date no announcement has been made of labor representatives either on the public advisory board which will review the progress of the European recovery program, or on the actual staff of the agency.

The European office of the AFL in Brussels last week released a statement declaring that the WFTU "can only serve as an instrument for undermining democracy, while conveniently silencing any voice of protest against Soviet tyranny."

And radio Moscow, true to form, accused the leaders of the AFL of promoting "gangsterism and savage terror" in an effort to be "more reactionary than the capitalists."

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Repeat from Midweek Issue, May 18
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Unions Hail Jewish State

New York (LPA) - Organized labor last week hailed the establishment of the new state of Israel and demanded the lifting of the arms embargo to permit the Jewish militia to defend itself in battle with Arab invaders.

At a rally sponsored by the Nat'l Committee for Labor Palestine, Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-CIO, said that several units of the union were prepared to purchase arms for the Jewish militia if such action is legalized.

William Collins of the N. Y. Federation of Labor read a telegram from AFL President William Green which said that the United Nations is under obligation to support the partition of Palestine to which it had agreed.

"I strongly urge that a full measure of support be extended to the Jewish people in Palestine. They should be supplied with arms and fighting equipment in full measure," Green's message said.

CIO Organization Director Allan Haywood delivered President Philip Murray's declaration that "the Jewish state will offer a home to the homeless--to the most persecuted group of the weary men and women, salvaged from the Hitler extermination camps."

The meeting unanimously praised the role of Histadrut, the Jewish labor federation, in creating the Palestinian community. It congratulated President Truman on his prompt recognition of Israel, and called for a lifting of the embargo on arms shipments to the new state.

Over the signature of its chairman, Adolph Held, and its treasurer, David Dubinsky, president of the Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union-AFL, the Jewish Labor Committee congratulated the veteran Zionist leader, Dr. Chaim Weizmann on his election as president of Israel. "No man living has contributed so much towards its creation as you," they told the universally respected Jewish statesman.

-LPA-

Steel Trust Worried By Court Decision

Washington (LPA) - Steel company moguls and their high-priced lawyers are feeling more than a little uneasy this week. The US Court of Appeals in Chicago has just ruled for the Federal Trade Commission against the Rigid Steel Conduit Ass'n on a basing point case, a case very similar to the one that FTC is preparing against the big steel companies and their front, the American Iron and Steel Institute.

The circuit court said that the practice of a number of companies using the same basing-point price system constitutes an "unfair method of competition" even if full-fledged conspiracy cannot be proved. It followed the recent Supreme Court decision against the cement trust that said FTC has the power to prohibit such practices even when the conduct of the individual companies fall short of clear violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

"Each conduit seller knows that each of the other sellers is using the basing point formula," the court said. "Each knows that by using it he will be able to quote identical delivered prices and thus present a condition of matched prices under which purchasers are isolated and deprived of choice among sellers so far as price advantage is concerned."

That the operation of the association is a "conspiracy" the court didn't really doubt, but it said: "Whether there was conspiracy or not, in determining if such a finding is supported, it is not necessary that there be direct proof of an agreement. Such an agreement may be shown by circumstantial evidence.

"The record clearly establishes the fact that conduit manufacturers controlling 93% of the industry use a system under which they quote only delivered prices which are determined in accordance with a formula consisting of a base price at Pittsburgh or Chicago plus rail freight; purchasers everywhere were unable to find price advantages anywhere."

(MORE)

Among the big companies that were co-defendants with the association are: General Electric, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and Republic Steel.

Steel barons know that the practices condemned in this case are modelled upon "big steel's" traditional "Pittsburgh basing-point" system for all primary steel products.

-LPA-

Living Costs Soar To New Alltime High

Washington (LPA) - There's little that's cheering in the government reports on the cost of living. The consumers' price index hit an all-time high on April 15, and more recent wholesale indexes show prices still inching upward. And the Federal Reserve Board predicts higher prices ahead.

With increased spending for the military, a federal deficit, and a larger amount of bank loans, the Federal Reserve Board asserts that "it would be difficult to avoid further increases in prices."

As for food, all of these factors will also press prices higher, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics predicts for the months ahead.

On the cost-of-living front, between mid-March and mid-April, retail prices of goods purchased by moderate-income families in large cities advanced 1.4% on the average, and more than offset the price decline that took place from January to March. The Bureau of Labor Statistics found that retail food prices rose 2.8% in the one month alone, to a point 207.9% of the pre-war (1935-1939) average. Fresh fruits and vegetables went up 6.6%; meats rose 5.2% and dairy products rose 2.3%.

The "miscellaneous" list--newspapers, carfare, hospital and doctors' fees, motor oil, movies, telephones--went up 1.1% in the month.

-LPA-

AFL Hits Lilienthal For Refusal To Act As Strike Looms At Atomic Plant

Washington (LPA) - In the face of a June 7 strike date, there is a deadlock between the Carbide & Carbon Chemical Corp, and the Atomic Trades & Labor Council-AFL over a contract at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. A Presidential fact-finding board reported last week that no progress had been made during a 60 day "cooling off period."

The AFL unions involved charge that the Atomic Energy Commission has full power to avert a crisis at the Laboratory but has failed to take action. AEC head David E. Lilienthal takes the position that Carbide Corp. has full power to handle its own labor disputes.

The situation has shaped up this way:

On March 1, Carbide & Carbon took over the management of the Oak Ridge laboratory from Monsanto Chemical Co. When it came to signing a contract, Carbide wanted to lower the standards under which 800 production workers and 200 research peopoe had been working.

When bargaining had failed completely, the Atomic Trades & Labor Council announced that they would strike, if necessary, to prevent the lowering of working conditions at the laboratory.

At that point, President Truman, for the first time, used his powers under the Taft-Hartley Act to set up a fact-finding board to investigate the situation. The board reported that a strike was pending that endangered the national safety, so a Federal Court issued an injunction preventing the union from striking.

The injunction has been in force for sixty days now, during which time the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service has attempted to settle the dispute but without success.

The next step under Taft-Hartley is for the NLRB to hold a vote asking the employes of the laboratory whether they are willing to accept Carbide's offer. If they are not willing to accept the offer they will be free to strike on June 7.

(MORE)

The AFL unions, while trying to negotiate, also asked the AEC to set up a uniform program of labor conditions for the atomic plants. Lilienthal has refused, saying that contractors must make their own decisions in operating atomic plants.

Kenneth Scott, representing the Atomic Trades & Labor Council, said that he was amazed at Lilienthal's statement to the fact-finding board. "In effect," said Scott, "he backed the company in its effort to blackjack the 900 workers into accepting conditions worse than they have now. Here was the government, instead of exercising authority over its own plants, giving 'carte blanche' to the private contractors."

"Our members are aroused," he added, "and I know they won't accept any destructions of the gains they have made. They don't want to strike, but unless a solution is worked out they may have no alternative."

-LPA-

CAPTION COPY
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WHAT'S TO LAUGH? Gerard, of the Henry Morgan radio show would probably ask that of Sen. Robert Taft (R.,O.) who was with Morgan (right) at the National Celebrities Golf Tournament. Maybe Henry was trying to influence the Senator with a repeat of the speech he gave the night before at the Young Democrats Dinner on "10 Reasons Why I Wouldn't Be President."

-LPA-

From a WASHINGTON WINDOW
By MARION H. HEDGES

Labor Press Associates
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Congress' Assumed Role

by M. H. Hedges
LPA Columnist

No student of political science, or useful citizen, can watch the present Congress, for long, without being aware that Congress has cut out a new role of power for itself. This might be described as assumption of executive and police power.

Our American Constitution is clear upon two points: (1) the division of functions as between legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government, and (2) the series of checks and balances set up as between these branches of the government.

The Congress, predominantly Republican, has seen an opportunity to weaken the President's position by taking over power usually accorded the Chief Executive. Here are some of the encroachments made by the Congress.

(1) Has invaded the administration of the Federal Security Agency and the Labor Dep't by cutting appropriations to a level almost unvelievable, and forcing administrative policies out of keeping with overall policy.

(2) Has undertaken to direct the TVA through a Congressional committee.

(3) Has appointed "watchdog" committees to see that administration of the Taft-Hartley measure is to its liking.

(4) Has intimidated government workers and private citizens by snooping campaigns under the guise of un-American activities.

(5) Has worked out cordial arrangements with big business corporation lobbyists.

This makes a difficult problem for the American voter.

The American Constitution establishes the Congress as a body of representatives of the American people. The Congress is the very vitals of democracy. It must be kept strong, healthy, and responsive to the people's will. An attack upon the present Congress may be made to look like an attack on representative government. But if the representative body has fallen into the hands of specialized interests, it must be brought back to its primal function of representing the will of the people.

When we say that Congress now is usurping the functions of the executive, we must not forget that not very long ago the Congress was crying that the Executive branch of the government was replacing Congress.

The Congress, too, has strong statesmanlike men in it on both sides of the aisle. Senator Aiken, Senator Morse, even Senator Vandenberg are men of excellent timber that put their country above narrow party interest.

Senator Thomas, Senator Cooper, and Senator Sparkman are men of sound judgement and public spirit. But in the main, the Congress is in the hands of narrow men, who seem to consult self-interest above public interest.

The problem of labor is where to put its votes to do the most good. The changing of five faces in the Senate will gove the Senate an entirely new complexion, and new direction. One hundred new fades in the House will make the Congress a strong, representative body.

The Congress can be made to play a new vitalizing role in government, but it it can not do that if it is allowed to become an extra-Constitutional body trying to make policy, and to rule at the same time.

-LPA-

WASHINGTON LABOR REPORT
by Bradford V. Carter LPA

LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATES
A News Service from Washington for Trade Union Papers
1706 G Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

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$10,000-A Year Men Fight 75¢ Wage Floor

by Bradford V. Carter
LPA Columnist

During a dull moment in the Senate Labor Subcommittee hearings on the wages and hours law, the two Senators on the podium sat unobtrusively doodling on the impressive-looking prints of no-doubt important laws. Most of the men and women at the press table were idly making squares and circles and various pieces of widgets that you make out of cigarette-package aluminum foil.

But one of the reporters was jotting down figures in a really earnest fashion. The witness was still droning on about the dangers of paying 40¢ an hour, and overtime after 40 hours, in the ice industry. So, we turned to the enterprising reporter and asked, "What are you trying to prove?"

"You know how much this fellow gets paid for this?" he wrote on his yellow copy paper. "For a 60-hour week, he's getting $3.20 an hour. If he's not that ambitious, for a 40-hour week, he's getting $4.80 an hour."

William T. Jobe, counsel for the Nat'l Association of Ice Industries, gets a salary of $10,000 a year. He is only one of 25 or 30 industry lobbyists who carefully follow developments on the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Another high-priced lobbyist who's fighting against a 75¢-an-hour minimum wage is Tyre Taylor, who speaks for the southern cotton processing and manufacturing interests in Congress. Taylor soberly told Sen. Ball and the Senate subcommittee that many southern industrial plants would have to close up if a 75¢ minimum wage was adopted.

This spokesman for the penniless southern manufacturers earns the paltry sum of $15,450 a year for representing the Southern Industrial Council, and another $10,000 a year for lobbying against oleo taxes for the Nat'l Association of Retail Grocers. That, counting 60 hours a week, 52 weeks a year of exhausting work (overtime is the work in the Statler and Mayflower cocktail lounges) comes to about $8 an hour.

There are others. There's Joseph King, counsel of the Nat'l Retail Lumber Dealers Association, who makes $9000 a year plus expenses. There are the lobbyists for the American Bakers Ass'n, the Nat'l Federation of American Shipping Inc. (spending $45,000 this year on legislation), the American Retail Coal Ass'n and the American Mining Congress. The retail lumber dealers, the southern pine industry operators--who still in many cases pay 25¢ and 30¢ an hour where they can get away with it--and the national lumber manufacturers, all have their faithful retainers who work hard to kill any improvement of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

There's no doubt that the industry lobbyists have earned their money in this session of Congress. There is no sign that any changes will be made in the Fair Labor Standards Act, either to increase the present absurd minimum wage of 40¢ an hour, or to extend coverage to many industries now immune from the requirements of the law.

Cynical reporters, who perforce follow the operations of the lobbyists on Capitol Hill--though not into the more expensive haunts at the Statler and the old-time hostelries--don't give the credit to the industry spokesmen alone. In this 80th Congress, the newsmen find, Congressmen come cheap.

-LPA-

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' LONDON LABOR REPORT '
' by David Williams '

WFTU Wins New Lease On Life

London (LPA) - The World Federation of Trade Unions has taken a fresh hold on life. This is the upshot of its recent meeting at Rome, marked by some unusually frank speaking on the part of American, English, and western European delegates.

This outcome was no surprise to careful observers in London. It may be taken for granted that theBritish Trades Union Congress has no desire to take the lead in breaking up the WFTU, any more than the State Department would take the lead in breaking up the United Nations. In both cases, no political strategist in his senses would give the Russians such a trmendous propaganda advantage.

On the part of the Russians, there are strong reasons against any action which would threaten the existence of the WFTU. So long as it remains in existence, it is a barrier to the organization of any other world-wide trade union center, particularly to any center which the AFL might seek to establish.

Further, the Russians still believe that the WFTU will help them establish Communist control of the trade unions in all of Germany, although the Rome decision to postpone the calling of an all-German trade union congress makes this objective more remote than it was. They also believe that through the WFTU they can carry Communist doctrine to the rapidly developing uhions in the colonial world.

The attitude of the TUC is, quite naturally, largely shaped by the feelings of rank-and-file unionists. British workers have, in overwhelming numbers, given their loyalty to the Labour Party, and have firmly rejected the bids of the Communist Party for their support. But they have, at the same time, maintained a long tradition of friendship for the Soviet Union and for Russian workers. Both previous Labour governments (those of 1924 and of 1929-31) were notable for the establishment of more friendly relations with Moscow.

Events of the past three years have cast a distinct chill on this long-standing friendship. But public opinion polls show that this change is superficial, and characterized by disappointment and bewilderment rather than deep-seated prejudice. A few gestures of friendship from the Moscow rulers could change the situation overnight.

Against this background, one can see the error of American suggestions that WFTU membership has meant increased Communist influence in British unions. Quite the contrary. If the leaders of the TUC rejected the WFTU, they would provide Communist candidates for trade union offices with a very useful campaigning slogan. On a platform calling for WFTU membership, such candidates could draw many, many non-Communist votes.

The leadership, of course, would prevail. But when the state of affairs gives the Communists some surefire campaign issues--the wage freeze, for instance--the the canny TUC leaders are not going to give them another, if they can help it.

Long-term prospects for the WFTU, however, remain grave. The divisions are deep and bitter, and the Rome compromises (and decisions to postpone many important issues) hardly to more than put veneer over the cracks. As Mr. Deakin, British President of the WFTU, said: "The problems we have failed to face still present us with obstacles to overcome which will need all our good will and energy if the WFTU is to survive."

-LPA-

Labor Limelight
Labor Press Associates

LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATES

A News Service from Washington for Trade Union Papers
1706 G Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

Vol. IV, No. 47
Week ending May 22, 1948

NOTE TO EDITORS: The following six items are summaries of important stories in the LPA news sections this week.

NLRB Hews Strict Line

Washington (LPA) - The NLRB this week handed down three decisions which will bring comfort to anti-union employers. One interpreted Taft-Hartley's protection of employers' "free speech" to include forcing workers to listen to anti-union propaganda. Another said that a union may be held responsible for the conduct of its members on the picket line. And finally the board ruled that it has no power to conduct union shop authorization elections in the 13 states which prohibit union security contracts. Each constitutes a "strict interpretation" of the anti-labor provisions of the Taft-Hartley law.

-LPA-

Rail Parley Ends

Washington (LPA) - Consistent refusal of railroad management to bargain in good faith with the Firemen's, Engineers' and Switchmens' unions has resulted in the end of another series of contract talks. Trusting that a temporary anti-strike order will be converted into a long-term injunction, management last week refused to budge an inch from the position it took before the unions' strike call brought Army operation of the railroads.

-LPA-

Chrysler Strike Continues

Detroit (LPA) - The United Auto Workers-CIO filed strike notice for 225,000 GM employes last week while 76,000 UAW members continued their strike against the Chrysler Corp. The union announced that it would be happy to withdraw its wage demands at the Ford Motor Co. if the company would successfully exert its influence on the rest of American industrial management and upon Congress to effect a substantial rollback in the cost of living.

-LPA-

Di Giorgio Strike Head Shot

Washington (LPA) - Five shots were fired thru a window into a strike meeting of the Nat'l Farm Labor Union-AFL at Bakersfield, Calif., last week. Gov. Earl Warren has ordered a "complete investigation" of the violence in which Local President James Price was shot thru the head. NFLU President H. L. Mitchell says that it was a planned job done by hired thugs and lists three groups which might have hired them: the Di Giorgio Corp., Associated Farmers of California, and agents of the Communist controlled Food, Tobacco & Agricultural Workers Union-CIO.

-LPA-

Atom Strike Looms

Washington (LPA) - A Presidential fact-finding board reported last week that no progress had been made toward solving the labor dispute at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory operated by Carbide & Carbon Chemical Corp. The Atomic Trades & Labor Council-AFL has set a June 7 strike date. Union officials accuse the Atomic Energy Commission of failing to act to avert a crisis.

-LPA-

CIO Public Workers Splits

Atlantic City (LPA) - Altho numbering only a handful of delegates to the union's convention, "right wing" elements in the United Public Workers-CIO, seceded last week and proclaimed a new union of government employes that will organize the unorganized and stick to national CIO policies. They accuse the UPWA leadership headed by Abram Flaxer of being more concerned with "left wing" political maneuvers than protecting the interests of the membership.

-LPA-

Milwaukee Beer Again

Milwaukee (LPA) - The strike which stemmed the flow of Milwaukee's most famous product for 24 days ended last week when members of Local 9, Brewery Workers-CIO returned to work after voting to accept a $6.80-a-week wage boost. Delivery of Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz, Miller Gettleman and Independent beer has now been resumed.

-LPA-

Nat'l Airlines Holding Out

Washington (LPA) - Despite President Truman's appointment of an emergency board to investigate the strike of Nat'l Airlines pilots, the company is still refusing to rehire some of the striking fliers. David Behnke, president of the Airlines Pilots Ass'n-AFL said last week that the union is complying with the President's order to resume work while the board studies the case. But union-hating corporation head G. T. Baker said that the scab pilots he hired to break the strike have "permanent employment" and is rehiring the strikers only as vacancies occur.

-LPA-

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Repeat from Midweek Issue, May 18
- -

Wallacite Fired From PAC

Washington (LPA) - Palmer Weber, research director for the CIO Political Action Committee, was fired from his job last week by PAC Director Jack Kroll. Weber has taken a job as Southern Director of the Wallace for President campaign where he will cover the same territory he has been working for PAC. PAC is the political arm of CIO which has vigorously and repeatedly denounced the Wallace third party movement.

-LPA-

May Delegate At Oslo

New York (LPA) - Newly elected President Charles F. May of the Masters, Mates & Pilots-AFL will represent his union at the congress of the Int'l Transport Workers Federation in Oslo, Norway, beginning June 19. Capt. May is from San Francisco.

-LPA-

Medical Monopoly Again

New York (LPA) - The House of Delegates of the New York Medical Society has placed a serious barrier in the way of such consumer-sponsored health care programs as the Health Insurance Plan of New York, approved by the city government, and union-sponsored plans like those of the Int'l Ladies Garment Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Society, which wields virtual control over hospital appointments and privileges, has "advised" its members not to participate in any except the half-dozen doctor-controlled plans approved by the Society.

-LPA-

Steel Plant Raises Wages

Syracuse (LPA) - A 10¢-an-hour wage boost was won last week from management at the local plant of Continental Can Co., which employes 700 members of the United Steelworkers-CIO. This is the first break here in the "no wage increase" solid front presented by General Electric, General Motors and Crucible Steel, all of which also have plants here.

-LPA-

Honor Labor Day Founder

Camden, N. J. (LPA) - A fitting memorial shrine to honor Peter J. McGuire, father of Labor Day and one of the founders of the AFL, is proposed by the Central Labor Union of Camden. CLU President Frank B. Hartmann says the unions will campaign for $100,000 to memorialize the labor pioneer.

-LPA-

LPA Photo Mat Service
List for May 22,1948

MATS FOR THE ATTACHED PHOTOS ARE AVAILABLE TO LPA SUBSCRIBERS ON YOUR ORDER

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#670 -- 2-column

DIDN'T LAST LONG-- John L. Lewis and the mine operators opened negotiations for a new soft coal contract last week but the meetings broke up the second day when the United Mine Workers leader objected to the seating of Joseph E. Moody, president of the Southern Coal Producers Ass'n. The Southern Ass'n has asked NLRB Czar Robert Denham to obtain a federal court order forcing Lewis to bargain under the Taft-Hartley Act. (l. to r.) Charles O'Neill for the soft coal operators; Harry Moses of US Steel; UMW Secretary-Treasurer John Owens, and UMW President Lewis. (LPA)

#671 -- 1-column

ONE MEAT BALL-- The CIO Economic Outlook doesn't identify the little man in this picture but we think he's the guy in the song, who's obviously working under the present 40¢ minimum wage bill. Unions are plumping for at least a 75¢ minimum in a new bill now before the Senate Labor Committee. (LPA)

#672 -- 3-column

"RESTORING ORDER"-- Here's what happens when employers hire scabs to take jobs of men on strike for two months. The Minnesota Nat'l Guard moved into the strike-bound Swift plant in South St. Paul, Minn. last week at the order of Gov. Luther Youngdahl. A Guard captain (standing in armoured truck) told three members of United Packinghouse Workers-CIO to step aside. When they didn't, soldiers dismounted and arrested the pickets in a burst of violence. (LPA)

#673 -- 1-column

MUSEUM PIECE-- Canned music has replaced live musicians in America and, in the words of President James Caesar Petrillo of the American Federation of Musicians-AFL, "The musician is being asked to play at his own funeral." This is from a new booklet "The Record On Records" in which the AFM explains how the present trend concerns the public as well as the union musician. (LPA)

#674 -- 2-column

PRESENT ECA HEAD WITH GRIEVANCE-- Paul Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administrator, met with AFL officials last week to discuss labor participation in the European recovery program. The boys told him they refused to go along with joint AFL-CIO representation in ECA so long as CIO remained in the World Federation of Trade Unions. (l. to r.) Hoffman; George Meany, secretary-treasurer; Matthew Woll, chairman of the international relations committee, and President William Green. (LPA)

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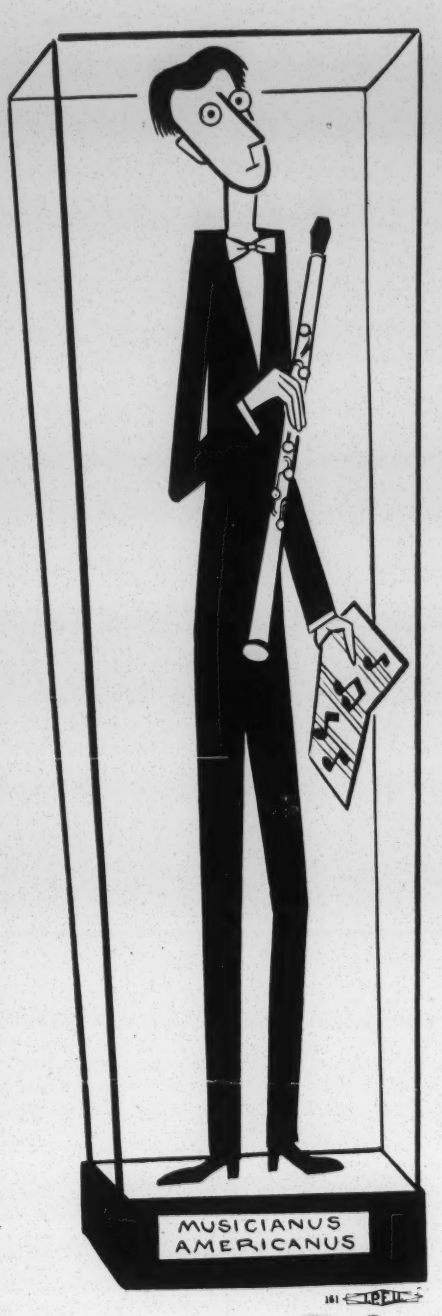
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UNION NEWS SERVICE

Congress of Industrial Organizations

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Vol. 11 | Address all communications: Union News Service C.I.O 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. | August 9, 1948 | Editors are invited to reprint from this service, with or without credit. Please place the Union News Service on your exchange mailing list | 82 | No. 31

The Awful, Awful 80th

A few weeks ago we hung the tag "Awful 80th" on the Congress that had packed up and gone home without tackling two of the nation's most serious problems—inflation and housing.

Today we're changing the phrase so it becomes "Awful, Awful 80th."

That having been done, we now take off our gloves and wade into those august gentlemen who have turned the special session into a nauseating farce.

First, let's dispose of the question of who's been playing politics with whom.

Harry Truman, Tom Dewey, the Democrats, the Republicans, the Progressives and the Dixiecrats are playing politics—clear up to the hilt.

And now let's take up the question of who's getting whacked over the knuckles by the fiasco on Capitol Hill.

Just take a look at your own hands, unless you're rolling in profits, and you'll find the answer.

The people, as differentiated from the special interests, are taking a beating.

They're taking a beating on prices and housing and civil rights.

Maybe they'll strike back in November, when the voters have their chance to express approval or disapproval of those up for re-election.

WE SIMPLY DON'T CARE

We, frankly, don't care whether pure humanitarian motives or impure political motives prompted President Truman to call the 80th Congress back into session on Missouri's Turnip Day, July 26.

He did call a special session and he did place before Congress a program worthy of serious consideration.

He provided the GOP-controlled body with an opportunity to tackle the serious cost of living and housing problems and to act on other important matters.

Congress not only muffed the opportunity but provided the nation with a disgraceful demonstration of its contempt for the public's respect.

The anti-Truman Southern Democratic bloc stalled the session with an anti-polltax filibuster—and the Republican leadership just stalled.

Parliamentary maneuvering was substituted for consideration of the problems at hand.

THE PUBLIC

We won't know until November—if then—who the winner was in the legislative-

We Repeat

THE pace of PAC work throughout the land:

Rep. Hugh (Best Stock) Scott (R., Pa.), chairman of the Republican National Committee, has indignantly — well noisily, anyway—denied that he ever said—as reported a week or so ago right here in these columns—that the Republicans came of "the Best Stock."

Best Stock Scott also denied saying that several years back when the late Philadelphia Record—which was then supporting the Democratic Party—and the Republican Philadelphia Bulletin both had stories quoting him to that effect. Here's the Record's reply:

"Editor's note: The Record news story about Mr. Scott's Lincoln Day speech was written by Thomas P. O'Neil, The Record's political editor for many years. He heard the speech. He states emphatically the Congressman was accurately quoted. Mr. O'Neil's reputation for accuracy and fairness is well known."

(Note: Tom O'Neil is now publicity man for the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, dominated by GOP Boss Joseph Grundy, who reportedly ordered the Republicans to hire his man, Scott, as chairman.)

So, the CIO News repeats:

Rep. Scott once said that Republicans came of the "Best Stock."

* * *

The Wisconsin PAC has ousted seven members accused of "misinforming CIO members on the Wallace Party."

The ousted members:

Edward Bobrowicz, Fur & Leather, a candidate for Congress on the Wallace ticket; Phil H. Smith, Electrical Workers; James de Witt, Farm Equipment; Gus Tomlinson, Fur; Allan Bjorklund, Public Workers; Paul Gardner, Food, Tobacco; Richard Morgan, Maritime.

* * *

PAC Natl. Dir. Jack Kroll sent a telegram to all presidents of inter-national CIO unions, urging that they "delegate at least one observer from your organization to sit in the Congressional gal-

First Voter

CIO Reg. Dir. W. A. Copeland claims he was the first Tennesseean to vote for Estes Kefauver in the primary.

He mailed an absentee ballot to his polling place in Memphis two weeks ago.

cil because it refused to adhere to CIO policy against a third party in 1948. The ALP and the CP are supporters of the third party.

The Local 100 resolution also ordered all local officers and staff members to resign from ALP or or resign their posts with the local. The vote was 24 to 10.

In another TWU local, 101, the executive board had voted to remain in GNYIUC. Last week, the Nassau commercial section and the Canarsie clerical section of 101 adopted resolutions demanding that the local quit the council.

Lobbies

LOBBIES—good, bad and indifferent ones—reported they spent $3.5 million in the first six months of 1948 to influence the activities of the 80th Congress.

Nine organizations spent more than $100,000 each during the first six months, it was revealed in a survey of the lobbying registration forms made by the Congressional Quarterly. The figures are kept on file in the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

The law is unclear, however, as to what constitutes a lobbying expense. Some outfits include all their expenses; some list only those they think apply directly to lobbying.

Biggest lobbying expenditure came from the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons—a united group supported by labor, business, civic, and minority organizations—which listed expenses of $286,467. (The Displaced Persons Bill passed by Congress was severely criticized as biased and insufficient by the Commit-

CP Meets

By ARTHUR RIORDAN

THEY talked until they were red in the face.

Which was perfectly all right—all left, should we say?—because it was the Communist Party's 14th annual convention last week in New York.

HAMMER

The convention was the most deadpan of all the conventions this year, except perhaps that of the Socialist Workers' Trotzkyites.

CP delegates heard the word, "Wallace," almost as often as they did the words, "Soviet Union." Peace—the Russian brand, natch—was another oft-heard phrase. And, there was bitter denunciation of the present drive by the Government against Communists.

To paraphrase it: the attack on the CP was, if you'll pardon the use of the term, a red herring to hide the misdeeds of the "bipartisan" 80th Congress.

And labor? Well, labor is a bad boy these days. Here's what Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the party in this country, had to say, sadly, of the state of the unions:

Right wingers: "Class collaboration policies pursued by the official national leadership" of the unions is an aid to Fascism. How is this done? Says he: by supporting the Marshall Plan, adhering to the two party system, red-baiting and anti-Soviet activity.

(Random thought: What's he mean, two-party system? Didn't speaker after speaker at the Wallace convention claim that the Democratic party is dead and that therefore the choice lies between GOPism and peaceism—which is Wallaceism?)

Who are Comrade Dennis' culprits? Well, there's Phil Murray, he says, and there's Dan Tobin.

SWP Chides CP

The Socialists Workers' Party, through Farrell Dobbs, its Presidential candidate, has called on the Communist Party to forget "our profound political difference" and form a "broad united front" against the Smith Act, under which 12 top CP leaders have been indicted.

Dobbs recalls that in 1941 the SWP had been the first victim of the Smith Act and 18 SWP leaders were tried and jailed. He recalled that the CP at that time "ignored the danger inherent in the conviction" and "sought to obstruct all efforts to arouse the labor movement." "While you did not come to the defense of the Trotskyists, we have already made public our opposition to your indictment," Dobbs said.

noted particularly a hesitancy to build the new people's party and develop the alliance between labor and other sections of the population.

You have to have slogans, counseled Dennis. His suggestions: "In unity there is strength" and "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Things are mixed up, Dennis continued: "Division, confusion and backwardness still exist in the labor and progressive movements. We cannot gloss over these factors which enable the most aggressive and reactionary monopolies to press forward and advance the drive to fascism and war.

"But neither can we fail to appreciate the new trends in and the great strength and potential fighting capacity of the working class and of the entire anti-fascist and anti-imperialist camp."

WILLIAM Z. Foster, chairman of the CP, in his keynote speech (yes, the CP has a keynoter, too), declared: "They are brazen liars who charge that the Communist party is trying to dominate the new party or claim the credit for its formation."

But, in his address, Dennis

Finds GIs Eager For Union Information

Frank McCallister, director of the Georgia Workers Education Service, which is supported by all branches of the Georgia labor movement, recently was invited, as a union man, to lead a series of army discussion groups at Ft. McPherson.

More than 800 enlisted men and NCOs attended McCallister's classes. Officers, noting the keen interest of most of the men in the discussion of labor history and trade union practices, were amazed. McCallister even got applause from his audiences. As one officer told him later: "The applause you received was unusual. They rarely applaud even guest speakers in the Army."

One of the enlisted men was heard to remark: "Why don't we have more speakers like that?"

Two Say Dewey Hit Teachers' Lobby

It's the word of GOP Presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey against that of Govs. Maw of Utah and Gruening of Alaska, as to whether or not Dewey has called teacher propaganda for higher pay "the biggest lie since Hitler."

Both Maw and Gruening, in statements released by the Democratic Natl. Committee, insist that, at the Governors Conference at Portsmouth, N. H., Dewey had bitterly attacked teachers' lobbies.

They quoted Dewey as saying, in a closed session, that the teachers' lobby "is the most vicious lobby in the nation today. It it isn't stepped on now, it will destroy the nation. It's worse than the power lobby, the real estate lobby, the oil lobby, the liquor lobby and a lot of others."

James C. Hagerty, Dewey's press aide, answered by calling the Maw and Gruening accounts of the meeting "rubbish."

Wall Street

By GLORIA CAPLAN

these extra

He provided the GOP-controlled body with an opportunity to tackle the serious cost of living and housing problems and to act on other important matters.

Congress not only muffed the opportunity but provided the nation with a disgraceful demonstration of its contempt for the public's respect.

The anti-Truman Southern Democratic bloc stalled the session with an anti-polltax filibuster—and the Republican leadership just stalled.

Parliamentary maneuvering was substituted for consideration of the problems at hand.

THE PUBLIC IS LOSER

We won't know until November—if then—who the winner was in the legislative-political sham battle that has been going on in Washington, but we can name the loser without any difficuty.

He's known in many quarters as John Q. Public.

He's the guy who's been suffering from high prices and inadequate living quarters.

He's the guy who's been yelling that something should be done to curb inflation.

He's you and me and the family that lives next door.

As this is written it appears possible that the GOP leadership may poke a puny finger or two into the holes through which the forces of inflation are gushing.

But the leaders themselves had already made it plain they wouldn't double up their fists and really slam away at the major causes of high prices.

As we said before, it's a nauseating farce!

Edward Bobrowicz, Fur & Leather, a candidate for Congress on the Wallace ticket; Phil H. Smith, Electrical Workers; James de Witt, Farm Equipment; Gus Tomlinson, Fur; Allan Bjorklund, Public Workers; Paul Gardner, Food, Tobacco; Richard Morgan, Maritime.

* * *

PAC Natl. Dir. Jack Kroll sent a telegram to all presidents of inter-national CIO unions, urging that they "delegate at least one observer from your organization to sit in the Congressional galleries in order that they may report to our members from first-hand observation the conduct of these paid representatives of the people—the guardians of the country's well-being."

The wire was sent as the Congress, ignoring any legislation remedying inflation, was preparing to scram out of Washington.

* * *

The executive Board of Local 100 of the CIO Transport Workers' Union has passed a resolution denouncing the American Labor Party, the Communist Party and the Greater New York City CIO Council.

TWU natl. Pres. Michael Quill resigned as president of the coun-

---

By ALLAN L. SWIM

YOU have about as much freedom and independence as a convicted burglar when you live in a "company" town.

The company you work for also is your landlord—and your grocer—and your clothier.

You walk on company-built sidewalks, live in a company-owned house and ride on company-built streets.

The schools and churches are company dominated and the law enforcement officers are company selected.

The only way to get away from the company, even for a moment, is to get out of town—and that's what you'd better do if you get in bad with the boss.

That's because you're a victim of monopoly.

ANY person who ever worked in or tried to organize a union in a "company" town should be able to appreciate the recent warning of the Federal Trade Commission:

"No great stretch of imagination is required to foresee that if nothing is done to check the growth in concentration, either the giant corporations will ultimately take over the country or the government will be impelled to step in and impose some form of direct regulation in the public interest.

"In either event, collectivism will have triumphed over free enterprise and the theory of competition will have been relegated to the limbo of well intentioned but ineffective ideals.

"This is a warning which the Commission has repeated time and again, and one which some of those who have the most to gain by the preservation of competition seem determined to ignore."

IN effect, what the FTC said was that if monopoly is not curbed the U. S. will become a "company" nation or it will place stringent controls on big corporations.

The FTC, which doesn't go around yelling "wolf, wolf" just to scare people, had good reason to issue such a warning.

It had made a survey which showed that since 1940 a total of 2450 formerly independent manufacturing and mining companies had "disappeared."

They were victims of what the FTC termed "the merger movement"—and a merger is a business marriage based on the theory that two can make more money if they become one than if they remain separate.

OH, so "monopoly" and "mergers" are dull subjects which you ordinarily read about only on the financial pages—if you read the financial pages.

Maybe so, but the men responsible for the "merger movement" aren't dull. They make the headlines and are featured in the news.

They make thumping speeches about "preservation of free enterprise" and about "competition being the life of trade."

They're quoted at length after they make heated public pleas for "restoration of the American way" and after they shout "down with collectivism."

They're the guys who set the wage patterns, boost the prices and lead the fight against unions.

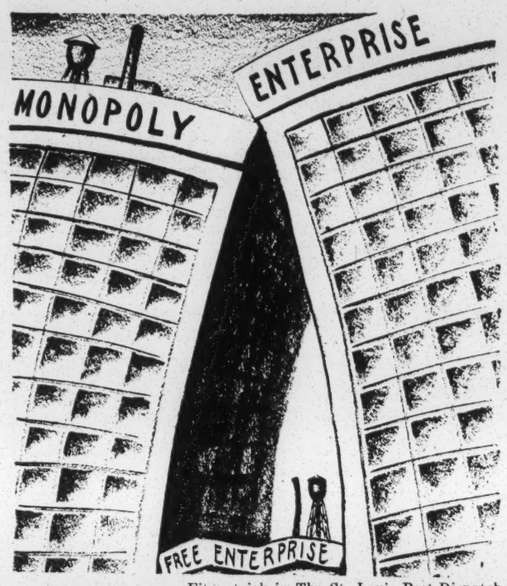
NO, this is not a blanket indictment of the nation's business and industrial interests.

Many small firms have been forced to merge to keep from being forced out of business by their giant competitors. Many independents have sold out to the big corporations to avoid bankruptcy.

But this hasn't made the threat of growing monopoly any less serious.

The country faces the choice of preventing and breaking up monopoly today, of controlling it later or of being subjugated by it.

You can kiss democracy and real free enterprise goodbye if we settle for control or submit to subjugation.



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

NARROWING CORRIDOR AT HOME

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tatives.

The law is unclear, however, as to what constitutes a lobbying expense. Some outfits include all their expenses; some list only those they think apply directly to lobbying.

Biggest lobbying expenditure came from the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons—a united group supported by labor, business, civic, and minority organizations—which listed expenses of $286,467. (The Displaced Persons Bill passed by Congress was severely criticized as biased and insufficient by the Committee, which is now seeking improvement in DP legislation.)

Some $244,012 was spent during the half-year by the Committee for Constitutional Govt., Inc., an ultra-conservative group in which Frank Gannett, upstate New York publisher, is the kingpin. The committee asked for lower taxes, lower government expenses and repeal of the Wagner Act. It got most of what it asked for.

A lobby with a fancy name which gets much of its money from drug manufacturers was third on the list. It's the Natl. Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, and it spent $240,727. This lobby is against the health insurance program advocated by labor and liberal groups.

The fight to repeal oleo taxes brought up big money on both sides. Two organizations—the Natl. Association of Margarine Manufacturers and Leo Burnet Co., a publicity firm working closely with the trade group—together spent just over $300,000 in support of oleo tax repeal. The Natl. Cooperative Milk Producers Federation, battling successfully to keep the oleo taxes, spent $128,590.

Two big trade associations were also among the top nine spenders listed with the House Clerk. They are the Natl. Association of Electric Companies, representing the power trust, which reported all expenses at $148,354; and the Natl. Association of Home Builders, which fought like crazy against the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. The NAHB's expenses for the half year were $131,640.

The Committee for the Marshall Plan—which had varied support from all groups in the population—spent $129,495 in its effort to get ERP adopted.

Here are figures for other big industrial and trade groups:

Association of American Railroads	$83,628
Independent Bankers Association, Portland, Ore.	76,694
Natl. Association of Real Estate Boards	66,952
States Rights Association, Houston, Tex.	66,597
Southern States Industrial Council	49,075
National Association of State Chambers of Commerce	44,724
Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.	40,407
Natl. Economic Council, Inc.	38,348
Natl. Association of Manufacturers	Not Yet Filed

P. S.—If someone gives you a spiel about the "all-powerful labor lobby," remind him that CIO's lobbying expenses for the half-year were $12,694—far below the amount spent by many of the business groups.

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tion policies pursued by the official national leadership" of the unions is an aid to Fascism. How is this done? Says he: by supporting the Marshall Plan, adhering to the two party system, red-baiting and anti-Soviet activity.

(Random thought: What's he mean, two-party system? Didn't speaker after speaker at the Wallace convention claim that the Democratic party is dead and that therefore the choice lies between GOPism and peaceism—which is Wallaceism?)

Who are Comrade Dennis' culprits? Well, there's Phil Murray, he says, and there's Dan Tobin. "It shows itself in the Murray-Tobin counsel to adopt a no-strike policy. It leads to the spectacle of trade union leaders who are against wage increases if the corporations are against them.

(Murray and Walter Reuther, head of the CIO Auto Workers, are usually the targets of Communist attack on the CIO. Murray's Steelworkers and Reuther's UAW recently won pattern-setting "third-round" wage increases.)

Left wing unions: Dennis gave them some hell, too. Leaders of these groups, he declared, including some Communists, have, too, "at times underestimated the fighting spirit of the working people. They have subsequently failed to give adequately bold and militant leadership and develop a broad united front on such issues as peace, against Taft-Hartleyism, for the rights of the Negro people and of the Communists."

He waxed more bitter. Why, he shouted, in some sections of the left wing, while a militant wage struggle was waged, there were "strong tendencies toward economism." And what's economism? The Daily Worker defines it as "the theory that workers have only economic but no political interests."

Dennis went on, saying he had monopolies to press forward and advance the drive to fascism and war.

"But neither can we fail to appreciate the new trends in and the great strength and potential fighting capacity of the working class and of the entire anti-fascist and anti-imperialist camp."

WILLIAM Z. Foster, chairman of the CP, in his keynote speech (yes, the CP has a keynoter, too), declared: "They are brazen liars who charge that the Communist party is trying to dominate the new party or claim the credit for its formation."

But, in his address, Dennis stated: "It is essential that everything be done to build the new party organizationally, as a grass roots movement, and as a mighty shield and permanent bulwark for the people."

In May the CIO's Murray, addressing the Textile Workers' Convention, declared: "I charge that the Communist Party is directly responsible for the organization of the third party."

On May 20, the Worker, Sunday edition of the CP's official organ, stated in a "Draft Resolution for the National Convention of the CPUSA"—the convention which was held last week—that:

SICKLE

"The Communist Party, from the earliest days after the end of the war, understood that its traditional fight for a people's party directed against the two-party system of the monopolies had once more been placed by events in an immediate, practical question before the American people, and, acting upon this understanding, it boldly proclaimed the need for such a new people's party."

Anyway, Foster said the Progressive—Wallace—Party is in no way a Communist Party. Why, he insisted, the Progs—many of their leaders, that is,—"believe that the badly crippled world capitalist system can be saved and transformed into 'progressive capitalism'."

But, Foster declared, Wallce and his running and singing mate, Sen. Glen Taylor, will "rally hosts of workers, Negroes, farmers, veterans, women, youth, intellectuals and other patriotic Americans.

Where was Earl Browder, the bad boy who was expelled from the CP for Browderism? He was (a) having his reinstatement application rejected, (g) was still no doubt selling the Russian books of which he is sole agent in this country.

They quoted Dewey as saying, in a closed session, that the teachers' lobby "is the most vicious lobby in the nation today. It it isn't stepped on now, it will destroy the nation. It's worse than the power lobby, the real estate lobby, the oil lobby, the liquor lobby and a lot of others."

James C. Hagerty, Dewey's press aide, answered by calling the Maw and Gruening accounts of the meeting "rubbish."

Bolt Wallace

Six New Mexicans have bolted the Wallace Party, denouncing its attitude toward Communism and Russia.

The six are Frank A. Minns, state executive committee member; Alfred H. McRae, his wife, Camille, Wallace National committeewoman for New Mexico; Rafael Alfau, state party treasurer, and Norman Pear.

$1.05 Minimum Asked In Govt. Contracts

Following up its recent demands for an 87c-an-hour minimum for cotton workers employed on government contracts, the Textile Workers is now asking a $1.05 minimum wage for woolen and worsted workers employed on government contracts.

Wall Street

By GLORIA CAPLAN

WHERE do those extra dollars we pay out in higher prices go?

Industrialists say they go into workers' pockets. They say prices were pushed skyward to cover higher wages.

Well, last week something that looked remarkably like those same "higher price" dollars turned up—not in overall pockets—but among industry's second quarter profits.

The Wall St. Journal—no labor propaganda outfit they—analyzed reports of 141 publicly-held corporations, excluding transportation and public utilities, and found net profits during the April-through-June months had jumped 25.8% over the same period a year ago.

On top of the heap was the fabulous oil industry. Profits for the first half for 27 leading oil companies jumped 82% over the corresponding 1947 period, breaking all previous records. United Press reported the percentage gains ranged from 206% for Superior Oil Co. (California) to 28% for Deep Rock Oil Corp. Eleven of these firms more than doubled their earnings for the first half of 1947, while 15 went up by 90% or more.

The coal industry came in next, with a net take in the second quarter which was higher by 64.4% than in the corresponding period the previous year. Auto profits jumped 44.7%.

(While this rosy profit picture covered the financial pages, Ford Motor Co. announced it would raise its prices a second time in two months. On June 18 the company pushed prices on its 1949 models up by $85 to $125 a car.)

Gross income for manufacturers was right up there, too—15% higher the first half of this year than in the 1947 period, according to the Dept. of Commerce. And the department's office of Business Economics scotched arguments that the jump resulted largely from greater volume of goods sold. While some of it could be attributed to that, most of it came directly from higher prices, the agency pointed out.

Here are some reasons why corporations are happy these days—and while you read them, remember that your dollar is worth less than at any time since the U. S. became the U. S.; and remember, too, that corporations earlier this year vowed they couldn't pay wage increases:

	Net profit 1st half '48	Net profit 1st half '47
General Motors	$206,763,672	$137,559,202
Packard	6,213,805	—1,872,634
Standard Oil, N. J.	210,000,000	140,000,000
Standard Oil, Calif.	77,611,483	40,808,200
Otis Elevator Co.	5,344,109	3,900,000
Va. Iron & Coke Co.	134,940	41,960
Douglas Aircraft	424,951	752,307
Allis-Chalmers	6,306,658	475,941
Maytag Co.	3,999,661	2,860,107
General Mills	13,068,057	9,236,214

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON
SOUTHERN PUBLIC RELATIONS
REPRESENTATIVE

75 IVY STREET. N. E
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 30, 1948

Dear Editor:

Looking at the development of the labor movement in the South in the past eleven years, it is evident that the Congress of Industrial Organizations has made a great contribution to this region.

Eleven years ago, only craft unions had secured a substantial footing in the area. The mass production and lighter industries were almost completely without unions. The big exception was coal mining which was largely organized, and to a lesser degree metal mining and smelting. Industrial unions had done those jobs.

Crafts
RR brotherhoods
Mining

Today, more than 800,000 members of the CIO have built unions in the South's basic industries. The great majority of workers in steel, aluminum, and automobile assembly and parts are in these unions.

Among other industries where industrial unions have considerable organization are textiles, ship building and repair, stone and marble quarrying, cement, rubber, oil refining, chemicals, meat packing, leather, shoes, men's garments, cotton compresses, cotton seed oil, fertilizer, wood-working, furniture, paper, tobacco, and sugar refining.

That list can be greatly expanded, as well as subdivided into related industries. There is also organization in sea faring, wholesale warehouses, newspapers, insurance agents, telephone workers, retail trades, and other white collar occupations.

These union members have gained marked increases in pay, better working conditions, and improved living standards for themselves and their families. Their greater purchasing power has enriched whole communities. Unorganized portions of industry have voluntarily given pay raises to keep the union out.

The textile union is an excellent example of wage benefits brought to union and non-union workers, as unorganized mills have hastened to meet union-won increases. Today, southern textile workers earn almost three times as much as in 1939. Average straight time pay has advanced from 38½ cents an hour to approximately $1.12.

Between 1939 and 1946, industrial wages advanced proportionately more in the South than in the nation as a whole. Unions played an important part in these increases.

The CIO has brought the South other than economic gains. Union members are stimulated to more participation as citizens aware of civic responsibility. They had their significant part in the election of candidates committed to clean, progressive government in the recent Tennessee elections.

Ministers are increasingly friendly to the CIO as they understand its goals and recognize that union people are also church members.

A once hostile press, with outstanding exceptions, is now far more tolerant. Some papers print fair reporting of union news and carry occasional friendly editorials.

The right to join a union, or to help others do so, is more and more respected by sheriffs amd police - though there are still law officers who question the right of workers to organize.

The appointment of Van A. Bittner as director of the Southern Organizing Committee a little more than two years ago, brought about far better coordination and gave a great stimulus to union building. Mr. Bittner has spent many years in the South. He has brought rich experience, outstanding ability, and a mellow human wisdom to his task.

Sincerely yours,

Lucy R Mason

Lucy Randolph Mason

2 - Labor

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JOSEPH BASKIN, Secretary
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175 EAST BROADWAY · NEW YORK 2 · [redacted]
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DECEMBER 1948 VOLUME V NO. 30

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"THE NEGRO'S STAKE IN THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY"

By: Mark Starr, Educational Director,
International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Because work relationships in mill, mine, office and factory are basic, it is important that race prejudice and discrimination be eliminated in this field of economic and industrial relations which determine the way in which we obtain food, clothing and shelter. It ought to be completely unnecessary to think that the Negro's stake in American industry should be any different from that of any of his fellow American citizens, most of whom, indeed, cannot count so many generations of their fathers as residents in this republic.

But we fall short of our American ideals and men and women are unfairly punished for the color of their skin and for their race. Often basking in the glow of self-approval, the monologist in the club car will cite the honors given to the fine fistic power of Joe Louis, the baseball eminence of Jackie Robinson, the fame of Marian Anderson, and so on. This self-approval deceives because to give to the brilliant individual a belated recognition is far from the provision of equal opportunity in education and vocational training, and in industry and commerce. And no one looking at the USA in the year 1948 can feel that the work of the National Urban League is completed. Decent men and women of every racial origin must feel that our pretensions of moral and economic leadership among the two billion people of this planet are phony until we have expelled that alien Jim Crow from our American community. Among many such comments available, there is the report in The Listener (official organ of the British Broadcasting Company), July 15, 1948, of a talk by David Potter: "America needs to meet this challenge not only for its own sake, but also because it is essential to assure our friends all over the world that we hold no double standard of democracy, and to disarm Soviet critics who have followed the example set by the Nazis in seizing upon the Negro question as a convenient stick with which to beat the United States. Most of all, the American people need to deal with this question constructively in order to dissolve those disruptive forces which will certainly come into full play if 13,000,000 Americans ever become convinced that the promises of democracy do not apply to them."

The future of American industry depends upon increased productivity translated into an improved standard of life for the majority of the people of the United States, a third of whom are still denied decent living. This means lower prices, not higher profits. Our industrial future and even our chance of survival as a human race depend upon cooperation between all races and people. The outside world will not listen to our words in July 4th orations but will watch our deed of racial discrimination. Unless we eliminate from American industry the blot of racial discrimination, the chances of international cooperation and goodwill will be seriously reduced. If one-tenth of the apples in the barrel are touched by the maggot of bigotry, the remainder cannot remain uncontaminated for long. For the sake of the whole community, such rank injustice must go.

Some encouraging progress has been made. In New York State the State Committee Against Discrimination has operated since 1945 to reverse the dangerous trend to keep Negroes out of skilled crafts and deny them entry into certain industries and occupations. Kings Ransom in the N.Y. Herald Tribune, August 6, 1948, claimed that in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts legal enforcement of anti-discrimination was getting results. When jointly writing "Labor in America," a high school textbook, in 1944, I found that 16 unions excluded Negroes entirely by provisions in their ritual or constitution; 5 unions tacitly excluded Negroes and 8 unions gave the Negro worker only segregated status in auxiliary locals. Since that time, the largest of the unions, the International Association of Machinists, has completely revised its laws and policies in conformity with the FEPC in New York and similar laws in other states.

It was good news that at last the New York State Federation of Labor (AFL) in its recent convention elected a Negro as vice-president. Yet the movement goes too slowly. The American Federation of Labor claims that only education can bring a satisfactory removal of discrimination, but does not do enough to push such education. The CIO does much more by way of educational conferences, pamphlets and its special Anti-Discrimination Committee and staff members. The UAW-CIO has done some fine work in attacking local prejudice and in giving their Negro members a fair break. In the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union we have as yet no Negro on our General Executive Board but our Negro members have won positions as staff members, as business agents, as Union Fellowship students at Harvard and as representatives in national and international conferences. They have made a notable contribution to the efficiency and idealism of the union.

In the past, labor history shows that employers have used the Negro to break strikes and to menace hard-won conditions. Now there are numerous cases where enlightened employers have cooperated with unions and social agencies to introduce Negroes into industry. This augurs well for the future of American industry.

Yet the darker side still remains. The justified revolt of Negroes against discrimination will naturally activize opposition. The dramatic conflict over partial segregation in the armed services highlights the hypocrisy of our words in contrast with our deeds. While full employment continues, the problem will not be so serious, but mass unemployment on the scale of 1929-33 would aggravate the situation and might well rob us of the gains made in the last ten years.

The root of the evil is fear and this menaces the future of American industry as well as poisoning the springs of our cultural life. What Mini Stein in the New Leader of June 26, 1948, says about the situation in South Africa is, unfortunately, in part true of other countries:

"Behind the trade unions' bias stalks the fear that because the black man is accustomed to a lower standard of living, he will be ready to accept lower wages and force down the white craftsman's standards. And bolstering the bias is massed the deeply-rooted color-consciousness of the average South African's thinking. For him, color discrimination is an accepted state of affairs, the outcome of a pattern firmly set by long usage, which makes living for the white man easier.

"Profoundly influencing color prejudice, too, is the factor of fear, as Field Marshal Smuts (then premier) so clearly emphasized in speaking before the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1942. In a continent which is predominantly dark, the European feels that unless he keeps the 'upper hand', his position will be endangered".

Fear must be removed if we are going to make progress, introduce necessary social changes by consent and enjoy the cornucopia of abundance within our reach, thanks to applications of science to the problems of production. The taxi driver in Chicago, who talks racism in the language of the unlamented Bilbo, is afraid his mortgaged home will lose in value because Negroes seek a place to live in his neighborhood. The miner and the stockyard worker in the past saw the Negroes transported to serve unwittingly as strikebreakers. The Unions of the white workers fear the impact of cheap Negro labor upon their hard-won standards. Fear of his competitor impels the employer to chisel down the wages of all his workers, white or black. Nations arm now to the extent of potential suicide in fear of other nations.

Men and nations must acquire the understanding and love of each other which casteth out fear. They must have imagination to see, that, as in the kid's parable The Goolibah Tree, there is room for everybody on this planet and that we can only live safely and happily and increasingly better if we act together. To do this, however, means a rejection of the old stereotypes about races and nations. Simply, it means that all men--Negroes and whites --smell if they lack soap and water; that, robbed of educational opportunity, all men are short-sighted and ignorant; that all men have basic desires for betterment. Our races are many; our aims are one. Happily, some unions recognize that to their benefit. All union leaders should shoulder the responsibility of educating themselves and their members to remove the evil. We lynch by inches when we torture men and women - not in one awful hour of excruciating pain but in all their waking years when we deny them the freedom to choose their occupation and exclude them and their children from legitimate participation in industrial life by refusing them union membership.

It is well to remember that united action between white and colored workers is not new in American history. The indentured white immigrant and the kidnapped Negro had much in common. "Despite the vigorous efforts in Colonial America of planters and merchants to keep them apart, white servants and Negroes often fled together from common oppression to seek a common freedom. One notice which appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette of September 10, 1747, read: 'Ran away from the Subscriber -- A White Man and a Negro, it is supposed they are gone together.' Another notice in the issue of October 8, 1747 read: 'There went away with Ann Wainwright, White Servant, a Negro Slave Woman belonging to June Bailard.'" (p. 21, History of the Labor Movement in the U.S., P.S. Foner.) The forty slave plots to rebel in Colonial America included joint efforts to rebel by Negro slaves and white indentured servants.

It would be interesting to find out if white workers participated in Nat Turner's rebellion, August, 1831, only 70 miles from this city of Richmond. The orthodox historians too often ignore such incidents because of their unconscious race and class bias. In case there are any Dixiecrats or any red and black totalitarians around, may I suggest that I am not emphasizing armed rebellion but the joint action shown in these historical incidents.

I am glad that the labor unions are joining in the good work of smashing group discriminations. The AFL and CIO have distributed millions of copies of "They Got the Blame" (a reprint from True Comics explaining the scapegoat theory). Labor conferences have been run by the Workers Education Bureau and the American Labor Education Service to discuss ways and means of combatting racial discrimination. The AFL, at its 64th convention, went on record against anti-Semitism and Negro discrimination, and the CIO, in its journals, has done a first-rate educational job. Labor should know from bitter experience in Europe that the Jew and Negro baiters are the union haters also. The chiefs of the USO in wartime thought it controversial to distribute a Public Affairs Pamphlet which shows how foolish is race prejudice and proves the basic unity of the human race, but the labor unions could hardly be expected to endorse such pussyfooting about the great ideals of the American Republic. Indeed, the UAW-CIO made a color-cartoon movie "The Brotherhood of Man", based on that pamphlet, which is still being widely used by unions in the AFL and CIO. The time has come, in my opinion, to drop the kid gloves and to put on the boxing gloves for the handling of racial discrimination.

Toleration suggests putting up with people who are different from us. We should move over to a positive position and insist that the United States is great precisely because so many nationalities and races have enriched it by their work of mind and muscle. Xenophobia surely has no place in the United States. So many nations have contributed to make us a nation of nations. We are, indeed, on this account most prepared to graduate into full activity as part of the United Nations which have overcome Hitler and, at the present moment, we must plan to build cooperation among the peoples of the world. We should rejoice in the variety of our racial stocks. Let us quote to the little-minded, myopic victims of ignorance Melvin B. Tolson's verse: "A blind man said, 'Look at the niggers.' And I saw Black Samson mowing down Hessians with a scythe at Brandywine, Marian Anderson bewitching continents with the talisman of art, Douglass hurling philippics of freedom from tombstones, Private Brooks dying at the feet of MacArthur in Bataan."

Jim Crow and anti-Semitism are, of course, a fundamental denial of every pretension of democracy which surely emphasizes the individual worth of a human being and his rights to have a say about his life and his destiny. All men are created equal with equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

My mother and your mother have failed to do their job unless they have taught us to appreciate motherhood as something greater and larger than our own particular family, our own city, our own particular race and nation. Patriotism should never be degraded into hatred of other countries and after all, it is completely irrational and completely unfair to judge a person on the basis of his race or national origin. As the Princetonian alumnus, Andrew J. Hatcher, wrote in the students' journal of his alma mater: "If you discriminate against me because I am uncouth, I can become mannerly. If you ostracise me because I am unclean, I can cleanse myself. If you segregate me because I lack knowledge, I can become educated. But if you discriminate against me because of my color, I can do nothing. God gave me my color, I have no possible protection against race prejudice but to take refuge in cynicism, bitterness and hatred." That goes for Jews as well as Negroes.

For every reason of decency, fair play and democratic ideals with their basic respect for individual worth and integrity, racial discrimination should be banished. For economic reasons, the Negro as a citizen should have equal job opportunities and of union membership. For the future well-being of industry, Negro skill in industry and Negro purchasing power, as well as those of all their fellow citizens, are necessary and powerful factors and should be utilized.

The work of the National Urban League shows what can be done. Organized Labor and other sections of the community should help it go forward at a faster rate.

Specifically to give the Negro and the white worker a stake in the future of American industry we should: (1) Organize more Negroes into unions and encourage their participation as members and representatives, as staff members and officers; (2) Work more energetically for a nation-wide FEPC and similar laws in the states. It is regrettable that legal compulsion is necessary and we must remember that while laws educate their enforcement depends upon the cooperation of the public; (3) Cooperate to get adequate housing and medical care and improved minimum wage and hour standards for all our citizens to make the future of industry really prosperous; (4) Anticipate the effects of current changes in the South and secure for the displaced Negro, through cooperation, between intelligent Labor and Management, equal opportunities of work and work training.

The future of American industry will see great changes and new political alignments. The administration of a mixed economy combining social planning with the Bill of Rights needs the cooperation of all American citizens.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

IN REBUTTAL.

By: Alvin J. Wolff

It seems that our children are in grave danger. All sorts of gruesome monsters and blood-curdling ghouls are invading our nurseries and homes, crawling out of gaping radio loud speakers, or lurking within the covers of comic books, just waiting to gobble up some unwary reader. Hundreds of thousands of frightened citizens, including parents, educators, psychologists, are organizing in every state of the Union to protect the children of America from these fictitious horrors.

The danger is very real. Recently, three nine year old youngsters, admittedly under the influence of comic books, concocted a plan to murder one playmate "every third Sunday," and almost succeeded in killing their first seven year old victim. Yes, the danger from comic books is real enough, but there are other dangers too.

What is being done to protect our children against the ravages of malnutrition? According to Senator Ralph Flanders, who headed an investigating committee, almost one-third of our population is suffering from undernourishment caused by high prices. Yet nothing is done to curb inflation.

What is being done to protect our children against the spectre of ignorance and superstition? Thomas Jefferson knew that democracy cannot long endure where the people are uninformed. Yet, today, ten million people in The United States still cannot read or write. This deplorable condition exists largely because of insufficient funds for educational purposes. Yet the Republican- dominated Congress quibbles over the question of Federal aid to Education.

What is being done to protect our children against disease and the mental hazards of broken homes, caused by overcrowded living quarters and the housing shortage?

What is being done to protect the children of Minorities against the unspeakable terrors of discrimination and oppression?

Yes, hundreds of thousands of people in every state of the Union are up in arms over the question of comic books; but what has happened to the Child Labor Amendment which has been ratified by only 28 states since it was passed back in 1924?

Why don't we read about these dangers in our papers? Why is the general public unaware that except for the activities of Labor Unions, American workmen still would be in the depressed status allotted to them by Industry? As late as 1939, unorganized industrial centers such as Passaic and Paterson, N.J., still maintained sweat-shops with an average wage of $5 per week. And today, the national Minimum Wage still stands at $16 a week!

Americans would not permit such conditions to continue if the facts were presented to them. Why <u>don't</u> we read about these dangers in our papers?

The answer can be found in a little book entitled "A Free and Responsible Press" which embodies the results of three years of intensive investigation by a Commission made up of thirteen eminently respected experts, educators and lawyers. The Commission noted with alarm that "through concentration of ownership, the variety of sources of news and opinions is limited." In eleven states, not one city has any newspaper competition. And in other states, newspapers in the majority of cities present only one side of the news (and that side is not favorable to Labor, you may be sure), because, in the words of the report, "the agencies of mass communications are Big Business, and their owners are Big Businessmen."

The Press is further condemned for "stifling thought and discussion --- creating complacent fictions and blind spots, --- misusing the great words and upholding empty slogans --- and spreading lies."

Originally, "Freedom of the Press" meant freedom from government control, but this impartial Commission notes that newspapers now can "spread lies faster and farther than our forefathers dreamed possible."

A Free Press is important, but a TRUTHFUL one is even more essential if the children of America are to be saved from all the dangers which surround them.

YOUR UNION AND YOU

By: Elliott Carlton, LABOR REPORTS Columnist

The election is over -- but you still have to work for a living. Unless some rich relative wills you some cash, the chances are good that your job is about your only means of support. And that holds good even if you play the ponies -- for fillies cost a lot of dough in whatever form they come.

No, there's no use kidding ourselves! None of us is likely to die rich.

* * * * * * *

Not that that's so important. What good is it to be rich when you're dead? It's a lot better to be not quite so poor when you're alive.

And that's what the labor movement is for, Brother. That's why we're union men.

Let's remember that.

* * * * * * *

Let's remember that what's good for you is good for the union. You can turn that around, too! What's good for the union is good for you.

It can be reversed in still another way: What's bad for the union is bad for you.

* * * * * * *

There are some who never forget that. They fight unions tooth and nail. Sometimes they fight them openly - by refusing to arbitrate, or by lockouts.

Lot's of times they use under-the-snake's-belly-tactics. That's when they try to get us mad at each other by spreading prejudice.

* * * * * * *

Suppose a guy's car breaks down. Does it matter to that car whether the mechanic is a Catholic, Jew, or Protestant? Does it matter whether he's black or white -- or whether he was born here or in Europe or Asia?

As long as the mechanic is a good workingman, it doesn't matter at all.

* * * * * * *

But there are Big Boys in front offices - and Big Boys cutting coupons - who try to make us believe that a workingman's race, religion, or ancestors make a difference in your shop or in your office.

They've a reason. They know that if they can get us to split into quarreling, prejudiced groups, our union will be torn apart.

* * * * * * *

And let's not forget it! What's bad for the union is bad for us. Without a union we'll work twice as long for half as much -- and kiss the big toe of the foreman wile we're sweating it out.

And prejudice, Brother, religious and racial prejudice is the concealed weapon that is bad for us.

It can destroy us all.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO EDITORS:

When you move please send us your old address and your new one, so that we can make the change on our mailing list.

IRVING SALERT
Editor, LABOR REPORTS

Competent, Responsible, Patriotic **SOUTHERN LABOR**, the South's Greatest Asset

21- Labor

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

REGION 12 OFFICE
79 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
CYPRESS 6094
18

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

RECEIVED
APR 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

April 12, 1949

Dear Fellow Citizen:

We are sending this letter to community leaders in Atlanta --educators, pastors, physicians, editors, church women, and civic and veterans leaders.

Enclosed are two documents:

1. Charges of discrimination against both Negro patients and Negro employees at the Lawson Veterans Hospital in Chamblee, near Atlanta.

2. The reply of the Veterans Administration to that portion of the charges which deals with Negro patients.

(There has been no reply, thus far, to the charges of discrimination against Negro employees, although a conference with V.A. officials was held in Washington on this matter)

We hope that you will study these two documents. You will find them revealing. We urge that you take up the issues involved, among your colleagues and in your organizations.

On the basis of your study and discussion, we hope you will send us your views and comments on the ideas advanced by the Veterans Administration.

Do you believe that the conditions cited actually promote the recovery of patients? (Note that the Army did not segregate patients at Lawson Hospital)

Do you believe that the United States Government should decide <u>for</u> Negro veterans that <u>they</u> "wish" to be segregated?

Do you feel it is right for Negro employees to be fired and terrorized in a Federal agency, for combatting these conditions?

Finally, will you join with other civic leaders and organizations in doing something about these conditions?

Hoping to hear from you,

Sincerely yours,

<u>The Daniel Defense Committee</u>
EDWARD D'ANTIGNAC, Chairman
LONNIE HARPER, Treasurer

<u>Local 273, United Public Workers CIO</u>
IRVIN S. DANIEL, Pres.
ALEXANDER NUCKLES, Vice Pres.
OSCAR DAVIE, Grievance Chairman
WM. STAFFORD, Field Rep.

COPY COPY COPY

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
Washington 25, D.C.
March 11, 1949

Office of
Chief Medical Director
Department of
Medicine and Surgery

10EA

United Public Workers of America
930 F Street N.W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

Gentlemen:

I am acknowledging receipt of your letter of March 3, 1949, addressed to the Administrator, with its enclosures, relative to alleged discrimination against Negro employees and Negro patients at the [Lawson] Veterans Administration Hospital, Chamblee, Georgia.

I have carefully studied the statement you submitted of charges against this hospital, prepared by Local 273 of the United Public Workers of America - CIO. The statement, as you know, alleges first, discrimination against Negro employees, and second, discrimination against Negro patients. The President's Executive Order 9980 dated July 26, 1948, which prompted you to bring these matters to the attention of the Administrator does not, of course, apply to the alleged discrimination against Negro patients. I shall confine my remarks to this subject.

The Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans Administration has but one major objective in its medical care of a hospitalized veteran, and that is to take all possible measures to lead to his prompt recovery. This is as applicable to the Negro as it is to the white veteran. It is realized that in a few Veterans Administration hospitals Negro and white patients are treated in separate wards and have their own facilities. That, however, is not discrimination. It is common medical knowledge that if a patient is to recover promptly he must be protected from any situation or mental condition which might presumably retard his recovery. This holds true for the Negro and the white patient, and affects both in their relationship with one another. While pursuing local customs in a few isolated instances, we feel that we are following a practice that the great majority of Negro patients, while not desiring such a policy to be perpetuated indefinitely, feel is to their best interest at the present time.

I have submitted your correspondence to the Fair Employment Officer of the Veterans Administration for appropriate attention to that portion pertaining to the alleged discrimination against Veterans Administration Negro employees at the [Lawson] Veterans Administration Hospital in Chamblee, Georgia, and have called his attention to your request for a conference on this matter.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Paul B. Magnuson
PAUL B. MAGNUSON
Chief Medical Director

STATEMENT CHARGING WHOLESALE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO EMPLOYEES AND PATIENTS AT THE LAWSON VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, CHAMBLEE, GEORGIA.

APR 15 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

February 9, 1949.

I.

Introduction

This statement, charging the Lawson Veterans Administration Hospital management with wholesale and systematic violation of President Truman's Executive Order 9980 of July 26, 1948, forbidding discrimination in the Federal service, is submitted directly to the Fair Employment Practices Board and to appropriate Congressional Committees and members, for the following reasons:

The conditions of prejudice and terror against Negro employees at Lawson are so serious that resort to the usual procedures for local consideration of such grievances not only would be vain, but also would in all liklihood lead to reprisals against employees who dared to raise these issues with the management. Specific instances of such conditions of terror and reprisal are as follows:

On December 16, 1947, a Union delegation protested to the management over the refusal to assign needed white Attendants to care for Negro patients. On the night of this conference with the management -- which was known only to Union leaders and the management -- the Ku Klux Klan invaded the Negro Attendants' dressing room and covered it with KKK stickers (sample attached), placed on every locker and window pane, and all over the floor. The Union immediately requested that this dastardly act be investigated and the perpetrators discharged from the Hospital. In the time since then, however, no act of discipline or reprimand -- not even a general statement -- has been made by the hospital management regarding Ku Klux Klan activity on the station.

This act of open terrorism was followed by reprisal against the President of the Local Union, a Negro veteran and leader. Mr. Daniel, who led union delegations inquiring as to the management's plans for compliance with President Truman's Order against discrimination in the Federal service, and fought against specific conditions of discrimination, soon found himself charged with "disloyalty". When he asked that at least one Negro serve on the "loyalty" board hearing his case, the request was denied and he was tried before an all-white board. When he asked what was the evidence against him, the management refused to produce any. When he asked the nature of the evidence against him, the management stated it was "confidential", while refusing to state what "security considerations" justified this arbitrary procedure which made a defense impossible.

When the Board, with unseemly haste, found Mr. Daniel guilty of "disloyalty", not only was he suspended from his job, but also his pay for time already worked and for over 400 hours of accrued annual leave, was denied him -- thus stealing what he had earned and subjecting him and his wife and child to extreme hardship.

On January 28, 1949, representatives of the Lawson Hospital management called all hospital employees into a series of meetings in which the firing of Mr. Daniel was pointedly referred to, with thinly veiled suggestions that employees should stay away from the Union.

It seems obvious that in an atmosphere like this, resort to procedures for contesting discrimination at Lawson Hospital itself becomes impossible. Moreover, the prescribed procedures are adapted to individual cases and instances of discrimination. Here we have a wholesale pattern, an over-all scheme of discrimination which cannot be suitably proved or handled by the individual case method.

For these reasons, Local 273, United Public Workers of America, C.I.O., on behalf of the entire membership, submits these charges directly to the Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission and to any appropriate Congressional Committees and Members of Congress.

II.
Discrimination and Segregation Practiced Against Negro Employees at Lawson Hospital.

The basic condition of discrimination against Negro employees at Lawson Hospital is the systematic exclusion of them from the better, higher-paying, clerical, technical, and professional jobs. This is proved on an over-all basis by the jobs from which Negroes are excluded, and by the jobs to which Negroes are confined:

Jobs from which Negroes are Excluded.	Jobs to which Negroes are Confined.
Administrative office	Hospital Attendant
Clerks	Mess Attendant
Secretaries	Janitors
Nurses	Laborers
Doctors	Housekeeping aides
Dieticians	Kitchen workers
Personnel office	Grounds
Supervising Attendants	Laundry
NP Ward Attendants	Maids
Guards	
Firemen	
Finance office	
Post office	
X-Ray Therapy	
Physiotherapy	
Physical rehabilitation	
Central supply office	
Eye-ear-nose-throat clinic	
Dental clinic	
Base supply office	
Ambulance driver	
Chauffeur	
Mechanic	
Electricians	
Painters	
Carpenters	

The only Negro supervisors are the Head Janitor, Head Waiter in the Nurses Dining Room, and a supervisor over the Mess Attendants. One Negro in the GU Clinic does technical work, but he is classified as Hospital Attendant. One Negro is in the laboratory; he washes bottles. Two or three Negroes work in the operating room, but they are classified as Hospital Attendants.

It is clear that basically Negroes are confined to custodial and menial jobs, and that even the exceptional supervisory jobs held by Negroes are those related to custodial and menial work.

It is no answer to say that Negroes have not applied for the better, higher-paying, technical, and professional jobs. Negroes would apply for many of these jobs if they knew there would be no discrimination in hiring. But Negroes are not interested in making a vain gesture. If the Lawson Hospital management would make a specific public announcement that the applications of Negroes for clerical, supervisory, technical, and professional jobs will be considered on their merits without regard to color, and would make civil service examination announcements for all hospital positions available to the Negro press (e.g., the Atlanta Daily World), they would receive many applications.

Underscoring the systematic exclusion of Negroes from higher jobs is a recent development at Lawson Hospital. During September and October, 1948, a delegation of Lawson Hospital employees organized in Local 273, United Public Workers of America, C.I.O., raised with the management the question of Negro supervisory attendants, in view of President Truman's FEPC Order for the Federal service. They pointed out that the majority of Hospital Attendants at Lawson are Negroes, including those with five, ten, fifteen, and twenty years' experience. In fact, due to the more rapid turn-over among white Hospital Attendants, the greatest fund of experience in this field is found among Negro Attendants. In view of these facts, the Union delegation asserted that Negroes should be included among the supervisory Attendants. At that time and for a considerable period, there had been six supervisory Attendants, all white:

Chief Attendant	Evening Supervisor
Assistant Chief Attendant	Night Supervisor
Day Supervisor	Relief Supervisor

The management promised that a Negro Hospital Attendant would be promoted to fill the first vacancy in any of these positions. But within a matter of days, the number of supervisory Attendants was reduced from six to four:

Chief Attendant
Assistant Chief Attendant
Evening Supervisor
Relief Supervisor

At the same time, the functions of the supervisory Attendants are being taken over by Nurses (all white) in the Chief Nurse's office. Thus the prospect and possibility of Negroes being promoted to supervisory Attendant positions is being systematically removed by the management.

The situation was further highlighted during the hearing (Dec. 1948) on charges of disloyalty against Mr. Irvin Daniel, Negro employee at Lawson. Mr. Daniel had requested that at least one member of the "loyalty board" sitting on his case should be a Negro. When pressed for a reason for denying this request, the management representative stated that loyalty board members must be directors or assistant directors at the VA Branch Office, and that there were no Negroes in positions at this level!

In addition to job discrimination at Lawson, Negro employees are subjected to other forms of discrimination and segregation. They are required to use separate dressing rooms, which until recently were labelled with Jim Crow signs. They, as well as Negro patients and visitors are affected by the segregated and discriminatory canteen facilities. They are seated separately in the Mess Hall.

III.
Discrimination and Segregation Practiced Against Negro Patients at the Lawson VA Hospital.

Negro veterans who are patients at the Lawson Veterans Administration Hospital do not receive equal services and facilities with white patients. The basis for practically all the situations of discrimination against Negro patients is the consistent policy and effort of the management to maintain segregation between patients on the basis of color.

When the Lawson Hospital was under the U.S. Army, prior to September 1946, there was no segregation of Negro patients.

Under the Veterans Administration, however, with a few exceptions which will be noted later in this statement, Negro patients are confined to two wards, 14A and 20B. Ward 20B is called a general medical ward. Ward 14A is called a general surgical ward.

White patients are distributed among some twenty wards, compared with two for Negroes, although in population the area served by Lawson Hospital is over one-third Negro.

The situation in Ward 14A shows the discriminatory results of the segregation policy. Although described as a general surgical ward, 14A is a catch-all for a great variety of cases. There are 4 Negro cancer patients in 14A, while the white cancer patients are treated in special cancer wards, 4B and 5B. Thus, Negro cancer patients are excluded from the special cancer wards and from the special facilities provided there.

There are 6 to 8 Negro orthopedic patients in 14A, while the white orthopedic patients are treated in special orthopedic wards, 6A, 7A, and 8A.

There are 3 Negro chest surgery patients in 14A, while the white chest surgery patients are treated in a special ward for these cases, 2A.

There are 3 Negro GU patients in 14A, while white GU patients are treated on a special GU ward, 5A.

There are 2 to 4 Negro eye-ear-nose-throat patients in 14A, while white EENT patients are cared for in an EENT ward, 16A.

The result of excluding Negroes from the specialized wards not only deprives them of the facilities and services most needed for their cases, but also results in atrocious conditions of overcrowding in Ward 14A. This ward has a normal bed capacity of 32 patients. However, the policy of segregation has on occasion resulted in as many as 38 patients being crowded in this ward, with beds in the aisle and on the porch. The porches are intended as pleasant lounging places for ambulatory patients, and this is the use made of them on white wards. Attached are pictures of beds and equipment which crowd the porch in 14A.

Other examples of segregation and discrimination against Negro patients are the following:

In the Admission Office, there are separate dressing rooms for Negro and white patients, labelled by Jim Crow signs on the doors. (See attached pictures)

In the Mess Hall, Negro and white patients are separately seated.

In the Canteen, white patients have two large and attractive adjoining rooms in which to eat. Negroes are relegated to a "two-by-four cubby-hole". (See attached pictures.)

In the tuberculosis ward, 21B, Negro patients are kept in rooms separate from white patients; and on one occasion recently when there was no separate room available in Ward 21B, a Negro TB patient was placed in Ward 14A along with all other types of cases.

On the few occasions when Negro patients are placed in the post-surgical ward, 3A, they are segregated in separate rooms.

During the summer of 1948, two Negro patients were placed in Ward 2A (chest surgery). They were placed in rooms, and curtains were strung across the door. There was no medical reason for this, as the Negro patients were not bed patients, and this was not done in the cases of white patients in individual rooms. Since that time, no Negro chest surgery patients have been cared for in this ward, but have been sent to Ward 14A.

During January 1949, a Negro veteran with a head injury was sent from the Admission Office to Ward 14A. The Nurse said there was no room in 14A, and that the "overflow ward", 15A, was for white patients only. So the Attendants were told to set up another bed on the porch of 14A, although there was ample space in 15A.

During the summer of 1948, a Nurse at the eye-ear-nose-throat clinic told a Negro patient that he should sit in the back row of chairs in the waiting room of the clinic. Also a Nurse told a Negro patient that he could not use the toilet at the EENT clinic.

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These are merely examples of the conditions which prevail, so far as Negro employees and patients are concerned, at the Lawson Veterans Administration Hospital, an agency of the Government of the United States of America, in Chamblee, Georgia, just outside the city of Atlanta.

21- Labor

An Englishman Looks at AMERICAN LABOUR

R. H. S. CROSSMAN M.P.

DEFINITE
DOCUMENT
Southern Regional Council

The New Statesman and Nation

Union Membership, 1949

(13 S. States)

(QSM estimate)

250,000 —	Independent
750,000 —	CIO
2,000,000 —	AFL
3,000,000	Total, 1949

Union membership has about doubled in the last ten years.

Labor

STATEMENTS issued by CIO PRESIDENT WALTER REUTHER and CIO SECY-TREASURER JAMES CAREY on May 17, 1954, immediately following the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court outlawing school segregation.

CIO President Walter P. Reuther:

"The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the schools is a heartwarming reaffirmation of the American democratic principles that are inherent in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

"As a result of this historic decision, children of every minority in the United States will receive direct and substantial benefits, and, in turn, a greater share in our democracy.

"The unanimous nature of the decision clearly indicates that honest Americans recognize that violations or deprivations of civil rights have no place in our nation.

"The Court is to be congratulated for this great and inspiring decision which will benefit America not only at home but in every corner of the globe. The decision will be a body blow to the efforts of the Soviet Communists to use America's civil rights record as a propaganda weapon against all the nations of the free world.

"The CIO is proud to have played a role as a 'friend of the court' in the school segregation cases and in many of the earlier civil rights cases that built the legal groundwork for today's decision by the Supreme Court."

CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey:

"The historic decision of the Supreme Court that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional is another important step toward securing the constitutional guarantees of equal protection under our laws for all citizens. This decision represents the official recognition of our Government that the separate but equal doctrine is inconsistent with the fundamental equalitarianism of the American way of life. It breathes life into another recommendation of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

"The CIO is dedicated to the protection of our democratic system of government and the civil rights and liberties of all Americans. Therefore, we wholeheartedly support this decision and will vigorously support every democratic means to implement this decision in our communities. It increases the leadership responsibilities of all groups which have a concern with social action and educational functions. Our country will be judged in the manner of how we adjust to this decision.

"The resources of the CIO Civil Rights Committee, and the rest of the CIO, are available toward realizing a quick and peaceful transition to an unsegregated American educational community."

liu 1695 cio

Teachers Split

Courier 9-4-54

AT THE RECENT Chicago convention of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, a violent storm broke out when a New York delegate, Richard Parrish, submitted a resolution recommending that all federation locals that had not ended segregation completely before the next convention be suspended until integration is carried out.

There was the expected explosion of reaction on the part of some Southern delegates, many of whom expressed strong disapproval of the recent Supreme Court decision desegregating schools; and the resolution was considerably toned down.

Here in microcosm was a question which is going to bedevil labor unions more and more as time goes by.

Many organized workers (and not all in the South by any means) think and act as whites first instead of workers first, and this is very sad from the viewpoint of labor solidarity.

Years ago Eugene V. Debs warned that white labor could never be free as long as black labor remained in chains. It is still true.

AFL, CIO NEAR CRUCIAL TALK

Reuther and Chiefs Going to Miami to Seek Deal for Merging Unions

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 5 (AP)—AFL and CIO officials are about to enter a crucial stage in negotiations aimed at merging their union groups into a single powerful labor federation.

CIO President Walter Reuther is to lead a group of his union chiefs down to this winter resort where AFL President George Meany and top AFL officials have been holding strategy sessions.

Meany and Reuther, in the two years since becoming the major leaders of organized labor, have made steady progress toward their announced goal of combining their federations into a single 15-million-member union organization.

However, the unity talks have reached the stage at which all prior merger efforts floundered, and the guessing is still 50-50 whether any merger will be accomplished.

Committees Hopeful

Outwardly and apparently genuinely hopeful that they will go through with the amalgamation, three-man subcommittees representing the AFL and CIO will go into a huddle at the Roney Plaza Hotel here Tuesday to try to hammer out a written merger agreement. This will be subject to review by two 10-man committees at another meeting Wednesday. Any pact would have to be ratified later at the AFL and CIO conventions.

The union leaders say that by combining forces under a single banner they can build greater political power for organized labor, tougher economic strength against employers and more efficient drives to sell unionism to unorganized workers.

Standing in the way of achieving the merger are the jealousies and rivalries between various labor

See Page Two, Column Seven

Chat Times 2/6/55 Labor ★ ★ ★

AFL, CIO NEAR CRUCIAL TALK

From Page One

leaders and their unions for prestige and worker-organizing rights.

Divided 20 Years

However, Meany and Reuther say they plan to bring all AFL and CIO unions under the same tent on a status quo basis and let them fight out any differences once the merger takes place. It has been 20 years since the CIO was formed by a group of unions splintering away from the AFL.

Meany is expected to emerge as head of the combined setup with Reuther bowing out and sticking to his other job as president of the million-member auto workers union, possibly with added political responsibility as an aide to Meany.

For employers, a labor merger would likely mean tougher union bargaining and more concentrated union-organizing efforts against nonunion plants. Once the merger is completed, Meany and Reuther plan to invite the big independent railroad unions and John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers to join up, too.

Lauds Formosa Stand

The AFL executive council which has been holding midwinter sessions here all week and will convene again Monday, released a statement today warmly endorsing President Eisenhower's foreign policy and his handling of the Formosan problem.

The council warned "against any attempt, under cover of pursuing the armistice pattern set in Korea and Indochina," to extend American recognition to Communist China or to "smuggle the Russian imposed terror regime into the United Nations."

Meany told reporters that, while the AFL differs with Eisenhower on most domestic issues, it generally firmly supports his foreign policy views.

RACE ISSUE LOOMS IN SCHOOL BATTLE

Chat Times Feb 22 1955

NAACP Sees Segregation as Factor—AFL, CIO Attack Eisenhower Program

CCC

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 (AP)—The Senate Labor Committee today completed hearings on President Eisenhower's school-aid program with critical testimony from the AFL and CIO. There were also indications the whole question may become embroiled in a civil rights fight.

A last-day witness was Clarence Mitchell of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. He testified the administration measure raises a "very serious possibility that the bill in its present form would open the door for numerous attempts to continue racial segregation in the public schools."

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill), a member of the committee, recalled a 1949 effort by opponents of public housing to kill a housing measure by tacking to it a nonsegregation "rider." The attempt failed, but Douglas told Mitchell today "the same problem may be looming."

His point was that opponents of federal aid to education might use the segregation issue to kill all federal aid legislation.

'Two-Fisted Fight'

Mitchell urged on the committee a "two-fisted fight" to put a nonsegregation provision into the Eisenhower measure or any of several others pending before the committee. One of these by Sen. Hill (D-Ala), the committee chairman, appeared to have the support of a committee majority.

Hill himself predicted his own school aid measure, proposing one billion dollars of federal grants to the states the next two years, would be approved by a majority of the committee.

The Eisenhower measure is based primarily on a system of federal loans and credits to needy school districts, with only the most impoverished to be eligible for direct grants. These would amount to 200 million dollars over the next three years.

Both Andrew W. Biemiller of the AFL and George T. Guernsey of the CIO denounced the administration bill as inadequate.

Guernsey, associate director of education for the CIO, said the measure would provide "too little" in the way of aid.

"Half-hearted and pinch-penny" was the label used by Andrew W. Biemiller, legislative representative for the AFL.

Meany Vows Fight on Bias When Labor's Ranks Unite

A.F.L. Head's Pledge Gets Backing of Reuther's Aide at Conference

2-27-55

By STANLEY LEVEY

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, Feb. 26—George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, said today that the merged labor movement would not tolerate racial or religious discrimination.

Mr. Meany, who will head the unified group to be formed by a merger of the A. F. L. and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, addressed the first session of a two-day national trade union conference called by the Jewish Labor Committee. The committee represents 500,000 Jewish union members.

Acknowledging that bigotry and discrimination would not soon disappear, Mr. Meany asserted that a "good trade union movement" could not exist except in "an atmosphere of freedom." He called upon labor and the public to wage an unremitting fight to "clean up the remaining small-minded spots."

Mr. Meany said the Bill of Rights was of great importance to trade unions, and he developed the argument that the worker who remained unorganized because of his race or religion posed a serious economic threat to organized wage earners.

George Meany

As president of the merged

Continued on Page 84, Column 3

MEANY BARS BIAS IN LABOR'S RANKS

Continued From Page 1

labor federation Mr. Meany will be the leader of more than 15,000,000 unionists. The new group, which is expected to come into being before the end of this year, will have machinery—probably a civil rights department—to fight discrimination within the ranks of labor, he said.

This theme also was taken up by Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel of the C. I. O. Representing Walter Reuther, C. I. O. president, Mr. Goldberg said a "united labor movement can do much, much more than any of us have been able to do separately to win these battles."

Mr. Goldberg also seized the opportunity — without naming names—to assail Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, C. I. O., for his opposition to merger. Mr. Quill has taken the position that the C. I. O. should receive advance assurances against racketeering, raiding and racial discrimination before merging.

"I am aware," Mr. Goldberg aid, "of some demagogic attacks upon this unity agreement—attacks which question the good faith of the C. I. O., attacks which specifically mention the subject of civil rights and pretend that the labor movement will retreat in this field because of the merger.

"Of course the record of unions in America is not perfect. The record of the C. I. O. is not perfect, though I would be proud to measure it alongside the record of any other organization. Let me say to you that I know the leaders of the A. F. L. are just as sincere as are the leaders of the C. I. O. in their desire to eliminate any vestige of discrimination anywhere in the union movement of America."

Mr. Meany hailed the Supreme Court decision on desegregation in public schools as a "milestone in civil rights." And he urged that the states seeking to avoid the law by "legal and technical devices," be deprived of any Federal aid to education. Mr. Meany disclosed that he had received a letter recently from a member of the South Carolina State Senate urging him to "mind your own business" on desegregation.

"I wrote him a courteous reply," Mr. Meany said, "more courteous than the one he sent me. I told him public education was the A. F. L.'s business and had been for seventy-five years."

The labor leader outlined what he called the "positive side" of the merger. Instead of thinking about the evils to be eliminated, he said, we should have in mind the objectives to be sought. These include, he said, better housing, better schools, an ever rising standard of living, an ever better share of the wealth, increased political activity and understanding, improved civil rights and increased activity in the international field.

During the day's panel discussions both Charles Zimmerman, chairman of the conference, and Jacob T. Zukerman, president of the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish fraternal organization, attacked the committee in charge of celebrating the 300th anniversary of the Jewish community in New York.

The conference will close tomorrow with workshop meetings and a report on future activities.

Co In Sa

NORT Feb. 26 (A of the Sad ballet compa to a hospital fering from car poisoning.

A spokesman sai ers were rehearsi drafty room and shu dows. Fumes from stove filled the roo members of the troup lapsed. Four were held night in the hospital, others released after trea ment.

Labor Front

ccc

Pitt Cour. 3/12/55

Merger Good for Negroes

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

SINCE the talk started between the AFL and CIO regarding organic unity, there have been many conjectures. Many curbstone labor reporters have come up with some very fantastic ideas as to what the merger will be like. I had the pleasure last week of voting for the merger, because, according to its articles of agreement, the Negro does actually stand to gain greater advantages.

Mr. Townsend

Let's take for instance the position of A. Philip Randolph. Under the structure of the new orgaization Phil will become a member of the general executive board and will, for the first time, be a part of the policy-making body. This will mean there will be two Negroes on the general board. It certainly will be a pleasure to have Philip on the board where he should have been many years ago.

And next article (f) of the merger agreement states: "The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination."

This is no pious declaration as we have known so often in the past, but indeed a firm approach to the matter of race relations.

* * *

THERE WILL be appropriate machinery to enforce the constitutional provisions that deal with this matter and no longer will international unions stand back on what they call "autonomous rights."

Small international unions like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the United Transport Service Employes will not have their integrity disturbed. On the basis of the new constitution, no small union will be gobbled up by the large unions.

All in all, the articles of agreement for merger give to the Negro stronger constitutional rights than even the liberal CIO had in its constitution.

Workers in every section of the land, in every industry, will find direct benefits as a result of the merger agreement. Unity will help to promote the well-being and the effectiveness of every union and their membership, in each and every phase of its activities — social, economic, legislative, political and community.

CIO Delegates Hold Talks on Segregation

Atlanta
2-25-58

Negro and white union delegates, who say they represent more than 15,000 CIO packinghouse workers in the South, are holding a two - day conference here aimed at ending public school segregation.

The sessions close Friday at Atlanta University. They have as their stated purpose "to examine all problems relating to segregation and discrimination and to map out specific programs to bring about their destruction."

The conference is sponsored by Districts Eight and Nine of the United Packinghouse Workers of America—CIO. Officials said it is the first Southwide anti-discrimination conference to be called by either a CIO or AFL union.

Ralph Helstein of Chicago, president of the national UPWA, scored Gov. Marvin Griffin's opposition to school desegregation.

Anti - segregation sentiments were voiced by Edmund Dumas, director of the seven-state District Nine, which has headquarters here, and George Thomas, director of District Eight, which has quarters in Fort Worth, Tex.

Meat Workers Open Drive To End School Segregation

A 13-state drive to end school segregation in the South was opened here Thursday by the United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO).

The two-day conference, representing UPWA Districts 8 and 9, brought together Negro and white delegates representing more than 15,000 Southern workers.

The first Southwide antidiscrimination conference called by either CIO or AFL unions, the gathering had this stated purpose:

"To examine all problems related to segregation and discrimination and to map out specific programs to bring about their destruction."

Ralph Helstein, UPWA president, ripped Gov. Griffin's opposition to school segregation as a "plantation-type sellout of not only Negro citizens but of all white and Negro citizens in the South."

Helstein declared:

"The organized strength of this union will be thrown into the fight to end all segregation and discrimination in whatever forms they might appear.

The union president said "desegregation is the only method for providing adequate schooling for both white and Negro children."

Edmund Dumas, host director of UPWA's District 9, and George Thomas, District 8 director, said in a joint declaration:

"Discrimination and segregation rob white and Negro Southern workers of more than five million dollars annually because of the lower wages paid in the South than elsewhere in the country."

Russell R. Lasley, union vice president, said "segregation is divisive, dirty and destructive. It has no place in a society of freedom."

Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, called for "equal rights for Americans."

Men of Ahavath Achim To Hold Stag Dinr

Ahavath Achim Men's C
scheduled a stag dinner
Monday at the Edu
Building, 250 Tenth
A film, "The
be shown a
will pres
music

UPWA Maps $10 Million Drive To End Segregation

In Const 3-26-55 1955

Atlanta

A $10,000,000 AFL-CIO drive to end segregation in the South was mapped here Friday by delegates representing about 15,000 packinghouse union members in 13 Southern states.

Leaders of two districts of the United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) said work to raise the money will begin immediately. It would be used for court tests of segregation, research on "discriminatory" practices in all areas of Southern life and propaganda to win public opinion over to the anti-segregationist standard.

FLAY DIXIE LEADERS

Speakers at a two-day anti-discrimination conference attended by 150 delegates from Southern locals flayed Dixie leaders who are fighting to maintain segregation. They urged union members to violate segregation laws in order to bring segregation practices to legal tests.

Schools and transportation facilities were among the major "battlefields" on which the union leaders said they would wage war.

John H. Telfer, program coordinator for the Southeastern district of the union, said the UPWA would work actively in the drive but exepects other unions in the AFL and CIO to join the fight, as well as non-union organizations with anti-segregation policies.

OUTLINES PROGRAM

The UPWA's national Anti-Discrimination Department is regarded as one of the most outspoken and active groups fighting segregation in this country. The department's director, Russell R. Lasley, was at the Atlanta conference to propose a 10-point program aimed at implementing recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions against segregation.

Edmund Dumas, host to the conference and director of UPWA in the Southeast, said the program would be pushed immediately in locals throughout his district.

Atlanta, headquarters for the district, has five UPWA locals in 10 packinghouses in the area.

1955

Racial Bias Laid to Union; State Calls Public Hearing

3/27/55 NY Times

By STANLEY LEVEY

The State Commission Against Discrimination has ordered a union to face a public hearing on charges of discriminating against Negroes. In its ten-year history the commission has processed more than 3,100 complaints. Only six or seven, according to a spokesman, have reached the public hearing stage, and none of these has involved a labor organization.

The union in this case is the Bottlers and Drivers Union, Local 1345, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, A. F. L. The complaint, brought by fifteen Negroes, makes these charges against the local and its president, Alfred P. Dunn:

¶Discrimination against Negroes in job referrals at the union's hiring halls.

¶Refusal to grant Negroes a fair share of the work.

¶Refusal to admit Negroes to union membership.

Conciliation a Failure

Normally the commission strives to settle complaints on the threshold of public hearings. This was attempted in the case of Local 1345, but without success. Commissioner Elmer A. Carter tried for many months to find a peace formula through conciliation and education—the two favored procedures of the commission.

In January, after a long and delicate negotiation, a labor-management agreement was formulated for the brewing industry here that would have granted seniority rights to twenty Negro workers. But Local 1345 refused to sign it.

The local's contention was that there never had been any discrimination in the local and that to sign the agreement would be to acknowledge "something that does not exist." However, three other brewery locals and five brewers did sign—without conceding any violation of the law against discrimination.

The locals—all sister affiliates of Local 1345 in the teamsters—were Bottlers and Drivers Union, Local 1096; Beer Drivers Union, Local 323, and Beer Drivers Union, Local 124. The brewers were Liebmann, F. & M. Schaefer, Schlitz, Piel Brothers and Piel's, Inc., and Jacob Ruppert.

Effect of Agreement

The net effect of the labor-management agreement would have been to give the twenty Negroes seniority rights they do not now have. The complainants charged that though they had worked in breweries a great many days a year, they had been deprived of seniority because of existing patterns of discriminatory job referrals.

Recent changes in beer drinking habits, one source said, have given Local 1345 a controlling hand over extra brewery labor. Increasingly more beer is drunk from bottles and cans than from kegs. Local 1345's jurisdiction covers bottle delivery, bottle shop work and warehouse employment.

Because of the large amount of extra work available in these occupations, it is in the jurisdiction that Negroes in recent years have been seeking employment. The commission's interest in the problem goes back two years or more. Another articulate group in attempting to wipe out discrimination in brewery employment has been the Urban League.

Behind the refusal of Local

Continued on Page 72, Column 4

WHEN you think of writing—Think of Whiting. WHITING PAPER COMPANY—Advt.

STATE CITES UNION ON BIAS CHARGES

3/27/55

Continued From Page 1

1345 to accept the labor-management agreement is an intra-union dispute. The local has long been at odds with the leadership of the Brewery Joint Board, representing the four teamster beer unions, on political grounds. Local 1345 regards the joint board as under left wing control.

The public hearing is scheduled for tomorrow morning at the commission's office, 270 Broadway. However, Local 1345, which has filed an answer to the complaint, has asked for adjournment until April 15. The chances are that the commission will grant the request.

Under state law, the hearing will be conducted by three commissioners. Commissioner Carter will not be one because the commissioner who handled the informal situation is barred from sitting when the case becomes public.

After hearing the evidence the commission may—if the facts warrant—issue a cease and desist order containing certain affirmative provisions as to future procedure. The order is legally binding and the commission may go into the courts for enforcement. Violations are punishable by law.

Start Hearings On Charges Of Labor Union Bias

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — Hearings on racial bias involving a labor union's practices has been ordered by the State Commission Against Discrimination with the Bottlers and Drivers Union, Local 1345, International Brotherhood of Teamsters AFL as the offender.

The complaints, brought by 15 Negroes against the local and its president, Alfred P. Dunn, are discrimination against Negroes in job referrals at the union's hiring hall, refusal to grant Negroes a fair share of the work and refusal to admit Negroes to union membership.

Normally, the commission tries to settle complaints before they reach the public hearings stage. This was attempted in the case of Local 1345 but without success. Commissioner Elmer A. Carter tried for many months to work out a peace formula through conciliation and education—two procedures favored by the commission.

Last January, after a long and delicate negotiation, a labor-management agreement was formulated for the brewing industry that would have granted seniority rights to 20 Negro workers, but the local refused to sign it.

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However, three other brewery locals and five brewers did sign—without conceding any violation of the law against discrimination.

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Because of the large amount of work available in these occupations, it is in this area that Negroes in recent years have been seeking employment. The commission's interest in the problem goes back two or more years. At that time there had been considerable agitation in Harlem. one of

Black Dispatch
4/9/55
CCC

Labor Front

Negro for Labor Post

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

THE UNITED STATES Dement of Labor has made it known that the vacancy in the top post of assistant secretary of labor will be filled from the ranks of labor some time in July.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell gave this assurance a few days ago in the hearing before the House Appropriations Subcommittee. Mr. Mitchell told members of the subcommitee that he had offered the post of assistant secretary of labor to several labor people, but could not get any takers.

Mr. Townsend

Certainly, it would be encouraging to Negro labor leaders and to Negro workers generally if a Negro from labor were chosen.

It would certainly give them the feeling of participation in Government since the problems of Negro workers are certainly better understood by one who has spent his lifetime in the ranks and developed all the skills required in such a high office, rather than one who has not.

This column would nominate A. Philip Randolph, who is a dean of Negro labor leaders and most certainly representative of the aspirations of the Negro working class.

• • •

THE CIO Newspaper Guild of New York has selected George Meany for its Page One award in the field of labor.

In making the award they point out that he was being honored "for the skill, patience and statesmanlike vision he displayed as chief architect of labor unity."

The awards consist of sticks of type, mounted and bronze-coated, and an accompanying citation explaining the nature of the award. Presentations will be made at the annual Page One Ball, April 29, in the Sheraton-Astor Hotel, Manhattan.

The National Public Affairs Award goes to Thurgood Marshall, general counsel of the NAACP, for leading the fight culminating in the Supreme Court decision against discrimination.

James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, and ex-President Harry Truman posing "in a jolly, let-your-hair-down mood," won Sam Goldstein of INP the Graphics Arts Award for a photograph taken at the AFM convention in Milwaukee.

Pitt. Cour.
4/9/55

CCC

N.Y. Times
4/15/55

MINORITIES AIDED IN LABOR MERGER

CCC

Jewish Group Is Reminded of Aim to Protect Civil, Racial, Religious Rights

The determination of the nation's two merging labor bodies to work for strengthening of civil rights and to combat racial and religious discrimination was stressed yesterday by a labor leader.

Charles S. Zimmerman, vice president of the Internatinal Ladies Garment Workers Union, A. F. L., brought this out in an address to the twentieth biennial convention of the Jewish Labor Committee at 25 East Seventy-eighth Street. The committee represents 500,000 Jewish workers in the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In noting that the proposed constitution of the united movement contained a clause attacking racial and religious discrimination, Mr Zimmerman said the new federation would establish a special civil rights department.

"Labor unity means that minorities both in and out of the trade union movement will be given the protection of the American labor movement," he declared.

Answer to Reds at Bandung

At another session, Emanuel Muravchik, national field director of the committee, said that the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation "had a great deal to do with the fact that America presented a brighter idealistic face at the Bandung Conference."

"No longer were Communist propagandists able to point to America and claim that segregation was a national policy condoned by weak laws," he observed.

He said that Communist propaganda in this country had become ineffectual "because the labor movement has taken the initiative in forging better weapons, weapons beaten out on the anvil of democracy, not out of the molden mass of tyranny and suberfuge."

Minority groups in this country, he added, "are no longer fooled by slogans coined by the slave masters of the Kremlin and echoed by their stooges in this country."

At a special session in the New School Auditorium, 66 West Twelfth Street, the committee honored Adolph Held, its national chairman. He will mark his seventieth birthday on Tuesday. Congratulatory messages were received from President Eisenhower and other public officials as well as from labor leaders.

Mr. Held received a scroll citing his efforts in behalf of humanitarian causes and the labor movement.

Labor Front

CCC

Church Leader Speaks His Piece

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

LAST WEEK while attending the Louisiana State Industrial Union Council Convention in New Orleans, I became fully aware of the new spirit of the South. The convention was addressed by the Rev. James L. Stovall, pastor of the North Baton Rouge Methodist Church.

Mr. Townsend

It was indeed heartwarming to listen to a white minister in the South speak so forcefully on the values of brotherhood. The Rev. Stovall said in part as follows:

"Be a steadying influence in our state, and in the South as we face up to the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in regard to segregation in public education. This is one of the most important issues before our state today, and the way we handle it will be a measure of our democracy and of our Christianity. I want to remind this audience of something. What did the last legislature take that was a slap in the face to you? It was the so-called 'right to work' law. Now, the men who were responsible for the so-called 'right to work' legislation are the same legislators and men in our state who are today trying to stir up racial animosity, and who are seeking to confuse the people of Louisiana so that a reasonable solution to this problem will be impossible. The proponents of so-called 'right to work' legislation and the proponents of racial antagonism in Louisiana are one and the same. This says to me that we have a group of men who have lost faith in America and in the strength of democracy; so they turn to desperate measures. I would hate to think that America is so weak that we cannot deal with this in a mature manner.

"We need today a rebirth of faith in America and in democracy. We need to believe in people and in their ability to work together if given the opportunity. The CIO has rendered a great service to America in creating a climate in which people of different races, creeds and colors, can work together in an atmosphere of equality and mutual concern. I commend you for your excellent achievements, but remind you that our task is still incomplete. You can render a great service to Louisiana during the next few months by acting with cool heads and warm hearts. This will lead us to be true to our democratic and Christian heritage. It will prevent us from destroying our public school system and from putting our parochial schools in an embarrassing and impossible position. It will keep us from discrediting America abroad by stirring up racial conflict at home. Let us not be afraid of justice and good will, but let us re-assert and act upon our basic democratic and Christian faith."

It is such men as the Rev. Mr. Stovall and his colleagues, together with the CIO and the NAACP who are bringing about a social and economic revolution in the South.

Pitt Courier
4/23/55

9/13

News from CIO

EXecutive 3-5581 Congress of Industrial Organizations 718 Jackson Pl. N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

CWA PRESIDENT BEIRNE 'DISAVOWS' AND 'CRITICIZES' VIOLENCE, IN REPORT TO CIO PRESIDENT REUTHER; SAYS CWA SEEKS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH SOUTHERN BELL

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1955

The CIO today made public an exchange of letters between CIO President Walter P. Reuther and President Joseph A. Beirne of the CIO Communications Workers of America, in which the CWA head declared "we neither condone nor sanction damage to company property during a strike -- or at any other time."

Mr. Beirne said the union does all it can to "prevent such damage" since it knows that such action is "more likely to harm our cause with the public than it is to do it any good."

Mr. Beirne said: "We deplore goonism, whether practiced by the union, the company or agents of either."

Noting that property damage is a normal year-round problem for phone companies, Mr. Beirne suggested that "for all we know, CWA may have enemies" who would deliberately damage company property to bring "discredit" to the union. "For all we know," he added, striking CWA members may have friends outside our ranks "who mistakenly assume that CWA members benefit in some way from damage to telephone plant... We are not responsible, nor do we condone such activity on the part of these people."

"For all we know," Mr. Beirne added, "the telephone company has enemies, people whose normal inclination would be to seize the opportunity a strike offers to revenge themselves on the company for a real or fancied wrong."

The CWA President said the union's policy is to carry on "orderly, peaceful picketing during a strike, to inform the public about the dispute, meanwhile seeking a peaceful settlement across the bargaining table... Not only do we disavow other means but we vehemently criticize such action."

On April 27, Mr. Reuther wrote to the CWA president:

"During recent weeks, I, like millions of other Americans, have been reading almost daily reports in the press of damaged telephone company property in

-more-

the area affected by the strike. I trust that this damage to company property is not the work of the union or of its highly responsible officials and members."

"Your union, I am confident, recognizes that malicious damage to property should have no place in the industrial relations sphere. I know, also, of the splendid service to communities all over the country which has been performed by telephone workers, and which is symbolized by your leadership of the CIO Community Services Committee.

"Since these stories in the press tend to reflect adversely not only on the CWA but on the CIO as a whole, I wonder if you could give me a report concerning the union's attitude toward the reported cases of malicious damage of Southern Bell properties. I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible."

Mr. Reuther expressed his hopes that the union would win its strike for a decent contract and for that manner of economic and social justice to which your members and their families are entitled."

Mr. Beirne, in a reply dated April 29, said the union feels that "peaceful picketing, plus continued negotiations across the conference table, plus publicity of the union's position, should ultimately bring about a settlement of the strike." He noted that the CWA had "offered to arbitrate all disputed items even before the strike began. We are still ready to do so. The company, however, has steadfastly refused to arbitrate.

"CWA takes the position that the Southern strike could be brought quickly to a close if the company would sit down and bargain in good faith. There has been absolutely no change in company position on a single disputed item since before the strike began."

Mr. Beirne sent Mr. Reuther a memorandum that had been sent earlier to CWA local presidents throughout the country. He noted that damage to telephone equipment is a constant problem, year in and year out.

"We are sure that Southern Bell -- now that a strike is in progress -- is willing to see the blame for these plant damages at the door of CWA in an attempt to discredit the strike in the minds of the public."

TEXTOF MR. REUTHER'S LETTER, MR. BEIRNE'S LETTER AND MR. BEIRNE'S MEMO TO LOCAL UNION PRESIDENTS, ARE ATTACHED.

LETTER FROM CIO PRES. REUTHER TO CWA PRES. BEIRNE:

April 27, 1955

Dear Joe:

I am glad to get your report that the ranks of the striking CWA members in the South are holding strong and firm and that they are united in their determination to win a fair contract, including the impartial arbitration of disputed points. This point has been so universally accepted in normal labor-management relations in a large number of industries that it is a mystery to me why the Southern Bell System has refused this reasonable union request which would greatly improve relations between the union and the company.

During recent weeks, I, like millions of other Americans, have been reading almost daily reports in the press of damaged telephone company property in the area affected by the strike. I trust that this damage to company property is not the work of the union or of its highly responsible officials and members. Your union, I am confident, recognizes that malicious damage to property should have no place in the industrial relations sphere. I know, also, of the splendid service to communities all over the country which has been performed by telephone workers, and which is symbolized by your leadership of the CIO Community Services Committee.

Since these stories in the press tend to reflect adversely not only on the CWA but on the CIO as a whole, I wonder if you could give me a report concerning the union's attitude toward the reported cases of malicious damage of Southern Bell properties.

I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

With all best wishes for a successful conclusion of your strike for a decent contract, and for that manner of economic and sound justice to which your members and their families are entitled, I am

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/
Walter P. Reuther

TEXT OF LETTER FROM CWA PRES. BEIRNE TO CIO PRES. REUTHER:

April 29, 1955

Dear Walter:

I could best answer the questions contained in your April 27 letter by repeating to you what our fundamental policy regarding strikes is and always has been.

We neither condone nor sanction damage to company property during a strike -- or at any other time. On the contrary, we oppose this as action more likely to harm our cause with the public than it is to do it any good.

We do all we can to prevent such damage.

We feel that peaceful picketing, plus continued negotiations across the conference table, plus publicity of the union's position, should ultimately bring about a settlement to the strike.

We deplore goonism, whether practiced by the union, the company, or agents of either.

So that you will understand more fully our position in strike matters, attached is a copy of a letter we sent yesterday to our 730 locals throughout the United States and in Canada.

As for arbitration of the Southern Bell dispute, CWA offered to arbitrate all disputed items, even before the strike began. We are still ready to do so.

The company, however, has steadfastly refused to arbitrate. When we first offered it, the company said arbitration was "not in the public interest." So far as we know, they still hold to this view.

CWA takes the position that the Southern strike could be brought quickl to a close if the company would sit down and bargain in good faith. There has bee absolutely no change in company position on a single disputed item since before the strike began.

If the company has no intention of bargaining in good faith, we then fee they should be willing to submit the dispute to an impartial arbitrator. CWA stand ready to agree to such a step.

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/
J. A. Beirne
President

MEMO FROM CWA PRESIDENT BEIRNE TO CWA LOCAL PRESIDENTS :

Fellow Officers:

CWA members across the country have phoned me about the Southern strike with particular concern for the implications that members, officers, or agents of CWA may be involved in the accounts of damage to company property that may be occurring in the area.

I've spoken on a number of occasions about this subject both in the Southern area and in other sections of the country. I state unequivocally -- as I have on these other occasions -- that CWA is not engaged in any attempt to damage company property. Responsible union officials have been so instructed, and also have been instructed not to engage in any sort of violence anywhere at any time in connection with the strike.

Most of us in the communications industry know that telephone equipment is peculiarly susceptible to damage, all sorts of damage. Most of us know that damage to company property goes on all the time, year in and year out. Most of us know that the telephone industry spends millions of dollars each year repairing and replacing cable, poles and other equipment damaged in one way or another.

We are sure that Southern Bell -- now that a strike is in progress -- is willing to see the blame for these plant damages placed at the door of CWA in an attempt to discredit the strike in the minds of the public.

For all we know, striking CWA members have friends outside our ranks, people who may mistakenly assume that CWA members benefit in some way from damage to telephone plant which interferes with normal operation of the telephone business. We are not responsible, nor do we condone such activity on the part of these people.

For all we know, the telephone company has enemies, people whose normal inclination would be to seize the opportunity a strike offers to revenge themselves on the company for a real or fancied wrong.

For all we know, CWA may have enemies, people who may be willing to go so far as deliberately damaging telephone plant -- for the purpose of bringing discredit to the union.

To our members and friends we ask that any possible damages over which they have control be prevented for the reason that CWA is being blamed for acts it hasn't committed.

CWA policy is to carry on orderly, peaceful picketing during a strike, to inform the public about the dispute, meanwhile seeking a peaceful settlement across the bargaining table. This we have been attempting to do in Southern Bell. Not only do we disavow other means but we vehemently criticize such action.

Sincerely and fraternally,

s/ J. A. BEIRNE
President

U. S. Must End Bias, Labor Official Says

Phil. Wor. 6/15/55

PHILADELPHIA (ANP) — If the the United States is to insure global peace and avert a critical shortage of skilled labor that is becoming more and more apparent by the day, it must cease racial and religious discrimination," according to a statement made here recently by national Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

Mitchell speaking to a capacity crowd at the General Federation of Women's clubs convention, said the present administration has taken equal job opportunities under Federal contracts "off the agenda of political debates." He called on management and labor to discard discrimination, which he pointed out, "effectively bars some 6,000,000 Negroes from many forms of skilled employment."

Mitchell says he expects 1955 to be a record year for the American worker and his family and pointed out that the average factory employe in April earned $74 77. The amount represents an increase of $4 50 over last year's earnings.

Mitchell further stated that the available number of skilled workers in the country is not sufficient to meet the growing demands of military and civilian production.

"We must make provision for more and better training and retraining," he said. "The nation's employers must discard their traditional prejudice against hiring workers who are over 45 and yet still fully capable of valuable work. Our country must improve its educational facilities to give our workers the basic training and education they need to develop any sort of skill."

CCC

CIO Official Hails Plans To Make Merged Union Unbiased

6/24/55 Houston Informer CCC

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—Guarantees against racial discrimination in the proposed constitution of the new labor federation established by merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were hailed Saturday by James B. Carey, chairman of the CIO's Civil Rights Committee.

The constitution was ratified by the CIO Executive Committee at a special meeting Saturday. Mr Carey is secretary-treasurer of the CIO and president of the CIO Electrical Workers and was a member of the CIO-AFL unity subcommittee which drafted the constitution to govern the merged organizations.

"The civil rights guarantees and the built-in protection for every worker regardless of race, creed, color or national origin are an integral part of the document I am proud to have had a share in fashioning," Mr Carey said, adding:

"The new constitution, in this respect, goes far beyond anything in the present CIO constitution, it exceeds anything in the AFL constitution. There are at least four references to this important subject, direct or implied, in the constitution which will govern a federation embracing 15,000,000 workers.

"They are not empty words or hollow phrases intended to gloss a situation which must be met head-on. They carry authority and they lend vigorous determination to a sincere desire to insure eradication of the twin evils of discrimination and segregation."

The preamble of the new constitution pledges unceasing effort to win full respect for the dignity of the individual whom the unions will serve. It also pledges resolute combat against those forces which seek to undermine the nation's democratic institutions.

One of the stated objectives of the new organization, made implicit in the constitution, is to encourage all workers to share in the benefits of union organization. "That means, as it clearly says, all workers, without regard to race, color, creed or national origin," Mr Carey said.

Mr Carey said the executive council of the new organization is charged with the responsibility of seeing that the full benefits of union organization in craft or industrial unions are made available to every worker.

"The language is so clear, so forthright on this score that it banishes at once any qualms or misgivings that even the most timid could hold," Mr Carey declared.

Establishment of a committee on civil rights is also provided for in the new constitution. This committee will assist the executive council in bringing about implementation of the principle of nondiscrimination.

Blest Be The Tie That Washes

No more excuse for necktie stains, now that one practical manufacturer has come out with washable, shrink-proof, colorfast, all-wool ties. No man will have to discord a favorite tie if he discovers this new soap-and-water neckwear. It costs only $1, and comes in 19 solid colors.

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Discrimination Cited Wasting Manpower

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (UP)—Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell says neither the South nor the nation can afford any longer to waste manpower through discrimination against Negroes.

Mitchell told the 12th annual Institute of Race Relations at Fisk Negro University yesterday that "unless Negroes and other minority groups are given the chance to develop skills," national defense and economic progress of the race will be damaged.

Mitchell said industrialists of the South should realize they are losing much of the area's best trained and educated Negro manpower.

The South eventually must eliminate segregation in industry because "self interest will demand a reappraisal of the present policy," Mitchell said.

W. S. Sentl. June 20, 1955

CCC

The Gila Cliff Dwelling national monument, New Mexico, with an area of about 50 miles, is accessible only by foot or horseback.

1941: The Pullman Porters March on Washington

In January of 1941, A. Philip Randolph and Milton Webster of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters were leaving Washington to tour the South. The defense boom had begun, but it appeared to hold no place for the Negro. The new war plants would not hire him. Just 240 of the 107,000 persons employed in the aircraft industry, the lustiest of the war babies, were Negroes. Vultee of Nashville had limited itself to the hope that it could take on a few porters when things got moving. North American Aviation said frankly that no Negro, whatever his training, could expect employment as a mechanic; applications would be entertained only from janitors.

Randolph, as a representative Negro, had just been to see President Roosevelt to file one of the customary memorials against the immutable state of things. The President had been very gracious, but there was no indication that he felt capable of any particular performance.

Randolph and Webster sat on their southbound train and talked about this, the latest of so many feckless interviews. Randolph said that he did not think further conferences with the President could help much in placing Negroes in the defense industries. Webster agreed with him; there was a silence for fifteen minutes while Randolph observed the Virginia hills. At last he said in his soft and distant accents:

"I think we ought to do something about it. I think we ought to get ten thousand Negroes and march down

The New Leader
7/11/53

Pennsylvania Avenue and protest against the discriminatory practices in this rapidly expanding defense economy."

"And where," asked Webster, "are you going to get the 10,000 Negroes?"

Randolph listened awhile to his inner voice and observed at last that he believed they could get them. So they continued south, offering the idea of a Negro March on Washington wherever they could find an audience.

"I think the first place we talked March on Washington was Savannah," says Milton Webster. "It scared everybody to death. The head colored man in Savannah opened up the meeting and introduced me, and ran off the platform to the last seat in the last row."

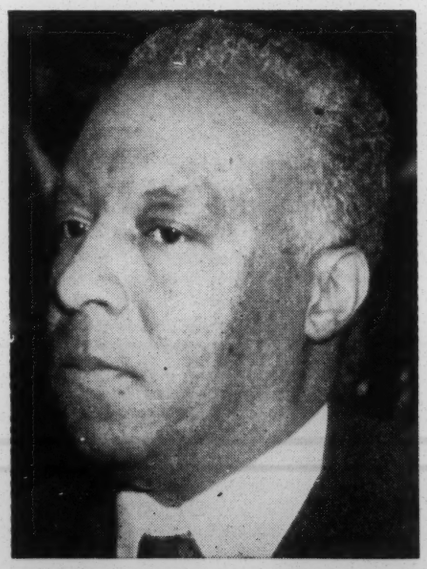
"So we talked March on Washington all through the South and then we came on back to the real God's country, and I went back to Chicago and he went on to New York, and, within the next thirty days, it had caught fire, particularly in the East, and everybody was talking March on Washington."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and a dozen other organizations representative of the Negro community joined the porters to announce that 10,000 Negroes would march on Washington on July 1 to shout their demand for defense jobs. The Negro is a buried segment of American life, and for two or three months Randolph's fire burned beneath the surface. In May, the Roosevelt Administration began to get reports of the blaze: Negroes were hiring trains for the trip from Chicago, from Memphis, and from Cleveland. There was every sign that not just 10,000 but 25,000 Negroes would pour into Washington crying for their rights, to the boundless embarrassment not merely of politicians but of the arsenal of democracy which had forgotten them.

President Roosevelt's first response to Randolph's threat was a June 1941 letter to his defense subordinates urging industry to "take the initiative to open the door of employment to all loyal and qualified workers regardless of race, creed, and color." This appeal was offered to Randolph and his allies as proof of good faith. He answered that it was only a hope and a prayer and that he would launch his battalions against Washington on the appointed date.

Then he was called to New York's City Hall to be begged off by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia, two old friends of the Brotherhood whose intentions he could not question. "They, as all good white people, told us that the March on Washington was too drastic," Webster says now, "and you ought to depend on the people that are friendly to get the desired results."

Mrs. Roosevelt explained that the march was impractical: Where would 25,000 Negroes eat in Washington and where would they stay? Randolph answered, after due reflection, that they would go to the hotels and the restaurants and register and order dinner. Then his two good friends began to understand the dimensions of the challenge. Randolph was unchangeable in his dire intentions. And so at last President Roosevelt invited him and the other Negro leaders back to the White House.



RANDOLPH: IN 30 DAYS, A FIRE

Randolph told Mr. Roosevelt that his price for peace was an executive order barring discrimination for reasons of religion and color in the war industries. The President replied that he was reluctant to issue the order with a gun at his head. He looked at Randolph, and Randolph held the gun. On June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8803, banning discrimination on defense projects and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Still Randolph would not take his gun away. He would only defer the March; and at every crisis in the FEPC's affairs, he was back with his hand on the trigger. His March on Washington touched the ordinary Negro as nothing had since Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa movement. In March of 1942, he brought 25,000 Negroes to Madison Square Garden; that evening Harlem's merchants cut off the lights in their stores for fifteen minutes to demonstrate their support. Milton Webster, the porter's representative on the FEPC, flew from the Garden to Birmingham, where the committee was holding its hearings on discrimination in the Deep South.

There were shouts and murmurs in Congress. Eugene Talmadge plastered Georgia with photographs of Webster sitting in judgment upon the white South. The Administration backed and filled and doubted and fumbled. At every crisis in the FEPC there was the threat that Randolph would invade Washington; and the committee remained alive throughout the war.

The Negro did not come out of the war as a free worker in an open economy. But the FEPC had given him a place in the basic industries which he had never held before. In the future, whites and Negroes would work together in factories where the Negro had never existed as a skilled worker. There were many factors in this revolution, but none were more important than Philip Randolph and his Pullman Porters and their March on Washington.

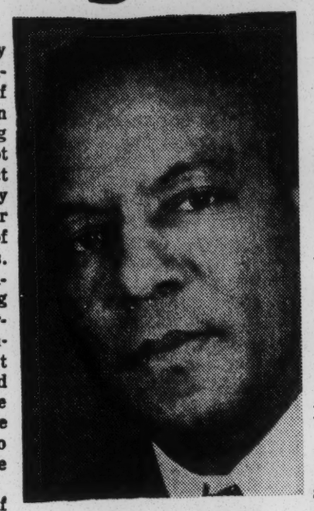
Features

A. Philip Randolph Discusses
The Negro And CIO - AFL Merger

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

When recently the two Unity committees of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations agreed on a name the final obstacle blocking a merger was removed. In the not too distant future we can expect for the first time in 20 years, unity between the two dominant labor bodies. The wholesome impact of such a movement is tremendous.

The effect on the politico-economic life of the nation in bringing together more than 16 million organized workers staggers the imagination. I believe sincerely that the merging of the AF of L and CIO will serve the public welfare of the nation and will accelerate the efforts of the American Negro to eliminate racial bias from the American scene.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

More than a million and a half Negroes are members of the AFL and CIO unions. Simply stated one in every 10 Negroes is a trade unionist. Three out of every four Negro families counts some member a dues payer in an AFL or CIO local union.

The Negro has a twofold task in respect to his union membership. First, he must assume his responsibility as a member and participate with other members to improve his economic standard of living.

He must make certain that the union develops policies and programs designed to achieve a dynamic industrial democratic society. It would seem, therefore, that the Negro's first job is to make certain that he as a member is a participant in every phase of his local union's program.

Second, he must wage continuously an unrelenting campaign to remove those practices of union racial bias whether by virtue of constitutional provisions or the more subtle mannerisms far to prevalent in some local bodies.

WAGE EARNER

Essentially the American Negro is a wage earner. This makes him potentially a trade unionist. The free trade union movement provides a medium through which he can accomplish much to improve his economic life.

One hears a great deal pro and con about the responsibility of a democratic society to the economic welfare of the individual.

Federal and state legislation dealing with maximum hours and minimum wages, women and child labor laws, social security, railroad retirement provisions, federal health program, federal aid to education and federal aid to public housing are just a few of the legislative acts which concern officially the AFL and the CIO.

In recent months Negroes in and out of AFL and CIO locals together with thousands of interested fellow white citizens have expressed great interest in the anti-discrimination clause in the proposed constitution for the new AFL-CIO organization.

It is an evidence of wisdom on the part of Presidents George Meany and Walter Reuther, the heads of the AFL and CIO respectively, and their colleagues on both Unity committees, to recognize the clamor from men of good will of both races to eliminate racial segregation from the new body as one of major importance.

The new constitution states in simple terms that one of the objects and principles of this federation is "to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

The constitution calls for the creation of a department of civil rights and already George Meany, who will be the president of the new organization, has stated that such a department will be a major wheel in the new AFL-CIO operational machinery.

It would seem that this department buttressed with the support of the president and executive council of the new body could do much in the beginning by stat

some are not "their brothers' keeper."

The new merged body can go far in giving leadership and vitality to the fight against racial discrimination. Such organizations as the NAACP, and numerous religious and welfare groups which are dedicated to improving human welfare could move faster in their programs with cooperative assistance from the new AFL-CIO body.

GREAT RESOURCES

Unions have great resources for not only cooperating with such organizations but can and should give leadership drawn from their wide experience in the industrial, political and legislative field.

Through their ability to accumulate and to spend great sums of money from their financial resources, the free trade union movement could do much to alleviate human misery from great masses of people in programs conceived and executed through democratic planning.

Therefore, it is easily seen that such a movement is truly a force to be reckoned with in the civil rights fight of the American Negro.

One cannot emphasize to strongly that the dues paying member is the backbone of the labor movement. Functioning essentially through his local he can exert constructive pressures not only for increasing his wages reducing his hours of work and improving his working conditions, but also for effecting policies and programs designed to make his community a more wholesome place for all to enjoy.

It is in this context that the more than one and a half million Negroes who pay union dues can contribute to hastening the elimination of racial and religious discrimination from our national society.

If the Negro is to make progress as a result of the merger he will have to do many things. He must willingly assume all of the financial responsibilities and accept the basic philosophy that governs the free trade union movement. For this is basic to the worker's salvation in a democratic society.

Not only must he pay joining fees, regular dues and assessments, but he must function earnestly and consistently in every phase of the union's program. He must be seen and heard at meetings, participate in debates concerning issues before the local and national union body and run for local and na-

or retarding a democratic society.

CREDIT SIDE

On the credit side of the ledger the recent increase in the federal minimum wage law to $1.00 an hour from 75c represents a notable legislative achievement for the trade union movement.

Although the unions rightly attempted to get the figure for workers in interstate commerce at $1.25, Congress was unwilling to heed the plea for the higher figure.

This increase not only benefits members of the trade union movement but all workers are effected wholesomely. In fact the national economy is the beneficiary of such an achievement.

When one recognizes also the great improvement in the Social Security and Railroad Retirement acts, the laws affecting child and women workers, federal funds for public housing, it can be seen that we have moved forward.

Yet be aware that the trade union movement is still threatened in numerous places. Increased efforts are being made by powerful forces to place upon the state statute books a low which would limit unions in their efforts to achieve a semblance of union security.

These laws, misnamed "right to work" laws, would nullify, if not completely wipe out the free trade union movement.

All unionists must participate in alerting the public to the dangers inherit in such laws and the general public should repudiate legislators who favor such legislation.

The Taft-Hartley act after eight years is still on the federal statute books. If recognized labor is to expand and continue to make its contribution to the general welfare of the nation, we must defeat the efforts of this anti-labor statutes.

SEEK LEGISLATION

Labor still seeks to get effective legislation establishing a national health program.

More than 65 years have passed since Congress last enacted any civil rights legislation. We still seek earnestly a federal FEPC with sanctions and penalties. At the same time, we work ardently for an effective housing program, free from jim-crow, anti-lynch and anti--poll tax laws.

These issues continue to be political footballs drawn out by both political parties at election time to be kicked around, with FEPC for the Negro vote.

Therefore, the American Negroes who are privileged to be members or who have the opportunity to be members of a democratic free trade union movement AFL or CIO have the responsibility to participate actively, vigorously and faithfully in every phase of his union's program.

He must ever seek to use the free trade union movement, especially through his local, to make certain that his union is operating effectively to increase his wages, reduce his hours of work and improve his working conditions.

He must go further. He must see that his union is participating aggressively in removing all practices that affect adversely any member in exercising his right to a job. He should hold his government responsible for leading the way in eliminating racial bias.

The Negro worker can increase his effectiveness by being a union member and advancing the course of free trade unionism; a bulwark against Communism and Fascism and the advanced guard for freedom, peace and plenty.

Diggs Opposes Coeds' Eviction

WASHINGTON — Congressm Charles C. Diggs, jr. (D. this week pledged himself for a reversal of a Ho versity decision order more women reside residence hall her August 31.

A letter from Slowe Hall vised that vacated Howa

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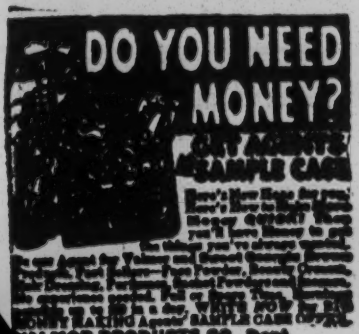
he can accomplish much to improve his economic life.

One hears a great deal pro and con about the responsibility of a democratic society to the economic welfare of the individual.

Federal and state legislation dealing with maximum hours and minimum wages, women and



The constitution calls for the creation of a department of civil rights and already George Meany, who will be the president of the new organization, has stated that such a department will be a major wheel in the new AFL-CIO operational machinery.

It would seem that this department buttressed with the support of the president and executive council of the new body could do much in the beginning by starting the new department off with the firm determination to tackle racial bias and to use the organization's resources, influences and most of all its humanitarian purposes in eliminating racial discrimination.

There is no doubt that great progress has been made both by the AFL and CIO in eliminating racial discrimination. This is due essentially to an increase awareness of free labor's role in a free society.

Through constitutional changes, some unions in both bodies have struggled aggressively, and others not too aggressively, with the task of eliminating from their bodies various practices of racial prejudice.

Yet, one must be ever mindful that there still exists in far too many places both in the AFL and CIO, at times subtle, at other times not too subtle, practices which give evidence that perhaps this is basic to the worker's salvation in a democratic society.

Not only must he pay joining fees, regular dues and assessments, but he must function earnestly and consistently in every phase of the union's program. He must be seen and heard at meetings, participate in debates concerning issues before the local and national union body and run for local and national offices.

He should seek to be elected a convention delegate to his union convention and also represent his union at annual conventions of the federated body. No union member should say that he has nothing to do.

No member should leave it to someone else in the local to do all the required tasks. For such lethargy can only assure a movement lack of growth and vision.

If only a few Negroes occupy positions affecting the basic AFL and CIO policies and programs this cannot be blamed entirely on our white union brothers. The AFL and CIO can feel justly proud of the progress made in improving the wages, reducing the hours and improving the working conditions of all workers white and black, union and non union members.

Both the AFL and the CIO recognize that federal and state legislation are means for achieving

NEW LABOR GROUP MAY ELECT NEGRO

N Y Times

Possibility Grows as Quill Drops Out of Contention for Vice Presidency

9/25/55

By A. H. RASKIN

A strong possibility developed yesterday that a Negro would be elected a vice president of the merged labor federation this December.

This became known after Michael J. Quill, an outspoken foe of the merger, had eliminated himself from consideration as a vice president.

The announcement by the president of the Transport Workers Union, C. I. O., that he would not take a top spot "if they handed it to me on a silver platter" solved an embarrassing problem for leaders of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Under the merger compact, which is scheduled for formal approval at a joint convention in this city Dec. 5, the A. F. L. will have seventeen vice presidents in the unified executive council and the C. I. O. ten. Mr. Quill, as a present C. I. O. vice president, would under normal circumstances have carried over as a member of the new council.

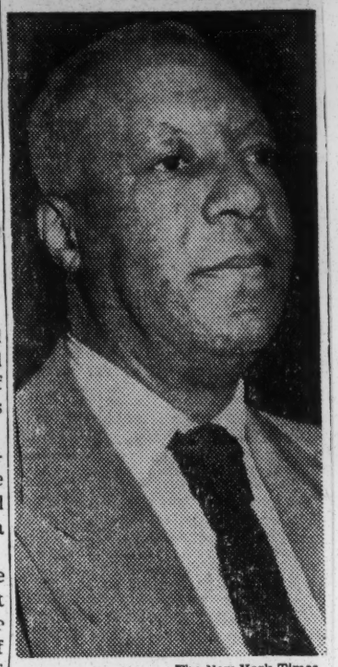
Quill Attacks Merger

However, the violence of his attacks on the proposed merger had led leaders on both sides to consider his elimination. The transit unionist had assailed the A. F. L. as a "cesspool" of corruption and racial discrimination, and had charged that the entire consolidation plan represented a "shotgun marriage" of no benefit to union members.

In a speech before 100 delegates to the annual convention of the United Stone and Allied Products Workers, C. I. O., at the New Yorker Hotel, Mr. Quill asserted that he had had assurances that his vice presidency would be "protected" under the merger but that he wanted no part of office in the new group.

The plan to put a Negro on the executive council of the new federation originated long before Mr. Quill made his withdrawal known. George Meany, president of the A. F. L., who is slated to head the combined body, first mentioned the possibility to associates six months ago.

The A. F. L., which now has fifteen vice presidents, will be entitled to select two more to complete its roster. The leading possibility for one of the posts is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.



The New York Times

ELECTION LIKELY: A. Philip Randolph of Sleeping Car Porters union. He may become a vice president of merged labor federation.

An Effective Speaker

An ardent champion of Negro rights in particular and civil liberties in general, Mr. Randolph is one of the most effective speakers in the latter movement.

Neither the A. F. L. nor the C. I. O. has had a Negro vice president, and leaders in both groups feel that the selection of a Negro now would be dramatic evidence of the intention of the merged federation to crusade for the elimination of Jim Crow restrictions on union membership or employment opportunities.

Mr. Quill's withdrawal raised the possibility that the C. I. O. might add a Negro to its list of vice presidents. He would be Willard S. Townsend, president of the Transport Service Employes Union. Mr. Townsend, like Mr. Randolph, has been a pioneer in the organization of Negro workers.

Labor
N Y Times

NEGRO MEETING FIRED ON

12 Hurt at Union Organization Gathering in Florida

UMATILLA, Fla., Oct. 21 (UP)—Twelve Negro citrus workers were wounded by mysterious shotgun blasts fired into a union organizational meeting Wednesday night, the Lake County sheriff's office disclosed today.

None of the victims was wounded seriously. Deputy Sheriff A. J. Grove said a white union organizer identified as Otis G. Nation of Lakeland was addressing the men in a Negro Masonic hall when the shots were fired from outside the building.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Oct. 21 (AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins offered the assistance of his office and the State Sheriffs Bureau in investigating the Umatilla incident. He ordered Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake County to investigate "fully."

CLU Rescinds Its Support Of Integration; Is Neutral

Chattanooga Times
Labor
9/13/55

By FRED HIXSON

The Chattanooga Central Labor Union last night reversed its position on the public school integration controversy, and adopted a new policy which declared that it would "henceforth refrain from involving itself on either side of this issue" and at the same time it urged all affiliated locals to "likewise refrain, leaving the matter to the individual."

Stanton E. Smith, president of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and secretary-treasurer of the Chattanooga central, released the resolution adopted by the delegates. He said the resolution was adopted "without a dissenting vote." Moreover, the state federation president revealed that last night's meeting was one of the largest attended by the group in many years—in fact "since the depression days" when organized labor was making its greatest push forward.

The action of the central body rescinded a resolution that had been adopted last July 25, which, among other things, placed the central body "on record as supporting the statement of policy of the Chattanooga board of education in its declaration that (1) the board will comply with the decision of the Supreme Court and (2) the board plans to seek participation of all our citizens in finding a fair and just answer to the problem."

Resolution Assailed

The July 25 resolution inflamed certain elements in the local labor movement with the result many locals adopted resolutions demanding that the CLU resolution be withdrawn.

The bitter protests that came from locals led to the action taken last night. The July 25 resolution also had stated that the American Federation of Labor, to which the central body and its affiliates belong, "believes that the Supreme Court decision on segregation (proceedings of the 73rd convention, Los Angeles, Sept. 20-27, 1954) has 'given meaning to our law,' but even more to our basic belief

See Page Eleven, Column Three

From Page One

in freedom of each and in dignity of man." The July 25 resolution went on to state that "the American Federation of Labor states further in resolutions adopted by the convention that the labor movement now has a great opportunity and a grave responsibility to help implement these laws"; and that the federation convention "called upon central bodies in the local communities to support and help bring about the implementation of the Supreme Court decision."

The resolution adopted last night flayed what it called "certain politicians" and the Chattanooga News-Free Press.

The resolution stated that the action of the central body on July 25 "has been seized upon by certain politicians long opposed to the trade union movement, and by the News-Free Press, whose hatred of unions is well known, as a weapon to divide labor and thus, to nullify labor's strength at the polls."

"Labor needs maximum unity within its ranks," the resolution continued, "in its efforst to elect men to public office who are devoted to the general welfare, rather than to the welfare of the privileged few and their political laceys.

"Because of the highly controversial nature of the issues raised by the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in the public schools, issues which cut across our ranks tending to divide us, it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Chattanooga Central Labor Union, henceforth to refrain from involving itself on either side of this issue.

"We urge all AFL unions in Chattanooga likewise to refrain, leaving the matter to the individual, so that labor will not fall prey to the political vultures

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Griffin Says Latex Strike Troops Stay

Walkout Leaders Ask Arbitration

By ALBERT RILEY

Gov. Griffin Thursday rejected a request that he withdraw state troopers from a strikebound plant at Dalton until "violence ceases."

Union leaders who want the troopers removed then asked the governor to propose arbitration of their strike dispute to the management of the struck General Latex and Chemical Corp. plant.

And a Baptist minister who handed Griffin petitions asking for withdrawal of the troopers bitterly criticized the governor's refusal to do so.

The Rev. J. B. Watters, pastor of the Olivia Baptist Church at Dalton, headed a delegation of Whitfield countians to present petitions he said were signed by 3,500 Whitfield countians.

'GUARD STRIKEBREAKERS'

The petition charged that the "only purpose of the Patrol is to guard scabs and strikebreakers" who never before worked at General Latex, and said local law enforcement agencies are able to preserve order at Dalton.

It also said that petitioners regarded Griffin's assignment of the State Patrol to guard the plant as "an act of company favoritism and a violation of labor rights."

The governor told the delegation, however, that troopers were sent to Dalton two weeks ago to preserve order "after several breaches of the peace took place."

EGG THROWING REPORTED

He said he had received reports of an egg-throwing incident at the Dalton plant only Thursday morning and suggested the delegation return home and "talk to your people and let's get this violence stopped."

The group told the governor that the strike would be ended if he would agree to act as arbitrator or name an arbitrator in the dispute involving discharge of five CIO Textile Workers of America members at the mill.

Griffin replied that he had no authority on labor matters but said that if the union would make the proposal in writing he would forward it to the management.

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Continued on Page 21, Column 1

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Continued on Page 21, Column 1

international representative of the TWA-CIO, released a copy of a letter calling on the governor to live up to his promise.

The letter, from Maken and Earl Webb, chairman of the General Latex Campaign Committee, said that if the company accepts the union's arbitration proposal the strike will be brought to an end.

Maken also released a statement attributed to the Rev. Mr. Watters declaring the governor's refusal to remove the troopers is "an insult to our community."

"In rejecting our request," the statement said, "the governor is giving a green light to scabs and strikebreakers all over the state."

It termed Griffin's refusal "to remedy this injustice" a "double shock" and said: "Our faith in the governor's political integrity is now smaller than ever."

The statement charged the governor with being "chiefly concerned with serving the profit interests of business" and with being willing to "trample on the economic welfare" of workers.

"In our opinion," the statement concluded, "the governor is not being true to his campaign promises to organized labor and is not being faithful to his obligations to the people of Georgia."

In a statement released after his conference with the Dalton delegation, Griffin said:

"I abhor violence or intimidation of any kind and will not permit it to occur in Georgia while I am governor. State Patrolmen were assigned to Dalton to preserve order after several breaches of the peace took place. They were sent to protect the lives and property of all citizens, both strikers and non-strikers alike, and will be kept there until all possibility of violence has subsided."

NEGRO HELD INDEX TO FUTURE OF U. S.

13 Nov 55

Influence of Democracy Tied to the Social, Political and Economic Gains of Group

The future and influence of democracy depend upon the social, political and economic gains of the Negro, it was asserted here yesterday.

The theme was developed at the final session of a two-day conference of the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice in the Rand School, 7 East Fifteenth Street. The conference was attended by 250 representatives of unions with a membership exceeding 500,000.

State Rent Administrator Charles Abrams said that the racial issue in America was "being pointed up as the outstanding example of the failure of democracy." He urged that this country "take the leadership in establishing the 'fundamental freedoms' so that people will 'live together in peace with one another as good neighbors.'"

Interracial housing projects, Mr. Abrams continued, have demonstrated their economic and social feasibility. He called for a "positive policy" by the Federal Housing Administration against developers who discriminated on account of race, creed or color.

Domestic Relations Justice Edward R. Dudley, a former United States Ambassador to Liberia, said that if this country was to "lend any hope to a lasting peace it must first clean its own house" in its attitude toward Negroes.

"When that time comes," he added, "we can provide the inspiration and the hope to countless millions while at the same time providing pressures on our European friends which cannot be laughed away because of what they know to be our true situation."

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. L., and chairman of the Trade Union Committee, said it was the "unfinished business" of American democracy to give the Negro "first-class citizenship" in labor unions, industry, politics, government, school, church and human relationships.

Declaring that racists, like Communists and Fascists, were "the enemies of democracy, freedom and human dignity," Mr. Randolph demanded the "exclusion or expulsion" from the new united trade union movement of groups that practiced discrimination and segregation.

The conference adopted resolutions urging that the Government, through its representatives in the United Nations, work for the establishment of independent democratic regimes in Africa based upon equality of all citizens; that the constitution of the united labor movement (the merger of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor) provide "full and complete equality, without any reservations" to the Negro, and that Congress be called in special session to vote "effective" civil rights legislation.

Student Slain, Youth Held

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 (AP) —A University of Maryland sophomore was stabbed to death last night while struggling with a car thief. The police arrested a 16-year-old youth early today and charged him with murder. They said Edward Vincent Marcionette of Silver Springs, Md., had bragged of killing Richard E. Gibson, 20, of Leetonia, Ohio.

New Levittown Library Room

LEVITTOWN, L. I., Nov. 12 —The Levittown Public Library will dedicate its new children's room on Nov. 20 at 2:30 P. M.

Labor 1955

N. Y. Times

US Supreme Court Order New Trial In Negro Workers Suit

HOUSTON — The United States Supreme Court, Tuesday reversed a decision of the U. S. Eastern District Court at Beaumont and the Fifth Circuit Court at New Orleans which upheld a discriminatory agreement between the Oil Workers International Union, Local 23 and the Gulf Oil Corporation, barring Negroes from promotions and relegating them solely to labor divisions.

The suit was filed in May of 1954 by John Syres and Louis J Warrick of Port Arthur, acting for all other Negro employees of the Gulf Oil company refinery at Port Arthur and for members of the all-Negro Local 254. It asks that the agreement be set aside as in violation of the Labor Relations Act and of the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and that plaintiffs be awarded $150,000 and court costs.

The plaintiffs charge that F A McDuffie, chairman and the all-white Local 23, of the Oil Workers International Union, E R McAdams, chairman of the Gulf Workmen's Committee and the company with forming a conspiracy against them and all Negro employees at the Port Arthur plant, denying them working rights guaranteed by the Labor Relations Act and the Constitution solely because of race or color.

The case was appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court by the plaintiff's attorney, Roberson L King of the Law Firm of Dent, Ford, King and Wickliff of Houston. After the Circuit upheld the decision of the District Court, in April of this year, the case was appealed **last September to the United** States Supreme Court which ordered the new hearing in the Beaumont Eastern District Court.

The suit is a similar case to a series of other cases involving big industry in which the Negro laborer is kept in the labor division regardless of his seniority or skill. It is part of a wide-spread labor movement towards reforms in union and company policy involving Negroes all over the country. Complaints in each of the cases are identical and are regarded by Negroes as a deliberate pattern followed by "unlawful" agreement between white-controlled unions locals in "conspiracy" with companies.

Rights plaintiffs allege have

(Continued On Page 12)

(Continued from Page One)

been denied them are set out in five sections:

1) The right to be represented by the exclusive collective bargaining representative of the class without discrimination because of race, creed which is required as a duty by the National Labor Act.

2) The right not be subjected and limited in employment to one line of seniority by the collective bargaining agreement negotiated solely by Local 23, Oil Workers International Union and the Gulf Oil Company, Port Arthur Refinery.

3) The right not to be limited by the collective bargaining agreement in the exercise of seniority rights and privileges to jobs in one division of the Gulf Oil Port Arthur Refinery.

4) The right not to be discriminated against because of race or color in the exercise of seniority rights as the same pertaining to jobs in the Operating-Mechanical Division of the Gulf Oil Company's Port Arthur Refinery.

5) The right not to be deprived of the right to represent members of Local 254, Oil Workers International Union and by signatory to any agreement affected between the Oil workers International Union and the Gulf Oil Refinery at Port Arthur.

The plaintiffs allege that after an agreement to combine the Negro and white locals and form the Workmen's Committee, the white members outvoted the Negro members which resulted in an all-white Workmen's Committee. They allege that the Negro local had been promised that after the merger the Committee would not discriminate against Negroes in representation in the collective bargaining agreement with the company, but that they proceeded tto do so.

They charge that a contract was negotioated with the Union and the company through the Workmen's Committee composed of eight persons from Local 23 and that the committee unlawfully and in conspiracy to deny them and those they represent of employment rights.

The plaintiffs allege that they were denied by design to bid on jobs. Promotions are made through bids which are posted on bulletin boards. The plaintiffs allege that the company began posting senioirty lists by departments or divisions and did not post on boards where plaintiffs did their bidding and that they were restricted in their promotional rights because of face or color. Only Negroes make up the labor division and only whites are in the operating division, the plaintiffs charge.

Lewis Tries To Balk Merger, Dunning CIO for $1,665,000

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 (AP)—John L. Lewis tried to throw a last-minute monkey wrench into the smoothly moving merger plans of the AFL and CIO.

The United Mine Workers chieftain dunned the CIO for $1,665,000 in loans he claimed the mine union made to the CIO in its struggling infancy in the late 1930s.

And Lewis said he wanted the debt paid before the CIO completes its merger with the AFL. The labor bodies vote on the matter in separate conventions starting tomorrow. The merger would be completed in a joint convention next week.

In a quick reply by letter, the CIO secretary-treasurer, James B. Carey, said Lewis was wrong about two things.

First, the CIO will not be "liquidated" in the merger, Carey said, and second, "The CIO owes you no money."

"You have achieved the momentary ripple of publicity which you sought to relieve the boredom of your isolation from the democratic labor movement," Carey told Lewis.

CIO spokesmen said tonight the funds advanced by the United Mine Workers had always been considered gifts to the CIO.

Lewis at the time was head of both the UMW and the CIO. It was he who broke away from the parent AFL and led the formation of the CIO as a rival organization.

Later he left the CIO and led his mine workers into the independent status they retain to this day.

Lewis is known to be against the AFL-CIO merger. His action was interpreted by observers as a last-ditch attempt to embarrass CIO and AFL leaders who are set for quick approval of the combination.

Lewis' dun for the loans was in the form of a letter from the UMW secretary-treasurer, John Owens, to Carey.

The letter said the UMW had "extended services and cash totaling approximately $7,250,000" in the days when the CIO was getting organized. All but $1,665,000 has been repaid, the letter added.

A UMW spokesman declined to say what the UMW would do if the money was not repaid. Asked if he expected the CIO to take the matter up at its convention opening tomorrow, he said, "I would assume that's the honorable thing to do."

The AFL and CIO today completed final plans for formation of a single 16-million-member union federation.

N.YT. 12/11/55 Labor

THE N

Jersey A.F.L. Head, Addressing C.I.O., Predicts Merger in State Will Be Smooth

By RALPH KATZ

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTIC CITY, Dec. 10—The president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor said today he saw few obstacles in the path of merger with the state council of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Louis R. Marciante told 1,000 delegates from 400 unions attending the state C. I. O.'s biennial convention here that he hoped consolidation would be accomplished before his A. F. L. group convened in May. He said the two unions' state organizations were not far apart on three issues raised by top C. I. O. leaders. These were in the fields of political action, legislation and civil rights.

Mr. Marciante said both bodies agreed to the need for union activity in these areas, but that small differences on programs and procedures did exist.

"If these are the only issues," he said, "the merger can be completed tonight."

He termed as "exaggerated" newspaper accounts of personality clashes between officials of both bodies. While conceding that he did not "love everyone" in the C. I. O., Mr. Marciante said the merger was not predicated on the personal feelings of union leaders. He declared that workers in the state had lost millions of dollars in income because there had been no labor unity.

As to the structure of the new state organization, the A. F. L. official suggested there should be no discussion about filling top posts until after agreement had been reached on the kind of organization that would evolve.

Merger at the top is nothing, he asserted, unless it is accompanied by corresponding mergers of member unions and avoidance of fights among competing unions.

He echoed the sentiment of the recent A. F. L.-C. I. O. convention in New York by declaring that "bigness" alone should not become an objective. Stressing that strength through unity was a prime concern, he pointed to mergers of large corporations and automation as the facts labor must face.

It was the first time in twenty years that an A. F. L. executive had addressed a C. I. O. meeting in this state.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST !

A. F. L. UNANIMOUS FOR UNION MERGER

C. I. O. Will Act Here Today —Quill, Holding Out, Is Demoted to the Ranks

12/2/55 NY

By A. H. RASKIN

Labor unity became virtually an accomplished fact yesterday.

The American Federation of Labor convention voted unanimous approval of a merger with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The C. I. O. convention, meeting three blocks away, unanimously endorsed a resolution calling for unity with the A. F. L. However, the C. I. O. put off until today final action on the formal merger arrangements.

This morning's vote will end twenty years of conflict between the two organizations. Their 15,000,000 members will be welded into the largest labor federation in the free world.

The sole dissent at today's C. I. O. meeting is likely to come from Michael J. Quill's Transport Workers Union. And few leaders in either union camp believe that the Quill group will elect to go it alone after the "marriage" becomes official next Monday.

Quill Dropped From List

The one tangible result of Mr. Quill's revolt against the amalgamation compact appeared to be the loss of the vice presidency he was originally slated to hold in the unified organization.

The C. I. O. executive board dropped the transit union chief from its list of ten nominations for vice president of the combined A. F. L.-C. I. O. The action came after Mr. Quill had announced that he would not take the post if it were offered "on a silver platter."

At the same time that Mr. Quill was being demoted by the C. I. O., the head of a rival transit union in the A. F. L. was being elevated to a vice presidency. He was Abe L. Spradling, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes.

Mr. Spradling, whose union has 140,000 members to 90,000 for its C. I. O. counterpart, will be the only spokesman for transit labor on the executive council of the new federation.

Actions by the high command of the A. F. L. and C. I. O. yesterday guaranteed that there would be two Negroes among the twenty-seven vice presidents. The A. F. L. will send A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The C. I. O. represen-

Continued on Page 20, Column 3

A. F. L. UNANIMOUS FOR LABOR UNITY

Continued From Page 1

tative will be Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employes.

In the separate existence of the A. F. L. and C. I. O., no Negro ever attained the rank of vice president. Union leaders hailed the choice of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Townsend as the first specific implementation of the no - discrimination pledges contained in the charter of the new federation.

Two other new vice presidents were formally nominated to round out the top echelon of the combined body. They were Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C. I. O., and Richard F. Walsh, president of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, A. F. L.

In designating its three new executive council members, the A. F. L. was at pains to exclude representatives of any union in which gangster influence was considered strong. This accounted for its failure to propose that the 1,231,000-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters get an additional seat on the council. The truck union had had two vice presidents until the death last month of Daniel J. Tobin, its president emeritus. The constitution of the merged federation makes elimination of corrupt elements a primary mission of the new group.

Despite the unanimity of the two conventions on merger arrangements, outcroppings of old feuds continued to assert themselves behind the scenes. It became known that most of the old A. F. L. trade departments had taken steps to increase the terms of their officers to four years as a means of "freezing out" new leaders from the C. I. O.

However, it was understood that harmony moves were under way to guarantee that the lists of officers would be expanded in the interest of giving C. I. O. representatives a voice in determining policy.

Special committees consisting of three vice presidents each from the C. I. O. and A. F. L. will meet this morning to try to lay down ground rules for the possible affiliation of some federation groups with the newly created industrial union department. All the C. I. O. unions are expected to join the department, and leaders of both groups fear it may turn into "a union within a union."

To guard against this possibility, the C. I. O. hopes that the 864,000-member International Association of Machinists, A. F. L., will come into the industrial department. Albert J. Hayes, president of the machinists, is a member of the special committee. However, the union has made no decision on whether to affiliate.

The A. F. L. approval of the unification pact was given by standing vote of 800 delegates at the Statler Hotel. It came after George Meany, president-to-be of the combined group, had assured the representatives of 10,000,000 federation members that there was no warrant for fears that the new agency would have too much power over the jurisdiction or internal affairs of its affiliates.

The C. I. O. delegates, meeting at Manhattan Center, applauded a forecast by their president, Walter P. Reuther, that living standards in this country would double within twelve years after the consolidation.

The convention ignored a demand from John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers for repayment of $1,665,000 in "loans" made during the early organizing campaigns of the C. I. O. fifteen and twenty years ago.

The Lewis union is outside both the A. F. L. and C. I. O. It has not been invited to join the unified group.

12/2/55
N.Y. Times
Labor

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A. F. L. TAKES STEP WITHOUT FANFARE

Convention Unanimous for Merger, but Lacks Mood of History-Making

By STANLEY LEVEY

The American Federation of Labor's seventy-fourth and last convention was strictly business yesterday—and with a minimum of oratory.

The great decision to merge with the Congress of Industrial Organizations was introduced, debated and approved before the morning session at the Statler Hotel was over. There was no mood of history in the making, and there was scarcely a glance at the past.

Once the unanimous vote was recorded in favor of unity next week, there was a brief burst of applause from the 800 delegates. But no demonstration followed, no confetti flew, and the convention droned its way to adjournment for lunch.

Yet there was a man of the moment. He was George Meany, the A. F. L. chief and president-to-be of the unified labor movement. Powerful of voice and figure, he dominated the session, whether standing at the speaker's rostrum or masked by cigar smoke in his dais seat.

In his opening address, given without notes and in his pedestrian but persuasive style, Mr. Meany pronounced a declaration of faith in the future of the American trade union movement.

Success Is Held Sure

"I am sure," he said, "that there is enough wisdom, enough common sense, enough dedicated loyalty to the principles of our movement in both the C. I. O. and the A. F. L. to make this merger work.

"I believe we can make it work so that we can look forward, not just to the protection of the achievements of the past, not just to maintaining the standard of life that has been achieved in this great country of ours, but that we can through this merged organization go forward to an even better day.

"We can make a better and more vital contribution to the community as a whole and to the welfare and security of our nation. We can and we will face up to our responsibilities and discharge our obligations to millions of American men and women whom the people in this room have the privilege of representing."

In conversational tones Mr Meany conceded that the constitution of the new A. F. L.-C. I. O. was not perfect and that time would bring changes. At the same time, he called for "good faith" and "determination" to "live together to meet the problems of the American worker in a way consistent with the policies, ideals and traditions" of the founders.

After Mr. Meany completed

Labor.

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After Mr. Meany completed his remarks, the convention in due course came around to the reason for the gathering—the merger agreement. Woodruff Randolph, president of the International Typographical Union, spoke at length on his union's determination to yield none of its historic rights.

Then Mr. Meany was back at the microphone, moderately—almost ploddingly—rebutting Mr. Randolph's arguments and setting at rest fears that he called "academic."

Using the historic record of the federation, he cited example after example to show how the I. T. U. "in practice has ignored its high principles of noninterference" by joining in action against other unions at A. F. L. conventions.

Patiently he explained that some kind of machinery was necessary to run a huge organization of 15,000,000 members. Fears of "excess use of power" were unfounded, he said.

During the brief afternoon session there were speeches by fraternal delegates from Great Britain. Then there was a reading of the list of deceased labor leaders since the last convention, and the session was over.

Today is the final session in the life of the A. F. L. On Monday there will be a brand-new American labor movement, George Meany, president.

Labor.

AFL Convention Votes Unanimously for Merger

CIO Delegates' Approval Due Today, Paving Way for Consolidation Monday

NEW YORK, Dec. 1 (UP)—AFL convention delegates voted today to merge with the CIO into a huge labor organization with 16 million members.

Associated Press Wirephoto

AFL-CIO LEADER

George Meany

CIO delegates, meeting in a separate convention here, are scheduled to take similar action tomorrow to set the stage for the actual merger Monday.

BANDS BLARE

Delegates met with bands blaring at the two pre-merger conventions held three blocks apart in mid-Manhattan and heard fiery speeches from their leaders, including a prediction from CIO Chief Walter P. Reuther that the historic merger would give labor a chance to turn the federal government "back to the people" in 1956.

Addressing 650 delegates at the opening session of the CIO conclave, the red-haired labor leader also predicted that in the next 12 years the combined labor movement could double the standard of living in the United States.

"In 1956," Reuther told the cheering delegates, "we will have a great opportunity. I feel if we work hard enough we can turn the government back to the people and get a government in Washington more responsive to the needs of the people rather than to big business."

MERGER APPROVAL

President George Meany opened the AFL convention by telling the 800 delegates that merger of the two groups, split apart since 1935, "can very well be a built-in guarantee that there can be no dictatorship in America."

Final action on the merger will be taken Monday by 1,800 delegates to the inaugural convention of the new AFL-CIO. Meany will become president of the new group. Reuther will be one of 27 vice presidents and head of the industrial union department.

The AFL delegates approved the merger in a four-part standing vote that took three minutes. The vote was unanimous on three of the votes. On the fourth approval of the proposed constitution for the merged organization — one of the 800 delegates dissented.

The delegate, Peter Yablonsky, 47, Newark, N.J., a member of the AFL painters' union, later said he had "misunderstood the situation" and reversed his vote, putting the convention in unanimous approval of all four parts of the merger resolution.

Defender 12/3/55

Labor

Unionists Worry Over Racial Status In Merger

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

NEW YORK — On the eve of the ratification convention merging the AFL and the CIO, there is an uneasy feeling among rank and file unionist, that all is not well. Nobody is against unity.

Labor believes that the bigger it is, the more powerful it can become and the more it can press its case with the American people.

But what disturbs many people and this includes the private opinions of top executives in CIO is that conservatism of the bigger AFL will swallow up the aggressive cockiness of the CIO.

Already there are reports that in pre-convention planning talks where names are being selected, George Meaney, head of the AFL, and Vice President William F. Schnitzler of the AFL, have been talking tough to CIO leaders and laying it on the line about how things are going to be run.

BIAS AREA

Negro labor leaders are disturbed over the apparent pattern taking shape in the anti-discrimination area.

A year ago, in merger agreement, a clause was inserted pledging the combined trade union movement to work to eliminate discrimination within and without the organization, but it carefully skirted any compulsory language.

In an interview with Meaney in March, he gave assurances that the job of ending discrimination would have top priority in the merger, but this would be accomplished through education and persuasion.

He emphasized that the principle of autonomy for each individual union would remain the basis of operation. This came in reply to questions put to him about certain AFL unions which permitted Jim-Crow auxiliaries for which they did all the collective bargaining and collected dues, but whose all-Negro members were not admitted to the parent body nor given voting or policy making rights.

Meaney predicted gradual elimination of this practice. He pointed out that this also prevailed in some CIO unions.

Meaney also said that A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, would be closely consulted on the makeup of the administrative staff of the anti-discrimination department and would have final approval of selections.

In addition, he said the supervisory committee would include Milton Webster of Chicago, vice-president of Porters Union, and Willard Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees Union, CIO and a goodly representation of Jewish labor leaders.

KEPT IN DARK

Last week there were indications that initial selections had been made without above named individuals and organizations being aware of it.

Heading the committee as chairman will be James B. Carey, secretary - treasurer of the CIO. Director is Boris Shiskin, former AFL research director, and secretary is George L. P. Weaver, director of the CIO Civil Rights division.

No word has been received as yet on the makeup of the committee, but it is clear that the department will have neither the strength nor the prestige it was hoped to have.

All down the line there were expressions of disappointment over this and Negro workers were shaking their heads in skepticism over sincerity of the combined movement.

Another area of concern is the absence of Negroes in policy making positions. According to the structural makeup of the governing councils, only two Negroes in the entire labor movement are even in line for policy making spots.

They are Randolph and Townsend who by virtue of being heads of individual unions can be considered. But even now no assurance is that either one will be included in the powerful executive council of the unified body.

Considerable sentiment has been whipped up in some quarters to start a draft to make Randolph a vice-president and member of the executive council, but Randolph who enjoys considerable prestige, indicated he would concentrate on forcing a showdown on discriminatory unions and fighting the admission of the Big Four Railroad Brotherhoods.

These have long had clauses in their constitutions barring Negroes from membership.

TOP UNION LEADERS

Negroes who have risen in the trade union movement are all in administrative positions with the exception of the above named and in some positions in local unions.

Nationally, some have gained stature like, Weaver, William Oliver, director of the Civil Rights Department of UAW; Boyd L. Wilson, assistant to David MacDonald of the United Steelworkers; and James Turner, director of the Civil Rights Department of the United Rubber Workers union.

In the Political Action Committee of CIO, the top Negro is Philip M. Weightman, a field director, who has the important job of organizing registration campaigns.

Here again, is the question of how much emphasis will be given to minorities registration campaigns, whether the fast tempo set by CIO-PAC Director Jack Kroll will be enhanced or go under the axe.

As ratification approaches, it becomes clear that if Negroes are to have a voice in labor, they will have to assert themselves more aggressively. One of the biggest projects of the merger will be going after the great unorganized masses.

The new labor body will be 15 million strong, but there remain at least 30 million outside of organized labor. The focal point of the battle will be in the South, hostile to progress and strongly anti-union.

Any organizational drives must include thousands of Negroes whose plight is only slightly worse than that of poor whites.

In big industries like textile manufacturing, however, Negroes are only a negligible part. But in the sugar cane, stevedoring, oil, etc., they are a large part of the labor force.

Long-Awaited Labor Merger Approved

NEW YORK, Dec. 2 (AP) — CIO convention delegates, singing "Solidarity Forever," today ended a 20-year split in union labor by approving a long-awaited merger with the AFL.

CIO delegates voted 660-3 for the merger, which the AFL had approved unanimously a day earlier. Separate AFL and CIO conventions came to an end and both groups prepared to meet Monday in a week-long joint session.

The historic merger action, welding 140 unions into a 16-million-member federation, climaxed two years of active negotiations. The basic merger agreement was reached last February in Miami Beach, Fla., and it took until now to complete it.

The new organization is called the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—AFL-CIO.

The CIO's ratification came at a convention session filled with sentiment over the ending of the organization. The CIO was formed into a rival labor group over two decades ago by AFL unions which seceded because they wanted to organize workers in whole industries. The AFL unions are organized along craft lines.

Walter Reuther, CIO president who is stepping aside to let AFL President George Meany head the merged organization, told the final CIO session, that, "this is not the end. The CIO goes on, the AFL goes on, but they go on together in a unified labor movement."

Meany told concluding AFL sessions the merger was a milestone in labor history. He sought to calm misgivings of a few union leaders that the new organization would be too large and unwieldy by saying, "I may be a chump but I don't think so."

"I am convinced this merger agreement was entered into in good faith," he said. "I am convinced it is an honorable settlement of differences between the two organizations. I haven't the slightest doubt that some old rivalries will spring up."

Meany went on to say he was sure all union members wanted the merger and that "despite some hassles here and there we are going to get along."

The principal dissent in the CIO convention was cast by Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union and a CIO vice president. Quill said the CIO was being "liquidated" and it was a "black day" for CIO unions.

Quill charged Meany was too conservative and "just slightly to the left of Sen. Knowland," the Senate Republican leader from California. Quill said his union would conduct a membership referendum to see if they wanted to join the merged organiza on.

CLOSING CIO CONVENTION — Walter Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, wields huge gavel as he closes annual convention of the CIO at New York City. The organization approved merger with the American Federation of Labor. Next week the merger is expected to be made effective at joint meetings. (AP Wirephoto.)

News & Observer 12/3/55

11/8/55 N.Y. Times

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PLEA MADE TO AID AREAS OF LOW PAY

U. S. Official Says 'Private Initiative' Must Provide 'Major Part of Solution'

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23 (AP)—Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, said today that private initiative would have to do much of the job of improving conditions in low-income areas.

Federal action also is essential to relieve unemployment in hard-hit industrial areas and to improve conditions in distressed farm sections, he asserted.

But he told a Senate-House Economic subcommittee that the Federal Government could not ease the sore spots in a generally prosperous economy. State and local agencies, public and private, will have to pitch in, he declared, and a "major part of the solution will have to be contributed by private initiative."

Earlier Senator John J. Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, the subcommittee chairman, said a Labor Department survey had found twenty-six major and ninety-four smaller areas of substantial labor surplus in September. These pockets contained 500,000 of the two-to-three million persons then looking in vain for work, he added.

Mr. Clague testified on the last day of hearings called by the subcommittee to devise methods of bringing relief to low-income groups. The Labor Department official said more than 2,500,000 non-farm families had an income of less than $2,000 last year.

While current figures are not available, the Commerce Department estimated earlier this year that 41 per cent of American families had incomes of $5,000 a year or more, and 55 per cent received at least $4,000.

In 1953, the department said, the average income for non-farm families was $6,390 as against $3,460 for farm families.

Senator Sparkman said the subcommittee would hand Congress a report for use in working up corrective legislation next year. He has proposed a bill to provide Federal aid for family-size farms. Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, has prepared another to aid distressed areas.

Mr. Clague in his testimony recommended increasing emphasis on worker education and training. He also urged the removal of discrimination in employment and promotions.

The commissioner backed the continuation of such programs as unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation, the Federal-state employment service, minimum wage and help for migratory and older workers.

Mr. Clague said, however, there was "no one solution" for the several million families and individuals who he asserted were existing on substandard incomes.

Ike Praises Merged Labor Goals; Chief Meany Rips Foreign Policy

NEW YORK, Dec. 5 (UP) — The AFL and CIO merged into the world's largest free trade union today to the cheers of laboring men and the "earnest prayer" of President Eisenhower that a new era of harmony for all men is dawning.

The President spoke to the AFL-CIO inaugural convention by telephone from his temporary White House in Gettysburg, Pa. It was his first formal speech since his Sept. 24 heart attack.

President Eisenhower's words of confidence and hope were piped into the huge stone 71st Regiment Armory on Park Avenue soon after the 16 million member AFL-CIO union was formed officially and George Meany was selected its early president.

President Eisenhower spoke to the 1,500 delegates and 2,000 spectators after Meany's inaugural address which contained a blistering attack on the present administration's foreign and domestic policies.

The President called for an end to bitterness and strife.

". . . It is fitting," he said, "that we let our hearts be filled with the earnest prayer that, with the help of a kind providence, the world may be led out of bitterness and materialism and force into a new era of harmony and spiritual growth and self-realization for all men."

The chief executive praised labor leaders for helping to make a unique contribution to the nation's welfare—"the development of the American philosophy of labor."

"This philosophy, if adopted globally, could bring about a world, prosperous, at peace, sharing the fruits of the earth with justice to all men," he said. "It would raise to freedom and prosperity hundreds of millions of men and women—and their children—who toil in slavery behind the curtain."

The President listed "these simple tenets" of the free labor movement—that man is created in the divine image and has spiritual aspirations transcending the material; that the real interests of employes and employers are mutual, and that unions and employers can and should work out their own destinies.

"As we preach and practice that message without cease, we will wage a triumphant crusade for human prosperity, freedom and peace among men," he said.

Labor 12/6/55

Labor

AFL-CIO Seats Two Negroes

A. Philip Randolph, Townsend Named to Union's Exec. Board

By HAROLD L. KEITH
(Courier Staff Writer)

A. Philip Randolph and Willard S. Townsend will be seated on the executive boards of the newly merged AFL and CIO as a result of actions taken at the founding convention of the organization in New York City.

Mr. Randolph is president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL) and Mr. Townsend is president of the CIO United Transport

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
. . . a foregone conclusion

Service Employes Union.

Both men are Negroes and their appointments were hailed by labor leaders as "evidence" that labor intends to back up its "pledges" against segregation and discrimination in employment.

* * *

MR. RANDOLPH will be one of seventeen AFL vice presidents, and Mr. Townsend will be one of the ten representatives of the CIO on the AFL-CIO executive board.

Mr. Townsend's appointment was made possible by the defection of Mike Quill, International president of the CIO United Transport Workers Union. Mr. Quill had dissented regarding the merger on several key issuses. Oddly enough, one of the things which led to Mr. Quill's refusal to take a vice presidential seat was his insistence upon a more strongly worded clause against segregation or discrimination.

Mr. Quill had protested strongly against other provisions of the merger agreement and then announced that he would not take a seat on the executive board "under any circumstances."

* * *

HOWEVER, Mr. Townsend was not without opposition. Many of the executives within CIO ranks had ripped into his appointment on the grounds that Mr. Townsend's union did not have enough members.

They claimed that there were other CIO unions with larger and more representative memberships who should have recived representation.

They noted that Mr. Townsend's union has a membership of a little more than 10,000 spread out over the nation, while there are many CIO local unions with more members.

The CIO Executive Board in two separate sessions held prior to the New York meeting had

WILLARD S. TOWNSEND
. . . not without opposition

turned down Mr. Townsend as an executive board possibility.

But, the big industrial union was faced with the practical necessity of having Negro representation on the board and Mr. Townsend was the only choice.

* * *

GEORGE L. P. WEAVER, longtime stalwart of the CIO Civil Rights Committee, had been mentioned as a possible choice but overtures made in his behalf met with so many objections that Mr. Townsend ended up with the prize.

Mr. Townsend was recommended for the post by David J. McDonald, president of the CIO United Steelworkers of America.

Mr. Randolph's appointment was a foregone conclusion. Long one of the most eloquent among the AFL's leadership, he like Mr. Townsend was the only possible choice for appointment to the board.

* * *

HIS APPOINTMENT was made despite his outspoken opposition to what has been termed the "mousy, mealy-mouthed" anti-segregation provision of the AFL-CIO merger constitution.

Mr. Randolph has staged rallies in New York and Cleveland on this issue and is expected to continue to fight for a more positively worded clause with punitive provisions for unions which discriminate.

The merger means that the combined strength of the nation's biggest labor group is now 15,000,000 members with only the Mineworkers of John L. Lewis and several independent unions outside the folds.

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A. F. L.-C. I. O.—A HARMONIOUS BEGINNING, BUT—

Labor — N.Y.T. 12/11/55

Unity Achieved in the Merger Is Threatened by Dissident Forces

By A. H. RASKIN

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations moved under one roof last week. By the end of their first day together, the delegates looked and sounded so much alike that you could not tell who was who without a scorecard.

All the feuds that had threatened to mar the nuptial period faded into innocuous mumbling in convention corridors and hotel bars. The prima donnas whose egos required special massage were obliged to accept the fact that the merger was bigger than any of them.

The speed with which the hostilities of twenty years were muted was a tribute to the effectiveness of the united movement's leader, George Meany. In his prosaic, unspectacular fashion, the one-time Bronx plumber's helper gathered up the monkey wrenches that could wreck his new vehicle, and put them safely away.

Every officer was elected unanimously; every resolution went through without dissent. Even in the drafting committees, the A.F.L. "conservatives" and the C.I.O. "progressives" found little trouble in harmonizing their views on such troublesome issues as foreign policy and civil rights.

Reuther Applauded

Some of the old craft unionists had made little secret of their distaste at the prospect of having to applaud "young smart-alecks" like Walter P. Reuther. In the past their estimate of Mr. Reuther's talents and ambitions often has been as harsh as that of any member of the National Association of Manufacturers.

But when Mr. Reuther got up on the convention's last day to plead for an "organizational crusade such as this country has never seen," he stirred even more enthusiasm from the A.F.L. tables than he did from his own. Perhaps it was just the novelty, but it did mean they were ready to recognize him as a member of the new leadership team.

Mr. Meany already has done much to obliterate the "we" and "they" approach of veterans of the two old federations. With Mr. Reuther's help, he has seen to it that the new Industrial Union Department will not turn into a C.I.O. "colony" within the combined movement.

At the start there was danger that the department would consist solely of the former C.I.O. unions, with Mr. Reuther and James B. Carey holding their old posts as president and secretary-treasurer. Such a set-up could only retard real unification by preserving a sense of separateness, politically and economically, among the C.I.O. groups.

Largely through Mr. Meany's missionary efforts among A. F. L. unions with sizable industrial memberships, the initial roster of the department embraces more groups that used to be in the Federation than were in the C. I. O. However, the weight of membership favors the C. I. O. by two to one. The combined total of 7,000,000 dues payers makes the infant department far larger than such old established units as the building and metal trades.

All the A. F. L. groups lined up with the C. I. O. to pick Mr. Reuther and Mr. Carey for the top posts in the department. That marked the final fizzle in a series of anti-Reuther power moves by the International Botherhood of Teamsters, largest and strongest union in the old A. F. L.

It was Mr. Meany who pulled the plug on the teamsters. When they demanded admission to the department for all their 1,400,000 members, he backed the C. I. O. in holding that only those in canneries, breweries, milk processing plants and other industrial units could come in. The teamsters insisted that still would entitle them to 700,000. When Mr. Meany put the ceiling at 400,000, they submitted meekly.

Teamster Trouble

No one believes that the teamsters' capitulation means they are prepared to live at peace with the rest of the A. F. L.-C. I. O. family. Sooner or later there is bound to be an explosion, and Mr. Meany will have to decide whether the merged federation can get along without its most strategic union—or with it.

No man to conceal his feelings, the A. F. L.-C.I.O. president has made known his displeasure at the teamsters' free-wheeling tendency to snatch members from other unions and to make alliances with groups cast out of the bona fide labor movement for corruption and communism.

While the convention was on, the teamsters pledged a $500,000 loan to the scandal-stained International Longshoremen's Association and threw a protective mantle around the left-wing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, who were expelled from the C. I. O.

The truck union itself is honeycombed with men denounced by Congressional and state investigators for racket associations.

In this city underworld forces have been steadily gaining ground in the teamsters in preparation for a coup that will give them simultaneous control of trucking and the waterfront, twin mainstays of the city's commercial life. Dave Beck, the union's international president, blandly insists that this is a "local matter" that is beyond his control.

Each day indicates growing authority in the hands of the union's Midwest boss, James R. Hoffa, whose activities have come in for frequent criticism from official bodies. He dominates the union's councils in the East and South and has an important voice in Canada. Some teamster insiders say Mr. Hoffa's next step will be a promotion to executive vice president, the job Mr. Beck used as his lever for the presidency.

Mr. Meany knows that corruption in the teamsters fans out into dozens of other unions. No organization touches more unions at more points than the truck union. That is why it is so hard to contemplate a showdown in which it would get out or be thrown out of the united labor movement.

Many unions, especially those dealing with relatively small business, depend on the support of the teamsters to organize. By witholding deliveries, the truck drivers can win a strike for another union. By ignoring the picket lines, they can doom the strike.

Key Position

Without the teamsters, the A. F. L.-C. I. O. would lose much of its economic muscle. But if he becomes convinced that the choice lies between morals and muscle, Mr. Meany is not likely to shrink from the hard road. He promised the convention that he would not abandon principle for expediency, and few who heard him thought he was merely talking.

In the field of racial equality, Mr. Meany has been making some quiet headway. He wants to bring within the merged organization the two largest of the independent railroad brotherhoods, but he has no desire to see them perpetuate the racial barriers they still maintain. Associates report that both groups are considering steps to bring their constitutions in line with the new group's standards of racial equality.

Mr. Meany is busy on still another front. He is heading a committee to try to end the dispute betwen the Air Line Pilots Association and the Flight Engineers International Union over the United Air Lines strike. The pilots will lose their charter if they fail to make peace. But Mr. Meany is hopeful he can end the conflict and the strike at the same time, thus keeping his flock intact.

He is counseling unions with overlapping jurisdictions on merger arrangements of their own. Two meat unions already have arranged to amalgamate into a single 500,000-member organization.

Similar talks are under way in textiles, shoes, paper and other fields. However, he does not expect overnight success in eliminating the duplications that grew up since 1935. In some areas, notably the maritime and electrical industries, it is doubtful that rival unions will get together at any time within the next ten years.

Optimistic Feeling

The progress recorded in the first week of unity has encouraged the leadership in the belief that learning to live together will not be so trying that labor will have no energies left for anything else.

The duPont chemical empire is high on its list of targets for new organizing; political machinery is being made ready for active use in the 1956 campaign; contacts with free trade unions in all parts of the world will be sharpened at a series of meetings in this city this week.

And, with all this, Mr. Meany still hopes he can bring alive the proposal for a "live and let live" pact with industry that he broached in The New York Times Magazine last week. He is a patient man and his rebuff by the National Association of Manufacturers has not killed his belief that a better understanding between labor and management can be forged at the national level.

He is just as sure of that as he was that unity with the C. I. O. could be achieved when he started down that road three years ago.

'MIND IF I LOOK OVER YOUR SHOULDERS?'

Crockett in The Washington Star

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST !

Hopes for Merged Unions

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In the ~~deluge of~~ congratulations from notables all over the world the voice of the plain citizens will be submerged, but certainly, as a whole, the 75 per cent of the nation's workers who are not union members view the historic merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations with goodwill and good wishes.

They hope that the new and powerful organization will never forget the cost of living to the other 75 per cent and their welfare; will always consider, in the wage-price race, the other 75 per cent who must foot most of the bills; will eliminate the jurisdictional disputes and racketeering that discredit and hurt the unions and union members and impose injustice and injury upon employers and the other 75 per cent, and will so organize and conduct the vast and growing union insurance business that the power inherent in the billions of dollars represented will never be abused nor the funds misapplied. That, in short, the greatest body of free, organized workers in the world will so conduct all of its affairs that the other 75 per cent will never be impelled to support laws inhibitive to free labor.

So conducted, the merged A. F. L.-C. I. O. should expand and prosper and, in my belief and that of the great majority of my friends and those whom I contact, could function as the greatest force in this nation and the world for economic stability, justice and freedom.

ALLISTON CRAGG.

New York, Dec. 7, 1955.

12/11/55 N.Y.T. Letters

Thomas L. Stokes

'Big Labor' ~~Means~~ 'Big' Responsibilities

WASHINGTON—We are a people who are uncomfortable about "bigness" in our society and institutions, if not actually fearful and distrustful. But we have had to become accustomed to it because of our mass production, machine civilization which has created bigness in three institutions that touch all our lives—government, business and labor.

Big labor is currently dramatized for us very tellingly in the first convention of the merged AFL and CIO in New York celebrating one big union.

Decry this debut of big labor as some are busily doing, it is nevertheless a natural development historically and economically. It is up to us, the public, to see that big labor lives up to the responsibility its size and position impose upon it, just as it is up to us to see that big business and big government live up to their responsibilities.

Historically, bigness came first in business. We saw this initially in our transcontinental railroads in the years after the Civil War which represented huge investments — as well as lavish land grants — and affected the lives of a great many people, employes, investors, financial institutions, shippers and others who did business with them. In later years, we saw bigness in the merging of iron and steel and oil companies in what came to be called "trusts."

Some of these great aggregations of capital, these "trusts," abused their great powers which in time caused the government to intervene to protect the public interests. The first of these government regulatory bodies was the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the railroads.

Then there was the Sherman Antitrust Law which President Theodore Roosevelt first used most theatrically against giant corporations to win fame as the "trust-buster."

Labor began early to try to organize workers to protect themselves. But this was a very slow process. Gains were wiped out periodically by recurring depressions, including our last big one in the late 1920s and early 1930s which greatly depleted union strength and membership.

But from this there was quick recovery for unions under the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. It was friendly to labor and drew labor leaders into its councils.

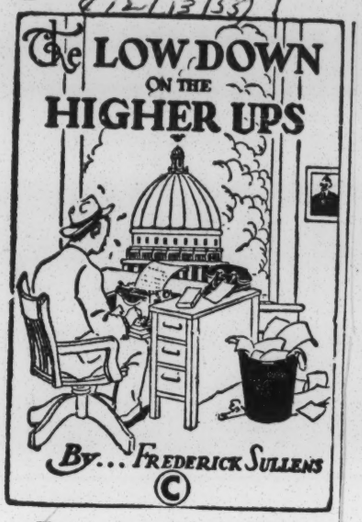
Now the creation of one big union has split the Republican Party by a controversy growing out of labor's potential political power.

To be realistic, there is no question but that the open and avowed influence of big business in the Eisenhower administration has been instrumental in solidifying labor about the Democrats, but to what extent we won't know until next year's election.

Anyhow, both big business and big labor are with us to stay — and so is big government.

(Labor) Cont
12/8/55

Jackson Daily (12/13/55)



Now comes George Meany, president of the newly merger AFL-CIO talking some balderdash. He says "the United States will not be able to fight Communism successfully until Southern Negroes are assured of their constitutional rights." Well, this isn't the first time Mr. Meany has advocated complete social equality under the absurd guise of "constitutional rights." The day is dawning when Southern workers are going to have to decide between orders from their leaders and the Southern way of life. The number of Southern AFL-CIO members who really favor social equality is mighty small.

* * *

AFL APPROVAL GIVEN MERGER

12/2/55

Last Vote Unanimous—CIO Ballot Scheduled Today to Complete Action

NEW YORK, Dec. 1 (AP)—Merger of the AFL and CIO became practically an accomplished fact today. The AFL voted its final unanimous approval and the CIO is due to ratify the merger tomorrow.

The consolidation brings together unions of the American Federation of Labor and those of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to form a single 16-million-member union group.

The new organization will be known formally as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

George Meany, onetime New York plumber who heads the AFL and is due to become president of the merged AFL-CIO, pledged in a speech to AFL convention delegates that the new organization would be devoted to improving the lot of workers in the nation as a whole.

Sees New Gains

Meany said there had been no real reason for unions splitting away from the AFL to found the CIO two decades ago and now that they will be back together again organized labor could forge ahead to new economic and political gains.

"This merged organization can go forward to a better day," Meany said. "It can make a better and more vital contribution to the community as a whole and to the welfare and security of our nation."

CIO President Walter Reuther told a separate CIO convention, meanwhile, that his organization during its brief history has helped win "a full measure of human dignity for the worker."

Reuther said the merged organization must not rely on power alone but most operate with "a sense of dedication and social responsibility."

Two Leaders Complain

The AFL convention's unanimous vote for the merger climaxed a short but spirited debate in which two union leaders complained about some aspects of the merger terms.

Meany took the floor to reassure them.

Woodruff Randolph, president of the AFL International Typographical Union, claimed the AFL-CIO would have too great powers over jurisdiction, or organizing scope, of the various unions. He also said the merged group should make "a thorough house-cleaning" of racketeer elements as a first order of business.

Meany replied that the new organization would have no greater power than the present AFL. He said some machinery was necessary as a last resort to settle union

See Page Fifteen, Column Five

UNIT IS CHOSEN ON INTEGRATION

From Page One.

on Oct. 12, "to come and discuss this most serious problem with us and the advisory committee. We want ideas and suggestions from everyone; for, as we understand the Supreme Court's decision, this is what the court intended for us to do first."

It is the board's intention to have the advisory committee sit with the board at the hearings. It is planned to have a stenographic record made of each hearing so that the advisory committee and the board may have available all that is said during what probably will be a long series of meetings.

The school board will sit as a committee of the whole with the advisory committee at the hearings.

Alf Law Jr. made the motion that the individuals named be invited to serve on the committee. It was seconded by Harry Miller and carried unanimously.

Raymond Witt Jr. said the school board may from time to time add persons to the advisory committee.

24 CEN[illegible] ACRES

Labor (1955)

Labor 12/10/55

THE CHATTANOOG

QUILL PUTS UNION IN MERGED FORCE

He Decides Transport Unit Belong in Unified Labor Movement After All

By STANLEY LEVEY
New York Times News Service

NEW YORK, Dec. 9—To the surprise of practically nobody, Michael J. Quill has decided his Transport Workers Union belongs in the united labor movement after all.

Quill, president of the union, still wasn't making it official. But it was learned today that the TWU executive board has voted unanimously to recommend affiliation to a membership referendum.

The decision comes after 10 months of sharp-shooting by Quill against the provisions of the merger agreement that was finalized this week between the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Reuther Accused

Throughout the months of attack, Quill accused Walter Reuther, former president of the CIO, of taking that group into the merger without proper safeguards against "racism, raiding and racketeering." Nothing has happened in the last week to improve Quill's opinion of the combined group.

However, strong internal pressures from several sections of his own union motivated Quill in midweek to seek a way out of the deadend into which he had talked his organization. For that purpose, he staged a special press conference on Wednesday at which John V. Riffe, former executive vice president of the CIO, obliged by publicly urging the course since adopted.

As a result of his last-ditch holdout against participation in the AFL-CIO, Quill cost himself the vice presidency in the merged federation that would have been his automatically. He also lost a similar post in the group's Industrial Union Department.

This development became known as the 29-member executive council of the AFL-CIO held a post-convention session at the Commodore Hotel.

EX-IBS AGENT

UNION HEAD ASKS FOR COOPERATION

Chat. 12/10/55

U.S. Labor, Industry Have Too Much in Common to Fight, Says Meany

NEW YORK, Dec. 9 (AP)—AFL-CIO President George Meany today appealed for cooperation between American labor and industry and said "We have so much in common it seems silly to fight."

Meany spoke at a luncheon meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Charles R. Sligh Jr., chairman of the NAM executive committee, in reply referred to Meany as "an outstanding American" and said that industry has "no basic quarrel with labor organizations."

Sligh, however, appealed for the right of workers to decide whether they want to join unions without compulsion, and "a striving for the utmost efficiency and productivity and the elimination of economic waste of every type."

Both Aims the Same

Meany said there were so many compelling reasons for labor and management to get along together that it was "silly" for them to quarrel constantly. He said they both wanted to preserve and expand the American system and its economy.

The AFL-CIO chief said that essentially they differed only on the dividing of the wealth produced by labor and management together, and he felt sure, he said, "There is enough intelligence to solve that problem in a reasonable manner."

No union, Meany said, has any intention of trying to put management out of business because it would only rob workers of their livelihood.

Labor 12/15/55 Chat.

UNIONS END DISPUTE

Meat-Cutters, Retail Clerks Agree on Jurisdiction

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 (AP)—Officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Retail Clerks International Assn., both AFL-CIO and formerly AFL unions, have announced a jurisdictional agreement.

Their joint announcement said the pact ends "decades of quarreling over the two unions' jurisdictions in retail food stores."

Violence and threatened walkouts flared recently in the San Diego, Calif., area in the latest outcropping of the dispute. It spread to Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Each union claims more than 300,000 members.

The agreement provides that members of the Amalgamated will handle the jobs in retail store meat departments, including the handling of frozen meats which was the object of the San Diego controversy. The Retail Clerks' Union will have jurisdiction over all other retail food store jobs.

Labor

12/17/55

Combined AFL-CIO Launches Strong Fight Against Jim-Crow In Nation

Chicago Defender

By ETHEL PAYNE

NEW YORK — Labor unity in its first convention of the combined AFL-CIO ended last week on a strong note of brotherhood and determination to wage a vigorous fight within and without trade unionism to give the knock-out punch to racial discrimination.

In its final resolutions, the new federation adopted these goals for civil rights:

1. Endorsed legislation for enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act and urged states and cities which have not already done so to adopt such laws.

2. Called for a change in Senate Rule 22 to limit debate and end filibustering against civil rights legislation.

3. Unions to demand that management with whom they do business and who hold federal contracts adhere to non-discrimination provisions; include non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts and work continuously to get rid of bias in individual trade unions.

BACK SCHOOL ISSUE

4. Support the Supreme Court decision on de-segregation of public schools, and co-operate with community efforts to ease the transition. Urge the Administration to utilize its full power to frustrate and punish unlawful attempts to block implementation of the decision.

5. Urge Congress to enact legislation making lynchings a federal crime and to invalidate state laws requiring a poll tax.

The expected floor fight against the admission of the Jim-Crow railroad brotherhoods to be led by A. Philip Randolph failed to come off after President George Meaney held private conferences with the heads of the 200,000 member Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the 95,000-member Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and won agreements from them on revoking their color clauses.

Action on admission was postponed for a later date, although Meaney stated he favored bringing the rail unions in now.

CLASHES AVOIDED

The avoidance of the clash over racial restrictions is due to the skillful negotiating ability of Meaney and his ability in general to bring warring factions in line; yet at the same time, this was another demonstration of the immense prestige of Randolph in his long fight against bias in trade unionism.

The convention heard strong pleas for support of civil rights efforts from Thurgood Marshall, NAACP counsel and Adlai E. Stevenson, candidate for Presidential nomination.

Marshall warned that the organized campaign of tyranny against Negroes was linked with the determination of bigoted white Southerners to stop the drive to organize the unorganized.

Stevenson called for no compromise with principle in the fight to eliminate discrimination. He also denounced the drive in the South to deprive Negroes of the right to vote.

 12/22/55 Chron.

CAREY DENIES IUE PLANS UE MERGER

But Declares Union Not to Halt Efforts to Asborb Individual Members

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 21 — James B. Carey, president of the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, said today a merger of his union with the United Electrical Workers Independent "is impossible."

Atty. Gen. Brownell yesterday asked the Suberversive Activities Control Board to make a formal finding that the UE is Communist-infiltrated.

Brownell said he noted recent published reports that some UE locals have merged with the IUE, and added:

"Efforts on the part of UE are being guided and directed toward this end by the Communist party itself."

Carey said there have been no mergers or amalgamations. He said:

"If the attorney general infers that the IUE has entertained any idea of merger with UE, I categorically deny it. IUE has always made it clear that it would never consider a merger with UE."

The CIO expelled the UE in November 1949 on grounds the union was Communist-dominated. The IUE then was organized as the CIO union for electrical workers. Today the UE claims more than 100.000 members. The IUE claims more than 300,000 members.

Carey said the IUE never has and will not stop its organization drives to bring UE members and all other electrical workers into the union.

Missing Sailor Found

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 (AP)—The Seamen's Church Institute has just located its 11,000th missing merchant seaman in 40 years of such service. He was found in Australia after a five-year search and put in touch with the family he hadn't seen in 20 years.

UNIONS AND THE WORKERS

The figures on union membership in the United States just issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics have special interest because of the coming merger of the A. F. L. and C. I. O. and the stepped-up organizing efforts planned for the joint operation. The two organizations—with about eleven and five million members—have bulked large in American life as they are, but a single federation of sixteen million will call for some multiplication, as well as addition, in computing its effects. In spite of the formidable impact which organized labor has made on our national life, however, only about one out of three non-farm workers in the United States now belongs to any union.

In the decade of 1935 to 1945 union membership in the United States rose with spectacular speed: from 3.6 to 14.3 millions. Since then, surprising as it may seem, new members have barely kept up with the growth of the entire labor force outside the farms. But the proportion of the organized may well increase again when the A. F. L. and C. I. O. finally get together.

The B. L. S. figures do not show by sections of the country the proportion of the workers who are organized; but everyone knows it is far less in the Deep South than it is in the North and West. If the A. F. L.-C. I. O. campaigns could merely wipe out that differential many millions would be added to the unions' roster. Obviously, the South will be the main target for tomorrow.

The B. L. S. report gives the "union shop" as "a significant factor" in the past increase of union membership. Conversely, the laws in eighteen states, mostly in the South, which prohibit the union shop will be one of the chief hurdles the organizing campaign will have to take—or to remove. For that reason alone the new federation's intensified political activities seem certain to be focused on getting these statutes off the books and in preventing them from spreading any further.

NY Times 11/15/55

Labor

Secret Six Famed As Founders

A. Philip Randolph Heads Brotherhood; 30th Year Observed

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President-Founder

NEW YORK—Three decades of trade union crusading was marked on Thursday, August 25, at the thirtieth anniversary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL.

The Brotherhood is the first, and the only, Negro international union in the United States. Its militant history in labor relations is closely tied with the overall social struggle for racial equality and civil liberties.

* * *

ITS HISTORY is equally the story of its president and one of its original founders, A. Philip Randolph, who, more than anyone else, today speaks for the American Negro worker.

With characteristic religious zeal, overpowering oratory and relentless devotion to basic principles, Randolph has carved for himself an impressive niche in American public life as well as in American trade union history.

But the early years of Brotherhood history, etched so painfully under the guidance of Randolph, have been years of quiet desperation and terrible struggle against the most formidable odds conceivable.

* * *

WHEN, ON that fateful evening of August 25, 1925, a half dozen courageous sleeping car porters—the then-famous "Secret Six"—met in New York City to organize the Brotherhood not even they could realize the scope of the struggle which lay ahead. Their most immediate and perhaps most formidable foe was the gigantic Pullman Company, whose record until then in the labor field had been characterized by the violent Pullman car strike of 1893.

True to its advance notices, the Pullman Company met the threat of an organized labor union with intimidation and force. Porters who dared defy the company union by joining, or even speaking on behalf of the newly-formed Brotherhood, were given time on the streets and fired.

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After scores of fruitless conferences and an equal number

threat of an organized labor union with intimidation and force. Porters who dared defy the company union by joining, or even speaking on behalf of the newly-formed Brotherhood, were given time on the streets and fired.

* * *

MR. RANDOLPH, Ashley Toten, M. P. Webster, Bennie Smith, C. L. Dellums, T. D. McNeal and others journeyed countless miles from Boston to Oakland, from Jacksonville to Denver, rounding up support for the Brotherhod. But the law and public opinion were not yet with them. Fear raced neck-and-neck with courage.

To be a militant trade unionist in the 1929's was a truly dangerous assignment.

The struggle for recognition as a bonafide trade union representing the nation's sleeping car porters was not to reach full fruition until the mid-1930's when, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, new labor legislation was passed, specifically including the porters as workers entitled to collective bargaining and other labor rights. Twelve years to the day after the "Secret Six" first met ,the first agreement with the Pullman Company was signed. The Brotherhood had, through a federal mediation election, gained the right to represent the porters almost two years before.

* * *

BETWEEN 1925 and 1937, the Brotherhood had fought anti-labor laws, hostile newspapers and church groups, the Pullman Company, tradition-shackled porters who feared anything new, and an organized white labor movement which resented the prospect of an integrated labor union.

The struggle was by no means concluded with the signing of the first contract. Prior to the first contract the minimum monthly wage for a porter was $77.50; the initial agreement in 1937 called for $89.50; today the minimum wage is $304.18; with 18 days of paid vacation and other significant benefits. In less than 20 years, then, the Brotherhood has succeeded in gaining more than a four-fold wage increase, plus all the other benefits not previously enjoyed by American porters.

* * *

BUT IF the Brotherhood's role in the labor union struggle is important, its leadership in the general area of social relations is perhaps more significant to the larger community of American Negroes. Perhaps most memorable is the role played by Mr. Randolph and the Brotherhood in galvanizing American Negroes and other minorities in the memorable "March on Washington." Until 1940, M.r Randolph and other Brotherhood leaders had been quietly pushing for equal opportunities for minority groups.

After scores of fruitless conferences and an equal number of promises by government officials, Randolph became convinced that bold and dramatic action was at last necessary. To dramatize the needs of the Negro worker, he planned and organized the famous "March" on the White House a quiet yet massive demonstration which brought to the front page of every American newspaper the Negro's plight.

* * *

AS A RESULT, President Roosevelt signed the historic Executive Order 8802, which prohibits discrimination in hiring in all interstate commerce and in all enterprises under contract with the federal government. At last, the door had been opened with the first FEPC law in history. The Brotherhood, joining forces with other groups, then proceeded to press the fight for federal and state FEPC laws, meeting with increasing success in recent years.

In labor circles, in fact, it reached the point where FEPC, the Brotherhood and A. Philip Randolph had become almost synonomous.

* * *

LESS recognized but as important are the other victories gained in the general field of race relations and labor. The Brotherhood is responsible for eliminating Negroes as a source for "scab-labor" for big businesses which are still trying to smash organized labor. Because of the Brotherhood's efforts, Negro labor has been transformed from an unorganized, amorphous group, accepting its inevitable "second-class" status, to a militant, dignified force, with consolidated power to operate in the labor market and through the labor movement.

And the Brotherhod has continually remained in the forefront of the crusade to eliminate racial discrimination in the labor movement. While not solved, the great strides that have already been made are due in large measure to the concerted campaigns of the Brotherhood.

With the prospective merger of AFL and CIO already promising a new deal for workers of minority groups, the process promises to snowball. And you can bet your newly-achieved prosperity that A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will be in the vanguard again—as they have been for thirty hard-fought but fruitful years.

Labor Leader Claims DUPEC Being Used By Labor's Foes

Millard M. Barbee, president of the State Federation of Labor, charged Wednesday night there is a political "coalition . . . of some DUPEC leaders, Eisenhower Democrats, and the scraps of the old dilipidated political machine" who are "trying to pit class against class."

In a talk before the Building and Construction Trade Council at the local Labor Temple, Barbee acknowledged, "There are many sincere, honest people in DUPEC (Durham United Political Educational Council) who are dedicated to making it a constructive organization. But," he charged, "some of the would-be political dictators are trying to use the really sincere people in DUPEC as puppets for selfish purposes."

Barbee's blast was the first direct counter-charge to DUPEC charges that the present Democratic organization in Durham County is a labor-Negro coalition dedicated to the use of the block vote.

DUPEC has been credited with showing considerable strength in last Saturday's precinct meetings, and is expected to have a candidate to oppose J. Leslie Atkins Jr. for County Democratic Chairman at the convention Saturday.

Barbee, who is a member of Voters For Better Government, a union-associated political action group, said:

"Durham has become what it is today because all its people worked together.

"But right this minute we have a lot of hatemongers working overtime. They are country club Klu Klux Klanners, prejudice night riders who are trying to pit class against class.

"They are desperate, and they will do anything to use any and everybody they can for their selfish ends.

"They talk about block voting.

"Look at what the same string pullers did in the school bond issue less than a month ago.

"In Mangum-Umstead precinct the vote was 55 to 2 against the bond issue. In Carr township it was 78 to 3 against, and in Rougemont it was 71 to 4 against.

"This was no accident. It was block voting. And the very people who are yelling now are the ones who angled the bond issue dea.

"Look at who they are. They are the same people who have tried to keep a strangle hold on Durham for years and years. They would let our school children run helter skelter on the streets before they would build new buildings. They smile pretty and put the monkey wrench on any new industry coming to Durham.

"They are the scraps from an old, worn out, bedraggled political mamchine that conked out long ago. They are political bosses who want to barge in and take over with hate and prejudice.

"It is a coalition of vicious, power-hungry people. The coalition is made up of some of the DUPEC leaders. Eisenhower Democrats and the scraps of the old dilipidated political machine."

5/10/56 Durham Labor Tel.

Durham Labor Jnl. 5/17/58

Jim Carey Warns Unionist About White Citizen Groups

NEW YORK.—The chairman of the AFL-CIO Committee on Civil Rights warned that the real aim of the "great recruiting effort among union members now being conducted by the white citizens councils in the South is "seducing the union man in fighting his union."

Speaking before the Jewish Labor Committee's second national trade union conference on civil rights, AFL-CIO Vice Pres. James B. Carey said that if the white citizens councils are successful "it would mean an end to unionism in the South."

"Standards of living would decline for the working man and economic progress would stagnate," he continued. "Social progres would end such a disaster would have a terrible effect even on the Nothern working man. The ultimate effect would be felt all over the world."

This consideration, he declared is one of the important reasons why the American labor movement is dedicated to a "permanent, uncompromisable" policy of "complete eguality."

Carey was one of a score of speakers from the AFL-CIO affiliated unions before the three-day anti-bias conference at the Belmont Plaza Hotel. About 300 delegates from 18 internationals unions, 55 locals, joint boards and councils and nine civil rights and fraternal organizations participated.

The conference turned the spotlight on current civil rights and civil liberties problems throughout the world.

Unanimously approved were resolutions which:

1. Warned community organizations working for civil rights and have launched a new campaign of inflitration and flatly rejected unity with "those who condone practices of enslavement, of murder, of human indignation."

2. Proposed increased legislative an community action to wipe out discrimination in employment.

3. Condemned Soviet anti-Semitism, charging that Communist policies are destroying the Jewish community behind the Iron Curtain and demanding full democratic and cultural rights for Jews in the U.S.S.R.

The delegates also approved recommendations of a committee appointed at last year's conference which call for the immediate establishment of a new National Trade Union Council to greatly expand the anti-discrimination work of the Jewish Labor Committee. It will be comprised of 500 trade union leaders from throughout the nation.

He warned that the white citizens movement has definite ties to anti-labor organizations in the North and predicted that a white citizens council would be established in Detroit and other nothern cities "within a year." He said labor haters clearly were trying to use the race issue to "divide and conquer" organized labor.

ATTEND YOUR UNION MEETINGS!

Labor News

THINKING ALOUD

Reflections On the Negro and Labor

By Daniel Bell

SOME YEARS AGO, an older friend, an official of one of the out-of-town locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a Socialist, complained to me about the apathy of most of the members in his local, and, in some cases, the resentment of a minority against the union leadership. "I don't understand it," he said. "I work hard for them. I spend long hours negotiating for them. I don't let the boss get away with a nickel. But they don't appreciate it."

I was reminded of his remarks recently on reading the charges made by Herbert Hill, the Labor Secretary of the NAACP, of racial discrimination in the Garment Workers' Union, and the outraged rejoinders by David Dubinsky and other ILGWU officials. Like most of the young Socialists who were active in the Young People's Socialist League in the '30s, I have long had a warm feeling for, even an emotional identification with, the ILGWU. The union supplied us with some of the best jokes (copies supplied upon request) about the radical movement. It provided intermittent employment for many of us (I did "educational work" and editorial chores for Local 62 during my graduate-school days). Through generous contributions, it supported most of the Socialist institutions during the bleakest days of the depression and after. Its record of progressive leadership in a variety of areas is too well documented to need repetition. The idea, therefore, that the ILGWU practiced racial discrimination seemed absurd.

Hill's statement, compiled originally for a Congressional subcommittee, stated that Negroes were excluded from the higher-paying jobs in the garment trades (specifically in the cutters' local); that certain locals excluded Negroes; that a predominantly Negro local (composed primarily of shipping clerks) was attached to a larger local of pressers and was thus deprived of full citizenship rights in the union; and that Negroes and Puerto Ricans were under-represented in the union's leadership, which was, and remains, predominantly Jewish.

The ILGWU's answer, which appears in the Fall 1962 issue of *New Politics,* was prepared by Gus Tyler, the union's political director. It is, I think, quite convincing as a rebuttal to the specific charges. Hill's statement was sloppy (Local 89, accused of rebuffing Negroes, is an Italian-language local, and accepts only Italian members—a hangover from an early organizational structure), his figures were often incorrect, and his portentous social analysis (*e.g.,* that the Jewish labor leaders have more in common with the Jewish employers than with the rank-and-file membership) was a piece of pseudo-sociology.

It also seems clear that the original occasion for the statement was unfortunate, since the Congressional hearings were being conducted, in New York rather than in Washington, during a primary campaign by a Congressman who had been denied endorsement by the ILGWU-dominated Liberal party in New York. And for anyone who has known the long devotion to liberal causes of such men as Charles Zimmerman, the manager of the union's Dress Joint Board, the idea of their condoning overt racial discrimination, even for reasons of expediency, did not ring true.

Yet, wrong as Hill's charges are in detail, deeper problems remain, problems that have been obscured by the stridency of charges and replies. The first is symbolized by my friend's observations about the apathy and ingratitude within his local. But this is only part of a broader, more vexing issue: the propriety of attacking one's friends, rather than one's enemies, as the Negro organizations are now doing. And this, in turn, is part of a still larger question which few persons have cared to discuss openly: whether in his fight to overcome second-class status, the Negro should receive not merely equality of opportunity but, in order to establish himself as a full citizen, preferential treatment as well.

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THE FIRST PROBLEM (which has been caricatured by the charge of racial discrimination) is really, in its way, the familiar family chronicle of the original generation that built an institution (or a business or a store) and won't let go for the next one. The telling phrase in the complaint that my old Socialist friend made was the reiterated "for them." He was doing a good job, for them. He was honest and conscientious, for them. He had negotiated a good contract, for them.

But as I tried to tell him at the time, sometimes people like to do things for themselves, even if they do them less well. His reply, on reflection, was that the workers could not negotiate a contract: They did not possess the skills, the boss would outmaneuver them, they would be too exorbitant in their demands, they did not understand the economics of the industry, etc. When I asked him if they could not learn—after all, *he* had come up from the shop—his answer was that they were not interested, that in his generation the talented people had gone into the shop because there was nowhere else for immigrants to go, but now the more educated ones did not go into the union, and so on.

My friend was no fool. He knew all about Robert Michels' "iron law of oligarchy," had read Will Herberg on union bureaucracy, was aware of the growing gulf between the leadership and the rank-and-file, and his reply reflected an awareness of being trapped in this disparity. "Besides," he said, "I am 55 years old. Am I supposed to get out of the union now, after 30 years of service, because the new membership, which had little to do with building the union, is ethnically different from me?" He had helped build a useful social institution, and had identified himself so completely with it that he found it hard to conceive of its continuing without him, and others like him.

And in a way he is right. Once the older generation passes, the ILGWU will be a different union. The tragedy is that the change is going on now, amid circumstances of growing resentment rather than of honor. Clearly, there is no easy answer.

The other problems are of equal difficulty, going far beyond the dilemmas of the ILGWU. It is startling to realize that in the quickened pace of the Negro effort to gain higher status in this country, the liberals (Dubinsky, Walter Reuther and even George Meany), rather than the reactionaries, are the ones who find themselves under the gun in the Negro community. Why does the NAACP pick on us? a friend in the needle trades recently asked me. Why doesn't it go after the building trades, the electrical unions (apart from Local 3 in New York) and other places where Negroes can't even get jobs, let alone leadership positions, because of union discrimination? One reason, he said, answering his own question, is that the NAACP is itself under fire from the more militant sections of the Negro community, and to maintain its own position it picks on the liberal unions because they are more vulnerable.

Wasn't this, I asked, exactly the reaction that the Jewish employers in the needle trades had 50 or more years ago, when the ILGWU was first trying to get a foothold in the industry? The Italian bosses run worse sweatshops, they said, yet the unions pick on us because they can shame us in the Yiddish press. But precisely because the ILGWU was able to do so, the union succeeded in winning such victories as the establishment of arbitration councils under Louis D. Brandeis and other prominent Jewish spokesmen. Such tactics are bound to be repeated, and they are understandable.

WHAT IS IT, then, that the Negro community wants, and why so much more demandingly from its liberal friends? The fact is—and this is the "bite" in Hill's charges—that the Negroes are underrepresented in the leadership of many of the unions where they form a significant proportion of the membership. In the case of these unions, what the Negroes want is "recognition" at the level of top leadership and a growing share of the spoils of office.*

Demands such as these are usually voiced behind closed doors rather than openly, because they fly in the face of the American mythos that all individuals are equal and there is no such thing as a group identity. And they usually provoke the response (which Reuther, for one, has articulated) that this is Jim Crow in reverse, that a man ought to be judged on the basis of individual merit and not for any "extraneous" capacity. Yet there is a curious paradox in this "democratic" response. For one thing, the realistic political process in the United States, at least in the northern urban centers, has been one of ethnic groups advancing themselves precisely in this fashion: by organizing on bloc lines, electing their own kind, and using the patronage system to enhance the wealth and status of their group.

A second, more complex fact is that the basic existence of the labor movement is rooted in the conception of "group" rather than individual rights. Legally, the individual's protection on the job—where, for example, a union shop exists—is based on the "collective" contract, not on his individual right. (Thus, under an old NLRB ruling, employers are forbidden in certain circumstances to give individual workers merit wage increases on the ground that this may be a form of favoritism and would violate the group's rights.)

* A few years ago, the ILGWU did begin to make a more determined effort to bring Negroes and Puerto Ricans into leadership positions. But, ironically, the union found that leadership training enhanced the market value of its best candidates and, because the ILGWU pays relatively poorly, it "lost" the trainees to other unions or to government, where they could command more money and status.

How far down does the group right extend *within* the union? Often a union recognizes certain "functional" groupings (for instance, the skilled trades in the United Auto Workers) as legitimate claimants to its own rights of representation. Does the Negro community—if it so organizes itself—have a legitimate claim for representation in group terms?

This has to be answered in a still wider context, which is the unspoken premise that "equality of opportunity" is an inadequate springboard from which the deprived sections of the Negro community—that is, the overwhelming majority—can advance economically and educationally. The phrase "equality of opportunity" has meaning if the competitors are roughly equal from the start (which is why there are handicaps in a horse race). But in many instances, even if a genuine equality of opportunity—for jobs, school places and the like—prevailed, the Negro would still lose out, with harmful social consequences for the community, simply because of extra, inherited handicaps he bears.

Admission to an elite public school like New York's Bronx High School of Science, for example, is by competitive examination, a matter purely of merit. Yet the number of Negro children in that school is scandalously low, and this failure to get on the first step of the educational escalator becomes a self-reinforcing vicious cycle as regards future opportunities. The solution is not necessarily a double standard, wherein Negro children with lesser qualifications are admitted on a quota basis; it may require the creation of special classes to coach bright but culturally deprived Negro children, in order to allow them to compete on a better footing.

But why even blink at the "double standard?" Why should intellectual merit alone be the determining basis for entry into an elite school? Ivy-league colleges such as Harvard, Yale and Columbia maintain geographical quotas in order to gain a representative national student body, on the ground that such mixtures are more valuable to the educational process than those selected by grades or college-board scores alone. On the same basis, a larger proportion of Negro children in the elite schools would both act as a spur to these children and "broaden" the experience of the other students.

ALL THIS may seem a far cry from my opening story; yet there is a consistency and a connection. The implicit demand of the Negro community today is for special efforts and even special treatment in order to win basic social rights. It arises for the same reason that Tocqueville noted in all revolutionary movements: Increasingly radical demands are made not when one's lot goes from bad to worse, but when it goes from bad to better. For what may have been formerly accepted as destined and inevitable now, with the possibility of improvement in sight, becomes intolerable; and the demand for improvement quickens.

But the demand for special treatment is nothing new in the United States. It is the very basis for the existence of the labor movement. The preamble to the Wagner Act points out that equality of bargaining is a necessary aspect of social justice, and in order to redress unequal power, the workers have to be given the added protections of the law to organize, to compel the employer to bargain, and so on. Farmers receive price supports, subsidies, mortgage insurance and the like. In economic and educational opportunity, the Negro is in a position of inequality, and the government is bounden to help him move ahead. But doesn't the trade-union movement have a *special* obligation to help redress the balance?

To return to my original tale, the tragedy of old institutions is that they are like Cheshire cats: The image remains after the body has disappeared. In the end, the image without the body is insubstantial, and quickly fades away. Or, to change the metaphor, and make the issue more plain: The "genius" of American democracy is that the society survived because the older ruling groups learned to share their power instead of resorting to class war, most notably in the acceptance by employers of collective bargaining in the factories. How curious that the labor leadership which benefited from that historical lesson should so plainly fail to see the virtue of applying it to its own institutions.

1909 SHIRTWAIST STRIKE: ILGWU MARCHES ON NEW YORK'S CITY HALL TO PROTEST POLICE ACTION

New Attack on Unions

Labor

Labor's foes have been quick to cite recent and current strikes as reason for crippling unions and destroying the collective bargaining process. With echoes of the longshore strike still sounding across Capitol Hill in Washington, attempts are being made to picture work-stoppages an affront to the public interest and to bolster public support for union-curbing legislation.

Even newspaper strikes in New York and Cleveland are being termed too great a burden for the economy of the world's wealthiest nation to bear. A press that can hardly claim to be disinterested has sought to create the impression that the publishers are blameless and that labor is irresponsible.

The City of New York could have had newspapers despite the printers' strike in that city. There has been no walkout against the *New York Post,* the *Daily Mirror,* or the *Herald-Tribune.*

The three papers in question have claimed financial difficulty and intimated that they would fold if they were shut down. Yet, they have locked out their employees and ceased to publish at the command of the publishers' association. Had they published, they would have reaped a big financial harvest and much strengthened their positions.

ITU members employed by the papers have fallen behind those in the job-shops. The union, which has had no strike for 65 years, has asked an adequate wage increase, five days' paid sick leave annually, a 15-minute reduction in the workday, increased fund payments to make up for cuts in welfare, higher night shift differentials, and an added week of vacation.

The publishers have offered a cash raise of only 55 cents in the first year of a new contract, and have refused adequate fringes. They have also demanded changes in work rules.

"We want to bargain on a realistic basis; we have asked for continuous negotiations. But the publishers refuse to bargain in good faith," the ITU stressed in a recent public appeal.

A. J. Liebling, author of the *New Yorker's* "Wayward Press" column, recently noted that labor is almost invariably cast as villain in industrial disputes. He pointed out that a close look usually reveals justice more generally on labor's side than on management's.

Long columns of type are now being devoted to the premise that any truly effective strike is too costly for U. S. democracy to bear. In this view, the only permissible strike is one that has no discernible impact.

Pandora's Box

Solutions offered by these pundits would destroy free trades unions as they now exist. They would substitute state compulsion for free collective bargaining. The "cures" would break up unions, impose compulsory arbitration, create labor courts, and deny the right to withdraw labor in concert.

A mishmash of antiunion bills has already been poured into the Congressional hopper. Proposals of Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) are typical.

Goldwater recently told the U. S. Chamber of Commerce that the strike "is the only weapon labor has." He opposed "violent steps" to curb unions and, particularly, compulsory arbitration, which he admitted would open the door to government control of factories, prices, and workers.

Goldwater's nonviolent cures would be deadly. He has introduced a bill placing the right to strike under NLRB supervision. It would require unions to give the Board 30 days' advance notice of intent to strike, require a petition to strike from 30 percent of the members, and then permit a strike only after the NLRB has conducted a poll and certified a majority vote in favor.

The Arizona solon would also end the union shop by making it legal only in states which pass laws permitting such union security. He would end all industry bargaining, such as in steel or in the longshore industry. While Goldwater would not end the "right to strike," he would make an effective strike virtually impossible.

Sen. John McClellan (D., Ark.) would bar strikes in defense facilities and substitute compulsory arbitration by a board appointed by the Secretary of Defense. He would also put transportation unions under antitrust and bar them from striking, picketing, or acting in concert "with an employer or any other labor union."

Rep. Dave Martin (R., Neb.) would put unions under antitrust laws and break them up into individual locals incapable of effective bargaining. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.) would establish compulsory arbitration in the maritime trades.

A recent symposium of the National Industrial Conference Board in New York heard from most participants that the public is becoming "disenchanted" with the U. S. bargaining system, that only the "disinterested" public is the "loser" in strikes, and that action must be taken to protect the public from work-stoppage disruptions in the economy.

Yet, there were fewer strikes last year than in any since the war. Losses caused by joblessness had a far greater impact upon the economy than the relatively minor losses resulting from strikes.

A democracy can endure only if it accepts the price of freedom. Part of that price is the ability of workers to withdraw their labor in concert. The alternative is involuntary servitude, even if dressed up in the clothing of compulsory arbitration.

Compulsory arbitration—or labor courts—places a premium upon decisions of state bodies. There is no compulsion to bargain, since the state will decide anyway. Technicality replaces justice and the lawyer replaces the negotiator. The union tends to become an empty husk. Cases drag on through the labor courts for years until justice delayed becomes justice denied.

Some nations have experimented with compulsory arbitration, only to find that it brings unrest and large-scale, wildcat strikes. In some cases, it has resulted in virtual servitude for the worker.

The Philippine Republic discarded compulsory arbitration a decade ago because it proved incapable of coping with postwar conditions. A recent study reported that it was abandoned because "more fundamental importance was attached to the exercise by the worker of his right to self-organization" than to "the prevention of strikes."

Free collective bargaining does not deny a voice to the state in helping to resolve labor-management disputes of significant magnitude. The weight of the state can, however, be brought to bear without destruction of the right to strike and the bargaining process.

McDonald Cites Attack on Labor

United Steelworkers Pres. David J. McDonald has warned that organized labor is under increasing attack by those who want to return to "industrial cannibalism where the strong devour the weak and each man is fearful of his neighbor."

In a message sent to a conference of Steelworkers District 35, McDonald declared that "propaganda machinery is operating full blast, seeking to force intemperate and hasty action by Congress which would further reduce labor's rights and shackle us in pursuit of just objectives."

McDonald said the goal of those seeking to cripple unions "is to spread suspicion and disunity in the ranks of labor so that the working man, bereft of a strong union, will be weak and compliant to any erosion of his rights and too insecure to demand and fight for his due."

COMMENT

SINCE the recent visit of a T.U.C. delegation to Sweden the pundits have been trying to persuade us that much of the industrial strife which arises in this country could be avoided if only the British Trade Union Movement would adapt its methods and structure to conform to the Swedish pattern.

This theory would appear to be based on the false assumption that the Unions alone are responsible for industrial disputes and that the establishment and maintenance of good industrial relations is a one-sided business. We recognise that harmonious relationships between Employers and Unions are an important contributory factor to the economic stability of any civilized community, but we must stress that the responsibility rests equally on both sides.

If a comparison is to be made between Sweden and Britain, it should first of all be explained that there is a much more ready acceptance on the part of Swedish employers of the important role of the Unions and that they encourage the development of trade union organisation. In sharp contrast British trade unions have been established and developed in the face of intense and often bitter opposition from employers who, even today, resort to various devices to weaken and render more difficult efforts to develop and expand trade union membership.

Especially is this true in relation to the organisation of 'White-collar' workers. Time and again when staff employees have indicated an interest in membership of a bona-fide trade union the employer has moved in quickly to establish a 'House' union or staff association.

Although the powerful Engineering Employers' Federation would strenuously deny that it is opposed to the development of trade union organisation amongst staff workers, it is no secret that representatives of management in many of its member firms encourage and foster the development of the "Foreman's Mutual and Staff Benefit Society". Employees who seek to become members of this society are obliged to sign a declaration that they are not members of a trade union.

It may be that the British trade union movement could, with advantage, adopt some of the ideas and methods of its Swedish counterpart but this is also true of the Employers. We do not doubt the need for changed attitudes but this must come from both sides.

Position of negroes biggest moral and political issue

as seen by EC member, Joan Lipson

Miss Lipson in Portland, Oregon, with A. F. Hartung, President of the International Woodworkers of America

Miss Lipson was one of seven trade unionists selected by the English Speaking Union to visit the U.S.

THE first thing to catch the eye in the airport bus from Idlewild to New York was the notice: "Seating aboard this vehicle is without regard to race, colour, creed or national origin—by order of the Inter-State Commerce Commission." Two weeks later, in Atlanta, in the corridors of the offices of the State of Georgia, I read: "White Men" and "White Women". The State Commissioner of Labour had just told me that "we in the South treat coloured people much better than in the North; we are good to them—my wife looks after our maid if she is sick. We got on well until integration started to damage relations." In Atlanta, an integrated city by Southern standards, there are still only about fifty negro children in "integrated" schools; yet negro schools are working shifts through overcrowding while many white schools are half-empty. It is, however, on voter registration that most of the organisations working in various ways for integration are now concentrating their efforts, and people are still risking their lives so that negroes can exercise the most elementary right in a democracy—the right to vote.

The position of the negroes is the biggest moral and political issue facing the American people, and for the trade unions the challenge is an economic one as well. If the South were as well organised as the rest of the country, union membership in the U.S.A. would be doubled.

A challenge of a different kind to union organisation is the growing proportion of "white-collar" workers. American unions believe we are ahead of them in this and they have some different obstacles to overcome. But the union "contract", once it is signed, usually runs for several years, provides for deduction of contributions from pay, and covers all aspects of pay, grading, promotion and conditions of work.

At local level the problems are often familiar ones. I found this talking to the President of the New York Stock Exchange "Local" of the Office Employees International Union about running a Union Branch; comparing the agreement for clerical staff of Pan American Airways with ours in C.A.T.; in a "Grievance Committee" meeting at an engineering factory hearing promotion procedure cases argued with the management; in discussions with students at a union school in Texas.

The differences in American unions pose many questions: How does the high ratio of officials and staff to membership—enviable as it is to us—affect the initiative of the rank and file? What is the effect of the complicated network of Federal and State laws which enmesh union activity? Above all, how—lacking an independent political philosophy and organisation—are they to meet the challenge of their own economy? Of an unemployment rate twice our national average, of the tremendous impact of automation adding to the country's already boundless productive capacity? Although many American unions are, as their literature and their election activity showed, now deeply involved in politics and aware of its impact on their members, this is the challenge they are perhaps least equipped to meet.

Almost my only "sight-seeing" in the U.S.A. was a visit to the United Nations. Situated in the heart of New York, inside it seemed like another world, at first perhaps by contrast with the commercialism outside. But going round the building, listening to the disarmament committee in session, seeing the Security Council chamber where so recently Cuba was debated, the reason became clear: this is the place where the nations can settle their differences by discussion, where all peoples are equal. It has been suggested that it might be better if the U.N. headquarters were not in the United States, but I think probably they need its influence most.

NO CASE FOR LONGER NOTICE BY WORKERS

Contracts of Employment Bill

TUC Criticism

CRITICISM of the Contracts of Employment Bill has come from the General Council of the TUC who have informed the Government of their views.

No case, they claim, has been made out to justify imposing on many workpeople the obligation to give employers longer notice. It is said this is being done to maintain reciprocity between employer and employee but the freedoms of employers to discharge and of employees to leave are not equal. It is excessive to require a month's notice from an employee whose wages are calculated by the hour and paid by the week.

Not Best Means

Nor do the General Council feel that legislation is the best means of obtaining improvements in this field, but this apart, they claim that the Bill has not gone far enough.

It does nothing for most of those workers who can be dismissed at two or one hour's notice, e.g. building and ship-repairing. The minimum period of notice to be received by a worker who has been working for an employer for, say, four weeks should be one week.

Arbitary Dismissal

When the Bill becomes law, greater use will be made by some employers of their powers of summary dismissal in order to avoid giving longer notice. This will give a greater prominence to the widespread absence in private industry of procedures to deal with appeals against arbitrary dismissals.

The General Council also point out that, apart from summary dismissal there are other ways in which some employers may avoid the obligation to give four weeks' notice or pay. For instance, they may refuse to give more than one week for although the Bill provides that workers may seek damages through the courts in such cases, the opportunity to obtain damages will be illusory in areas of high employment; or they may put workers on short-time in the hope that they will seek and obtain other employment.

Penalise All

Some of the sudden strikes which take place have been condemned by the General Council as irresponsible, but the Bill will penalise all strikers whatever the provocation and whether or not the joint machinery is available for the settlement of grievances.

The Second Reading of the Bill is expected in the Commons in February.

Labor

THE FUTURE OF LABOR AS A POLITICAL FORCE IN THIS REGION -- DOES IT HAVE ONE?

By Henry Woods
McMath, Leatherman Woods & Youngdahl
1330 Tower Building
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For COPE (Committee on Political Education)
March 16, 1963 AFL-CIO
Little Rock, Arkansas

The South has always constituted a special problem for organized labor. It is still largely unorganized, in spite of huge expenditures of money, sweat and manpower - and even the life and limb of a few union representatives. Labor's political influence is still weak. Why is this so? From one perspective, the South should be the easiest section of the nation to organize. Nowhere else has labor been so mercilessly exploited.

"I have known mills", wrote Edgar Garner Murphy of Alabama, "in which for ten or twelve days at a time the factory hands -- children and all -- were called to work before sunrise and dismissed from work only after sunset, laboring from dark to dark. I have repeatedly seen them at labor for twelve, thirteen, and even fourteen hours per day. In the period of the holidays, or other 'rush times' I have seen children eight and nine years of age leaving the factory as late as 9:30 at night, and finding their way with their own little lanterns through the unlighted streets of the mill village, to their squalid homes."

The advent of the social legislation of the New Deal and the continuing assaults of organized labor have served to ameliorate the most outrageous abuses of the southern factories and mills, but wages are still lower in the South than elsewhere in the nation. In Arkansas and Mississippi they are the lowest of all -- $1.56 per hour is the average wage in manufacturing in Arkansas as compared with $2.24 in our neighboring state of Missouri to the North - $2.10 in Oklahoma to the West and $2.12 in Louisiana to the South. Again we here in Arkansas may say "Thank God for Mississippi" because there the figure is $1.52 per hour.

Where labor has been so cynically exploited, the fields should be ripe for the harvest of unionism. But such has not been the case. Why? The answer is complex. Within the limits of this short talk, I cannot explore all the reasons that thoughtful students have assigned for this phenomenon. Most are agreed that the answer lies within the peculiar power structure of southern society -- its customs, economy, its

about 5½ pages

social, cultural and political leadership.

To explore the problem even cursorily we must go back to the Reconstruction after the Civil War to that period so aptly described as "The Tragic Era". In a chaotic and prostrate society the planter and business groups were able to finally impress a political system that disenfranchised the lower income groups in our population. Limitation on the franchise was defended on the ground that it was necessary to keep the vote in the hands of the white man. Many property-less whites did not bother to notice that they too were being disenfranchised.

Indeed this was the idea from the beginning -- as is pointed out so convincingly in a small but golden volume just published called "Romance and Realism in Southern Politics" by Harry Williams, a history professor at L.S.U. Mr. Williams quotes from articles in the New Orleans TIMES and PICAYUNE during the Reconstruction Period when these papers were considered to be the leading voice of Louisiana business interests.

Wrote the TIMES: "There was a time when universal suffrage was regarded as one of the grandest features of American institutions, but it has been demonstrated, especially in large cities, that universal suffrage means the rule of the mob .... The right to vote should be given to those only who can use it with discretion and sound judgment, and as our electoral privileges are already too wide, it would be the maddest folly to extend them ... wherever voters greatly outnumber property holders, property assuredly will be unsafe ... were universal Negro suffrage to be added to white universal suffrage both life and property would be greatly weakened ..."

Said the PICAYUNE: "We look upon voting as a duty rather than a right and we regret that there is so much of it among the whites. Universal suffrage is the unlimited suffrage of the ignorant, landless and lawless."

So the cumulative poll tax was passed in some states; in others (such as Arkansas) it was made payable with property taxes almost a year before the election date -- at a time when no one is thinking about elections. That this has operated as an effective method of disenfranchisement is shown by the fact that only about one-third of the eligible voters participate in either primary or general elections in this state.

By skillful use of the race issue, this program was sold throughout the South and resulted in the election of governors, legislators, congressmen and senators who

have been nothing more than tools of the vested interests and who have used their vast political power to forge ever new shackles for the working man.

The Arkansas AFL-CIO in 1956 made a determined effort to eliminate the poll tax by the initiation of a constitutional amendment -- but the race issue was stirred up by the same old interests who fear the extension of democracy in this state. Powerful groups are still at work to limit the franchise.

Robert Welch, the leader of the John Birch Society, was recently quoted as follows in the NEW YORK POST: "This is a Republic, not a Democracy - let's keep it that way. Democracy is a government by majority vote which provides no protection to the rights of minorities nor even to the best interest of the majorities themselves against the sudden whims of the electorate or the results of the voters' gullibility."

H. L. Hunt, the Texas billionaire and chief financial angel of the ultra right has seriously proposed in a book he has written called "Alpaca" -- about a fictional Utopia -- that the right to vote should be based solely on wealth. The more money a man has, the more votes he should be permitted to cast. One humorist has dubbed Mr. Hunt's Utopia as cashocracy. Dan Smoot, of Facts Forum - Mr. Hunt's protege - recently described democracy as "The most evil form of government". Despite the Birchists and their ilk, a great step forward was made when Congress recently referred an amendment abolishing the poll tax. When this is ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures, as will surely happen, a great new opportunity will present itself to labor in Arkansas and Mississippi. Whether this opportunity will be grasped remains to be seen. What kind of registration law will be passed?

The Arkansas Legislature has just adjourned without passing any such law, although several were introduced. I am not sure that the composition of the Arkansas Legislature is such that a decent law could be passed -- one that would give everyone a fair and seasonable opportunity to register and vote and HAVE THAT VOTE COUNTED HONESTLY.

I would like to propose here and now that organized labor join with other interested civic groups in considering the possibility of initiating by petition a fair and decent registration law. The people want this done -- they are calling for it -- and you could answer their call.

This registration bill should make it easy for any citizen to vote. It should do one other thing. It should make the voter declare his party preference. If he is a

Republican, he should not be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary. John McClellan won the Democratic senatorial nomination in 1954 with the votes of Republicans who were instructed to vote in the primary. Let me be frank with you. I favor a two party system in the South. I think Arkansas and Mississippi would be better off if they were two party states.

I think that requiring Republicans to register as such would go a long way toward building a two party system. Let the McClellans, Thurmonds, and the other conservatives join with the Goldwaters and Dirksens. -- They think like they do -- they vote like they do. A man has every right to be a reactionary -- just as much right as I have to be a liberal. But if he is a reactionary, he belongs in the Republican Party, just as I belong in the Democratic Party.

The Texas Democratic Party is achieving new vitality because at long last the reactionaries are leaving it and finding their real home with Senator Tower and Republicans. This has caused such a change in the complexion of the Texas Democratic organization that an unknown young Houston lawyer running on an out and out pro-labor program came within 19,000 votes of winning the Democratic nomination in spite of the active opposition of Lyndon Johnson, who professes great liberalism on the national scene -- but is something else again on his home grounds, where he connives and consorts with the worst elements in Texas politics.

Abolition of the poll tax and a fair permanent registration system in this state will permit you to achieve a maximum utilization of your voting potential. You have estimated this to be 283,000 votes. I am convinced that not one-fifth of this potential is being realized. I have been in union meetings where I have asked for an honest show of hands on poll tax holders. Not one in ten would respond.

It will mean something else. Thousands of Negro voters are going to be added to the voting rolls. Are these votes going to support your candidates? Or will you let the blatant voice of the racist demagogue alienate you from this growing bloc of votes? The racist demagogue is rarely a friend of the working man. It has been my experience that when you scratch the thin veneer from a racist - underneath you will find a labor hater.

The racist Dixiecrat movement of 1948 had its genesis among a group of labor haters. I quote from V. O. Key's monumental and definitive work, "Southern Politics",

with regard to the Dixiecrat movement: "The center of agitation against Truman's renomination and for commitment of the Democratic electors for Thurmond and Wright was in the plantation counties of Eastern Arkansas. The Arkansas Free Enterprise Association, with headquarters in the area, was prominent in all the Dixiecrat maneuvers. Its Executive Director, John L. Daggett and his associates attended Gov. Wright's Jackson conference in full force. The same Association, consisting of big planters and industrialists, had earlier sponsored a "right-to-work" amendment to the state constitution and it had been hostile to all the New Deal foolishness".

The Arkansas Free Enterprise Association was employing the old time tested technique of the southern demagogue. Raise hell on the race issue -- but all the while serve the cause of big business, and the special interests. This technique has been developed into a fine art by many of our southern politicians.

In speaking of one of the early successful racist demagogues, Cole Blease, Governor of South Carolina, Professor Williams writes in "Romance and Realism in Southern Politics": "Blease offered these people no program of betterment, and he consistently opposed and defeated legislation to benefit labor. Yet the very people that he undercut cherished him as their champion".

I know that you leaders of organized labor in Arkansas and Mississippi have a hard time weaning your rank and filers from the "Cole Bleases". The leader of the Citizens Council here in Little Rock is a former local head of the Free Enterprise Association, yet some of his most active supporters are labor union members. When the riots occurred here in Little Rock around Central High School, there were labor union members in the forefront. When the headquarters of the School Board was bombed here, one of those convicted was a union man.

Yet I am glad to say that the leadership of organized labor in this state denounced both of these episodes vigorously. In doing so, labor's leadership aligned itself with the churches, leading women's organizations, and even the Chamber of Commerce. I say to you that it would have been tragic if the voice of labor had been silent in these days. I want you to remember that in the great Eastern States, with their permanent registration systems, it was a coalition of the Labor and Negro vote that kept Richard Nixon from being President of the United States.

It is necessary that labor in Arkansas and Mississippi should take into account the growing role that the Negro will necessarily play in Southern politics. On the

national scene Labor has built a tremendous reservoir of goodwill with the Negro people for it has given effective support to their struggle for a decent life in America. It would be unwise to dissipate this by parochial and provincial attitudes in the state labor organizations.

The labor movement in this country has always championed the rights of minority groups. At present both Labor and many minorities are being subjected to a well-financed, well organized barrage from extreme right groups. Labor has withstood the threat of the extreme left and it will meet the threat of the extreme right.

But the threat must not be taken lightly. Robert Welch, the John Birch fuehrer, and H. L. Hunt, the Texas billionaire, have placed millions at the disposal of the extreme right wing groups. We have an institution in Arkansas - Harding College at Searcy, which is an important part of the far right political and propaganda structure. This college has a six million dollar endowment, virtually all received from big business donors. It received $300,000 alone from the late Alfred P. Sloan, President of General Motors. The President, Dr. George Benson, has a simple message: what is good for big business is good for the country. He is against the New Deal and the Fair Deal. He opposes all welfare legislation. Unionism is bad for the country because it is "monopolistic". He has campaigned rigorously for "right to work" proposals. He hired Glenn Green, former executive secretary of the Free Enterprise Association to act as his public relations director. Green, while at Harding, produced a film called "Communism on the Map" which some of you may have seen. Some employers have made their employees view it as captive audience. Some unions have had the good judgment to protest. The film carries the very defeatist message that Communism has already taken over the world except for West Germany, Formosa, Switzerland and the U. S. The United States is almost gone because the Communists have virtually subverted the government and the labor unions.

The film follows the Blue Book of the John Birch Society quite closely which may be no accident because Glenn Green is an active and vociferous member of the John Birch Society.

In the April, 1961, Bulletin of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch wrote "our people have also been responsible for the producing, and then, during the past several months, for virtually thousands of showings of a film strip called Communism on the Map . . . Full credit for providing the organization, financing,

prestige and practical circumstances for such work must go entirely to the National Education Program of Searcy, Arkansas, headed by that great American, Dr. George Benson. But this film strip was conceived, prepared, and produced by an ardent member of the John Birch Society, partly from our materials."

Another right wing stalwart who makes the rounds in Arkansas - and I am sure in Mississippi - is Rev. Billie James Hargis, the head of the Christian Crusade and We the People. Rev. Hargis' headquarters is in Tulsa. We the People is based in Chicago. Its hero seems to be Senator Barry Goldwater. It publishes a propaganda tract called "Free Enterprise". The June, 1961 issue of the latter recommended reading Gerald L.K. Smith's "Cross and the Flag" and "Common Sense", two of the most anti-semitic publications in the United States.

In 1961 Hargis had a summit meeting of his Christian Crusade addressed by Robert Welch, who announced at that time the subject of his high school essay contest -- "Why Chief Justice Warren Should be Impeached".

Another former Arkansan, Tom Anderson, is now a resident of Nashville, where he publishes a magazine "Farm and Ranch" which has wide circulation in the South. Anderson is on the National Board of the John Birch Society. About a year ago he was the principal speaker at the annual banquet of the local Chamber of Commerce where he received a standing ovation after delivering a diatribe against labor and the national administration. One of Anderson's pet projects is the complete abolition of the income tax. He is Co-Chairman of a national organization with this as its objective.

The airwaves in Arkansas and Mississippi are being swamped with right wing propaganda featuring attacks upon the labor unions and the national administration. Three of those we hear most in this area are "Lifeline" featuring Wayne Poucher, another protege of H. L. Hunt, -- Dan Smoot's Facts Forum, and Dean Clarence Manion's, Manion's Forum. Financed by Hunt and some segments of big business, these programs are reaching saturation intensity in some areas --the Shreveport area is one that comes to mind. Many of these programs are run by the stations as a so-called "public service".

One of their principal objectives is to brainwash the people into believing that unions are "un-American". No section of the country is receiving such a massive dose of anti-union and ultra-right wing propaganda as the South.

Here then is another reason why union organization and COPE effort is so difficult in this area. A massive well-financed propaganda campaign against unions

is reaching into every home in this area. You have not had the funds to counteract these sinister forces. But you must find and provide them if unionism is to progress.

The people must be told that the greatest counter movement in the world today is the free trade union movement. The way to really combat communism is to strike at the conditions on which it feeds. Communism is making strides in those parts of the world where workers have no jobs or else must work long hours for starvation wages -- where they are forced to live in hovels and see their children go to bed hungry. These are the areas where communism is a great threat --. Where a free and active trade union movement is bringing fair working conditions, adequate wages and decent housing, communism is on the wane.

I do not deprecate the military threat of communism or the dangerous appeal of its ideology to the under developed nations of the world. But the way to fight communism is not the way of the extreme right. The military threat of communism cannot be met by abolition of the income tax. The ideological threat cannot be met by destruction of free trade unionism and by convincing the people that their President, his Cabinet and the Supreme Court are dangerous subversives.

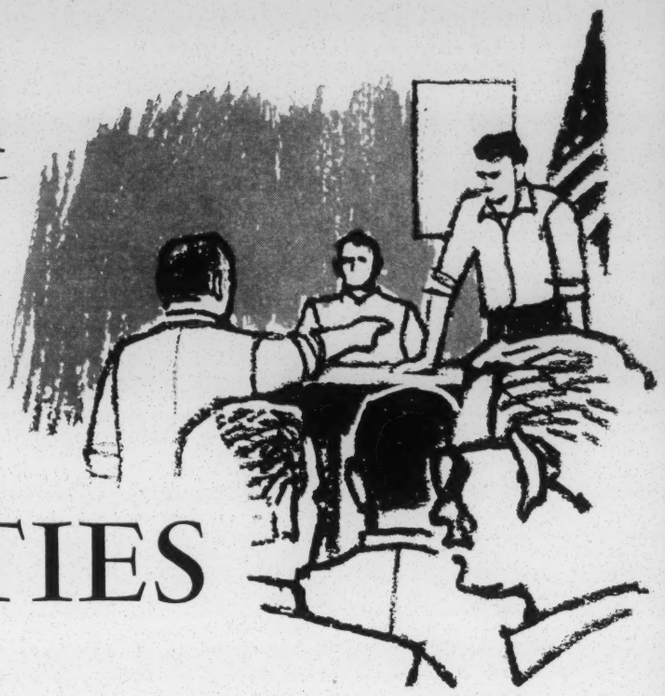
Robert Welch has gone so far as to label President Eisenhower a "conscious agent of the communist conspiracy". Among others dubbed by Mr. Welch as "hidden communists" are Chester Bowles, the late Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, and even Harry Truman. That this sort of claptrap is being accepted by major industrialists and even some military leaders is almost incomprehensible. But it is. What is more - they are spending millions to peddle it to the public at large.

The other day I was shocked to read that the Birchist faction had virtually taken over the Young Republican organization in California. California voted Republican in the last presidential election. It is now the most populous state in the union. The darling of the Birchists is Barry Goldwater. It is no accident that he is one of the greatest enemies of organized labor on the political scene today.

Labor must take positive steps to combat these sinister forces at work in our society. These have even alarmed such a certified conservative as President Eisenhower. In his last speech as President, he issued the following dire warning to the American people:

> "The conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence -- economic, political, even spiritual -- is felt in every city, every state house, every office in the Federal Government. We must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

LABOR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES



by Harry Fleischman

Organized labor learned the need for civil liberties the hard way. As early as 1806, when Philadelphia shoemakers went on strike, they were brought on trial and found guilty for forming "a combination and conspiracy to raise their wages." In 1894, in the Pullman strike, a labor injunction—called by union leader Eugene Debs a "Gatling gun on paper"—helped crush the strike and smash the American Railway Union. Lockouts, blacklists, yellow-dog contracts, labor spies to undermine and betray unions and the use of troops and deputized thugs to terrorize workers and organizers were all part of the employer arsenal in the past.

Even today, as the last AFL-CIO convention pointed out, "freedom of speech, assembly, association and solicitation of membership for union organizers and factory workers are virtually non-existent in the rural South and all efforts to exercise these rights have been and are being frustrated, despite the guarantees of the Constitution." In 1961, two organizers of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers were brutally beaten by hoodlums in Ellijay, Georgia, and then arrested for "fighting, disorderly conduct, inciting a riot and soliciting membership without a license." A union organizer was beaten and kidnaped by a mob in Franklinton, North Carolina, while the city police and the county sheriff turned their backs. When two organizers of the Textile Workers Union of America were knifed in Fitzgerald, Georgia, police blandly wrote this incident off with a report that they got into a fight and knifed each other.

The right to dissent, to hold unpopular views, to try to convince others and change existing practices by peaceful and lawful means is the very cornerstone of American liberty, laid down 40 years before the Declaration of Independence in the celebrated trial of Peter Zenger.

Zenger, an obscure German immigrant, was thrown into jail for printing in his small newspaper, the New York Weekly World, articles criticizing the governor of the colony. To his defense came 80-year-old Andrew Hamilton, one of the most prominent attorneys in the colonies, who traveled from Philadelphia to deliver his eloquent and successful plea to the jury. It was not just the cause of a poor printer he was defending, Hamilton explained, but the cause of human liberty—"the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing the truth."

Yet while every AFL-CIO convention has unanimously passed tough resolutions in defense of civil liberties, there are grounds for believing there is a gap between the positions taken at conventions and the views of rank and file unionists.

Back in 1954 the Fund for the Republic polled 5,000 rank and file Americans and 1,500 community leaders on their attitudes on communists and civil liberties. The survey's results were included in a fact-packed book, "Communists, Conformity and Civil Liberties," by Harvard Professor Samuel A. Stouffer. It included data on 1,500 rank and file unionists and local union leaders.

The next year a group of union education directors conducted polls of local union leaders at 14 union leadership training institutes. Questionnaires were filled out, without any discussion, by 647 union shop stewards, committeemen, local union presidents and other union leaders. Since then, similar polls have been conducted at union institutes, several as late as 1962, polling some 600 local union leaders at nine institutes.

The remarkable thing about all these polls was that

HARRY FLEISCHMAN stresses civil liberties and civil rights in a column he writes as director of the National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee. He is co-author of the AFL-CIO booklet, "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions."

the percentage varied only slightly.

What were the results? True, the local union leaders scored high on their devotion to equal treatment of all, regardless of race, religion or national origin. More than nine out of ten insisted that unions should enforce equal opportunity in respect to apprenticeship training and job promotions. But they displayed considerably less enthusiasm for the traditional American principles embodied in the Bill of Rights. Their tolerance of people whose ideas and opinions differed from their own was lukewarm at best.

What is meant by "tolerance?" It does not necessarily mean approval. Tolerance means that, even if we disagree with other people's opinions, we uphold the civil liberties extended to them by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO has stressed that "everyone devoted to democracy and human dignity must draw a sharp line of distinction between the democratic socialists and the totalitarian communists. One need not accept the doctrines of democratic socialism to realize that its adherents are true democrats who are uncompromising enemies of communism and all other forms of dictatorship. As a matter of fact, democratic socialists have often shared with free trade unionists the honor of being the first and main target of communist hostility, abuse, persecution and liquidation." And yet two out of five local trade union leaders would keep a socialist from teaching and one out of five would expel a socialist from his local union.

Although the Bill of Rights declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, more than half of our local union leaders would deny an atheist the right to teach and one out of four would keep him out of the local union.

As to communists, four-fifths of local union leaders would prevent them from teaching. Two out of three would strip American-born communists of their American citizenship.

Interestingly, less than half of the local union leaders would jail admitted communists. Apparently they feel that loss of citizenship is a smaller penalty than a jail sentence. Moreover, while five out of six would fire a communist working in a defense plant, more than half feel that communists should be allowed to work in non-defense jobs such as clerking in a store.

During the McCarthy period, labor was fearful of the witchhunts which spread throughout the land. While labor has hailed such investigations as the LaFollette probe into labor spying, AFL-CIO spokesmen have criticized "loosely-conducted congressional investigations where unfounded accusations and unproved charges had the effect of character assassination of good, loyal Americans." These inquiries were criticized as wandering from any proper legislative purpose into attempts "to enforce uniformity of opinions and to stifle the traditional American right to dissent." Yet two-thirds of local union leaders polled insisted that Congress should investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American."

While the local union leader may not rise to the defense of an abstract principle of freedom, he tends to identify with individual victims and to respond far more affirmatively to redress specific violations of civil liberties. Thus although a majority supported security tests in other than sensitive posts, nine out of ten local union leaders supported the right of those accused as security risks under federal security programs to confront and cross-examine their accusers. Perhaps the strong support for this position comes from labor's vigorous activity against abuses in the various government security programs, as well as from the publicity some cases have received in the nation's press and on TV. Among cases enlisting their sympathy were the following:

- One "risk" was accused of "leftwing talk." What he had actually said was: "I would rather be a second-class citizen in Mississippi than a first-class citizen in Russia."
- Another man was accused of teaching languages to "persons of the Russian embassy and Russian soldiers." He had taught Russian to U.S. Army and Navy officers during World War II.
- A Negro worker defending himself against "security" charges was asked whether he favored "the mixing of Negroes and whites."
- Another worker was asked if he had dated Japanese girls during the Korean War.

When former Republican Senator Harry Cain was Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, he charged that the incompetence of many government security officers was at least as dangerous as conscious sabotage. Among the derogatory information they placed against American citizens, some of it in formal charges, according to the Providence Journal Bulletin, were:

- Testimony by a neighbor who said he saw the subject on several occasions walking around his own home without clothes on.
- Statements that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.
- Evidence of contributions to the United Jewish Appeal.

Other stupidities of security officers included the suspension of a bachelor for "having a communist wife." A defense plant engineer was suspended because the security officer charged that he and his wife teamed up to make streetcorner communist speeches in 1939—when the husband was 15, the wife 11 years old and when they lived in different cities.

The American Legion reported a member was fired from his government job because his wife accused him of personal misconduct. Later the wife was fired from her government job because it was found that she lied about her husband. But the government refused to reinstate the husband because being accused in public was considered sufficient grounds for dismissal in his particular department.

In one of the classic cases, a unionist was declared

a "security risk" because he was too active a union man! As Jim Schuetz told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights recently, he had worked at Bell Aircraft since 1940. Chairman of the United Auto Workers' local stewards' council, he had held a government security clearance since 1946. In late 1950, Schuetz was called into the Army Air Force office at Bell and handed a letter withdrawing his security clearance. As a "security risk," the company then told him, he no longer could be employed at Bell.

After the union appealed, Schuetz learned months later that his clearance had been withdrawn because of "picketline offenses" in the Bell Aircraft strike a year and a half earlier, which the hearing board said had shown "poor discretion" and "lack of responsibility." Schuetz was not disloyal or subversive, they said, but they implied he was too active and militant a union man. When the hearing board refused to restore his clearance, UAW officers and the Workers Defense League took the case to the Secretary of Defense in Washington. Five months after he was fired, Schuetz was cleared of the "security risk" tag and reinstated on the job. But even then, it took almost a year to get his back pay.

In another case, when Julius P. Alston was denounced as a security risk and pulled off his job at the Lockheed missiles plant in Van Nuys, Calif., which makes the Polaris missile, the government kept identity of his accusers secret. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers helped him disprove the anonymous security risk charge that cost him his job back in April 1959. Union representative Hal Shean went with Alston before a hearing board in June 1959. Alston then learned that charges against him arose because he worked for an arms plant in Connecticut where communist infiltration had taken place 17 years ago. It took another 17 months to clear Alston even though Alston, with Shean's aid, showed at the hearing that the charge against him was groundless. His reinstatement order entitled Alston to $9,000 back pay.

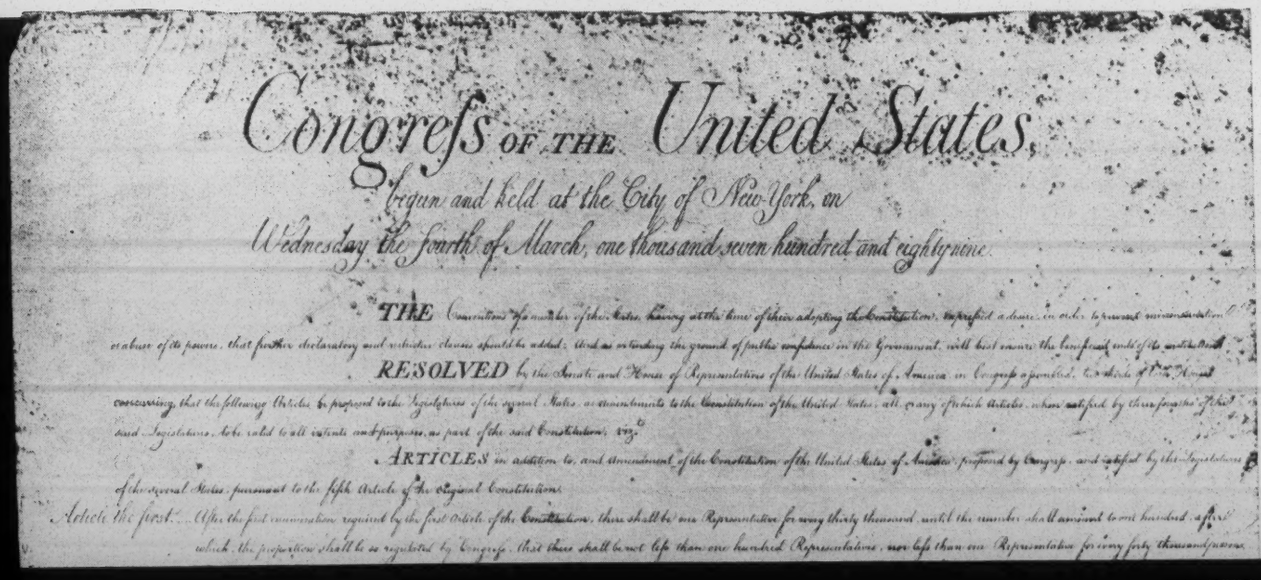
Six days after the Alston hearing, the U. S. Supreme Court held the government's industrial security program invalid in an 8-to-1 decision because denial of confrontation and cross examination of government witnesses, without statutory authority, was illegal. Former President Eisenhower issued an executive order restoring the program with some changes to meet the court's decision, but did not apply the confrontation and cross examination principles to all cases. A bill to back up that executive order with congressional sanction went down to defeat in the last Congress as labor pitched in, along with other liberal forces and a small group of Republicans, to point up its dangers.

American labor traditionally has opposed blacklisting as an unmitigated evil. Labor history is full of examples of active union men fired from jobs because of union activity and blacklisted so they could find no other jobs in their trades. That is why unions campaigned so vigorously for a clause in the Wagner Act to make blacklisting illegal.

During the McCarthy era, a different kind of blacklist ran rampant—the exclusion of actors, writers and others in the entertainment industries because of alleged involvement with communist or communist-front groups. Blacklisters cowed the radio and television industry—networks and stations, sponsors and advertising agencies, even the performers' union—into accepting "political reliability" as a qualification for employment in broadcasting. In part, this was a reaction to earlier communist influence in the entertainment world, where communists and fellow travelers had worked together to blacklist anti-communist writers and actors.

In the mid-fifties, John Henry Faulk, a radio-TV personality earning $36,000 a year as a humorist, decided the blacklist wasn't funny. With several other entertainers he ran for office in the New York local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) on a slate opposing both communism and blacklisting. When the slate won, a blacklisting newsletter, AWARE, charged that Faulk had attended some communist-front meetings years before. The late Lawrence Johnson, owner of a super-

The Bill of Rights


Congress of the United States,
begun and held at the City of New-York, on
Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as amendments to the Constitution of the United States; all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

Article the first. After the first enumeration required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons

market chain in Syracuse, N. Y., circulated AWARE's attack among Faulk's sponsors, threatening to remove their products from his stores. The sponsors deserted in droves.

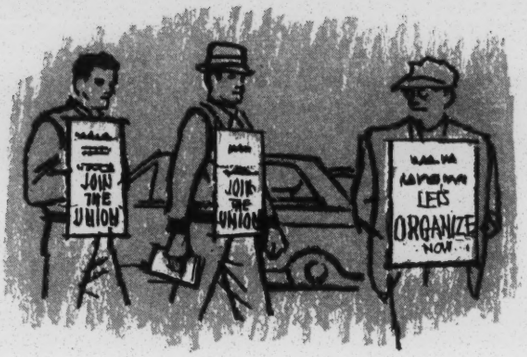
Instead of bowing supinely to AWARE's power, Faulk sued AWARE, Johnson and Vincent H. Hartnett, author of the attack, for libel. Things happened fast. The Columbia Broadcasting System failed to renew Faulk's contract. Stations outside New York offered to hire him only if he dropped his suit. Faulk moved to Texas and opened a small public relations agency to try to keep going.

Finally, last year, when attorney Louis Nizer proved the AWARE charges were untrue, a jury awarded Faulk the unprecedented sum of $3.5 million in compensatory and punitive damages. How much he will collect is uncertain since multi-millionaire Johnson died just as the case went to the jury and a legal question exists as to whether his estate is responsible for his share of the damages. In the light of the Faulk verdict, other individuals similarly victimized may be expected to take similar legal action against their attackers.

Still another area of great concern to labor is the widespread use of wiretapping. As the law now stands, the Communications Act of 1934 makes it a federal crime for anybody, police included, to put a wiretap on somebody's telephone and disclose what was heard. The Supreme Court recently has ruled, in Mapp v. Ohio, that illegally obtained evidence may not be used in state or federal courts. Whether that ruling will eventually bar the use of wiretap evidence in all state courts is not yet settled.

To be able to move at top speed, the Justice Department now wants a law permitting the use of wiretap information in cases involving national security without having to request a court order. In cases where bribery, extortion, kidnapping or murder are suspected, the law would require specific court orders for permission to tap and use the evidence. State and local authorities have urged even wider use of wiretaps, leading the American Civil Liberties Union to demand a complete ban on wiretapping because "innumerable innocent people will have their privacy invaded by officials who, as Justice Brandeis said, at their best are 'men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding' and, at their worst, susceptible to graft, corruption, extortion and other improprieties." The AFL-CIO, recognizing that wiretapping constitutes a serious threat to personal liberties and that technological developments have made it very difficult to control, has urged a law permitting wiretapping only to federal agents, under specific court orders, in an area clearly defined to cover espionage, treason and kidnapping. All other taps should be banned, said the last AFL-CIO convention, including a prohibition on divulging tapped information at congressional hearings.

In 1637, a stubborn English bookseller named John Lilburne stood trial before a star chamber, charged with having brought certain anti-religious books into



Britain. Because he refused to testify against himself, he was sentenced to be whipped.

In 1641, the House of Commons voted this sentence "illegal and against the liberty of the subject." Lilburne's fight established in the English-speaking world the principle that no man should be compelled to bear witness against himself or be tortured into confession. This safeguard was later written into the American Bill of Rights as the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The Fifth Amendment states in pretty plain language that in a criminal trial no man is required to testify against himself. It also includes the provision that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law"—that is, without a fair trial. These principles go hand in hand with the assumption that a man is innocent until proved guilty.

Communists and fellow travelers have, of course, made frequent use of the Fifth Amendment. Newspapers headline cases of "Fifth Amendment Communist," "Fifth Amendment Teachers," "Fifth Amendment Gangsters" and "Fifth Amendment Racketeers." As a result, many people forget that the Fifth Amendment was put in the Bill of Rights not as an "escape hatch" for the guilty, but to protect the innocent.

The Fifth Amendment has been called "one of the greatest privileges a free people can possess." Like the rest of the Bill of Rights, it is a symbol of democracy. There were no such safeguards in fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. There is no Fifth Amendment in communist Russia.

"The reason for the guarantee is of such overwhelming importance," wrote President A. J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists, in his union journal, "that few people would seriously contend we should abandon it and revert to the old practice, still used by communist and fascist dictators, of extracting confessions by physical and mental torture. Indeed, the Fifth Amendment is one of the basic concepts of freedom which distinguishes our form of government from communism and fascism."

Nevertheless, in October 1953 the Eisenhower security order was amended to state that any person who pleads the Fifth Amendment is automatically a "security risk" and not eligible for work on classified government materials. Some companies even dismiss any employe who has claimed the Fifth in a court case or

hearing, whether he is working on defense contracts or not.

The courts have ruled that pleading the Fifth Amendment may not be interpreted as a confession of guilt. In a recent decision, the U. S. Supreme Court declared:

". . . The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury.

". . . A witness may have a reasonable fear of prosecution and yet be innocent of any wrongdoing. The privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

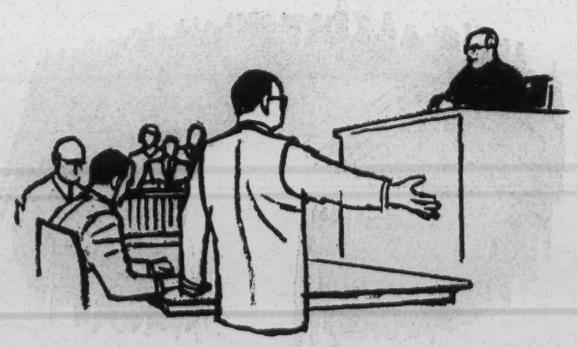
There are many reasons which may lead an innocent man to plead the Fifth. He may fear becoming involved in a case although he has committed no crime. He may be frightened and plead the Fifth to avoid further questioning. He may feel that whatever he says will be a link in the chain of his own prosecution.

In April 1956, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act, which permits the government to grant witnesses immunity against prosecution and force them to testify in national security cases. Under the law the government may subpoena a man to the witness stand and make him testify against himself and former associates. If he refuses, he can go to jail for contempt of Congress.

An editorial in The Wall Street Journal argued: "The law flies directly in the face of the Fifth Amendment, for the granting of immunity from prosecution is only another way to force a person to testify against himself or go to jail. No one can say what future prosecution may flow from forced testimony."

Three Bethlehem Steel employes—in plants which had no defense contracts—were fired when they pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee. The Steelworkers Union took the case to arbitration but lost. Furthermore, the workers were refused unemployment benefits on the grounds that they had been fired for "just cause."

The executive board of the Steelworkers declared that invoking the Fifth Amendment "standing alone cannot be the basis . . . for failure of the union to protect employe rights under a collective bargaining agreement, including the right to be free from unilateral and arbitrary disciplinary action or discharge."



The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Newspaper Guild, the American Federation of Teachers and the United Auto Workers also have stated they would not go along with dismissals based solely on the fact that a worker claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. If a local union has reason to believe that the individual in question is actually a communist, these national unions declare, he should be tried under local union procedure.

"From Jesus' injunction to swear not at all," noted Gordon M. Browne, Jr., past president of Local 460 of the American Federation of Teachers, "through the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Cummings vs. Missouri in 1867, which held that a test oath denying employment to non-signers was a bill of attainder and specifically forbidden by the Constitution, oaths have been despised and resisted. They have been the tool of tyrants seeking to coerce conformity, often on matters of religious belief."

Yet in the postwar era the prevalence of test oaths has grown mightily. Churches and other organizations in California enjoying tax exemption once were required to swear their corporate loyalty to preserve their tax exempt status. All over the country, teachers have been forced to sign non-communist oaths. Students must sign such oaths to receive federal aid grants. The Christian Century reported that a new subscriber had offered with his check a non-communist oath which he wanted the editor to sign for himself and all his employes before accepting the subscriber's money.

What have the oaths accomplished? They invariably are presented as a weapon against subversion, but communists and other totalitarians would have no hesitation in signing such an oath. After all, Lenin told them that lying, stealing and murder were justified because the end justified the means. The scores of teachers and professors who have been fired or forced to resign for refusal to sign such oaths have been people opposed to the oath on principle. The oath has punished no subversives but has made thornier the path of the non-conformist.

"But if you're not a subversive, why not swear loyalty to your country?" This is the classic question to which the only answer is "If we must suspect each other and be reassured only by oaths, how can a free society function?" Teachers have been special targets of oaths because their influence during the formative years of a child's development has been viewed with anxiety by oath proponents. Teachers, of course, resent such attention. They feel no more inclined to subversion than doctors or bankers—yet doctors are not asked to swear that they are not abortionists or bankers that they are not embezzlers.

What are some of the other civil liberties issues of concern to the trade union movement? Censorship and the McCarran Act are among them. The defeated Cunningham amendment to the postal rate revision bill would have banned from international and domestic mail all matter determined by the Attorney General to

be communist political propaganda. The last AFL-CIO convention opposed such attempt at censorship, rejecting "the totalitarian philosophy that some government officials can judge better than the people themselves what they shall read, see or hear." Herblock, the political cartoonist, echoed this view when he suggested: "It seems to me that we were all better off when the postal department used to deliver mail and left it to a Higher Authority to deliver us from evil."

Junius Scales, a former Communist Party organizer arrested under the Smith Act in 1954, was found guilty of active and knowing membership in the Communist Party and sentenced to six years in jail. During the seven years the case was being considered by various appeals courts, a great deal happened in the world—and to Junius Scales. In 1957 Scales quit the party. In 1961, his conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision. (On the same day the Court threw out the conviction of John F. Noto, an admitted and continuing party functionary, on the ground that the government had failed to present sufficient evidence of "illegal party advisory.") No other Communist Party member, past or present, has been convicted on the same charge that put Scales behind bars.

As The Washington Post put it: "What a laugh this must give the commies! The government of the United States . . . in effect joins hands with [communists] to punish an ex-member whom they hate for his apostasy. Moreover the absurdity of this paradox is heightened when one reflects that Scales is being punished for a political crime—holding bad beliefs and bad associations—which most Americans like to believe is punishable only in communist countries. If President Kennedy were to pardon Scales, he would be tempering justice not only with mercy but with equity and common sense as well."

And this did happen; in a series of Christmas amnesties, Kennedy set Scales free in commuting his term.

Last year, the U. S. Supreme Court, also by a 5 to 4 vote, upheld the constitutionality of the key clause of the Internal Security Act (popularly titled the McCarran Act). The U. S. Communist Party was ordered to register as the agent of a foreign power. When the party refused, it was indicted and was recently tried along with several of its leaders. A number of organizations, including one union, were designated "communist-infiltrated" as defined by the Act and prosecutions are pending. Several publications are under orders to label themselves as communist and are threatened with prosecution if they don't.

The four Supreme Court justices who dissented in the McCarran Act decision said:

". . . the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment must be accorded to the ideas we hate or sooner or later they will be denied to the ideas we cherish. The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country.

". . . Now, when this country is trying to spread the high ideals of democracy all over the world—ideals that are revolutionary in many countries—seems to be a particularly inappropriate time to stifle First Amendment freedoms in this country. The same arguments that are used to justify the outlawry of communist ideas here could be used to justify the outlawry of the ideas of democracy in other nations.

". . . This widespread program for punishing ideas on the ground that they might endanger the internal security of the nation not only sadly fails to protect that security but also diverts our energies and thoughts from the many far more important problems that face us as a nation in this troubled world."

It has been noted that on many of the civil liberties issues confronting the nation there seems to be a gap between labor's official views and the attitudes of local union leaders and the rank and file. Nor is it only unionists who share such limited views of democracy. A Purdue University poll of teenage opinions reveals that more than half of our high school students believe that wiretapping and the third degree should be legalized to help the police maintain obedience and that police should censor books, movies, radio and TV to shield citizens from improper thinking. Moreover, 41 percent would abolish freedom of the press and 34 percent would deny freedom of speech to people who hold unpopular views. Indeed, Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U. S. Supreme Court said several years ago that he doubted the Bill of Rights would win approval if it were submitted to this generation of Americans in a referendum.

In every union leadership training institute where civil liberties questionnaires were distributed, the replies—filled out without discussion—were disheartening. Yet in every case, after open discussion on the issues, support for civil liberties soared dramatically. Nor was this due to an indoctrination process of lecturing about the "right" answers. What was done was to elicit from the local union leaders their definition of democracy. Invariably, this included not only rule by the majority but protection of the rights of the minority—including freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship. Then as discussion was requested on the specific items in the questionnaire—and the students were asked how their answers related to the definition of democracy they had worked out—they realized the indivisibility of freedom.

When they understand the issues, American workers wholeheartedly support the principles of freedom and democracy. But how to bring about that understanding? Civil liberties should be stressed in labor's schools, press and meetings. And since union members only reflect the prejudices of the communities of which they are a part, labor must push for more intensive education in public schools and in all institutions on the values of democracy.

"Tougher Line" of Southern Companies Calls for Greater Union Efforts

Hard-won gains have been made in the Southeastern states despite "a tougher line" of opposition to organized labor than has been seen in many years, Director Lorne H. Nelles told delegates to the Sixteenth District Conference of District 35 at Roanoke, Va.

The two-day conference, at the Hotel Roanoke, heard a special message on tape-recording from President David J. McDonald, plus speakers from the USWA departments in Pittsburgh and Washington, and elected new members to the International Wage Policy Committee.

Besides Director Nelles, delegates heard Meyer Bernstein of the USWA's International Affairs Department, George Binsted of the union's Arbitration Department, Director Oral Garrison of District 36-G, and Frank N. Hoffmann, legislative director.

Here is the report of Director Nelles to the conference:

"We are meeting at a time of great international tension which affects our country and our union.

"Our nation has the responsibility of world leadership among the nations of the free world.

"The United Steelworkers of America will play a very important part in supporting President Kennedy to meet successfully the worldwide challenge of communism by improving our economy at home and abroad. It is a well-known fact that communism thrives only in countries where a large percentage of the population suffers from disease and hunger.

"In the United States there are powerful financial anti-union groups, such as the Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, 'Right-to-Work' Committees and many others who are working continually on a program to **years. They have fought organization of their people with every trick, every intimidation and every advantage given them by the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin bills. As a result, elections for union representation have often had unhappy results. And we have found that, even after we have won elections by strong majorities, in too many instances management has made a mockery of collective bargaining by refusing to negotiate in good faith and even inviting strikes, in order to break the morale of its employes and destroy the union.**

"Fortunately, the picture is not all dark. From a large number of efforts to bring the benefits of unionism to unorganized workers in the South, we have been able to wrest a few precious gains.

"In the Carolinas, we have been happy to welcome workers from two new locals in South Carolina—Local 6196 at Virginia Steel Company in Starr, S. C., near Anderson; and Local 6232 at the Greenville Steel and Foundry Company.

"In Georgia, although we won elections at Bridgeport Brass in Moultrie and at the Kawneer Company in Jonesboro, bitter opposition by the management has both these situations involved in unfair practice charges before the National Labor Relations Board.

"In Tennessee, we have found some measure of organizing success across the state. One new local—Number 5997—at the National Casket Company in Erwin, Tenn., was welcomed to our ranks just before our previous conference in November 1960. In the Chattanooga area Local 6170 at the Lloyd E. Jones Company joined our ranks and has made progress in contract benefits. Over in Memphis the employes of Excel Smelting Company have joined the ranks of Steelworkers in that area.

"From Virginia, we have had news since our last conference of two important victories for the kind of sound, responsible trade-unionism our union represents. Employes of the H. K. Porter Company at Danville voted two-to-one in favor of the United Steelworkers as their union. At Lynchburg the employes at Montague Betts Company cast their majority votes for the Steelworkers to represent them. And in one of our most heartening elections, the workers at the Lynchburg Foundry plant in Radford turned thumbs down on the attempt by the Mineworkers District 50 to raid a solid local union. They turned it down by a thumping vote of 345 to 64!

* * * *

"WE ARE PROUD of the loyalty and trust of these good union members. To all the officers of our local unions, to the delegates assembled here, to all their fellow members, to the staff representatives of the United Steelworkers in District 35, and to the hard-working committees in local unions who made all this possible, I extend in behalf of our International officers and myself our heartfelt thanks and congratulations."

"No Second-Class Industrial Citizenship," McDonald Tells District 35 Conference

Here is the tape-recorded message which delegates to the District 35 conference in Roanoke heard from President David J. McDonald:

"I genuinely regret that the extreme pressure of duties of paramount importance to our union prevents me from being present and accounted for at the 16th Conference of District 35.

"So I took the only alternative left and chose this method of communicating directly with you in order to examine our joint triumphs and troubles as candidly as I can.

"The past 12 months have witnessed some rather spectacular advances and unprecedented breakthroughs by your union. Some directly benefit you and segments of the membership you represent. For the others, the advance is yet to be made. And I pledge you, without reservation, that it will be made—despite the opposition and immense power mounted by anti-labor employers in many of the areas where you work and live.

"I recognize, too, that with the triumphs there is a darker side. It

"In the United States there are powerful financial anti-union groups, such as the Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, 'Right-to-Work' Committees and many others who are working continually on a program to destroy all labor unions, predicated on the assumption that unions are bad for America. We must meet the challenge with a firm determination to organize all non-union workers and to fight to maintain and improve our present labor agreements.

* * * *

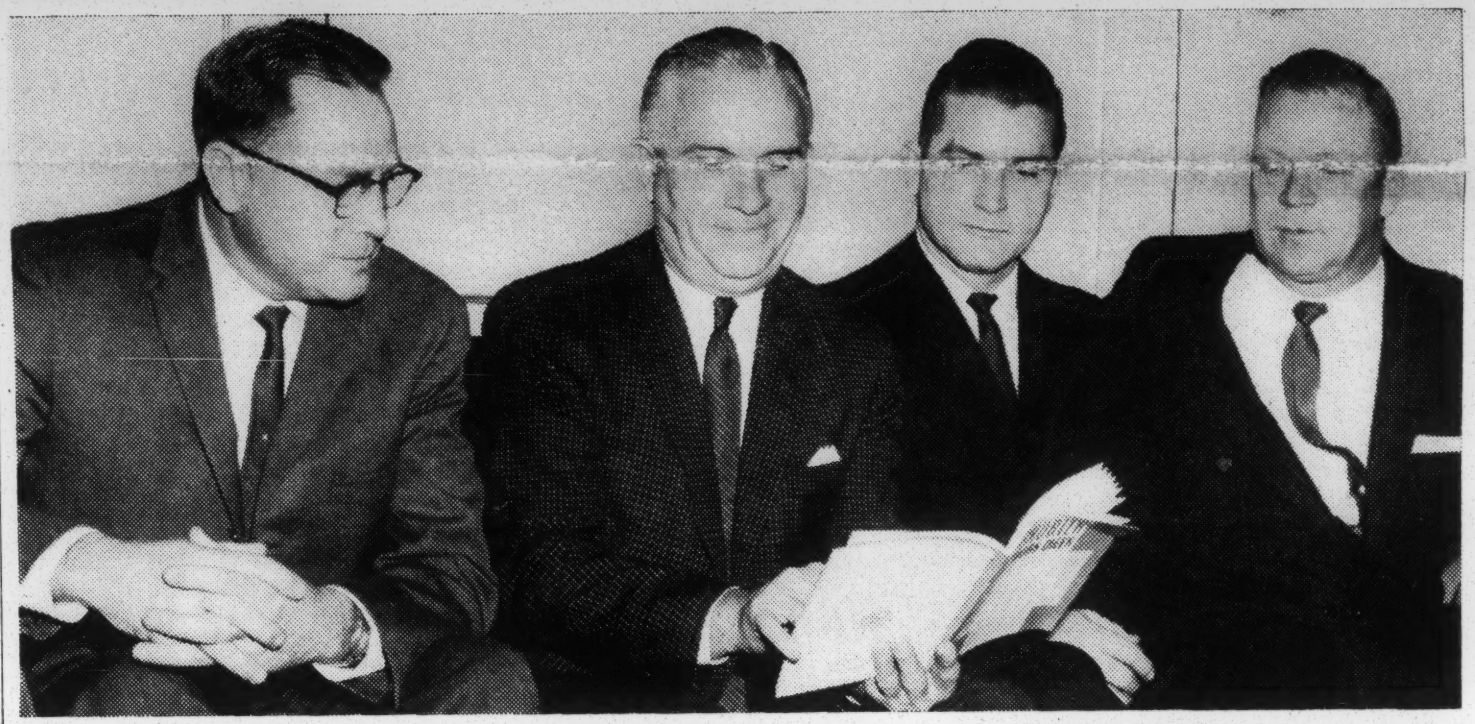
"OUR UNION, the United Steelworkers of America, is dedicated to the proposition of eliminating substandard living conditions in our country or wherever they exist in the world. This is our responsibility and as citizens and free trade unionists, we must meet this challenge.

"Since our last conference, the opposition of anti-union employers in the South has taken a tougher line than we have witnessed in many

Relations Board.

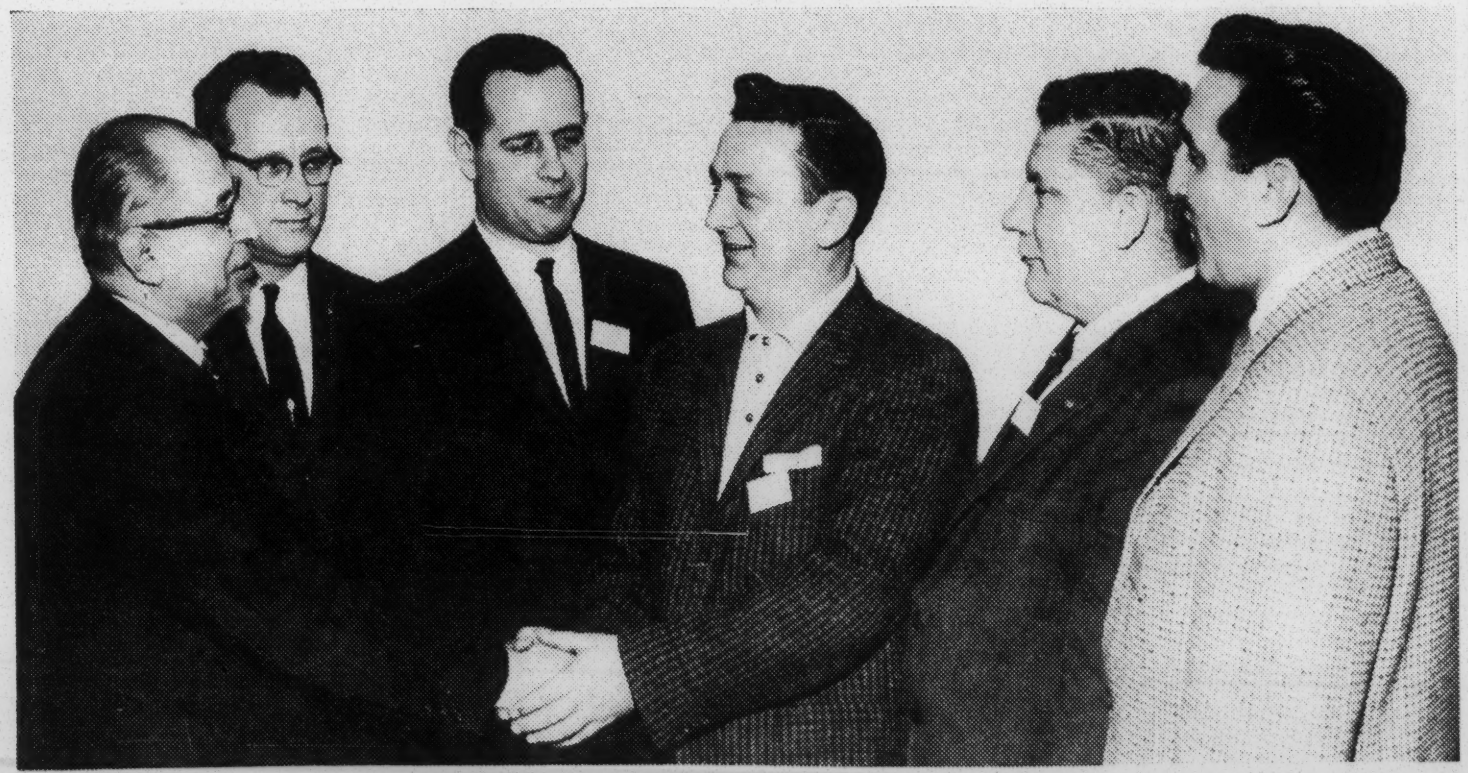
and troubles as candidly as I can.

triumphs there is a darker side. It



WAGE POLICY committeemen elected at the Roanoke conference talk things over (at right) with Director Lorne H. Nelles. They are (left to right) Sam Murphy, Local 309; Mr. Nelles; Harold D. McIver, Local 2401, and W. D. (Andy) Anderson, Local 2556.

New Wage Policy Committee In District 8



WAGE POLICY COMMITTEEMEN elected to represent United Steelworkers of America District 8 are shown above with Director Albert Atallah. The new members of the International Union policy making body were chosen by District 8 delegates attending a half-day conference in Baltimore, Md., last month. From the left are: Director Atallah; Neal Crowder, Local 2609; Paul Albert, Local 6221; John A. Cook, Local 3016; Lawrence Evering, Local 3185, and Julian Ross, Local 5054. The wage policy vote always highlights district conferences.

embraces the harrowing uncertainties of joblessness, or job insecurity. But, far worse, it also includes in your areas, fierce and often illegal opposition to the formation of a union and the arrogant refusal to bargain responsibly with your union once it has been formed and won recognition.

* * * *

"MY FRIENDS, this hostility to the advancement of man is not only anti-labor. It is anti-American. I say to you that we will not tolerate a condition which seeks to maintain an economic-social Mason-Dixon Line, which would preserve industrial slavery on one side against the advance of industrial emancipation on the other.

"I should like to elaborate on the industrial emancipation I have in mind and which your union has done so much to enhance in the past year.

"Slightly less than a year ago your union negotiated peaceably

Continued from Ole Miss.

LABOR

An 18-year-old boy went to sleep. A marshal pulled him up, hit him on the forehead with a club, two other marshals joined them, pushed the boy against the wall, struck him in the throat and jabbed him in the groin with clubs.

A captive's hands became cramped and one of his hands dropped off his knees. One marshal hit him across the back with a club and another jabbed him in the kidney.

Medicine required by one captive was confiscated. A disabled veteran begged the marshals for his medicine (required to prevent jerking and blackout spells) and they refused to give it to him. When he suffered from one such spell for lack of medicine, he was manhandled and clubbed.

A young boy went to sleep. He was first beaten on the floor by the marshals, then they stood him up against the wall and beat him some more, and when his father protested, he was also beaten.

A sophomore, after having been held in the lyceum building all night, had been beaten about the body and beaten so badly on the head that 16 stitches were taken in the wound. After being released, he was again seized and taken to the garage. When, through loss of blood and exhaustion, he was unable to maintain the required position on the torture slab, he was twice clubbed on the back by the marshals.

One prisoner who was ill begged for his medicine and was refused, and he passed out twice and each time the marshals kicked him in the mouth and forced him to sit back in the required position.

A disabled veteran had a pin in his knee so that he could not bend it up under his chin. The marshals changed shifts every 2 hours. Several times he was beaten on this leg by marshals when they saw it extended in the row.

DORMITORIES GASSED

Mr. FOX stated that the remainder of the report being finalized will be filed within a week and that it will reveal that dormitories to which students had withdrawn when the violence erupted in the early evening of Sunday, September 30, were deliberately gassed by the penitentiary guards, border patrolmen and other deputy marshals. He stated that the report will reveal that "this deliberate gassing of the dormitories forced the students out upon the campus, where they were mistreated as will be detailed in the final report. The dormitories which were gassed by the marshals included Faulkner Hall, Garland Hall, DuPree Hall, Barr Hall, Howry Hall, LaBauve Hall, and Odom Hall. The pattern of gassing the dormitories was observed by the university police, dormitory managers, Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and many others who have testified under oath before the committee. Canisters of tear gas were thrown by the marshals into several dormitories and they heavily gassed other dormitories by throwing gas canisters and shooting gas projectiles into the quadrangles formed by the halls so that the dormitories would be filled with gas."

Mr. FOX further stated that "disorganized groups of deputy marshals roamed the campus in groups of from 8 to 15, shooting gas projectiles and throwing gas canisters promiscuously at students, members of the university staff, including Dean L. L. Love, university police, and highway patrolmen upon sight, without regard to their location or actions."

TREATMENT OF STUDENTS AND OTHER CITIZENS IN THE LYCEUM BUILDING BASEMENT

The committee found that a pattern of brutalities was also followed by the Justice Department in its treatment of students and others who were seized and imprisoned in the basement of the lyceum building on the campus Sunday night and during the day Monday; that at one time there were between 100 and 150 persons crowded into this room which was 17 by 40 feet, and during a part of the time the room was badly contaminated with gas, the marshals wearing gas masks, but the students were held for hours in this gas-contaminated basement without masks. The report stated that "prisoners were held in this basement up to as much as 18 hours, through the night of the 30th and the day of October 1, and some were then transferred to the soil sedimentation garage and handled there as outlined elsewhere in this report. Prisoners who were bleeding after having been badly beaten and in need of medical treatment asked repeatedly for a doctor, but were held for as much as 6 hours without being given any medical attention. Requests to use the telephone, to be permitted to go to the toilet, or to call a lawyer, were frequently met with either begin knocked to the floor with fists or hit with billies. Later captives were permitted to go to the toilet and, upon demand of the university authorities, to use the telephone. While some of the prisoners were permitted to sleep sitting on the floor, others were kicked by the marshals when they went to sleep. Some of the students taken to the lyceum basement were forced to tiptoe leaning forward against the wall with their backs to the marshals, and then were either beaten on their backs, or their legs were kicked out from under them after having been struck on the legs with clubs. A number of students, as they were taken down to the lyceum basement, were hit on the shins with the butts of the marshals' sidearms or jabbed in the back with their clubs. Students were spit upon and repeatedly cursed by the marshals. From time to time at the end of the hall leading to the basement the students were struck severely on the shins, jabbed, or hit on the back with night sticks or kicked on the legs."

TREATMENT OF STUDENTS ON THE CAMPUS MONDAY MORNING AFTER ORDER WAS RESTORED

Mr. FOX stated that the sworn testimony revealed "after students going from their dormitories to classes had been searched in plain view of a military group, they would then be forced by such group to lie spread eagle on the ground with faces in the dirt while they were again searched at gunpoint."

The committee findings concerning the treatment of students on Monday included:

"Students passing along the campus to go to classes were treated as the junior going to his thermodynamics class in the engineering building who made a remark to several deputy marshals concerning the mess the campus was in. He was seized by two marshals, his arms were twisted behind his back, he was hit in the back with a billy, cursed, taken to the Lyceum basement and, as he walked toward the basement, a marshal on each side kicked him in the shins. A billy was forced between his legs and he was struck on the testicles.

"Students were beaten or jabbed with night sticks or billies. Students who were seized, after being taken to the lyceum building, were forced to lean forward against the wall with their hands over their heads on the wall and then their feet kicked out from under them. They were beaten with clubs on their shins and ankle bones.

"Students from other schools were found asleep on the campus in the early morning, were hit on their legs, backs or heads with billies. One was awakened, forced to stand with his legs apart, beaten on both the inside and outside of his legs, and struck in his crotch and his groin.

"The above general patterns of conduct occurred after all disturbance had been quieted on the campus of the University of Mississippi."

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNIONS: AN EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE ILGWU AND THE NAACP

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. KUNKEL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, early this Congress, January 31, I made a speech on the floor of the House—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 31, 1963, pages 1495–1499—in conjunction with a number of speeches given that day on the subject of civil rights. In this speech I called attention to the difficulties that Negroes were experiencing in getting jobs. Our incidence of unemployment is highest among the young workers and among the country's Negro minority; where these two factors meet—the young Negro workers just entering the labor market—we find our severest unemployment problem.

As part of that speech I included a statement which had been presented by Mr. Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to the House Education and Labor Committee on the subject of racial discrimination in the labor unions of this country. I also included a letter which I had written Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz forwarding a copy of Mr. Hill's testimony to him, asking him what action would be taken by the Department on this subject.

Thus the question has been referred to the two proper governmental bodies—the Department of Labor and the Education and Labor Committee—to be followed up, and both have failed to do so. The pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD offer a second way to get into the details of this matter, a poor second I might say to the investigative process of either the Department or the committee, but in the face of the inactivity of these more adequate forums I am using the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to try to get the facts of this matter before the Congress and the people of this country.

Apparently the Democratic Party leaders are backing off from looking into this. The leaders of organized labor are, in many cases, also the political leaders of the Democratic Party. Racial discrimination in our unions, led by those who have so large a part in guiding the destiny of the Democratic Party, is an important factor in the problem which I cited earlier—the extremely high rate of unemployment among young Negro workers. It is incongruous that the Negro voter will stand with a party led by those who, in their capacity as union leaders, have done so much to stand in the way of Negroes obtaining quality employment.

The testimony which Mr. Hill gave centered largely around the discrimination of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union against Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The ILGWU issued a statement in reply to Mr. Hill and Mr. Hill, in turn, has written an article responding to the ILGWU statement. I am placing both of these, although they are quite lengthy, in the RECORD. Unfor-

tunately, this seems to be the only way in which we can carry this debate forward, and I believe it is a matter which we must look into.

I have assured the representatives of the ILGW union that I will place any further response they care to make in the RECORD if that is their request.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ILGWU

(This brief statement has been prepared for two reasons and in response to many requests: (1) To set it clear that the ILGWU has no quarrel with the NAACP or any other civil rights organization on the principles of equal opportunity; and (2) to make a factual examination of the charges raised publicly by Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the NAACP, about the ILGWU.)

On August 17, 1962, the labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Herbert Hill, began to read testimony to the subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee investigating the extent of discrimination, exploitation, and corruption in the garment industry and the union. Hill never had a chance to finish his statement. Committee members objected to its inclusion in the record because it was not factual testimony but "opinions, conclusions, and characterizations" (New York Times, August 19, 1962).

Unable to have his testimony accepted by the committee (to which he was a special consultant) as submitted, Hill used the facilities of the NAACP to circulate the statement widely. The same piece appeared as an article in New Politics, volume 1, No. 4.

When David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU, appeared before the committee to refute charges, he was repeatedly told that the committee would not entertain replies to Hill since the Hill statement was not part of the record.

On October 8, Hill's testimony became the basis for a resolution passed by the NAACP board of directors demanding further congressional investigation of the ILGWU. The resolution stated that "the union leaders have as yet made no adequate answer to charges."

Since the Hill testimony is the basis for a widening rift between the NAACP and the progressive labor movement, it may be worth while to see how much truth there is in this basic body of charges.

Hill charge: "As a matter of practice and policy, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are barred from membership in these locals: Local 10, Cutters, Local 60, Pressers, and the Pressers Branch Local 89."

The truth: In local 10, there are 199 known Negro and Spanish-speaking members (the ILGWU has many Cubans, Panamanians, Colombians, Dominicans, Salvadorians, Mexicans, etc., as well as Puerto Ricans) as of the summer of 1962. There are probably more. An exact count is difficult since the union does not tag its membership by racial categories. The 199 names were found in a shop count. (The count rose to 239 by November 1962.)

The 200 or more Negroes and Spanish-speaking members of Cutters' Local 10 is an impressive demonstration of integration, since in this trade where there is very little turnover of employment, the total number of jobs covered by local 10 has fallen in the last decade. Despite a diminishing number of available jobs, there are at least 200 Negroes and Spanish-speaking members in the cutters' union.

Hill charge: "Local 60 has an all-white membership."

The truth: One out of every five pressers (a skilled craft) in local 60 is either Negro or Spanish-speaking, mainly Puerto Rican. The total is well over 300. This, too, was accomplished in the face of diminishing jobs for pressers in the New York market.

Hill charge: "Locals 10, 60, and 89 are lily white."

The truth: The charge is pure fabrication, as we have seen, in the case of locals 10 and 60. The charge is comical in the case of local 89. This local was created at a time when dressmakers' local 22 conducted its meeting in Yiddish, because the members could not speak English. The newcomer Italians did not understand Yiddish, so they set up a parallel local to conduct the union's business in Italian. Local 89 still does so, with the result that it is not lily white, but pure Italian, barring Negroes, Jews, Puerto Ricans and all non-Italians from membership. To put Negro pressers in local 89, as Hill seems to suggest, would be to disfranchise them completely from union participation unless they were Italian-speaking Negroes.

Negro dress pressers (who work in the same shops as Italian local 89 dress pressers under the same contract with the same wage rates) are members of local 60—where the business is conducted in English, a language more convenient for most of the Negro pressers.

Hill charge: "Negro and Puerto Rican workers (in the New York dress joint board) are limited to membership in local 22 and in the unit known as 60A which is the Jim Crow auxiliary of local 60."

The truth: The locals of the dress joint board are 10, 22, 60, and 89. There are Negro and Puerto Rican members in every single one of these locals except 89, the Italian affiliate of the joint board. Local 60A is not "Jim Crow," it contains all races, religions, etc. It is composed of dress shipping clerks no matter what their race, creed or color. It is a craft affiliate of local 60 and not a racial grouping. Most of its members are Negro or Puerto Rican, but to call it a Jim Crow local for that reason would be the same as calling the Sleeping Car Porters' Union a Jim Crow union because all or most of its members are Negro.

Hill charge: "To anyone acquainted with the realities of the union's operations, the reason for denying a separate local union charter to 60A is that, given the ethnic composition of the membership, there would inevitably be a Negro or Puerto Rican local union manager."

The truth: In the ILGWU, around the country, shipping clerks do not have separate locals, whether they are white, Negro, gentile, Jewish or Mexican. Generally, ILGWU locals are industrial, not craft. The cutter and presser locals in New York and a few other areas is a historic fact that does not apply to parts of the country or even to the trades in New York that have been more recently organized.

More important: A majority of the combined members of local 60 and local 60A are Negro and Puerto Rican. Each member has an equal vote—whether in 60 or 60A. If the present manager is not a Negro or Puerto Rican, it merely indicates that the members of this union prefer not to cast a racial vote.

Hill's suggestion that a separate local of shipping clerks would elect a Negro manager is both inaccurate and vicious. It is inaccurate because local 60A is "mixed" with no one ethnic group—Negro, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Irish, Jewish, or Italian in a simple majority. What is more, if a predominantly Gentile labor movement could elect a Jew, Samuel Gompers, as its president for more than three decades; and if a Protestant United States could elect a Catholic as President; and if the NAACP could choose a white Jew as its Labor Secretary, there is no reason to believe that the members of local 60A would elect a manager on a racist rather than unionist basis. The proposal is socially vicious because to create a separate local 60A just to guarantee the election of a Negro or Puerto Rican manager is to create a Jim Crow local—separate but equal. ILGWU members prefer integration: craft and color.

Hill charge: "These workers (members of local 60A) earn in the vicinity of $50 a week."

The truth: This may have been true before local 60A organized the shipping clerks into a union. A study of 536 shops, employing 1,220 members of 60A, shows: 3 percent earn from $46 to $49 a week; 13 percent earn from $50 to $60 a week; 21 percent earn from $60 to $70 a week; 22 percent earn from $70 to $80 a week; 17 percent earn from $80 to $90 a week; 9½ percent earn from $90 to $100 a week; 14½ percent earn more than $100 a week.

This means that about two-thirds (63 percent) earned from $70 a week up to more than $100. The truth is that the shipping clerks owe a vote of thanks to the pressers local, whose relatively stable membership, whose high dues rate (more than twice that of the shipping clerks), and experienced staff made these gains possible. Standing by itself, the clerks would have great difficulties primarily because of the very high turnover of workers in their craft. The clerks enjoy all benefits of being united in industrial union fashion with a more highly skilled craft. No student of labor relations has to be told why—and to destroy these advantages to create a Jim Crow local is bad economics and worse intergroup relations.

Hill charge: "Over a number of years, Negroes, who are members of other locals of the ILGWU, have attempted to secure membership in local 10 but are almost without exception denied membership."

The truth: Among the more than 200 members of Negro and Spanish-speaking origin (including Puerto Ricans) there are members of local 10 who were transferred from locals 23, 66, 91, 105, and even 60A.

Hill charge: "It is quite possible that for public relations purposes the ILGWU will produce one or two Negroes or Puerto Ricans who claim to be members of locals 10 and 60."

The truth: The actual count in locals 10 and 60 of members from these ethnic groups is well over 500. They do not claim to be members; they are. They have been for years.

On a November 9 broadcast, Hill stated, "There are in the vicinity of 50 [Negro] cutters of local 10 in the city."

Here it is clear that when Hill said "one or two," he had no regard for the truth. Now when he says 50 he still has no regard for the truth. This is the old McCarthy numbers game: a couple of thousand Communists in the State Department; a couple of hundred Communists in the State Department, may be a couple in the State Department.

Hill charge: Local 10 had been found guilty of excluding Ernest Holmes from membership because he was a Negro.

The truth: On November 4, 1962, WNBC-TV broadcast the following:

"On September 9, 1962, in the second half of a broadcast of 'Our Protestant Heritage," over this station, a guest, Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made certain spontaneous and unrehearsed remarks concerning the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and two of its leaders.

"Mr. Hill stated that, in the Ernest Holmes case, local 10 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had been found guilty of discrimination by the State commission for human rights.

"The fact is that this case is still being investigated by the commission and no final determination of guilt has been made."

The full story will be available when the investigation is completed.

Hill charge: "To prevent the admission of nonwhite persons into that local union [local 10], the leadership exerts rigid control of admission into various training programs including the referral of young persons to

the Fashion Institute of Technology High School."

The truth: Local 10, of course, does not prevent the admission of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They are members of local 10.

The Fashion Institute of Technology High School is nonexistent. There are two separate schools of major importance to the needle trades in New York where the trade is taught. The first is the High School of Fashion Industries, run by the New York Board of Education. The other is the Fashion Institute of Technology, a 2-year college-level school, licensed by the State of New York. Despite the fact that these two schools are the great training ground for the industry since 1933, Hill has done so little research into the way people are trained and placed in the New York garment trades that he does not even know the names of these schools.

Neither local 10 nor any other union controls admissions, formally or informally, to the High School of Fashion Industries or to the Fashion Institute of Technology. Any grammar school graduate who wishes to may enroll in the high school. If that high school discriminates against any student, then the NAACP ought to denounce the New York Board of Education. The truth of the matter is that in the High School of Fashion Industries, the student body is presently about 40 percent Puerto Rican and about 30 percent Negro. The school graduates cutters as well as operators and has for years been successfully placing its graduates.

Hill charge: "The ILGWU continues to operate the union in the interests of a small and declining number of white garment workers with high seniority."

The truth: In the New York metropolitan area as in almost 95 percent of the ILGWU shops, there is no seniority clause in contracts. The ILGWU contracts call for equal division of work when there is not enough to go around.

The terrible irony is that the ILGWU is one of the few, perhaps the only major union, calling for equal division of work. In the ILGWU, the Negro or Puerto Rican in New York, or Mexican in the Southwest, or Japanese on the west coast is not the last hired and the first fired. Once a member of the union, any worker—regardless of origin—shares the work equally. No union in America—or anywhere in the world—has a greater job security clause for newcomers to the trade and union.

Hill charge: "A shortage of skilled sewing machine operators is developing [in New York]. The leadership of the skilled craft locals of the ILGWU must bear a share of the responsibility."

The truth: There is a shortage of skilled sewing machine operators. Nobody knows this better than the ILGWU. Some employers have either closed shop in New York or threatened to fold up for lack of skilled operators. Hill's charge implies that the ILGWU prejudice is so deep that rather than teach Negroes and Puerto Ricans these advanced skills, the union would prefer to lose the industry and lose its strength at its prime center in New York.

The truth is that as far back as 1938, the ILGWU worked with Max Meyer to set up the Central Needle Trades High School (now the High School of Fashion Industries) to train skilled workers. The school is a huge establishment, advertising its existence in subway car cards pleading for increased enrollment. Its student body numbers about 2,000. Its ethnic composition: 40 percent Puerto Rican and 30 percent Negro.

In addition: The high school runs evening sessions. Here there is open enrollment for any worker in the trade to learn any skill; operator, cutter, patternmaker. Last year, more than 700 ILGWU members attended. Ninety percent were either Negro or Puerto Rican.

In addition, to encourage ILGWU members to upgrade skills, New York locals run special union-sponsored classes—advertised by and recruited by the locals. The high school teaches the class on its premises. Five hundred and thirty-two ILGWU members attended last year. Ninety percent were Negro or Puerto Rican. These classes have been run for years.

(For any reader who may doubt that Hill could so have perverted the truth, I propose that you get the facts by writing either to Michael Katzoff, principal, or Theresa Fanelli, teacher in charge of the evening session, at the High School of Fashion Industries, 225 West 24th Street, New York 11, N.Y. Or better yet, organize a committee and go and look.)

Hill charge: The two Puerto Rican locals are denied Puerto Rican leadership.

The truth: The entire leadership of the Puerto Rican locals—director of organization, business agents, organizers, local presidents, and executive board members—are Puerto Rican. The sole exception: Jerry Schoen, a stateside man with many years of experience who serves as manager. (Schoen was appointed only after Alberto Sanchez, Puerto Rican director of organization, turned down the job as manager to stay with organizing.)

Perhaps more pertinent for those who prefer the "colorblind" approach to this problem is the letter submitted by Hipolito Marcano, president of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor, to the subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, on this matter:

"The workers in Puerto Rico never look at the national origin, color, race, religion, or political ideas of their leaders with the only exception of Communist affiliation which is barred by our State federation constitution. A labor leader's worth cannot be measured by his religious beliefs, his origin, or color of his skin but by his service, dedication, and devotion to the cause of the working people whom he represents. We learned that lesson at the turn of the past century, when our labor movement was founded—not by a Puerto Rican—but by a native-born Spaniard, Mr. Santiago Iglesias.

"The workers in the garment industry in Puerto Rico were earning 2 cents an hour in 1940, when President Dubinsky and other 'continentals' representing labor, were appointed as part of the first wage and hour committee to investigate this industry. Today those workers average over $1 an hour and their wages are constantly increasing in addition to very reasonable fringe benefits. A great change has taken place and is going on. Organized labor has done a substantial part to win that battle for the enrichment of our life as a free and democratic community. We don't care about the color, origin, or religion of the leaders who have done that task of constructive leadership. The credit goes to the union and in this particular industry the credit goes to the ILGWU for a job well done and for which we are grateful."

Hill charge: In the locals where there is a major concentration of nonwhite workers, the so-called minimum wages are in fact the maximum wages.

The truth: ILGWU members, with rare exception, work on a piecework system. This means that a rate is set for a given operation and workers are paid for what they produce. The minimum is set so that the slowest worker will, on the set rate, make the minimum; the faster worker makes proportionately more—some twice as much or more. The average wage and the maximum wage in an ILGWU shop on piece work are never the minimum or even near the minimum.

In addition, ILGWU contracts provide for supplementary benefits—medical care, hospitalization, optical care, vacations with pay, holidays with pay, death benefits, retirement benefits, severance payment, etc.—that automatically add 10, 15, or 20 percent to the money wage. This does not exist in similar ways in nonunion shops.

ILGWU contracts provide that the union minimum shall not only be above the Federal minimum but shall automatically rise whenever the legal minimum rises.

ILGWU policy is to set union wages as high as possible without jeopardizing the jobs of unionized shops that must meet nonunionized competition in one of the most fiercely competitive industries in America. To pave the way for higher union wages, the ILGWU has successfully spearheaded repeated campaigns to raise the Federal legal minimum. For an account of the pioneer role of the needle and textile unions in the fight for an improved Federal minimum, see "A Legislative Campaign for a Federal Minimum Wage—1955," by Gus Tyler, published by the Eagleton Foundation, Rutgers University, New Jersey. Also see Dissent, summer 1961, "Marginal Industries; Low Wages, High Risks," by Gus Tyler.

Hill charge: "I cite the Fine Art Pillow & Specialties Co. of 37 West 26th Street in Manhattan as a typical example of conditions. * * * Here, virtually all nonwhite workers, male and female, who are union members are paid $1.15, $1.20 or $1.25 an hour."

The truth: According to a payroll check, 54 of the 104 employees are paid more than $1.25 an hour. These are overwhelmingly Negro and Puerto Rican. Of the top 10 earners—from $1.53 an hour to $3.23 an hour—7 are Negro or Puerto Rican.

The further truth is that Fine Art Pillow is about as typical of ILGWU conditions as Mississippi is typical of America. This is a rubber and plastic shop in a trade where union jurisdiction is contested by dozens of legitimate unions plus dozens of racket unions. Of the thousands of ILGWU shops in New York, Hill chose this one for an on-the-spot check. And, even then, Hill got the facts all wrong.

Hill charge: There is "systematic exclusion of Negro and Puerto Rican members from effective participation in the leadership and policymaking procedures of the union." Hill refers specifically to the fact that the ILGWU constitution sets up rules on caucuses and qualifications for holding top offices in the international union.

The truth: The caucus clause dates back to the 1920's, when the ILGWU was in a battle with the "standing" caucuses of the Communist Party. Whatever the merits of the clause—a good subject for afull set of articles—it certainly is no bar to Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, Portugese, French and other minorities running for and winning office in the union. Dozens out of these background presently hold both appointed and elected office. If this "clause" is a sign of the "Decay of a Labor Union," then the ILGWU has been decaying ever since it beat the Communists several decades ago and increased its membership tenfold.

Other qualifications provide that to run for president a member must be elected as delegate to the ILGWU convention. Hardly a disqualification. If a member cannot be elected by his own local, he is hardly presidential timber. In any event, this clause applies to all members—regardless of race, creed, or color.

To run for the general executive board (top legislative body of about two dozen elected at the convention) a candidate must have served as a paid officer with the benefit of 3 years' experience. Hardly a disqualification. Virtually every paid officer of the ILGWU has seen 3 years' service, including the dozens of Negroes and Puerto Ricans on staff.

Most important: Every convention of the ILGWU is a constitutional convention. At

any convention, a simple majority may remove all these qualifications to elect anyone the delegates want under any qualifications they set up.

The truth is that the ILGWU has made labor history by a most extensive and expensive program for leadership development, unparalleled in the world labor movement, with a conscious concentration on the development of leadership that would reflect the newer ethnic groups in the industry of the union.

In 1938, the ILGWU set up an officer qualification course to prepare candidates for elective union posts. Enrollment was open to all members of 2 years' standing. Eight hundred and thirty-two applied. Of these, 19 were Negro and 8 were Spanish-speaking—a total of 27 in 24 years.

Why so few? The answer is the composition of the union, where 80 percent of the members are female, with little interest in and less time for full-time union jobs. Of the 832, only 106 were women.

Because of the predominantly female composition of the ILGWU, especially among the fewer ethnic groups, the union set up a full-time, full-year training institute in 1950 to reach outside the trade, if necessary to recruit leadership talent. (The only such program in the entire American labor movement.) In the first 11 years of its existence, the institute graduated 30 trainees of Negro or Spanish-speaking origin. (Ninety applied. One out of three was graduated, a higher percentage than for the institute as a whole.)

Some idea of the philosophy of the institute and of the ILGWU can be obtained from a letter written by an ILGWU vice president when one Spanish-speaking graduate left the union staff. The letter was addressed to a Puerto Rican social agency in February 1960:

"No one knows better than you that in the last few years many Spanish-speaking workers, especially Puerto Ricans, have entered our industry and union. To develop staff and leadership from this community of working people, we have a special training institute, a full-year course. We look forward with keen interest to the growth and maturation of such new personnel so that in the coming years they may be able to play a major role in our union.

"To us, C——— represented more than an individual. He represented a trend. His progress, we felt, would be an encouragement for other young men and women with his interests to serve in the labor movement.

"To put it bluntly, we feel that C——'s departure represents a setback to our program of developing Spanish-speaking staff and leadership in our union."

In the report of the general executive board of the union to its 1959 convention, progress was reported. "The call for the development of such leadership in the ranks of the ILGWU, on the basis of merit only, has taken the form of numerous appeals in the Spanish-language press and in Justicia for Spanish-speaking ILGers to enroll in the ILGWU training institute. The results of the recent ILGWU elections indicate that a corps of such leaders is already emerging from the ranks."

The report went further. "President Dubinsky urged that the Puerto Rican government establish a training institute for developing community, civic and labor leadership for the thousands of islanders who are in transition. This would be the greatest preventive to their being exploited by misleaders and charlatans taking advantage of language and initial cultural confusion in the slum environment, as well as in the homeland island itself."

The ILGWU offered to provide on-the-job training on the mainland for these Puerto Rican trainees and pledged to place them on ILGWU staff immediately after graduation.

Without appearing to be superior or self-righteous, may I ask whether there is any other union in the world that can show a comparative record of trying to develop new leadership—with a specific eye on new ethnic groups?

Hill charge: "Workers who take home $49 a week tell each other jokes about the greed of union business agents."

The truth: The ILGWU has one of the tightest systems ever devised by a union to check on the conduct of its officers: an army of accountants with a special corps of accountants to check accountants. In the last 30 years, the union has had occasion to drop some 40 of its officers for improper conduct.

The Hill charge is trial by rumor and humor. It is an anonymous smear: the kind of smear used to characterize races, religions, the NAACP, or the labor movement by reference to some piece of gossip embedded in jokes. No facts. No names. No evidence. Just a report on alleged jokes.

The truth is that, although I knew this anonymous piece of evidence—trial by rumor—was in the Hill "testimony," I was shocked that New Politics did not use the editorial scissors here.

To characterize a union or any body of humans by the anonymous smear—the great mark of McCarthyism, of the antisemite, of the white racist, of the bigot—is hardly "evidence." This is the lynch spirit.

(Unfortunately, this piece is limited to answering charges. For those who would like to know what the ILGWU has done over 62 years to promote intergroup understanding and civil rights—may I suggest a reading of "Equal Opportunity—Union Made," Educational Department, ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York City, N.Y.)

A Reply to Gus Tyler: The ILGWU—Fact and Fiction

(By Herbert Hill)

In "The ILGWU Today: The Decay of a Labor Union," which appeared in the summer 1962 issue of New Politics, I charged that: "In the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City, the Negro and Puerto Rican members are concentrated in the low-paid job classifications and with very little employment mobility." This was my main charge. I further stated that: "There is a direct connection between the permanent condition of semipoverty experienced by these workers and discriminatory racial practices. The factual record discloses that Negro and Puerto Rican members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are discriminated against both in terms of wages and other conditions of employment and in their status as members of the union."

These charges were and remain justified. No statement or explanation by officials of the ILGWU or their apologists refutes the major points of my arguments. On the contrary, their defense of the union essentially confirms my criticism of the ILGWU's policies and practices.

The most serious effort made to counter my charges was the reply by Gus Tyler, educational director of the ILGWU, which appeared in the last issue (fall 1962) of New Politics (also distributed in mimeographed form). Much of Tyler's material had previously appeared in a widely circulated document by Harry Fleischman, director of the American Jewish Committee's National Labor Service, entitled "Is the ILGWU Biased?" November 5, 1962. The Jewish labor committee distributed the same material in the form of a memorandum from Emanuel Muravchik, national field director, dated November 16, 1962.

Tyler's technique was to quote me (Hill Charge: * * *) followed by his answer (The Truth: * * *). After almost 12 pages of rapid fire dialog between "Hill charge" and "The Truth" I can readily understand the reader falling under a semihypnotic spell. Tyler, the "Truthsayer," writes with such seemingly inviolable "facts" that one might think he is really giving a point by point refutation of my charges. Aside from the failure to refute my charges, he is not a point by point discussion of my article. A number of the most important specific charges I made are not commented upon at all, others obviously distorted or treated so perfunctorily that he might well have omitted any comment and, most seriously, his "fact" fails completely to come to grips with the basic charges I directed against the ILGWU concerning the source discriminatory practices suffered by nonwhite garment workers in New York City.

At no time did I charge the ILGWU with discriminatory practices emanating from a conscious racist ideology. What I have argued is that the social fact of discrimination is rooted in the ILGWU today because of the interaction of the old union leadership with the changing social composition of the membership and the nature of the industry.

In the first place, there is the sheer weight of numbers of the Negro and Puerto Rican minorities. They comprise nearly one-third of the national membership and more than a half of the membership in the New York area, the heart of the international union's operation. Given the rapidly increasing number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the garment industry in New York, they have a unique status within the union which the all-white top leadership clearly sees as a growing threat to its monopoly of control.

A second factor contributing to discriminatory practices relates to the garment industry itself. The industry is made up of many small, highly competitive firms, further threatened by low priced imports. It therefore seeks to draw workers from a large, cheap labor market, one that in New York consists largely of nonwhite workers. This directly encourages discriminatory practices as the unskilled, lowest paying jobs are the only jobs available to Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The many problems that the ILGWU faces in the industry are very real. To improve the living standards of its members and particularly those who are doubly victimized by a sick industry because of their color would pose a problem to the best of unions. The issue is how to meet the problem: to resist or acquiesce to the employers' demand that the ILGWU maintain a cheap labor market for the garment industry in New York City.

It is clear that some years ago the ILGWU leadership made a fundamental decision to keep the industry in New York City on the basis of maintaining low wages and minimal standards for tens of thousands of unskilled workers; i.e., Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Thus, the union provides itself with a vast dues paying membership which also constitutes the base of its extensive political operations in New York City and State. In this manner the ILGWU has chosen to operate as a stabilizing force in the industry.

The present wage rates of the unskilled and semiskilled garment workers, most of whom are nonwhite, are below the subsistence levels indicated by the 1960 Interim City Workers Family Budget established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. (Data given in my previous article.)

A detailed report of wages in New York City, released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on June 27, 1962, clearly indicates that New York City has become a low-wage area. One of the major reasons for this development is the wage policies of the apparel unions.

The U.S. Government report found that between 1950 and 1960, wages for the city's

apparel workers fell from 2d place among 16 industrial categories to 11th place, and dropped below the national average for all manufacturing.

The tacit collusion between employer and union to maintain a cheap labor market was revealed by the ILGWU's opposition to a bill introduced in the New York City Council in 1962 to establish by law a minimum wage in New York City of $1.50 an hour. The ILGWU representative on the Mayor's Citizens' Commission on the City Economy, E. Howard Molisani, manager of Italian Cloakmakers' Local 48 and a vice president of the ILGWU, originally voted against the commission's report which recommended prompt enactment of a law establishing a $1.50 minimum hourly wage in New York City, but, for the public record, later changed his vote to an abstention.

This is evidently "the philosophy of the ILGWU" to which Tyler repeatedly alludes and which Fleischman and Muravchik defend.

Arnold Witte, general manager of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York City, writing in the October 5, 1962, New York World Telegram and Sun, cited the ILGWU's opposition to the city minimum wage bill. Mr. Witte noted that "the garment workers, the largest union of the largest industry in the city, has refused to indorse this legislation."

On February 12, 1963, a mass demonstration was held in Albany in support of passage of a $1.50 minimum wage law for New York City. Several major trade unions participated, as did the NAACP, the Negro American Labor Council, and many other groups. The ILGWU was conspicuous by its absence.

There is a third factor behind the discrimination suffered by nonwhite garment workers. It pertains to the ingrown quality of the union leadership. Again, I do not charge that the ILGWU leadership is motivated by a deliberate racist ideology. But it is evident that the top all-white leadership has grown contemptuous of the younger, less educated, the less sophisticated—the altogether different—newer members who are overwhelmingly Negro and Puerto Rican.

That many of the older leaders of the ILGWU have nothing in common with their radical past is beside the point; that they have a certain past in common is very much to the point. (Talk about discrimination in his union and David Dubinsky will recount ad nauseam how he was imprisoned under the Czar for his Socialist activities.) The picture which would emerge from any detailed study of the leading personnel is of an old, conservative, ingrown bureaucracy. It has become an elite club which seeks to preserve for itself the leading power positions in the international, the local unions and the best jobs in the shops for those most closely identified with its own history and nostalgia. It passes these desirable, well-paying positions on from father to son, and from father to son-in-law. The "business" is kept within the family.

Prof. Daniel Bell of Columbia University recently commented on this serious problem in an article in the New Leader (Jan. 21, 1963):

"The fact is—and this is the 'bite' in Hill's charges—that the Negroes are underrepresented in the leadership of many of the unions where they form a significant proportion of the membership. In the case of these unions, what the Negroes want is 'recognition' at the level of top leadership and a growing share of the spoils of office. For one thing, the realistic political process in the United States, at least in the northern urban centers, has been one of ethnic groups advancing themselves precisely in this fashion; by organizing on bloc lines, electing their own kind, and using the patronage system to enhance the wealth and status of their group."

Bell concludes by noting that:

"In economic and educational opportunity, the Negro is in a position of inequality, and the Government is bound to help him move ahead. But doesn't the trade union movement have a special obligation to help redress the balance?

Tyler knows that crucial to my argument is my characterization of the ILGWU leadership as being rigidly bureaucratic. Yet, his "discussion" of this documeted charge is so feeble and unresponsive as to be an unwitting admission of its truth.

I sought to establish that the ILGWU leadership, as is the case with virtually every bureaucracy, has tried to legitimize its privileges through constitutional provisions. While these provisions make everything "legal," they also paralyze initiative from below, prevent an influx of new life into the leading policymaking bodies of the organization and transform conventions into tedious rituals. For example, I pointed to the clause in the ILGWU constitution which prohibits a democratic internal life in the organization. Here is what Tyler has to say on the matter:

"The caucus clause dates back to the 1920's, when the ILGWU was in a battle with the 'standing' caucuses of the Communist Party. Whatever the merits of the clause—a good subject for a full set of articles—it certainly is no bar to Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, Portuguese, French and other minorities running for and winning office in the union." (Emphasis added.)

This will not do. Frankly, I do not know if the clause was justified at the time by the struggle against the Communists. And this might make for a full set of articles by labor historians. But it also makes for a full set of articles by the labor secretary of the NAACP and others on the character and practices of the ILGWU today. While the clause deprives the entire membership of democratic rights today, it takes on the added edge of discrimination against those minorities which are thus deprived, in addition, of their right to organize within the union to press for their special needs and rights.[1]

Other constitutional provisions reduce the number eligible to run for the top offices in the union to a few hundred out of a total of over 400,000. This is bad enough. Worse yet, it reduces the number of Puerto Ricans and Negroes eligible to run for the general executive board to proportionally a very small number (Tyler says, "dozens") and those eligible to run for the offices of president and general secretary to even less. (Tyler doesn't give a number.)

In the same vein he writes of these constitutional restrictions on democratic rights: "At any convention, a simple majority may remove all these qualifications [from the constitution—H.H.] to elect anyone the delegates want [to the general executive board—H.H.] under any qualifications they set up." Getting a "simple majority" at an ILGWU convention is not quite that simple. To do that would require a long, arduous campaign against the solidly entrenched leadership, a campaign which would require far more time than the 3-month preconvention limit on caucuses. And there's the rub. The ILGWU constitution itself, through the extreme limitation and control placed on opposition, is the best, built-in, guarantee that Tyler's "simple majority" will never materialize.

It is as though an assailant caught belaboring a defenseless victim with a club argues that if he is doing wrong, the poor bastard underfoot has the right to take his club away.

It is revealing to see what sections of my article completely escaped Tyler's roving but very selective eye.

Hill charge: "There is not a single Negro or Puerto Rican on the 23 member general executive board."

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "* * * not a single Negro or Puerto Rican Vice President of the union * * *"

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "There are no Negro or Puerto Rican local managers who are usually handpicked by the Dubinsky controlled administration."

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "Dubinsky's practice of requiring a signed undated resignation from all officers of the International union and from members of the general executive board, absolutely guarantees the perpetuation of what really amounts to one-man rule of the ILGWU."

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "I cite the basic contract between local 98 and the Manufacturers' Association in effect until August 14, 1963. The contract provides the following minimum wages (p. 7, art. 4(a)):

	Per hour
Floor girls	$1.15
Operators	1.20
Shipping clerks	1.20
Cutters	1.20

In September 1961 the Federal wage was increased to $1.15 an hour. The current minimum for floor girls is $1.25 an hour at the end of 7 months (only 10 cents above the minimum wage required by law) and $1.30 an hour for the other classifications at the end of 9 months.

Tyler answer: Silence.

(Tyler does try to answer some of the other charges made about wage scales. All the worse for his case, as we shall see.)

Hill charge: "In this case of the Haffkine Co. the ILGWU completely organized a group of Negro and Puerto Rican workers employed by a 'sweatshop' employer whose workers engaged in a 2-day ILGWU strike for union recognition. However, these striking workers were turned over to a local of another international union, one well known for signing 'sweetheart agreements' and generally with an unsavory reputation. This was done by Herbert Pokodner, the manager of local 98."

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "An analysis of the data provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor concludes that only 11 percent of the unionized garment workers in New York can realize the basic earnings necessary for the 'modest but adequate' standard of living established by the Bureau for the 1960 interim city worker's family bduget.

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "In addition, it must be noted that the very modest figure of 11 percent has been reached by assuming that these workers will be employed uninterruptedly for 52 weeks. However, given the seasonal

[1] Incidentally, what is interesting about Tyler's answer is that it is almost exactly what I predicted he would say. I wrote in my previous article that "Mr. Dubinsky's spokesmen will answer that this is done to prevent Communists from taking over the union." Mr. Tyler performed as expected. Naturally, he did not quote my rebuttal about this anticipated canned reply which was that "one can only compare" such an answer "to the argument that we should suspend the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights because it endangers the country in fighting subversion."

character of the New York City garment industry this is highly unlikely.

Tyler answer: Silence.

Hill charge: "The available data clearly indiactes that the wages of workers in the New York City ladies' garment industry have declined relative to the total manufacturing average."

Tyler answer: Silence.

These are, among several others, omissions of major points in my article that Tyler, Fleischman, and Muravchik make no attempt to answer, although they create the illusion they are "answering Hill item by item."

In his article, Tyler writes:

"Hill charge: 'To prevent the admission of nonwhite persons into that local union (local 10),' the leadership exerts 'rigid control of admission into various training programs * * *' including the 'referral of young persons to the Fashion Institute of Technology High School.'"

If we substitute my words for Tyler's three little dots, the question would then be that the leadership exerts:

"Rigid control of admission into various training programs. Local 10 exclusively decides who shall be referred to on-the-job-training opportunities created as the result of informal arrangement made by the union and employers operating with ILGWU contracts, or into the grading school operated by local 10 in its headquarters, or in the referral of young persons to the Fashion Institute of Technology High School."

Thus, there are three training programs mentioned in my article and Tyler dots his way over the first two: (1) the informal arrangement made between employer and union for on-the-job training, and (2) the grading school operated by local 10 in its headquarters. Why? The answer is clear enough. My charges in these two instances are incontrovertible. Where the union exercises its control, the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans is so embarrassingly small that Tyler discreetly resorts to his dots. He discusses, instead, only the third form of training, that offered by the New York City Board of Education where the ILGWU, fortunately, does not exercise control—and here I stand corrected—about who is admitted. Tyler then rests his case on the nondiscriminatory policies of the New York City Board of Education and tacitly concedes that he has no case where the union is concerned.

What is more, the figures Tyler gives of the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans trained by the board of education contradicts any claim that the extremely small number of nonwhite workers in the skilled trades is due to a shortage of skilled Negro and Puerto Rican labor.

The New York Times of August 18, 1962, reporting on the testimony of Moe Falikman, business manager of Cutters' Local 10, before a hearing of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, states that "Mr. Falikman explained that local 10 had no formal training program for cutters and no apprentice system." That led Congressman ROOSEVELT to observe that "with the changing pattern of population in New York it seems to me you would have gone to some lengths" to provide training and jobs for members of racial minorities.

"We are not an employment agency," Mr. Falikman replied.

"But you are," Mr. ROOSEVELT declared. "I'd have greater faith in you if you would face this situation honestly and say, 'Yes, this needs looking into.'"

After consulting with a union attorney, Falikman did agree that he would look into it.

The New York Times of August 25, 1962, in reporting Mr. Dubinsky's appearance before the House subcommittee stated that: "Mr. Dubinsky denied that it was the union's responsibility to upgrade Negroes and Puerto Ricans, as much as we would like to see them go to higher brackets. The union," he said, "is not an employment agency." Other ILGWU officials appearing before the subcommittee insisted that upgrading and promotion "was not the union's responsibility." "We are not an employment agency," they all said.

But in Mr. Dubinsky's testimony reprinted in the October 1 issue of the ILGWU newspaper Justice (p. 10), in reply to a question as to why Negroes and Puerto Ricans do not advance in the union or in the industry, Dubinsky is quoted as saying, "We are doing everything under the sun on this score."

Either the ILGWU is "doing everything under the sun," or "we are not an employment agency, it's not our responsibility." The union cannot have it both ways.

Then there is the following sleight-of-hand. According to Tyler:

Hill Charge: "Local 10 has been found 'guilty' of excluding Ernest Holmes from membership because he was a Negro."

Tyler incorporates this alleged "Hill Charge" in what purports to be an answer to my article in New Politics. Here is what I actually wrote:

"On July 2, 1962, the New York State Commission for Human Rights, which administers the State's fair employment practices statute, found 'probable cause' against local 10 in the case of Ernest Holmes, a Negro who was repeatedly denied membership in local 10 although he worked on the cutting tables of a union shop."

Tyler's dishonest practice consists of using the word "guilty" attributed to me in an unrehearsed television interview but nowhere stated in the article he is presumably answering. In this way, he relieves himself of the responsibility of answering why, after an 8-month investigation, the New York State Commission for Human Rights found "probable cause" (the first stage in a finding of guilt) against local 10 of the ILGWU. On September 14, 1962, Ruperto Ruiz, investigating commissioner, New York State Commission for Human Rights, in a letter to Emil Schlesinger, attorney for local 10, stated that the commission had "repeatedly requested and for a period of 8 months tried to obtain data pertinent to a resolution of the charges of discrimination against the Amalgamated Ladies Garment Cutters Union—Local 10. These efforts were unsuccessful. The failure of representatives of that local to cooperate in the investigation, despite their promises to do so, left me no alternative but to find 'probable cause to credit the allegations to the complaint.'"

Sixteen years ago the ILGWU entered into an agreement with the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (the predecessor to the State Commission For Human Rights) that it would not bar Negroes, Spanish-speaking or other persons from membership in the all-Italian locals. (*Elsie Hunter* v. *Agnes Sullivan Dress Shop*, Sept. 4, 1946.) This was an action brought by a Negro member of local 22 who was barred from higher paying jobs controlled by local 89. Today, 16 years later, not a single Negro or Spanish-speaking person holds membership in the two Italian locals which have control of some of the highest paying jobs in the industry and no action has been taken to comply with the State law forbidding such practices.

Yet in the recent statement prepared by Mr. Tyler, the ILGWU asserted that the NAACP charge that locals 48 and 89 discriminate is "comical."

What Mr. Tyler must explain is why, if the NAACP charge is "comical" today, the ILGWU agreed to go along with the comedy 16 years ago.

Tyler makes such a grand production of his comedy; so much joshing. He good humoredly tells us that the reason for all-Italian locals dates back to the days when Italian immigrant unionists who spoke no other language needed their own locals to conduct union business. Being Italian language locals, only those speaking Italian can belong. Not only Puerto Rican and Negroes are excluded (unless, as Tyler wittily thrusts, they are "Italian-speaking Negroes") but all other non-Italian groups are excluded. What could be more fair? And, if all non-Italians are excluded, how can Hill claim that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are thereby specially victimized? The Jewish Labor Committee and the director of the National Labor Service also defend this practice in a similar manner.

I submit that it is not "comical" that the largest local in the ILGWU (Italian Dressmakers' Local 89) and the largest local in the coat and suit industry (Italian Cloakmakers' Local 48) bar Negroes and Spanish-speaking persons from membership. I submit that it is not "comical" that as a result of being barred from membership in local 48 and local 89, Negro and Spanish-speaking persons are further denied access to certain high paying jobs in the two branches of the garment industry of New York City where such jobs are concentrated.

Other national and religious groupings, all of them white, have access to skilled jobs via other locals which are virtually closed to Negroes and Puerto Ricans on the basis of tradition and practice. That is the point. The practical effects of the operation of Italian language locals is to further keep Negroes and Puerto Ricans concentrated in the low paid unskilled classifications with little opportunity for advancement.

While it appears that all are equally unequal where the Italian locals are concerned, some are actually far more unequal than others.

It is obvious that the ILGWU's humorous rationalizations and glib assertions completely fail to answer the charge that these locals discriminate against Negro and Spanish-speaking persons. Indeed their admission of the facts is the proof of the charge. I further submit that the barring of Negroes, Spanish-speaking and other persons from locals 48 and 89 is a violation of the AFL-CIO constitution and a violation of the nondiscrimination pledge which the ILGWU recently signed in the office of the President of the United States. We of the NAACP do not think, moreover, that it is "comical" that the ILGWU subscribes to no-discrimination pledges for public relations purposes when in reality it fails to put an end to such discriminatory practices. Sixteen years have passed since the ILGWU entered into the stipulation agreement with SCAD concerning the Italian locals, but these locals are still "lily-white." Shall this, too, be hailed as "an impressive demonstration of integration"?

Mr. Tyler is not above borrowing a trick or two from management associations which, when pressed by unions for higher wages, place statistic-ridden ads in the New York Times and other newspapers to prove to the world that their employees never had it so good. One such gimmick is to advertise workers' wages without corresponding figures on how many hours of work the payroll represents. Tyler commits the same patent and deliberate fraud.

My report, for example, indicated that push-boys and shipping clerks in the "Jim Crow" auxiliary known as 60A—mainly Negroes and Puerto Ricans—receive extremely low wages.

Tyler "refutes" this charge by arguing that some of these workers earn from $70 to $100 per week. Of course, by working long overtime hours at time-and-a-half wages, by working 60 or 70 hours a week and more, they can earn $80 and $90. But my report, as Tyler knows, describes straight hourly wages, not overtime wages earned at time-and-a-half pay. I am describing 1 week's

pay for 1 week's work, that is, a regular week's earnings for the "normal workweek," of 35 hours.

The wages set forth in the section of the union agreements that cover members of 60A are as follows:

The following minimum rates of pay for the normal workweek, as hereinafter defined, shall apply to the following employees:

Group I: Assorters, piece goods workers, push boys, porters, delivery boys, packers, and errand boys. Minimum wages of $46 per normal workweek.

Group II: Shipping clerks, receiving clerks, chargers, order pickers, checkers. Minimum wage of $50 per normal workweek.

The overwhelming majority of members of 60A are employed in the job classifications contained in group I as described above and receive a minimum wage of $46 ($1.31 an hour) for 35 hours, a "normal workweek."

In my article, I cited the pay of workers—almost all Negroes and Puerto Ricans—in a particular unionized shop as an example of an ILGWU substandard negotiated contract. Tyler takes up the "Hill charge" and then proceeds to demolish only himself with "the truth" as follows:

Hill charge: "I cite the Fine Arts Pillow & Specialties Co. of 37 West 26th Street in Manhattan as a typical example of conditions. Here, virtually all nonwhite workers, male and female, who are union members are paid $1.15, $1.20, or $1.25 an hour."

The [Tyler] truth: "According to a payroll check, 54 of the 104 employees are paid more than $1.25 an hour. These are overwhelmingly Negro and Puerto Ricans. Of the top 10 earners—from $1.53 to $3.23 an hour—7 are Negro or Puerto Ricans.

Tyler's truth is that "54 of the 104 employees are paid more than $1.25 an hour." But this means that 50 workers, approximately half the work force, in a unionized shop receive less than $1.25 an hour. That is not all. Tyler boasts that the 10 top earners receive from $1.53 to $3.23 an hour (how many earn that miserable $1.53 or only a few cents more he doesn't say). What this figure further reveals is that at least 45 additional workers receive between $1.25 and $1.53 an hour (how many are just slightly above the $1.25 scale he doesn't say either). Thus, at least 95 out of 104 workers earn from less that $1.25 to $1.53 an hour.

To cover himself in the event that some readers might work out the arithmetic presented by his "truth," Tyler argues that the shop under discussion in any case is "as typical of ILGWU conditions as Mississippi is typical of America." How typical it really is can be seen in the following exhibits of ILGWU-negotiated contracts in New York City where there is the heaviest concentration of Negro and Puerto Rican workers, in some cases as high as 90 percent.

	Progression rates for "unskilled" workers—Time intervals and rates					Contract minimum for "skilled" workers	
	1 to 8 weeks	9 to 10 weeks	11 to 13 weeks	14 to 16 weeks			
Corset and Brassiere Workers' Union of New York Local 32 (6,632 members):							
Operators	1.15	1.20	1.25	1.30		1.36	
	1 to 8 weeks	9 to 10 weeks	11 to 12 weeks				
Pressers	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
Cleaners	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
Examiners	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
	1 to 8 weeks						
Beltmakers' Local 40 (4,504 members):							
Machine operators	1.15					1.38	
Operators	1.15					1.43	
General help	1.15					1.43	
Shipper	1.15					1.30	
Floor girls	1.15					1.30	
	1 to 8 weeks	9 to 10 weeks	13 to 15 weeks			Class R shops	Class S shops
Undergarment and Negligee Workers' Union, Local 62 (16,592 members):							
Operators	1.15	1.25	1.30–1.33			1.30	1.33
Ironers	1.15	1.20	1.25–1.25			1.30	1.30
Examiners	1.15	1.20	1.25–1.25			1.30	1.30
Finishers	1.15	1.20	1.25–1.25			1.30	1.30
	1 to 12 weeks						
Childrens' Dress, House-Dress and Bathrobe Makers' Union Local 91 (11,943 members):							
Operators	1.20					1.41	
Ironers	1.20					1.38	
Cleaners	1.20					1.35	
Finishers	1.20					1.35	
	1st month	2 to 6 months	7 to 9 months				
Rubberized Novelty and Plastic-Fabric Workers' Union, Local 98 (4,403 members previously cited):							
Operators	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
Shipping clerks	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
Cutters	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
Floor girls	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.25	
Plastic, Molders and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 132 (5,460 members):							
	1st month	2 to 6 months	6 to 9 months				
All workers other than molders	1.15	1.20	1.25			1.30	
	1st month	2 to 4 months	5 to 7 months	8 to 10 months	11 to 13 months		
Molders	1.20	1.25	1.30	1.35	1.40	1.45	
Unit 60A section of dress joint board agreement (1,943 members):							
Assorters, piece goods workers, pushboys, porters, delivery boys, packers, and errand boys						1.31	
Chargers, order pickers, checkers, shipping clerks, receiving clerks						1.43	

"As typical of ILGWU conditions as Mississippi is typical of America"? The United States has only one Mississippi. The ILGWU, as the above figures indicate, has a whole flock of them.

It is evident from the data above, that new workers do not even receive the contract minimum for "skilled" workers, but must work a considerable period before they even receive this low wage. Indeed, in the case of local 62, for example, workers must work 8 weeks at the Federal minimum wage and a full 15 weeks before they receive the contract minimum of $1.30 or $1.33 an hour. At the same time, of course, these workers are required, as a condition of employment, to become members of the union after 30 days and pay an initiation fee and dues.

Tyler's explanation for the creation of the "Jim Crow" auxiliary 60A is completely fraudulent. I must repeat some of the facts mentioned in my first article and supply some added information before reviewing Tyler's incredible performance.

60A is a unit composed of "pushboys," packers, piece goods workers, porters and shipping clerks. It has about 2,000 members, of whom more than 90 percent are either Negroes or Spanish-speaking persons. The existence of 60A is, in keeping with the tradition of the "old-line" AFL craft unions, an auxiliary to another local, Dress Pressers' Local 60, with less than 1,300 members.

60A is a new unit in the ILGWU. While the women's garment industry in New York City has had "pushboys," packers, piece goods workers, porters and shipping clerks for as long as the industry existed, the ILGWU did not consider these workers, virtually all Negroes and Puerto Ricans, worthy of union membership until a few years ago, and then only because other unions began organizing activities among these workers. The ILGWU, for the sole purpose of preventing another union from getting a toehold in the garment industry, and not because of the urgent needs of the low-paid, exploited Negro and Puerto Rican workers, then reluctantly organized these workers. Rather than granting them a separate charter, however, the ILGWU made them an auxiliary to Dress Pressers' Local 60.

The NAACP has charged that this was done among other reasons to prevent a Negro or Spanish-speaking person from rising to the position of local union manager.

It should be noted that the collective bargaining agreements negotiated between the Dress Joint Board and the employers' associations covering the members of the Dress Joint Board locals has two sections concerning wages, hours and conditions of employment: one section covers the members of locals 10, 22, 60 and 89, and the other covers the members of 60A. Aside from the question of wages, there are other striking and illuminating differences concerning conditions of employment between the two sections which are described below. Here are two clauses in the collective agreements between the Dress Joint Board and the employers' associations:

Fifteenth: Hours of work (covering members of locals 10, 22, 60, and 89).

A regular week's work shall consist of 35 hours in the first 5 days of the week. Work shall begin at 9 a.m. and end at 5 p.m., with 1 hour interval for lunch. There shall be no more than one shift of workers in any day.

During the season, when the inside shop and each of the contracting shops of the manufacturer or jobber for whom a member of the association is registered or designated as fully supplied with at least a full week's work, and when there are no vacant accommodations in the said shops for additional worker or additional workers cannot be secured, overtime may be worked by all the workers therein except the cutters, provided the member of the association notifies joint council in writing, in advance of the period during which overtime will be worked. In no event shall overtime worked beyond the first 5 days of the week exceed 1 hour per day. All week workers, when working overtime, shall receive pay at the rate of time and one-half. (Collective agreement 1961–1964—United Better Dress Manufacturers' Association, Inc., with International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Dressmakers Joint Council.)

Compare the above with below, which covers 60A:

Sixty-ninth: The normal workweek, for the purpose of this agreement, shall be deemed to mean a 35-hour week. Each employer shall, in his discretion, be free to fix the hours of the day within which each employee in the unit shall work, but work in excess of 7 hours performed in any 1 day shall be compensated for at the rate of time and one-half. Saturday work shall likewise be compensated at the rate of time and one-half. All overtime shall be performed in the discretion of the employer. (Collective agreement—United Better Dress Manufacturers' Association, Inc., with International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Dressmakers Joint Council.)

It is clear from the foregoing that members of 60A are considered by the ILGWU as different than, and inferior to, the members of the other locals affiliated to the Dress Joint Board. With respect to members of 60A, unlike the members of the other Dress Joint Board affiliates, the employer has full discretion both as to hours within which they will work and how many hours they will work. It is clear, too, how members of 60A can earn more than $50 per week: many long hours beyond the so-called normal workweek.

How does Tyler discuss the status of those consigned to 60A? In the first place, according to him, their segregated position is for their own good. Tyler writes: "The clerks (in 60A) enjoy all the benefits of being united in industrial fashion with a more highly skilled craft. No student of labor relations has to be told why." I'm afraid that Mr. Tyler takes too much for granted. The supposedly self-evident advantage of the unskilled workers being affiliated to a skilled craft local as argued by Tyler is simply an exercise in fantasy. What, concretely, have been the benefits for the members of 60A getting $46 to $50 for a normal workweek of being affiliated to a craft local with pay scales ranging up to close to $5 an hour (the highest in the industry)?

Then there is Tyler's ludicrous analogy designed to counter my charge that 60A is a Jim Crow affiliate:

Most of its (60A) members (over 90 percent to be more exact—H.H.) are Negro and Puerto Rican, but to call it a "Jim Crow" local for that reason would be the same as calling the Sleeping Car Porters' Union a Jim Crow union because all or most of its members are Negro.

In the first place, 60A is not a local. It is an auxiliary to local 60. Quite a difference there. In the second place, the Sleeping Car Porters' Union would be a Jim Crow organization if it had a parallel construction to that of 60A. If the Sleeping Car Porters' Union were an auxiliary to, say, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and, if instead of A. Philip Randolph there were the equivalent of a white local manager, selected in reality by the international office of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to service the needs of the Sleeping Car Porters' local, then the Sleeping Car Porters' local would be a segregated auxiliary just as 60A is a Jim Crow unit.

Then we have Tyler the expert on ethnology:

"Hill's suggestion that a separate local of shipping clerks would elect a Negro manager is both inaccurate and vicious. It is inaccurate because local 60A is mixed with no one ethnic group—Negro, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Irish, Jewish, or Italian—in a simple majority."

It is Tyler who is inaccurate and vicious. Inaccurate, because I did not say that a separate local would "elect" a Negro manager but that "there would inevitably be a Negro or Puerto Rican manager." While the ILGWU constitution provides for the formal election of local managers they are not really elected. In practice they are selected by the international and confirmed by the local.[2] In the second place, I said "Negro or Puerto Rican," and not just "Negro." Tyler decided to omit the Puerto Ricans in his reference in order to make his sly point that no one ethnic group is in a simple majority in 60A. (To be sure, in a previous quote from Tyler on this matter, the reader can clearly see that he says, "most of its members are Negro and Puerto Rican." Suddenly, in an effort to fudge over the question we are introduced to Cubans, Irish, Jewish, or Italian as though they represent a significant part of the membership of 60A.) Now, it is true that Negroes and Puerto Ricans constitute a separate group. But they are coupled in my discussion and in Mr. Tyler's—except when inconvenient to him—because they are both the victims of economic, political, ethnic, and racial discrimination different in kind and degree from other ethnic groups which comprise less than 10 percent of 60A.

Tyler goes even further:

"There is no reason to believe that the members of Local 60A would elect a manager on a racist rather than unionist basis. The proposal is socially vicious because to create a separate Local 60A just to guarantee the election of a Negro or Puerto Rican manager is to create a jim crow local—separate but equal. ILGWU members prefer integration: craft and color."

Most damaging here (aside from the "elected" managers) is Tyler's sophistry, that pseudo-liberal conception that for Negroes and Puerto Ricans to seek their own leadership is racism in reverse. Of course, I think that Negroes and Puerto Ricans would take special interest and justifiable pride in electing a Negro or Puerto Rican manager or joint board chairman or president of the international union.

I might ask Mr. Tyler whether he uses the same standards in judging political gerrymandering when it is done to deny Negroes representation in Congress. Does he then virtuously declare that it is "socially vicious" to speak of allowing Negroes to have Negro Congressmen? Or does he, good liberal that he is, protest this kind of gerrymandering—another form of "craft and color"—because it specifically denies Negroes their representational rights?

And look at what Mr. Tyler italicizes in the above passage. How vicious it is, he writes "to create a separate Local 60A just to guarantee the election of a Negro or Puerto Rican." However, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are already separate. Who is responsible for this? The NAACP or the ILGWU? They are separated, not as an independent local as are other crafts in the Dress Joint Board, but as an auxiliary of a skilled local. Thus, they are separate and unequal. It is also interesting to note that 60 and 60A have separate executive boards but one manager for both units.

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[2] The Bureau of Labor Management of the U.S. Department of Labor recently investigated a complaint from an ILGWU member in New Bedford, Mass. The Bureau found improper election practices by the ILGWU and ordered a new election. This case has clear implications for the internal practices of the ILGWU nationally.

The NAACP claims that when the boundary of separation is drawn at the point where autonomy begins, this is evidence that discrimination is a hard fact. As against this affiliated status, local autonomy would, indeed, be a step in the right direction. And not "just to" guarantee the election of a Negro or Puerto Rican, but as a means of better protecting the rights of both groups and offering the enormous educational and training advantage of self-leadership.

Tyler says as against local autonomy for 60A, "ILGWU members prefer integration: craft and color." Bravo. The NAACP looks forward to seeing Negro and Puerto Rican ILGWU members on the general executive board, as local union managers, given a more equitable share of the better-paying jobs and that the union conduct a vigorous union campaign against exploitation.

One final quotation from Tyler on 60A: "a majority of the combined members of local 60 and local 60A are Negro and Puerto Rican. Each member has an equal vote—whether 60 or 60A. If the present manager is not a Negro or Puerto Rican, it merely indicates that the members of this union prefer not to cast a 'racial' vote."

I am obliged for the third time to point out to the reader that whether the manager of Local 60 is or is not a Puerto Rican or a Negro has little to do with normal elections. The manager is actually selected by the general executive board and ritualistically confirmed at a local union meeting. Apart from this little detail what Tyler is suggesting is completely demagogic. Everyone knows that given the situation as I have described it—and as Tyler unwittingly confirms—the "equal vote" that he boasts of is nonexistent because of the lack of involvement of these minorities in the union. Their apathy and the refusal to use their "equal vote" is an indication of the controlled, undemocratic atmosphere in which they are treated with contempt as "things" to be manipulated by an arrogant bureaucracy.

Am I exaggerating when I say that the ILGWU is contemptuous of Negroes and Puerto Ricans? A comparison of the clauses in the same collective agreement concerning discharge of workers, first that covering members of locals 10, 22, 60 and 89, then covering members of 60A, is in order.

THIRTY-EIGHTH: Discharge (of members of locals 10, 22, 60 and 89—H.H.); (a) no member of the association shall discharge a worker, except for misbehavior sufficient to justify a discharge, before a notice in writing is served on joint council of the reason for the intended discharge. In case of a discharge for alleged misbehavior, and it be determined that the worker be reinstated, he is entitled to receive pay for all the time he stayed out; (b) joint council shall investigate the notice of the intended discharge within 48 hours of the receipt of same. If joint council does not consent to the proposed discharge, the question shall be referred to the impartial chairman, whose decision shall be final. Pending such decision the employee shall continue working at full pay (Collective Agreement 1961–64—United Better Dress Manufacturers' Association, Inc., with International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Dressmakers' Joint Council).

SEVENTY-FOUR: On discharge (of members of 60A—H.H.).

The employer may discharge regular employees for any just and reasonable cause including the following: incompetence, insubordination, dishonesty, intoxication, soldiering on the job, repeated lateness or absence; and assault or attempted assault on the job.

Repeated breach of reasonable rules established by the employer:

In the event that the union questions any discharge as not being for just and reasonable cause, it shall so inform the association within 5 days after the discharge. Representatives of the union and the association shall attempt to settle the grievance by negotiation. If no settlement can be reached, the joint council may invoke the arbitration machinery provided in this agreement. (Collective agreement, 1961–64—United Better Dress Manufacturers' Association, Inc., with International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Dressmakers' Joint Council.)

In the discharge of members of locals 10, 22, 60, and 89, the burden is on the employer, not the worker.

In the discharge of a member of 60A, the burden is on the worker. It is significant that specific reasons for which a member of 60A can be discharged are set forth, while with respect to members of locals 10, 22, 60, and 89, they are not.

What do Tyler, Fleischman, and Muravchik have to say about these specifics contained in a contract negotiated by the ILGWU? Are "dishonesty," "intoxication," "soldiering on the job," "assault or attempted assault on the job" the characteristic habits of Negroes and Puerto Ricans? Or do they recognize in this listing the hallmark of the bigot enthusiastically perpetuating the sickening stereotypes of racial and national minorities? If Tyler does not understand this, his stint with the ILGWU has served to corrupt his sensibilities completely. Mr. Tyler and the other apologists for the ILGWU neglect to state that the "integrated" members of 60A are covered by a separate union agreement from that covering members of locals 10, 22, 60, and 89.

Further evidence of discrimination is documented in Tyler's own discussion of the ILGWU's officer qualification course and the union's training institute.

The officer qualification course was set up in 1938 "to prepare candidates for elective office." A total of 832 applied. Of these 832, only "19 were Negro and 8 were Spanish speaking—a total of 27 in 24 years." An annual average of one (and one-eighth).

Tyler then tries to compensate for this failure with the reputed success of the union's training institute. We are told that in 11 years, 30 Negroes and Puerto Ricans were graduated by the institute. An excellent record. Certainly, it is better than the officer qualification course showing. However, far from proving the ILGWU's concern with promoting Negro and Puerto Rican leadership, the greater success of the institute reveals just the opposite when placed side by side with the failure in the officer qualification course. The reason lies in the difference between the two programs which Tyler deliberately tries to gloss over. The failure was in recruiting trainees within the union for officers with the (theoretical) right to participate in formulating and influencing the policies of the union. On the other hand, where the ILGWU achieved some success, in the institute, it has been with individuals who are not necessarily even members of the union, who are to become employees and not officials of the union and who have no voice in determining union policy. Also, the ILGWU must employ some Negro and Spanish-speaking organizers given the changing racial and ethnic composition of the industry.

As an example of discrimination, I mentioned in my article the fact that two locals in Puerto Rico—locals 600 and 601—were placed under the managership of an official from New York, one Jerry Schoen. Here is how Tyler discusses my charge:

Hill charge: "The two Peurto Rican locals are 'denied Puerto Rican leadership.'"

Now, the words are mine, but the period after the quoted phrase belongs to Tyler. What I wrote was: "However, both these locals are denied Puerto Rican leadership as they are managed by one Jerry Schoen, a former business agent for local 62, who was sent from New York City by the international union to manage these two Puerto Rican locals."

By trimming my sentence as he does, Tyler thinks that all he has to do is rattle off a list of Puerto Rican "officials" in these locals, although the point I am making, seen clearly in the omitted words, is that the two locals are denied self-leadership "as they are managed by one Jerry Schoen."

And as Tyler knows, as I know, as anyone who knows anything about the ILGWU knows, it is the manager who wields the power in ILGWU locals. It is Schoen who represents the international in Puerto Rico. His is the real power.

More than a year and a half ago, officers of local 10 claimed, before representatives of the New York State Commission for Human Rights investigating a complaint of racial discrimination, that there were 400 nonwhite members of this local of skilled, higher-paid workers. I offered to withdraw the complaint if this were proven. The figure was then reduced to 300 by the union representatives. Harry Fleischman later said that there are "250 Negro and Spanish-speaking cutters in local 10," ("Let's Be Human," October 1962, Newsletter of the National Labor Service.) In Fleischman's other article "Is the ILGWU Biased?" he refers to "Negro ILGWU member Ernest Holmes" (p. 1, 3d par.). Holmes was never, at any time a member of the ILGWU. This was precisely the charge of his highly publicized complaint, that he was refused admission into local 10 of the ILGWU. This falsehood is typical of Fleischman's frequent distortions.

In Gus Tyler's article we are told that there were 239 Negro and Spanish-speaking workers in local 10—only slightly more than one-half of what the ILGWU originally claimed.

On the basis of these figures, either the ILGWU lied one and a half years ago, or it has dropped nearly 200 Negro and Spanish-speaking people from local 10.

Of the 239 figure in Tyler's article, it would be interesting to know how many are Negro and Puerto Ricans, since his count embraces "Cubans, Panamanians, Colombians, Dominicans, Salvadorians, Mexicans, etc., as well as Puerto Ricans * * *." I, of course, am not discussing "Cubans * * * etc," but Negroes and Puerto Ricans, over 120,000 strong, with problems quite distinct from those presumably located by Tyler in his quest for as large a number as possible. It would also be interesting to know how many Negroes and Puerto Ricans have been brought into local 10 in the past 18 months—i.e., since the NAACP focused national attention on the status of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the ILGWU.

Tyler says that when Hill claims in a television broadcast "that there are in the vicinity of 50 (Negro) cutters of local 10 in the city," that he "still has no regard for the truth."

However, if one makes a modest deduction for "Cubans * * * etc." from Tyler's strained-for 239 his number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans would no doubt go below 200. Since it is most likely that there are considerably more Puerto Ricans than Negroes in local 10, I suggest that Tyler take out his slide rule and let the reader know how far off my estimated "vicinity of 50 (Negro) cutters" is from his "regard for the truth."

Now, even less than 200 skilled Negro and Puerto Rican workers would not be too bad in a local of 1,000 or 2,000 craft workers. But, if Tyler wants to play the numbers game, why does he hide the most revealing figure, "239 Negroes, Puerto Ricans plus Cubans * * * etc.," out of 7,531 members. Slightly more than 3 percent. This, Tyler tells us, "is an impressive demonstration of integration." This figure that represents integration to Mr. Tyler is not much better than the integration of Negro children in the public schools of North Carolina.

The NAACP finds this impressive evidence of discrimination, especially when over one-half the New York membership of the ILGWU is composed of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Tyler tells us that what makes the over 200 figure such an impressive demonstration is that "there is very little turnover of employment; the total number of jobs covered by local 10 has fallen in the last decade." While this might explain a disproportionately fewer number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, it cannot explain the excessiveness of that disproportion.

Though they tell us that Negroes and Puerto Ricans never had it so good, as in local 10, ILGWU spokesmen usually feel compelled to explain that the union is not responsible for hiring cutters; it is all the employers' fault. This won't do. In the first place, if there is impressive integration no one is really at fault. In the second place, if it is only the employers who discriminate in hiring, it is the responsibility of the union to combat that policy. In the third place, the union does have considerable control in the hiring of cutters.

In the November 1, 1962, issue of Justice, the official ILGWU publication, there is a news story which would seem not only to substantiate the union's placement role, but to boast of it. The article states: "A total of 576 members of local 10 have been placed on permanent jobs during the year since last October, Vice President Moe Falikman, manager of the organization reported at its membership meeting on October 29. This was disclosed by a tabulation based on reports submitted by officers and business agents functioning in the various trades in which cutters are employed."

The report continues with reference to the local's placement activity over a 3-year period and says that placing its members in permanent jobs "is a major continuing activity."

Thus, it is clear beyond doubt, despite the ILGWU's public denials, that local 10 has considerable control in the placement of cutters in all branches of the women's garment industry in New York City.

On the total number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in all the skilled craft locals, Tyler makes a boast of what is actually a confession of moral bankruptcy. He writes that the number of Spanish-speaking and Negro members "runs into the tens of thousands"[3] and in the next breath he takes pride in his reference to "hundreds of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, plus other Latins, Japanese, etc.," who are in the skilled craft locals.

A further analysis, employing the ILGWU's own figures, discloses the following: out of a total of approximately 14,500 members of Cutters' Local 10, Pressers' Locals 35 and 60, and the Pressers' branches of the two Italian Locals, 48 and 89, there are some 550 Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans * * * etc. This constitutes about 3.7 percent of the total membership of the locals controlling the highest paying jobs in New York City; 96.3 percent white and 3.7 percent Negroe, Puerto Rican, Cuban * * * etc., cannot be considered "an impressive demonstration of integration." I submit that the ILGWU figures are greatly inflated; 2 percent is closer to the truth.

Why does the NAACP single out the ILGWU? Aren't there unions with far worse records than this one? These questions are usually asked by those who will candidly acknowledge that the charges against Dubinsky's union are justified in large measure, but bridle at concentrating so much fire on a "progressive" union which passes fine resolutions on civil rights, and contributes to worthy causes.

I believe that this approach is unwarranted for the following reasons:

1. The ILGWU is the largest union in the largest manufacturing industry in New York City, the world's largest city. It affects the economic welfare and dignity of hundreds of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican men, women and children in New York. Is the NAACP supposed to refrain from presenting the truth about this union because it passes good resolutions on integration in Mississippi?

2. The "go soft on Dubinsky" line has the disagreeable connotations of "Uncle Tomism": it is suggested that the liberal and Negro community should be appreciative of small favors and not attack its "benefactors" even if those friends aren't completely perfect. This is of course nonsense and is rejected by responsible and serious elements in the Negro community.

3. It implicitly fails to give credit to the NAACP for its work in combating the anti-Negro practices of blatantly discriminatory unions, North and South. A part of my time for the past 16 years as a staff member of the NAACP has been devoted to exposing and combating the vicious racial practices of the railroad unions, the building trades unions and other labor organizations where discriminatory practices are blatant and to open new job opportunities for Negro workers in the craft jurisdictions. Most of the major breakthroughs in the past decade made by Negro workers in the "old-line" AFL-controlled craft occupations as well as in industrial union jurisdictions are the direct result of NAACP exposure and pressure.

4. Those who say "Hill is really right but why make such a fuss over a 'progressive union' substitute sentimentality for thought, myth for reality. Judging the ILGWU by its current practices and not by its past, the 'progressive' label is a nostalgic hangover." The word suggests militancy, internal democracy and social vision. On none of these counts does the ILGWU qualify.

5. The ILGWU leadership is greatly concerned with presenting a progressive liberal public image, without critically examining the social consequences of its policies and practices. This is perhaps the most dismal factor in the entire situation, their incapacity to admit that anything at all is wrong. But they do care obsessively about their public image. The concern, I believe, increases the possibility that the pressures applied by the NAACP might have salutary effects. I think that as a result of the activity of the NAACP there may be more Negroes and Puerto Ricans in better-paid jobs, that the operational bar against Negroes and Puerto Rican local managers might be raised slightly; Dubinsky will perhaps allow a Negro or Puerto Rican to find his place on the General Board and the ILGWU might feel obliged to do something about the substandard wage levels in the industry which victimizes, primarily, the Negro and Puerto Rican worker. Already one notes perhaps a little less arrogance on the part of ILGWU officials in the daily treatment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the shops and within the unions.

I now know that the above will produce anguished cries of "anti-Semite." The epithet has already been hurled at me (and at Paul Jacobs for his article on the ILGWU in Harper's magazine December 1962).[4] The charge is too obscene, too rotten to permit dignified comment.

I anticipated that my analysis of the ILGWU would be met with the fury with which any powerful and entrenched bureaucracy retaliates when challenged. The attacks upon me for telling the truth are characterized by a viciousness and hysteria that tells much about the institution defending itself. Among a variety of other personal attacks the ILGWU leadership has charged publicly and in corridors that I am a Jewish anti-Semite, a kind of McCarthyite, and in the camp of the Birchites.

No less incredible than the anti-Semitic smear was the abortive attempt to discredit me by Evelyn Dubrow, an ILGWU staff member who together with other union representatives went to several Congressmen and other public officials and "explained" that Hill was a Communist stirring up racial strife, an anti-Semite, etc.

If I am incensed at the anti-Semitic smear, the reader will surely understand. I am, after all, a "white Jew" as Tyler so delicately puts it in his New Politics article.

Had I committed a gross injustice in my charges, the Dubinsky leadership's reaction would never take such grotesque forms. That it struck out so wildly, with such malevolence, is evidence that my criticism pierced a bureaucratic shell and pricked what there is of a sense of guilt among those who have led the ILGWU from what it was yesterday to what it has become today.

While Tyler does not make this charge—at least, not in his article—he must accept responsibility for it considering its source. I am not debating Tyler the individual, but Tyler the defense counsel for the ILGWU.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, responding to a Jewish Labor Committee attack on the Association, stated in a letter dated Oct. 31, 1962, to Emanual Muravchik as follows:

We assert with the greatest emphasis that nothing, absolutely nothing, in Mr. Hill's recent or more remote statements can be construed as anti-Semitic. This is a grave charge to make. It requires more substantiation that your flip reference in a part of a sentence. The charge is not only against Mr. Hill, but against the NAACP itself. We do not deign to defend ourselves against such a baseless allegation. Its inclusion in the resolution, as well as in the statements to the press by Mr. Zimmerman is unworthy of an organization like the Jewish Labor Committee which, in the very nature of things must be conversant with the seriousness of such a charge and with the evidence required to give it substance. No such evidence has ben submitted in this case beyond the citation of the use by Mr. Hill of one word, "ethnic," out of a total of 4,500 words in his testimony before the House subcommittee. The relevance of his comparison of the ethnic composition of the membership and the leadership of the ILGWU can hardly be questioned in this context.

Wilkins also said: "We reject the proposition that any segment of the labor move-

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[3] That many of these tens of thousands are "relative newcomers," as he puts it, helps naught, since tens of thousands of the more than 120,000 have been in the industry for many years and are "newcomers" only "relative" to those who have been there for decades.

[4] The Jewish Daily Forward, Dec. 10, 1962. J. Fogel writes that "Two Jewish young men, Hill and Jacobs, spread anti-Semitic poison against the ILGWU and against President Dubinsky." The frequent treatment of these matters in the Jewish Daily Forward is worthy of a separate study. The Forward regards all criticisms of the ILGWU as an act of anti-Semitism and while freely distorting the news, reports these events in a tone of hysteria and self-pity. Headlines in the issue of Aug. 22, 1962—"The Racist Assault on the ILGWU."

ment is sacrosanct in the matter of practices and/or policies which restrict employment opportunities on racial or religious or nationality grounds. We reject the contention that bringing such charges constitutes a move to destroy 'unity' among civil rights groups unless it be admitted that this unity is a precarious thing, perched upon unilateral definition of discrimination by each member group. In such a situation, the 'unity' is of no basic value and its destruction may be regarded as not a calamity, but a blessed clearing of the air.

In this connection, it is well to reiterate a facet of this discussion which appears to have escaped the attention of the various reviewers and resolution writers. It is that Herbert Hill, our labor secretary, has but one duty and that is to serve the interests of the Negro worker through the NAACP. Other groups, including trade unions, have powerful machinery to protect their principal interests. Mr. Hill is employed to maintain antidiscrimination work in the employment field as his top and only priority. He is not for trade unions first and Negros workers second. He has no divided loyalties."

In the years to come the effective work of the NAACP in fighting for a decent, socially conscious labor movement that is sensitive to the needs of the Negro worker will be appreciated. If trade unions in the United States are to be more than just another "business enterprise," more than just organizations that negotiate terms under which labor is bought and sold, then the struggle today for an immediate end to anti-Negro practices within the unions will provide the social basis for defending the labor movement tomorrow.

Herbert Hill is national labor secretary of the NAACP.

TEST BAN CAVE-IN A DISGRACE

(Mr. HOSMER (at the request of Mr. KUNKEL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, reported United States-United Kingdom offers to Khrushchev of 30 on-site inspections during a 7-year period to police a test band treaty amount to a craven surrender to the Soviet test band treaty bargaining position.

Premier Khrushchev has offered only "2 or 3 inspections annually," and then only under the most restrictive conditions, actually exempting from inspection any area declared by the Kremlin to be a "military area."

When negotiations began in 1958, 20 inspections annually were demanded. The Kennedy administration dropped demands to "10 to 12," then to 7. Although the presently reported concession averages 4¼ inspections annually, the effective number would actually be Khrushchev's demanded three. This is because inspections could not reasonably be consumed on an annual basis, but must be reserved by at least 25 percent to use if needed during a period of greater suspicion during the last portion of the 7 years.

This cave-in to Soviet demands deserves the most severe censure. It is time that Americans demand that courage be restored in the Nation's leadership. The constant withering of U.S. leaders in the face of Communist threats, demands and truculence can only bring the United States down to a second rate status and earn the world's contempt.

The ridiculous absurdity to this token number of inspections is best grasped when it is realized the Soviet Union spreads across two continents, contains one-sixteenth of the world's land mass and occupies 8½ million square miles. Three inspections could have no more deterrent effect on Soviet cheating than none at all.

It is past time that commonsense and sanity be restored to our side of the Geneva bargaining tables. The danger of Soviet cheating on a test band treaty is real and ever present. Otherwise machinery to deter it would not have been the subject of discussion and negotiation over the past 5 years. To now abandon the very machinery that might prevent such cheating is only another way of trusting the Nation's future security and survival to no more than a Soviet promise not to sieze the opportunity to achieve overwhelming military superiority and thereby satisfy communism's fiery ambition for world domination.

(Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. KUNKEL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. ASHBROOK'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

MUSIC FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

(Mr. KYL (at the request of Mr. KUNKEL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, 1,100 young people from 24 schools in 13 States, including New York, New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wisconsin, were present at a concert last night, in the departmental auditorium of the U.S. Department of Labor in the Nation's Capital, which marked the opening of the eighth annual music for young America concerts by the National Symphony Orchestra under its conductor Howard Mitchell.

The American Federation of Musicians, AFL–CIO, chose this occasion to confer a distinguished service award on Mrs. Herbert A. May, one of our country's greatest private patrons of music, whose generosity has made these music programs possible. The award was presented by Herman Kenin, president of the international union, and it read in part:

In grateful appreciation for efforts in behalf of live music and musicians and devotion to the advancement of the cultural arts.

In his presentation, Mr. Kenin said:

In presenting this symbol, I wish to address myself also to the many hundreds of young people and the distinguished citizens here tonight.

Music and all of the performing arts need much the same guidance and help that is so necessary to the maturing years of our young people. You, as one of the foremost patrons of music in our whole society, have provided this influence.

By completely underwriting 5 weeks of free concerts for the past several years Mrs. May has provided an introduction to symphonic music for thousands of young Americans and has provided an extended music season and additional employment for the musicians of the National Symphony Orchestra.

The Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, told the young people at last night's opening concert, as provided by the Washington, D.C., Daily News, that he hoped they would "take away a picture of a gracious lady, an extraordinary conductor and one of the finest orchestras in the whole world."

To qualify for admission young visitors to the Nation's Capital must be high school students, and many tickets are made available through the offices of Members of Congress.

The Washington, D.C., Evening Star commented editorially that this music series has the dual purpose of, first, enriching the lives of young people through an introduction to good music; and, second, financially assisting the orchestra members by extending their season.

For many young people these music programs are "the entry into a new and wonderful world," the Star added.

The Washington, D.C., Post editorial says of Mrs. May that she has long been "a generous and imaginative patron of music in this community," and this editorial added that "all of us owe her the warmest thanks."

We do, indeed, owe her our thanks for opening this important vista on our Nation's cultural heritage to so many of our young people, who are the leaders of tomorrow's world.

I include as part of my remarks a newspaper article and editorials which give a fuller account of Music for Young America programs:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Apr. 24, 1963]

YOUNG AMERICA MUSIC SEASON OPENS—MRS. MAY GETS A CITATION

(By Milton Berliner)

Boys and girls from 24 schools in 13 States were on hand at the Departmental Auditorium last night for the opening of the eighth annual Music for Young America series by Howard Mitchell and the National Symphony.

"This is something of record," Mr. Mitchell told them just before the orchestra launched into the overture to Rossinni's "The Thieving Magpie."

This was followed by some Bach, Beethoven and Tchaikowsky.

Midway in the program there was a break for the presentation of an American Federation of Musicians award to the sponsor of these series, Mrs. Herbert A. May.

The citation, union's president Herman Kenin said, was "in grateful appreciation for efforts in behalf of live music and musicians and devotion to the advancement of cultural arts."

In the 8 years of underwriting these series of free concerts, Mrs. May has provided a total of 40 weeks' employment for the 95 National Symphony musicians and an introduction to symphonic music for thousands of young Americans.

Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz told the audience that he hoped it would "take away a picture of a gracious lady, an extraordinary conductor and one of the finest orchestras in the whole world."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 24, 1963]

MUSIC AND MRS. MAY

The National Symphony Orchestra is fortunate to have thousands of "angels" who contribute to its welfare. But a very special angel is Mrs. Herbert A. May who for 5 weeks each spring practically owns the orchestra. Graciously, she shares Howard Mitchell and his 95 players with visiting schoolchildren so they may enjoy "Music for Young America." This is the series she began financing 8 years ago with the dual purpose of (1) enriching the lives of young people through an introduction to good music and (2) financially assisting the orchestra members by extending their season.

The opening of this year's series was particularly auspicious. For the American Federation of Music recognized Mrs. May's generosity with a bronze plaque. It was an award well deserved, but no more significant than the audience of bright-faced youngsters from Wautoma, Wis., Suncock, N.H., Whitesboro, Ky., New York City, St. Louis, St. Paul, Mount Vernon, Ohio, and 14 other cities. For many of them it was the entry into a new and wonderful world.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 23, 1963]

MUSIC PATRON

The National Symphony Orchestra will play the opening concert today of its eighth season of free concerts for schoolchildren visiting Washington. It is altogether fitting that the American Federation of Musicians should have chosen this occasion to confer a Distinguished Service Award on Mrs. Herbert A. May, long a generous and imaginative patron of music in this community. Her generosity affords not only a great boon to the children who attend these concerts but an extended period of employment for the orchestra's musicians as well. As in past years, Mrs. May has completely underwritten the 30 concerts that will be performed between the opening concert and May 24. All of us owe her the warmest thanks.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. BRAY (at the request of Mr. KUNKEL), for 30 minutes, on Tuesday, April 30, 1963.

Mr. HALPERN, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois (at the request of Mr. PUCINSKI), for 20 minutes, today, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. RYAN of New York (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for 15 minutes, tomorrow.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. REUSS in six instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MATTHEWS and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. BURKHALTER and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MCCORMACK (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KUNKEL) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SCHWENGEL.
Mr. YOUNGER in two instances.
Mr. DAGUE.
Mr. HALL.
Mr. DEROUNIAN in three instances.
Mrs. ST. GEORGE.

Mr. CURTIS in two instances, one of which notwithstanding it will exceed two pages of the RECORD and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost $292.50.

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON.
Mr. GUBSER.
Mr. SHORT.
Mr. ROBISON in five instances.
Mr. FINO.
Mr. FINDLEY.
Mr. SAYLOR.
Mr. HOSMER in two instances.
Mr. BECKER in two instances.
Mr. DERWINSKI in three instances.
Mr. SAYLOR.
Mr. BELL.
Mr. CONTE.
Mr. GOODELL.
Mr. GROVER in two instances.
Mr. TOLLEFSON in two instances.
Mr. BOW in five instances.
Mr. WHALLEY.

Mr. STINSON to extend his remarks just prior to vote on Sibal amendment.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DINGELL.
Mr. CELLER.
Mr. MULTER in three instances.
Mr. MURPHY of New York in two instances.
Mr. FLOOD in two instances.
Mr. BURKE.
Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin in 10 instances.
Mr. FARBSTEIN in three instances.
Mrs. KELLY.
Mr. DORN.
Mr. COHELAN in six instances.
Mr. JENNINGS.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2. An act to establish water resources research centers at land-grant colleges and State universities, to stimulate water research at other colleges, universities, and centers of competence, and to promote a more adequate national program of water research; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1007. An act to guarantee electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants in that region and to guarantee electric consumers in other regions reciprocal priority, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

THE LATE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL, ITZHAK BEN-ZVI

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to offer, on behalf of the House of Representatives, a resolution expressing the profound sorrow of the House on the death of His Excellency Itzhak Ben-Zvi, President of the State of Israel. In the death of the late President the free world has lost a great champion. The American people have lost a friend. The people of the State of Israel have lost one of their most distinguished statesmen and beloved citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I know that I express the sentiment of all the Members of the House of Representatives and of all the people of this country when I say we have learned with the deepest sorrow of the death of the late President. To his family and loved ones, and to the people of the State of Israel we extend our heartfelt sympathy.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York, former U.S. Ambassador to the State of Israel [Mr. REID].

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the resolution and with the remarks of the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. Speaker, I believe truly that the free world has lost one of its best friends. President Itzhak Ben-Zvi was truly a statesman and a scholar. He believed in close relations between Israel and the United States. He worked nobly in the vineyards of peace. He cared deeply about doing everything possible to establish strong and abiding relationships between Israel and the emerging as well as the older nations of the free world. Above all, let me say this: I had the privilege of knowing the President personally, and I remember him for his humanity, his humility, his simplicity, and for his scholarly statesmanship. He had many friends in this country and his loss will be much felt here and throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, I remember in 1960 at a diplomatic reception in Jerusalem when the President of Israel talked simply and movingly of peace. I would like here, perhaps as a fitting tribute, to quote a passage of the Bible that was especially meaningful to President Ben-Zvi. He was a scholar who was long interested in Isaiah, and I quote from a passage on peace that was particularly meaningful to him, and a passage that he called to the attention of the diplomatic corps. It is from chapter II of Isaiah, verse 2:

And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

Verse 4:

And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Mr. Speaker, it is in this spirit that I remember President Ben-Zvi, who will long be an inspiration to those who were privileged to know him, and I indeed

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia
5 Beekman Street, New York 38, New York

April 27, 1963

Sent to Corporation Directors in the NY Area

The recent explosive situation in Birmingham, makes it emminently clear that the industrial development of the South depends on racial harmony. An example of how racial conflict is harmful is indicated by the failure of business enterprises to invest in Arkansas following the Little Rock crisis.

At a time of international tension, vast unemployment and economic recessions, the growth of industry becomes a vital question to development in any section of the nation.

The growth of such industry is not possible unless individuals responsible for the direction of corporations press for equal rights for all citizens.

It would be financially beneficial and ethically correct for you, and for the Birmingham Community, if you supported a program for equal employment opportunities, for the desegregation of public facilities, for the right to protest, and generally to help ease racial tensions in Birmingham.

Concretely this would mean your company would do the following:

1. Make it known to the City of Birmingham*s authorities you are supporting the Reverand Martin Luther King's Drive for Freedom.

2. Work for equal job opportunities in your corporations and industries in Birmingham.

3. Adhere to the President's fair employment practices recommendations.

Should you have any questions, or wish to discuss this matter further, we would be delighted to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Charles F. McDew
Charles F. McDew
Chairman, Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

James Farmer
James Farmer
National Director,
Congress of Racial Equality

Rev. Dr. Hilderbrand
Rev. Dr. Hilderbrand
President, New York Branch
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

US STEEL VIOLATES HUMAN RIGHTS

UNITED STATES STEEL, ST. REGIS PAPER, MARTIN-MARIETTA, LONE STAR CEMENT, UNITED STATES PIPE AND FOUNDRY, REPUBLIC STEEL, HARRISON-WALKER REFACTORIES, NATCO, HUTTIG-SASH AND DOOR, AND UNION CARBIDE CORP. ARE SUPPORTING RACISM IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA THROUGH INACTION.

In the struggle for equality, hundreds have been arrested for trying to claim their rights as American citizens. These powerful companies employ over 35% of the work force of Birmingham. The directors of these companies help control every phase of Birmingham life, whether it is by action or inaction.

WE DEMAND THAT UNITED STATES STEEL AND OTHER CORPORATIONS IN THE BIRMINGHAM AREA:

1. Make known to Birmingham authorities that they support the Reverand Martin Luther King's drive for freedom.

2. Work for equal job opportunities in their corporations and industries in Birmingham.

3. Adhere to the President's Fair Employment Practices Recommendations.

Leading directors of U.S. Steel are: Cleo F. Craig 20 Pine St. N.Y. 5; Henry T. Heald 447 Madison Ave. N.Y. 22; Arthur A. Houghton Jr. 715 5th Ave. N.Y. 22; Alex C. Nagle 399 Park Ave. N.Y. 22; Ender M. Voorhees 14 East 68th St. N.Y. 21; Henry S. Wingate 67 Wall Street N.Y. 5; J.M. Meyer Jr. 140 Broadway N.Y. 15; Chairman Roger M. Blough and President Leslie B. Worthington 71 Broadway N.Y. 6.

PICKET U.S. STEEL WEDNESDAY MAY 1ST
71 BROADWAY
11:30 am UNTIL 1:30 pm

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee 5 Beekman Street rm 1025
Congress of Racial Equality 38 Park Row
CO 7-5541 CO 7-6270

Look 5-21-63

Labor

During a friendly ride with a neighbor, a juror was offered $10,000 in "easy money." The husband of another juror was promised help in getting a promotion. Here is the startling story of incidents during the James R. Hoffa trial, which caused a judge to denounce

JURY TAMPERING IN TENNESSEE

BY CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF

JAMES C. TIPPENS, a Nashville insurance man, looked worried as he stepped into the office of Federal Judge William E. Miller on Wednesday, October 24, 1962.

The previous evening, Tippens had listened closely as Judge Miller warned him and other prospective jurors to avoid any discussion that might prejudice them either for or against James R. Hoffa, international president of the Teamsters Union. Tippens was a likely choice as a member of the jury that would try Hoffa and another Teamster official on the charge of accepting $242,000 from a Detroit trucking firm in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The prospective jurors had been excused for the day, before the selection of the jury was completed. Within two hours after he left the Federal Building in Nashville, Tippens was approached by a neighbor who offered him a ride. Since Tippens regarded the man as a friend, he did not hesitate to accept. He had no reason to believe that the neighbor had any interest in the outcome of the Hoffa trial. The neighbor said that Tippens could pick up $10,000 easily and that the money would be paid to him in $100 bills. Initially, the man did not directly link this offer of "easy money" with the Hoffa case. Tippens asked him the direct question: "You are referring to [my] being a prospective juror in the case?"

The man acknowledged that the offer was connected with the case, and urged Tippens to accept it. Tippens said firmly that he did not want to discuss the matter.

He worried about the conversation all night and was still shaken as he entered the Judge's chambers shortly before 9 the next morning. He had resolved to tell Judge Miller about it, even if this might bring trouble to his friend.

Calm and stern-faced, Judge Miller questioned Tippens briefly about the $10,000 offer. The Judge assured Tippens he had acted properly in reporting the incident, and instructed him to say nothing about the affair to anyone until he was questioned by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Immediately, Judge Miller summoned Government and defense lawyers to his chambers and told them of the incident. In 27 years as lawyer and judge, he said, this was the first time he had heard of such a bold attempt to corrupt the jury system. Judge Miller carefully avoided any contention that Hoffa or Hoffa's lawyers knew of the contact with Tippens, but explained that the contact made it necessary to release Tippens from jury service.

Chief Prosecutor James Neal then commented that a number of improper and illegal telephone calls had been made to prospective jurors. He was concerned that many of the most responsible people would be eliminated from the jury panel by this tactic. "I am inclined to suggest at this point that the jury be locked up," Neal said. "I realize how onerous that is on everyone."

Z. T. (Tommy) Osborn, Jr., one of Hoffa's defense lawyers, objected: "It is an awful long time, and if there is any way to avoid it, your honor should avoid it." Osborn said the calls to jurors were probably the work of "crackpots and do-gooders."

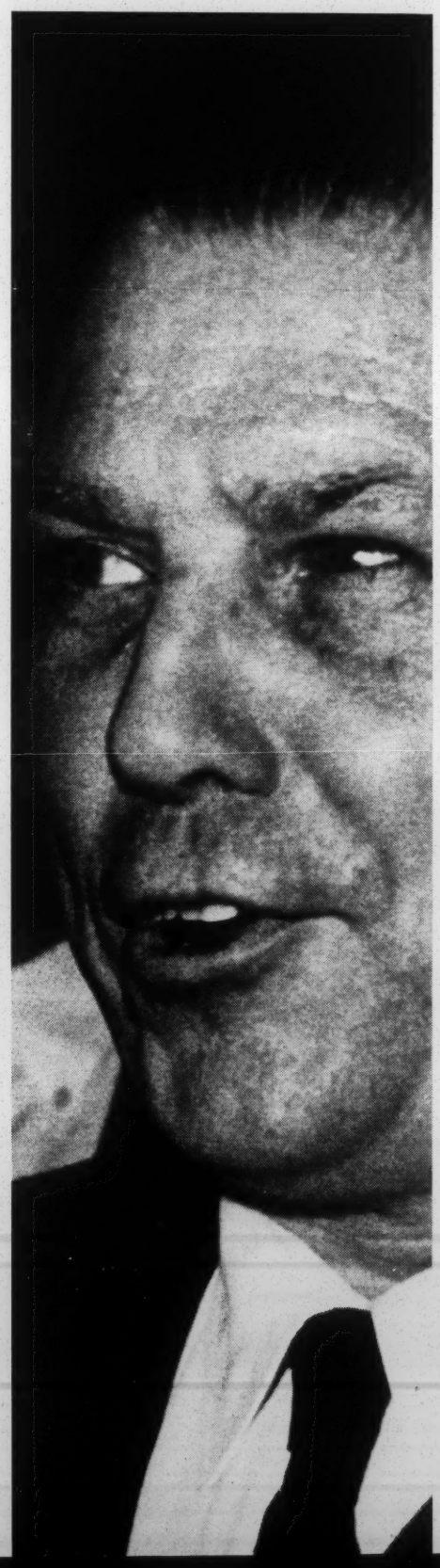
Prosecutor Charles Shaffer said he did not like to inject an "acrimonious note" at an early stage in the trial, but added, "I have no way of relating this to the defendant Hoffa, but . . . the Government does know, and it is a public record, that jurors have been approached before [in cases] in which he was on trial."

Defense lawyer William E. Bufalino lodged a sharp protest: "That is not so. . . . I have been in every one of those cases that you have been referring to. I was in the Washington case, the New York cases, and when Bobby Kennedy makes statements [about approaches to jurors] . . . in his book *The Enemy Within*, [that] does not make it a fact."

The decision on "locking up" the jury was a difficult one. Judge Miller commented that it might mean virtual imprisonment of the jurors and alternates for the six or eight weeks the trial was expected to last. Their radio and television programs would have to be censored, their newspapers clipped of stories dealing with the trial, and communication with their families monitored by representatives of the court.

Judge Miller was gravely concerned over the Tippens incident, but the discussions made it seem that further tampering with the jury was unlikely. It appeared to the Judge that only a fool or someone totally corrupt would attempt to contact the Hoffa jurors in the face of such warnings. The jury would not be locked up, at that time, Judge Miller ruled. He also proposed stiff warnings to the jurors and ordered an immediate FBI

continued



Hoffa was accused of directing a witness through hand signals.

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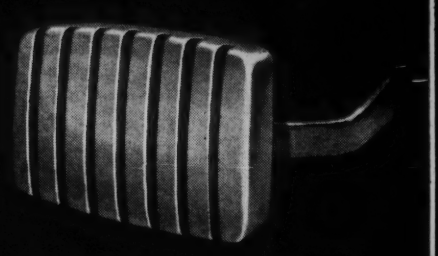

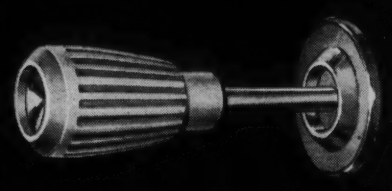

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FBI agents trailed some friends

investigation of the Tippens incident.

In the next nine weeks, Judge Miller's patience was tested as he fought to maintain the decorum of a Federal court—and to avoid the atmosphere of a circus. The Tippens affair was only the first of many incidents that punctuated the lengthy trial of the tough and aggressive 49-year-old Teamster boss.

From the beginning of the trial, U. S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Assistant Attorney General Herbert (Jack) Miller were seriously concerned about the possibility of jury tampering.

Reports of the Senate's McClellan Committee had alerted investigators of Hoffa's "hoodlum empire" to evidence of earlier efforts to use the Teamsters Union millions to corrupt or influence local law-enforcement officials, prosecutors, judges and committees of Congress.

Kennedy sent Walter Sheridan, a special assistant, to Nashville, to take charge of preventive action. Sheridan was installed in an office across the corridor from the eighth-floor court, and was to have all of the FBI agents necessary for proper investigations. But even with the full services of the FBI, there were serious restrictions on what could be done. The Government had to operate with extreme propriety; corrupters were under no such restraint. The FBI could not question jurors to determine if they had been contacted before the trial. Merely questioning a prospective juror could be regarded as prejudicial to the rights of Hoffa. Even FBI questioning of close relatives or associates of jurors might be regarded as contaminating a juror. If the FBI received a report of a suspicious contact with a juror, the juror could not be questioned until the Government was prepared to accept his dismissal.

Under Sheridan's direction, the FBI started a regular surveillance of Hoffa's closest associates. Hoffa's lawyers charged that several hundred FBI agents had flooded the Nashville area and had tapped their telephones. The presence of Government agents at the Andrew Jackson Hotel made it impossible to have frank discussions at dinner while making trial preparations, the lawyers said.

Chief Prosecutor Neal made a formal denial of the charge that telephones were being tapped. The estimate by Hoffa's attorney of the number of FBI agents in Nashville was excessive, but no precise figure was available.

On the night of Saturday, November 17, a group of FBI agents concentrated on the surveillance of two Nashville Teamster officials, Ewing King and George Broda.

FBI Agent Charles Still was posted near King's home when the Nashville Teamster boss got into his 1960 Thunderbird and drove away. Still followed King south to Martin's Restaurant on Murfreesboro Road. At 7:03 p.m., King met Teamster business agent Broda.

Still noted that King opened the rear trunk of the Thunderbird, took out a package and then entered a store building with Broda. When the two Teamsters emerged 15 minutes later, they switched cars. King drove Broda's blue and white 1959 Ford southeast in the direction of the small town of Woodbury. Still followed Broda, who drove King's Thunderbird and returned to his home. There, Still kept watch until 4:20 a.m.

The FBI avoided direct trailing of jurors, but Agents Francis Norwood and Willis S. Turner were on general patrol in Woodbury, the home of one of the jurors. She was Betty Paschal, attractive 35-year-old wife of a Tennessee highway patrolman. Woodbury, a hilly country town more than 50 miles southeast of Nashville, had a population of about 1,600. The FBI needed only a car or two cruising through town or parked at a key point to detect unusual activity, particularly in the early-morning hours.

A strange meeting

It was 1:07 a.m. on November 18 when the agents noticed Broda's Ford parked at the Paschal home. A man in a highway-patrol uniform was standing in the drizzling rain, leaning against the car and talking to the driver. The agents recognized the uniformed patrolman as James Paschal, husband of the juror.

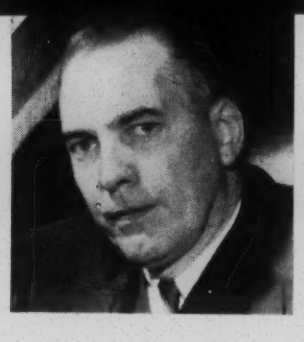
There was little traffic, and the FBI men, not wanting to be conspicuous, drove past the Paschal home. At 1:35 a.m., the agents found that both the 1959 Ford and a highway-patrol car were gone. By 2:12 a.m., the highway-patrol car was back in the Paschal driveway.

Other agents on duty in the area noted that King and Paschal met at a desolate wooded spot known as River Springs, three miles south of Woodbury. Instructions were radioed to Agent Warren L. Walsh to go to the vicinity of Lebanon Pike and Old Lebanon Road and to wait there until he saw Ewing King drive past in the 1959 blue-and-white Ford.

Walsh parked as instructed at 2:20 a.m. and remained there until 4:12 a.m., when the Ford passed him. He caught it in his headlights briefly and identified the driver as King. Walsh followed King to his home at 112 Benson Drive, where still another agent, Harry T. Posey, was parked in a manner that prevented King from parking. Posey got out of his car, walked to King's car and excused himself: "Sir, I will be out of your way in a moment." At the same time, he was assuring himself that the man in the car was King.

Back in Nashville, Walter Sheridan was elated over the night's work, but

# of Hoffa



SHOCKED JUDGE

Judge Miller charged that efforts had been made "almost before my eyes to influence this jury improperly."

the Government still needed more pieces of evidence. Some of the pieces did not slip into place until two weeks later.

On December 6, Prosecutors Neal and Shaffer asked for a secret hearing. When the court had been cleared of all spectators, Neal revealed the barest outline of King's contact with the husband of the juror. "These facts create compelling suspicious circumstances indicating an improper approach," Neal said in asking removal of Juror Paschal.

Daniel Maher, one of Hoffa's lawyers, said Neal's revelations were of little consequence. "All that he [Neal] has said is that a juror's home was visited and a person who has been in the courtroom [King] was observed talking to the spouse of the juror."

"What do you think about the head of the Teamsters Union in Nashville swapping cars with someone else and going to the home of a juror?" Judge Miller asked Maher.

"I think it is a circumstance," Maher replied.

"I think it is a shocking state of affairs," Judge Miller snapped.

U. S. Marshal Elmer Disspayne was instructed to bring King and Paschal to the court. King was taken into custody in the courthouse corridor. He entered the court with Disspayne, surveyed the scene momentarily and took the Fifth Amendment on all questions about the early-morning meeting with Paschal.

Prosecutor Shaffer complained that the Nashville Teamster president took the Fifth Amendment after receiving a five-finger sign flashed to him by Hoffa. Defense lawyer Bufalino loudly denied Shaffer's claim. He declared that the Teamster boss only had his hand on his chin as he had frequently during the trial.

"Take your hands down so there won't be any question at all," Judge Miller said to Hoffa.

Oscar (Mud) Pitts, a Teamsters Union member, also took the Fifth Amendment when questioned on reports that he had put King in touch with Paschal.

The last witness was Patrolman Paschal. At first, he denied he had ever talked to King. In later questioning, however, he told the Judge that Mud Pitts, a longtime friend, had told him King wanted to see him.

"I told . . . [Pitts] I would meet him [King] up by what we call River Springs," Paschal said. "He [King] just more or less asked me if I would like to get a promotion on my job, that there had been some boys that know me who drive a truck and we are all friends, and they were interested in helping me get a promotion, and if I was interested in it, he would be glad to help," Paschal said.

"What else was said at this time?" Judge Miller asked.

"Well, I just don't recall every little thing that was said," Paschal answered him.

Paschal insisted he had never discussed the Hoffa case with his wife. In fact, Paschal said he did not mention to his wife the strange circumstances under which he was offered a promotion.

"Did it occur to you that he was trying to reach you and influence you so that you would influence your wife?" Judge Miller asked.

"Nothing was said about it," Pa-

continued

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Jury was finally "locked up."

trolman Paschal again insisted.

"Wasn't it funny to you that a complete stranger would offer to help you get a promotion?"

"I didn't know," Paschal answered.

After excusing the witness, the Judge said, "I think he [Paschal] discussed it with his wife. I don't think there is any question about it. I don't think he is entitled to credibility on his statement. I think she has, on the facts shown on this record, been tampered with as a member of the jury, and I so find."

Judge Miller ordered that Mrs. Paschal be excused, and also ordered the jurors and alternates "locked up" for the remainder of the trial.

Walter Sheridan was already gathering evidence that indicated some Detroit Teamsters were attempting to contact another juror, a 70-year-old retired railroad mail clerk named Gratin Fields. A wide-ranging investigation brought no proof that Fields had actually been contacted, but the fact that an attempt to reach him had been made seemed beyond question.

Testimony in the case was completed on December 20. If Fields was to be removed, it had to be done immediately. Relying on Judge Miller not to reveal important evidence, Prosecutor Neal asked the jurist for a secret session.

"We hand to the court the Government's motion to strike Juror Number 12," Neal stated. Copies of bulky documents were handed to Judge Miller and Hoffa's lawyers. Then Neal added: "We have submitted to the court certain other documentary evidence enclosed in a sealed envelope, which, because of the confidential nature of its contents, the Government requests . . . be sealed after the court reads and considers it."

Judge Miller read the secret papers and immediately ordered the clerk to reseal them: "It is very evident . . . from reading the sealed documents why they should not be released. It is also very evident from the contents of the documents . . . that there is every reason for this court to believe that an effort has been made, if not actually accomplished, to influence this jury improperly. It is an astounding situation."

Defense lawyer Maher objected to dismissal of Fields. "There is nothing to even suggest a contact of a juror," Maher said.

"I am frankly astonished at the history of attempted jury fixing in this case," Judge Miller said in reply.

Defense lawyer James Haggerty complained that the sealed letter was "a pig in the poke," and contended that it placed the defense in "a ludicrous position."

Judge Miller said. "This is the most astounding, most amazing set of circumstances that I have ever seen. . . . If an appellate court . . . should say that I have done wrong, that I have been in error in excusing these jurors, then they will just have to say it. I don't intend to sit here timidly and see efforts made almost before my very eyes to influence this jury improperly."

The Judge ordered dismissal of Juror Fields before instructing the jury. The jury's deliberations began at 3:02 p.m. on Friday, December 21. Four times, the jury reported that it was "hopelessly deadlocked," and on December 23, Judge Miller gave up and declared a mistrial. It was impossible to learn what influenced the decisions of individual jurors. The vote was 7 to 5 for acquittal.

Although the grueling nine-week trial yielded only an inconclusive hung jury, there were some rather conclusive comments by Judge Miller on the jury-tampering activities that had shocked his sense of ethics.

"I wish to make it very clear that I have no reason to doubt the honesty and integrity of any person called for jury service in this case," Judge Miller said.

Improper contacts were made

Then he gave the first public explanation of the mysterious secret sessions: "At these sessions, evidence was presented to the court indicating illegal and improper attempts were being made by close labor-union associates of the defendant [Hoffa] to contact and influence certain members of the jury.

"From the very outset, while the jury was being selected . . . , there were indications that improper contacts had been made and were being made with prospective members of the jury," Judge Miller said and expressed his view that strong action was needed "to protect the court as an institution of government.

"The right of a defendant in a criminal case to be tried by a jury of his peers is one of the most sacred of our constitutional guarantees," the Judge declared. But, he went on to say, "the system of trial by jury . . . becomes nothing more than a mockery if unscrupulous persons are allowed to subvert it by improper and unlawful means.

"I do not intend that such shameful acts to corrupt our jury system shall go unnoticed by this court," Judge Miller said in quiet fury.

The Judge ordered a Federal grand jury convened to investigate the jury tampering and directed U. S. Attorney Kenneth Harwell to conduct other investigations as needed.

Nashville Teamster boss King was among the Teamsters and Teamster lawyers who flocked around Hoffa to offer congratulations after the trial. Hoffa's supporters regarded the hung jury as a victory, but their enthusiasm was cooled when Judge Miller ordered the broadest possible investigation of tampering.

Obstructing justice and jury tampering are felonies. Conviction on either charge can bring a prison term of up to five years. END

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North Carolina Labor and Industry

Monthly Bulletin of the DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, *Frank Crane, Commissioner*

Vol. XXX RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, MAY, 1963 No. 5

CHAMPION BRICKLAYER APPRENTICE HONORED AT N. C. TRADE FAIR

CHARLOTTE — The vital role of the craftsman in building the State's expanding industrial economy was emphasized in a special ceremony held here Thursday, May 2, at the North Carolina International Trade Fair.

Governor Terry Sanford presented prizes and trophies to Frank Carpenter, of Norwood, Route 1, North Carolina's "Champion Apprentice Bricklayer of 1962." The Governor also presented an engraved trophy to Liles McSwain, of Albemarle, Route 1, Carpenter's employer, in recognition of McSwain's valuable work as a trainer of bricklayers under the State-sponsored Apprenticeship Training Program.

"This is the first time in history that the bricklaying contest has been won by a Carpenter," quipped Gov. Sanford in presenting the young apprentice a $200 savings bond donated by Brick and Tile Service, Inc., and the trophy given by the Carolinas Branch, Associated General Contractors of America.

Carpenter took top honors in a field of 30 apprentice contestants at the 9th annual apprentice bricklaying contest held at the State Fair in Raleigh last fall.

He was also presented a "Certificate of Merit" from the North Carolina Chapter, American Institute of Architects. The certificate was presented by Arthur C. Jenkins, Jr., of Fayetteville, President of the N. C. Chapter, AIA.

The presentation ceremony was held in front of the N. C. Department of Labor booth in the Charlotte Merchandise Mart. On hand to view the proceedings was State Labor Commissioner Frank Crane, Apprenticeship Director C. L. Beddingfield, five members of the North Carolina State Apprenticeship Council, and about 50 representatives of the State, Federal, and private industry agencies which sponsor the annual bricklaying contest.

APPRENTICESHIP COUNCIL HONORED—J. B. Archer of Raleigh (right), State Director of the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, presents State Labor Commissioner Frank Crane a "Certificate of Appreciation" from the federal agency honoring the North Carolina State Apprenticeship Council for a quarter-century of outstanding service to the furtherance of apprenticeship training in North Carolina. The certificate was presented at a meeting of the Apprenticeship Council in Charlotte on May 2. As Chairman of the Council, Commissioner Crane received the certificate in behalf of the entire group. Council members present included C. L. Beddingfield, Director of the N. C. Department of Labor's Division of Apprenticeship Training and Secretary of the State Apprenticeship Council; Charles D. Bates, State Director of Trade and Industrial Education and Vice-Chairman of the Council; Employer Representatives Dwight L. Casey of Charlotte and D. W. Randolph of Canton; and Employee Representatives George J. Bumby of Wilmington and W. L. Causey of Greensboro. (See picture of Council on page 4.) (Labor Department Photo.)

LABOR LAW INSPECTIONS

Labor Department inspectors visited 1,361 Tar Heel manufacturing, mercantile and service-industry establishments during April to check for compliance with the Labor Laws and health and safety regulations. The inspections covered a total of 43,064 employees, and included 20 special investigations made in response to employee complaints.

Labor law violations, mostly concerning safety and health requirements, were noted in 599 instances. Compliance with recommendations made during previous inspection visits was noted in 830 instances.

The inspectors also made 105 reinspections during April, held 712 conferences with employers and employees, and investigated eleven serious industrial accidents.

SAFETY AWARDS

Commissioner Frank Crane has presented safety awards to the representatives of nearly 500 firms during the last six weeks, in recognition of their excellent work in accident prevention during the

(Continued on page 4)

NORTH CAROLINA
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FRANK CRANE
Commissioner of Labor
ALMON BARBOUR
Editor

Vol. XXX May, 1963 No. 5

TAR HEEL JOBS SET RECORD APRIL LEVEL

Nonagricultural employment set an April record in North Carolina, rising 20,700 above the job total of April, 1962.

The total of 1,259,600 people employed in non-farm jobs last month set new April highs in both manufacturing and non-manufacturing employment.

Factory employment totaling 522,200 last month was up 4,400 from the April, 1962 figure. Non-manufacturing employment totaling 737,400 was 16,300 higher than a year ago.

Average hourly earnings of the 522,200 Tar Heel factory workers stood still at $1.66, showing no change from the March average. Their weekly earnings dropped 50 cents below the March level to an April average of $66.23, due to a 0.3-hour decrease in the factory workweek to 39.9 hours.

Total non-farm employment in the State during April was up 11,200 from the March, 1963 level, due largely to seasonal job gains of 4,400 in retail trade, 3,400 in construction, 1,500 in service industries, and 800 each in chemicals manufacturing and food products industries.

Other April job gains over March included 700 in State and local government, 400 in Federal government, 300 each in stone, clay and glass products and finance, insurance and real estate, and about 100 each in transportation, wholesale trade, communications and public utilities, and the apparel, printing, machinery and lumber industries.

These increases were partly offset by a seasonal drop of 1,100 in tobacco stemmeries, by decreases of 500 in seamless hosiery and 300 in full-fashioned hosiery, 200 in paper and allied products, and 100 each in furniture manufacturing, mining, and public school employment.

APRIL BUILDING UP 10 PER CENT IN 36 TAR HEEL CITIES

Building permits totaling $21,047,824 were issued by public officials in 36 North Carolina cities of more than 10,000 population during April.

The April building total was 10.3 per cent above the $19,087,118 reported by the cities in April, 1962.

Permits totaling $81,121,324 were issued during the first four months of 1963. The four-month total was 7.2 per cent higher than the $75,649,764 in permits reported during the first four months of 1962.

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREAS — APRIL, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.8	28.0	27.8	— 0.7	.....	$ 73.26	$ 74.34	$ 73.04	40.7	41.3	41.5	$1.80	$1.80	$1.76
Food & Kindred Products	4.0	4.1	4.1	— 2.4	— 2.4	69.70	68.17	64.91	41.0	40.1	39.1	1.70	1.70	1.66
Bakery	2.0	2.1	2.1	— 4.8	— 4.8	72.50	71.42	69.13	40.5	39.9	39.5	1.79	1.79	1.75
Textile Mills Products	6.5	6.5	6.4	.....	+ 1.6	64.37	66.52	68.61	41.0	42.1	43.7	1.57	1.58	1.57
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	75.43	75.43	76.39	43.1	43.1	43.9	1.75	1.75	1.74
Knitting Mills	2.3	2.4	2.5	— 4.2	— 8.0	59.70	60.85	64.68	39.8	40.3	44.0	1.50	1.51	1.47
Furniture & Fixtures	.8	.9	1.0	—11.1	—20.0	77.66	87.57	84.15	37.7	41.7	42.5	2.06	2.10	1.98
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.3	.....	+ 7.7	77.00	79.85	77.76	41.4	42.7	43.2	1.86	1.87	1.80
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.2	2.2	2.2	.....	.....	96.23	94.37	...7...	41.3	40.5	...7...	2.33	2.33	2.18
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.7	2.7	2.5	.....	+ 8.0	71.50	72.21	69.76	43.6	43.5	42.8	1.64	1.66	1.63
Metal Products	2.3	2.3	2.2	.....	+ 4.5	80.78	81.39	78.76	40.8	40.9	40.6	1.98	1.99	1.94
Machinery	3.3	3.2	3.2	+ 3.1	+ 3.1	82.75	82.03	78.63	43.1	43.4	42.5	1.92	1.89	1.85
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.6	4.7	4.9	— 2.1	— 6.1	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.4	43.4	43.9	.....	— 1.1	$ 63.81	$ 65.32	$ 65.35	37.1	38.2	38.9	$1.72	$1.71	$1.68
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	2.9	2.8	.....	+ 3.6	70.24	68.37	69.44	43.9	43.0	44.8	1.60	1.59	1.55
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	77.74	73.18	71.98	45.2	43.3	43.1	1.72	1.69	1.67
Textile Mill Products	15.8	16.0	16.9	— 1.3	— 6.5	56.00	58.04	58.56	35.0	36.5	37.3	1.60	1.59	1.57
Knitting Mills	6.1	6.3	6.8	— 3.2	—10.3	43.21	50.36	50.32	29.0	33.8	34.7	1.49	1.49	1.45
Apparel	4.0	4.0	3.7	.....	+ 8.1	50.04	54.63	...7...	36.0	38.2	37.5	1.39	1.43	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.1	1.1	1.1	.....	.....	56.74	62.18	61.19	39.4	42.3	42.2	1.44	1.47	1.45
Furniture	6.7	6.7	6.7	.....	.....	64.03	65.84	67.80	36.8	38.5	40.6	1.74	1.71	1.67
HH Furniture	5.8	5.8	5.8	.....	.....	66.22	67.38	67.89	37.2	38.5	39.7	1.78	1.75	1.71
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.4	1.3	1.3	.....	.....	85.31	83.28	...7...	38.6	38.2	...7...	2.21	2.18	2.18
Chemicals	1.5	1.5	1.4	+ 7.7	+ 7.7	91.64	87.44	82.03	44.7	43.5	42.5	2.05	2.01	1.93
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.8	.9	.....	+ 7.1	80.37	84.35	54.08	47.0	48.2	32.0	1.71	1.75	1.69
Metal Products	1.9	1.9	1.9	+12.5	.....	71.23	68.06	...7...	40.7	39.8	...7...	1.75	1.71	1.76
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	84.77	88.07	...7...	42.6	43.6	46.0	1.99	2.02	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.3	6.3	6.3	.....	.....									

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — APRIL, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4]	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	One Month	One Year	Current	One Month	One Year	Current	One Month	One Year	Current	One Month	One Year

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — APRIL, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT	1,259.6	1,248.4	1,238.9	+ 0.9	+ 1.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Manufacturing	522.2	521.8	517.8	+ 0.1	+ 0.8	$ 66.23	$ 66.73	$ 67.24	39.9	40.2	41.0	$1.66	$1.66	$1.64
Durable Goods	146.3	145.8	144.7	+ 0.3	+ 1.1	68.72	69.39	67.46	41.4	41.8	41.9	1.66	1.66	1.61
Lumber & Timber Basic Products	30.9	30.8	30.4	+ 0.3	+ 1.6	59.64	59.78	57.82	42.0	42.4	41.9	1.42	1.41	1.38
Sawmills & Planing Mills	18.6	18.5	18.1	+ 0.5	+ 2.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Millwork, Plywood, etc.	6.1	6.2	6.4	— 1.6	— 4.7	54.54	56.01	57.89	40.7	41.8	43.2	1.34	1.34	1.34
Furniture & Fin. Lumber Products	47.4	47.5	46.7	— 0.2	+ 1.5	64.53	65.16	63.99	41.1	41.5	42.1	1.57	1.57	1.52
Household Furniture	43.1	43.2	42.5	— 0.2	+ 1.4	64.84	65.31	63.84	41.3	41.6	42.0	1.57	1.57	1.52
Stone, Clay and Glass	10.9	10.6	11.1	+ 2.8	— 1.8	70.81	71.81	65.10	42.4	43.0	42.0	1.67	1.67	1.55
Concrete, Brick, etc.	4.1	3.8	3.8	+ 7.9	+ 7.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Primary Metals	2.8	2.8	2.7	.....	+ 3.7	84.25	86.94	88.20	40.9	42.0	41.8	2.06	2.07	2.11
Fabricated Metals	9.2	9.2	8.6	.....	+ 7.0	77.36	78.53	78.35	40.5	40.9	41.9	1.91	1.92	1.87
Fab. Structural Metals	3.9	3.9	3.6	.....	+ 8.3	86.05	84.64	82.56	42.6	41.9	43.0	2.02	2.02	1.92
Machinery (Except Electrical)	13.5	13.4	13.3	+ 0.7	+ 1.5	76.11	75.68	75.68	43.0	43.0	44.0	1.77	1.76	1.72
Special Industrial Machinery	6.9	6.9	6.6	.....	+ 4.5	75.58	78.68	...7...	42.7	44.2	...7...	1.77	1.78	1.74
Electrical Machinery	24.2	24.2	24.7	.....	— 2.0	79.60	82.62	80.40	40.0	40.9	40.4	1.99	2.02	1.99
Ord. and Transportation Equipment	3.9	3.9	3.8	.....	+ 2.6	89.95	92.93	89.84	39.8	41.3	41.4	2.26	2.25	2.17
Other Durable Goods[1]	3.5	3.4	3.4	+ 2.9	+ 2.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nondurable Goods	375.9	376.0	373.1	*	+ 0.8	65.24	65.74	67.16	39.3	39.6	40.7	1.66	1.66	1.65
Food & Kindred Products	34.8	34.0	33.4	+ 2.4	+ 4.2	60.98	59.20	59.90	41.2	40.0	41.6	1.48	1.48	1.44
Meat Products	8.4	8.4	7.9	.....	+ 6.3	50.62	49.70	53.16	35.9	35.0	38.8	1.41	1.42	1.37
Meat Packing	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	71.28	76.33	74.53	43.2	44.9	44.9	1.65	1.70	1.66
Dairy Products	5.5	5.5	5.5	.....	.....	75.68	73.79	72.84	47.6	47.0	47.3	1.59	1.57	1.54
Grain Mill Products	3.9	3.7	3.7	+ 5.4	+ 5.4	61.05	59.91	62.41	43.3	43.1	44.9	1.41	1.39	1.39
Bakery Products	7.5	7.5	7.4	.....	+ 1.4	71.65	69.70	67.89	41.9	41.0	40.9	1.71	1.70	1.66
Beverage Industries	4.8	4.7	4.5	+ 2.1	+ 6.7	61.21	61.62	58.38	48.2	47.4	46.7	1.27	1.30	1.25
Tobacco	26.4	27.4	26.7	— 3.6	— 1.1	71.83	78.11	83.46	32.8	36.5	39.0	2.19	2.14	2.14
Cigarettes	18.4	18.4	18.6	.....	— 1.1	78.18	84.91	89.89	33.7	36.6	39.6	2.32	2.32	2.27
Stemmeries	6.3	7.4	6.4	—14.9	— 1.6	51.73	59.01	62.70	29.9	36.2	37.1	1.73	1.63	1.69
Textiles	223.5	224.2	225.4	— 0.3	— 0.8	63.68	64.56	65.60	39.8	40.1	41.0	1.60	1.61	1.60
Broadwoven Fabrics	89.8	89.8	89.3	.....	+ 0.6	70.22	70.22	71.90	41.8	41.8	42.8	1.68	1.68	1.68
Broadwoven Cotton	55.7	55.9	56.0	— 0.4	+ 0.5	68.89	67.89	69.22	41.5	40.9	41.7	1.66	1.66	1.66
Broadwoven Fiber & Silk	30.3	30.1	29.7	+ 0.7	+ 2.0	72.68	73.53	75.92	42.5	43.0	44.4	1.71	1.71	1.71
Knitting Mills	66.2	66.9	68.9	— 1.0	— 3.9	56.47	58.56	60.06	36.2	37.3	38.5	1.56	1.57	1.56
Full Fashioned Hosiery	7.9	8.2	8.6	— 3.7	— 8.1	55.13	56.27	61.35	35.8	36.3	40.1	1.54	1.55	1.53
Seamless Hosiery	46.3	46.8	48.8	— 1.1	— 5.1	55.93	58.30	59.88	35.4	36.9	37.9	1.58	1.58	1.58
Dyeing & Finishing Textiles	12.3	12.3	12.3	.....	.....	68.72	68.21	69.06	41.4	40.6	41.6	1.66	1.68	1.66
Yarn Mills	46.7	46.6	46.4	+ 0.2	+ 0.6	60.79	61.05	60.83	40.8	40.7	41.1	1.49	1.50	1.48
Apparel	44.8	44.7	43.1	+ 0.2	+ 3.9	49.31	50.76	50.94	36.8	37.6	38.3	1.34	1.35	1.33
Men's & Boys' Clothing	16.7	16.6	16.4	+ 0.6	+ 1.8	46.57	46.83	48.26	36.1	36.3	37.7	1.29	1.29	1.28
Paper & Allied Products	13.7	13.9	13.9	— 1.4	— 1.4	104.59	102.48	98.87	43.4	42.7	42.8	2.41	2.40	2.31
Pulp & Paperboard Mills	8.7	8.8	9.0	— 1.1	— 3.3	118.37	115.44	110.74	44.5	43.4	43.6	2.66	2.66	2.54
Paperboard Containers	3.6	3.6	3.4	.....	+ 5.9	76.63	78.44	74.21	41.2	41.5	41.0	1.86	1.89	1.81
Printing	10.5	10.4	10.2	+ 1.0	+ 2.9	87.40	88.24	...7...	38.0	38.7	38.5	2.30	2.28	...7...
Newspapers	5.4	5.4	5.2	.....	+ 3.8	98.26	96.26	94.58	36.8	36.6	36.8	2.67	2.63	2.57
Chemicals	17.7	16.9	16.1	+ 4.7	+ 9.9	86.85	82.15	81.32	45.0	41.7	42.8	1.93	1.97	1.90
Plastics & Synthetic Materials	10.0	10.0	9.0	.....	+11.1	95.42	91.88	87.97	42.6	41.2	41.3	2.24	2.23	2.13
Other Nondurable Goods[2]	4.5	4.5	4.3	.....	+ 4.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nonmanufacturing	737.4	726.6	721.1	+ 1.5	+ 2.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Mining	2.8	2.9	3.4	— 3.4	—17.6	72.37	66.62	76.48	44.4	41.9	47.5	1.63	1.59	1.61
Non-Metallic Mining	2.8	2.8	2.8	.....	.....	72.54	67.10	74.09	44.5	42.2	47.8	1.63	1.59	1.55
Contract Construction	67.6	64.2	67.4	+ 5.3	+ 0.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transp., Comm., & Pub. Utilities	66.4	66.2	65.1	+ 0.3	+ 2.0	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transportation (Except RR)	33.4	33.3	32.6	+ 0.3	+ 2.5	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Communications & Pub. Utilities	24.3	24.2	23.6	+ 0.4	+ 3.0	95.65	95.75	94.77	40.7	40.4	40.5	2.35	2.37	2.34
Trade[3]	228.5	224.0	223.7	+ 2.0	+ 2.1	64.39	65.11	62.73	39.5	39.7	39.7	1.63	1.64	1.58
Wholesale	58.4	58.3	57.3	+ 0.2	+ 1.9	84.77	85.40	81.90	42.6	42.7	42.0	1.99	2.00	1.95
Retail[3]	170.1	165.7	166.4	+ 2.7	+ 2.2	56.15	56.60	55.48	38.2	38.5	38.8	1.47	1.47	1.43
Retail General Merchandise	35.8	33.2	34.5	+ 7.8	+ 3.8	42.62	43.62	42.00	33.3	33.3	33.6	1.28	1.31	1.25
Department Stores	15.8	14.6	14.9	+ 8.2	+ 6.0	46.01	46.55	45.45	32.4	32.1	32.7	1.42	1.45	1.39
Limited Price Variety	8.5	7.5	8.5	+13.3	.....	30.69	30.95	29.80	29.8	29.2	29.5	1.03	1.06	1.01
Retail Food Stores	25.4	25.2	24.3	+ 0.8	+ 4.5	51.71	51.44	50.86	33.8	33.4	34.6	1.53	1.54	1.47
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate[6]	48.2	47.9	46.2	+ 0.6	+ 4.3	86.43	86.09	90.01	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Service	137.4	135.9	135.3	+ 1.1	+ 1.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Hotels & Rooming Houses	7.4	7.1	7.4	+ 4.2	.....	31.40	31.32	30.53	34.5	34.8	44.9	.91	.90	.68
Personal Services	25.4	25.2	25.3	+ 0.8	+ 0.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Laundries & Dry Cleaners	15.3	15.2	15.4	+ 0.7	— 0.6	36.67	35.81	35.33	38.6	37.3	38.4	.95	.96	.92
Government	186.5	185.5	180.0	+ 0.5	+ 3.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Federal	38.3	37.9	37.5	+ 1.1	+ 2.1									
State & Local Schools	82.7	82.8	79.2	— 0.1	+ 4.4									
State & Local Non-Schools	65.5	64.8	63.3	+ 1.1	+ 3.5									

[1] Includes: Transportation Equipment, Instruments, and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Leather and Leather Products, Rubber Products, and Petroleum Products.
[3] Excludes: Earnings in Eating and Drinking Places.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.
[6] Reflects Earnings in Insurance Companies Only.
[7] Not comparable.
* Less than 0.1% change.

APPRENTICESHIP COUNCIL MEETS IN CHARLOTTE

The State Apprenticeship Council met in Charlotte at the Selwyn Hotel on May 2nd.

Shown in photo at left, Council members and guests present at the meeting were:

Front row, from left: Commissioner Frank Crane, Council Chairman; Miguel Ortega of Caracas, Venezuela, Chief of the Division of Industrial Safety and Hygiene, Venezuela Ministry of Labor, who was visiting the N. C. International Trade Fair in Charlotte as Commissioner Crane's guest; and C. L. Beddingfield, Director of the State Labor Department's Division of Apprenticeship Training.

Back row, from left: Charles D. Bates, State Director of Trade and Industrial Education and Vice-Chairman of the Council; D. W. Randolph of Canton and Dwight L. Casey of Charlotte, employer representatives on the Council; and W. L. Causey of Greensboro and George J. Bumby of Wilmington, employee representatives.

Following the Council meeting, the members attended a special ceremony held at the Trade Fair, at which Governor Terry Sanford presented prizes and trophies to Frank Carpenter of Norwood, Route 1, North Carolina's "Champion Apprentice Bricklayer of 1962."

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
(In Thousands of Employees)
Winston-Salem Area

INDUSTRIES	*APRIL, 1963	MARCH, 1963	APRIL, 1962
Total Manufacturing	36.3	36.5	37.2
Food & Kindred Products	1.5	1.4	1.5
Textile Mill Products	9.8	9.9	10.0
Furniture	1.0	1.1	1.0
Metals	1.5	1.5	1.6
All Other Mfg. Inds.[1]	22.5	22.6	23.1

* Preliminary
[1] Includes: Tobacco; Apparel; Lumber; Paper; Printing; Chemicals; Stone, Clay & Glass; Transportation Equipment & Misc. Mfg. Inds.

SAFETY AWARDS

(Continued from page 1)

year 1962.

Special presentation ceremonies were held in Gastonia, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Burlington, Thomasville, Shelby, Wilson, Concord, High Point, Charlotte and Morganton.

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	April 1963	April 1962	1963 1st 4 Mos.	1962 1st 4 Mos.
Albemarle	$ 35,550	$ 40,400	$ 167,296	$ 216,886
Asheboro	393,650	288,600	508,690	1,294,550
Asheville	488,974	946,961	3,103,809	2,785,235
Burlington	638,310	632,435	1,408,139	1,490,078
Chapel Hill	186,674	225,000	942,377	635,049
Charlotte	3,194,937	2,227,968	16,685,441	15,535,100
Concord	19,208	126,987	400,981	468,617
Durham	847,616	1,083,216	7,352,848	3,515,825
Elizabeth City	41,728	73,700	931,781	207,800
Fayetteville	719,445	1,205,655	3,666,708	2,554,353
Gastonia	825,350	517,600	1,694,850	1,847,000
Goldsboro	457,010	420,900	1,303,890	1,434,875
Greensboro	3,159,869	3,004,363	8,894,050	10,810,494
Greenville	287,900	342,300	2,514,742	1,145,576
Henderson	213,250	170,850	439,625	297,750
Hickory	254,191	108,210	571,031	1,108,719
High Point	1,392,669	375,829	2,722,510	4,199,603
Jacksonville	33,300	626,930	233,200	1,242,930
Kinston	706,326	379,694	1,318,574	1,535,020
Lenoir	53,666	127,746	271,023	686,226
Lexington	147,500	158,411	411,702	421,802
Lumberton	189,700	152,150	571,700	613,494
Monroe	60,000	124,000	178,000	563,400
New Bern	50,240	159,143	367,240	508,657
Raleigh	2,000,946	1,799,474	9,686,447	8,090,503
Reidsville	80,800	86,150	249,700	597,823
Roanoke Rapids	89,026	166,941	588,282	554,089
Rocky Mount	314,145	434,147	1,381,291	1,014,149
Salisbury	153,500	173,400	1,290,920	986,225
Sanford	84,900	15,850	193,900	441,350
Shelby	753,800	189,600	896,200	420,250
Statesville	434,053	218,400	1,310,707	1,099,300
Thomasville	185,045	672,538	1,029,579	965,183
Wilmington	85,879	191,743	864,739	483,779
Wilson	595,805	762,215	1,141,305	1,655,480
Winston-Salem	1,872,862	931,312	5,828,047	4,222,594
Grand Total	$21,047,824	$19,087,118	$81,121,324	$75,649,764

AN EDITORIAL Labor Justice 6/1/63

Investigate This Shameful Spectacle!

THE 2-YEAR ATTEMPT TO SMEAR THE ILGWU with a charge of racial discrimination burst like a bubble on the third day of a public hearing before the New York State Commission for Human Rights.

For 9 months—since July 1, 1962—Local 10 insistently demanded the public hearing to which it was entitled by law. Only at such a hearing could it properly rebut the charge by Ernest Holmes, made on April 4, 1961, that he had been denied membership in the cutters' local because of his color.

The commission continuously delayed holding of such a hearing. But on May 15, 1963 the union finally got its chance.

On that day some 200 Spanish-speaking and Negro members of Local 10 crowded the hearing room, ready to testify in defense of their union. Before any one of them was called and in the midst of the cross-examination of the first of the commission's witnesses by union attorney Emil Schlesinger, the case against Local 10 fell apart.

That first, and only, witness was Holmes himself. In less than one day of cross-questioning he was tied up in knots of contradictions over dates, facts, allegations. With increasing frequency he pleaded inability to remember.

Last February, he turned down aid offered him by Local 10. At that time he asked the commission to withdraw his complaint against the cutters' local. The commission refused.

But on May 17, seeing their case crumble in the public hearing, the commission's lawyers urged Holmes to withdraw and sought a way to save face. When Schlesinger insisted he would continue his examination of Holmes unless all parties, including Holmes, would join in acknowledging the ILGWU was not guilty, the lawyers surrendered.

The joint stipulation they signed withdraws the charges that Holmes was denied membership on account of his color and that Local 10 has a policy of limiting admissions to membership by race.

It recognizes that Holmes was not entitled to membership because he was not—and still is not—a qualified cuttter.

It agrees that "in line with its oft-asserted regular and general policy as adopted by Conventions of the ILGWU from its very inception, against dis-

(*Continued on Back Page*)

JUSTICE
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
EDITORIAL PAGE

Investigate This Shameful Spectacle!

(*Continued from Front Page*)

crimination of any person because of race, creed, color or national origin, (Local 10) will, on the same basis as it applies to all other applicants for admission to membership, exercise its good offices in assisting the complainant to become a qualified cutter and to gain admission to membership in the union as and when he becomes a qualified cutter and becomes eligible for membership in the union." (*Full text of joint stipulation on Page* 11).

* * *

WITH THEIR JOINT WITHDRAWAL of the complaint, Holmes and the commission lawyers declare that Local 10 is not guilty of the charges.

The unavoidable question is: If it took the union attorney one day of cross-questioning to get Holmes to admit he is not yet a cutter and the commission lawyers to agree, why couldn't the commission's investigating commissioner discover this fact—absolutely crucial to the case—in 2 years of probing?

Why, instead, was the shameful charge besmirching the union kept alive while the plea for a public hearing was brushed aside?

How could the commission's experts, investigators, lawyers, specialists and investigation commissioner believe and accept during so many months the allegation by Holmes that without a single day of previous experience in the industry, without a single hour of schooling as a cutter, without ever having seen the inside of a garment shop before August 1, 1960, he was hired that day by Primrose Foundations, Inc. as a spreader and only 3 weeks later became, as Holmes claimed, a qualified cutter?

Was this the result of ignorance or professional incompetence? Who was guilty of instigating and tolerating such irresponsible conduct?

* * *

WAS IT ERNEST HOLMES?

As contradictions piled up around him and his memory faded, Holmes presented a pathetic picture. It became clear that Holmes had been victimized by one who has sought to build a career by besmirching our union and the labor movement and who had drafted the original complaint and guided Holmes 9 months after the first finding of "probable cause"—Holmes filed an entirely new, amended complaint. On the same day—March 29, 1963—Investigating Commissioner Ruiz issued a statement that he had investigated the amended complaint and had found "probable cause" to credit Holmes' charges. On the same day—March 29, 1963—Commission Chairman George H. Fowler ordered a public hearing on the amended complaint to be held May 15, 1963.

By the commission's own rules, when Ruiz issued his decision of "probable cause" on the amended complaint on March 29, 1963 he ceased to exist as investigating commissioner.

However, 2 weeks later, on April 11, 1963, he issued—as Investigating Commissioner—a subpoena to Manager Moe Falikman directing him to produce within a few days voluminous records of Local 10 membership. He stressed that these records—all of which he could have subpoenaed during the previous 2 years but didn't—were essential for his investigation.

What investigation?

Certainly not the investigation that led to the determination of "probable cause" on March 29. Ruiz had certified that he had completed that investigation.

In truth, he had never made it. It was not possible that an amended complaint entirely different from the one filed by Holmes originally on April 4, 1961 could be signed by him on March 29, 1963 and that an investigation of the new complaint could have been made in a few hours in time to enable Chairman Fowler, on the same day, to set May 15 as the date for a public hearing on the amended complaint. What a peculiar combination of acts by individuals charged by the Governor with administering important machinery for rendering justice and fair play!

Local 10 moved promptly in the New York State Supreme Court to quash the subpoena served on Manager Falikman. In granting the union's motion, Judge Thomas A. Aurelio issued a reprimand in which he declared that "the time for investigation has passed as well as perchance the appropriate time for decision."

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As contradictions piled up around him and his memory faded, Holmes presented a pathetic picture. It became clear that Holmes had been victimized by one who has sought to build a career by besmirching our union and the labor movement and who had drafted the original complaint and guided Holmes through the entire proceeding until the very last moment. Clearly he had also been misled by lawyers with a vested interest in victory rather than truth. Holmes desperately told the three commissioners conducting the hearing that he had many personal problems.

He has. On the day the hearing started one of them was how to sustain his charges against Local 10 while 200 contradictions sat in the same room with him proving the contrary.

* * *

WAS IT THE COMMISSION'S LAWYERS and staff?

The most charitable view of their work is that it was a sloppy portrait of Holmes as a qualified but wronged cutter.

They seemed chronically unable to get the facts straight to the public. When Investigating Commissioner Ruiz, after 15 months of investigating, first found on June 28, 1962, "probable cause" to credit the charge against the ILGWU affiliate, they helped pass this on to the public as a finding of guilty as charged.

They tried it again on May 17, 1963. After withdrawing their complaint they authorized their public relations spokesman to state to the press that the stipulation of withdrawal was not "a finding of guilt or non-guilt."

We challenge anyone to unravel that kind of nonsense.

Either this union was guilty or it was not. If it was, the commission had no right to withdraw the complaint against it, thus dropping the case. By doing so, it acknowledged that the union was not guilty and that the commission had no case.

* * *

WHAT ABOUT that Investigating Commissioner—Ruperto Ruiz? Following is part of his astounding record in this case:

Despite 15 months of "expert" probing, and with the power to subpoena, he was unable to discover that Holmes wasn't even a cutter and that Local 10 had no policy of racial discrimination.

He issued his findings of "probable cause" on June 28, 1962 without observing the fundamental concepts of due process of law. No attempt was made to take sworn statements from Holmes or any of his witnesses, nor was the union given the right to confront them or cross-examine them under oath. It was the procedure of a kangaroo court.

Twice—on June 28, 1962 and again on September 21, 1962—he violated the law by disclosing to the press the terms which he laid down for Local 10 to purge itself of the charges made against it. Despite a warning by the union's attorney in July 1962 that this was a breach of the statute creating the commission and its rules, Ruiz repeated his illegal conduct in September, 1962.

He continuously delayed for 9 months the decision to grant the union a public hearing where it would be given the opportunity to state its side of the case.

On March 29, 1963—2 years after filing the original complaint and Hall Fowler, on the same day, to set May 15 as the date for a public hearing on the amended complaint. What a peculiar combination of acts by individuals charged by the Governor with administering important machinery for rendering justice and fair play!

Local 10 moved promptly in the New York State Supreme Court to quash the subpoena served on Manager Falikman. In granting the union's motion, Judge Thomas A. Aurelio issued a reprimand in which he declared that "the time for investigation has passed as well as perchance the appropriate time for decision."

* * *

WHAT ABOUT THE COMMISSION'S chairman?

Various conferences were held with the commission's chairman in which mutually satisfactory decisions on procedure were made. For reasons only he can provide he subsequently failed to live up to them.

When the union's attorney accused Ruiz of bias and prejudice as evidenced in his illegal disclosure of conciliation efforts and terms, Ruiz judged himself and decided in October 1962 that he wasn't. When the ILGWU lawyer then appealed to Chairman Fowler to remove Ruiz from the case, it took him a leisurely month to refuse to do so with reasons based on his own misreading of the law.

In every twist and turn of negotiated efforts to settle this case Chairman Fowler and his deputies first "cleared" with the one who helped Holmes draft the original complaint.

That individual sat through the 3 days of the public hearing, watching his puppets perform, even briefing Holmes during a recess in the cross-examination. Last summer, as an "expert" for a Congressional subcommittee, this person asserted that the Holmes case was basic to the Congressional investigation of the ILGWU. Later, in a television broadcast, he asserted that Local 10 had been found guilty of racial discrimination and the National Broadcasting Company made public apology for this. By that time, under threat of being himself investigated on a conflict of interest charge, he had quit as the committee's "expert." By that time he had also wrecked the public career of the chairman of that Congressional subcommittee.

* * *

WITH ITS DELAYS, illegal public statements, prejudice, incompetence and procedures contrary to due process of law the state commission made itself a willing tool in a conspiracy seeking to besmirch and discredit the ILGWU and to create, through false accusations, dissension in the ranks of this union of many minorities, a union which with its traditional equal rights and mutual respect has been and still is the pride of the community and of the labor movement.

Fortunately they failed in this as they failed also in their attempt to set back the efforts of the organized labor movement in general and our union in particular to advance the cause of equal rights for all citizens of this nation.

We are grateful that the 3 commissioners who conducted the public hearing —J. Edward Conway, presiding, Francis X. Giaconne and Lloyd L. Hurst— quickly recognized the lack of merit in the complaint and speedily brought this sorry spectacle to an end. However, the manner in which this case was handled warrants an investigation by the Governor or the legislature of New York State into the conduct in this instance of the commission's chairman, investigating commissioner and chief counsel.

MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT AND
EMPLOYEE RELATIONS SERVICES
GENERAL ELECTRIC
NEW YORK

Labor Unions

RELATIONS NEWS LETTER
For Circulation Among General Electric Management

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General Electric's 1963 Negotiations

What About "Intervention"?

GENERAL ELECTRIC's 1963 union negotiations are approaching in the midst of a growing concern about the role of the Federal Government in collective bargaining. The far-flung involvement of the Government in this area has been so thoroughly chronicled in the public press as to need only passing reference here. During the last two years, the Labor Department is reputed to have asserted itself more forcefully in labor disputes than in all the previous 48 years since this Department was established.

Our purpose is not to comment on whether this unusual approach of the Federal Government is good or bad for the state of labor relations in the nation as a whole. We are in agreement with the stated objectives: namely, to see that collective bargaining settlements are kept within economic and contractual bounds that are in the national interest; and to achieve this result as peacefully and speedily as possible.

The quarrel that has arisen around the country involves not the *ends* but the *means*.

We do not plan here to speculate as to the best *means* for protecting the national interest in labor disputes arising in companies and industries so vastly different from ours. Each has its unique set of management and union habits and practices; its own fashion of bargaining, and of communicating with employees and union members; its own standards for determining the equity of an offer or a settlement; its own collective bargaining history; and its own competitive pressures and problems in providing job opportunities.

These factors and others must be taken into account in determining how the national interest can be protected in each case where it may be involved. This helps to account for the disagreement as to whether a set of uniform rules applicable to all can do the job, or whether a more selective approach tailored to each situation would be more equitable and more effective.

The complexities of the problem are reflected in the resulting public debate which is as confusing as it is spirited. Those actively seeking Federal intervention have included both employers and union officials. Similarly, both employers and union officials are numbered among those who roundly denounce it. And spokesmen for the Government itself, while defending their right to "assert the national interest," join ranks with those who publicly deplore the damaging results they foresee in easy access to Federal intervention.

Thus, the disputants in this controversy are not clearly polarized as between employers and unions or as between private bargainers and public intervenors.

And if the lines between the contenders are not neatly drawn, the issue at contention is equally cloudy.

The issue is Federal intervention, but what kind? Where? When? And with what force?

One kind of Federal intervention is provided by law, such as the assistance of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the application of the "National Emergency" clauses of the Taft-Hartley Act and similar provisions of the Railway Labor Act. From a purely statistical standpoint, most, by

far, of the more than 35,000 cases of Federal intervention during the last two years have begun and ended with the services of the Government's regular mediation agencies, according to their annual reports.

However, in a number of widely-publicized cases, the Government has employed a variety of administrative measures of a kind not contemplated by any existing legislation. These include the creation of special agencies, such as the Missile Sites Labor Commission, the appointment of special panels and commissions with both fact-finding authority and the power to make recommendations, and the personal involvement of various individuals in the Administration. A part of the problem of defining the issue of *what kind* of intervention is that the Government has frankly followed, in the Labor Secretary's words, a policy of "improvisation."*

As to *where* the Government has intervened, it has interested itself in such highly diverse situations as the aerospace industry, the Metropolitan Opera, and the hot-dog concession at the Washington ballpark.

The *timing* of intervention follows no discernible pattern. The Government has sometimes waited until a crisis to interpose a novel approach, as in the Southern Pacific Telegraphers' dispute. But in other instances, intervention from Washington apparently has come before negotiations began, as in the Steel situation in 1962 and, again, this year.

As to the *force* with which intervention is pursued, sometimes the voice of the government comes through loud and clear as in railroads, tugboats and airlines. Sometimes the Government can scarcely be heard, as in the local negotiations in the construction industry all around the country where many of the economic increases have far outstripped the Government's 3% "Guideposts" for non-inflationary settlements. Sometimes the voices of the Government's intervenors totally disregard the Government's "Guideposts," as seen in the East Coast Longshoremen's dispute.

Long Range Impact of Federal Intervention

At this point in time, it is still too early to foretell the long-range impact on collective bargaining of the many and diverse ventures which make up the Government's approach today. As previously noted, Government spokesmen have already identified certain ominous aspects of their approach. We believe there are certain promising ones, too. For example, it will come as no surprise to regular readers of these pages that General Electric favors, in principle, the idea—promulgated by the Government's compensation "Guideposts"—of using the long-term productivity trend of the economy as a primary indicator of the inflationary potential of conspicuous bargaining settlements. Our own analysis leads us to conclude that the 3% figure suggested by the Government should be closer to 2% to provide a sound "non-inflationary" guide.** But this is a question involving not the principle of the "Guideposts," but with the technical measurement and the time period selected for them.

The intermixture of good and bad in the Government's approach; the short-range expediency often at odds with—and sometimes overpowering—the stated long-range goals; the blurry dividing lines between the proponents and the opponents; the ill-defined perimeters around what the argument is all about—all of this confusion seems to stem from a groping-in-the-dark, trial-and-error effort to find a new solution to an old problem. This is the problem of collective bargaining commitments to excessive wage increases and burdensome restrictions on management's ability to be efficient. This problem must shoulder a heavy share of the responsibility for the wage-price spiral of the post-war period, for persistent disemployment in some industries and persistent deficits in others, and for the vulnerability of American markets to low-cost competition from abroad. For more than two decades, the national customs and manners in collective bargaining have been less than successful in handling this problem. It is not too surprising, then, that the latest effort is fraught with contradictions and beclouded by confusion.

As this effort is tempered by time and experience and public discussion, we think that much of the current confusion will eventually be cleared up.

But this is not likely to come to pass prior to General Electric bargaining in 1963. Meanwhile, we must address ourselves to our own special problem.

So, however confused the situation may continue to be with respect to other companies and industries, it is our purpose here to clarify the situation so far as it pertains to negotiations on more than 100 union contracts which will be open for bargaining at General Electric later this year.

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*In a speech last February, Secretary Wirtz spoke feelingly of "the record of the Federal Government's unusual participation in a number of the major disputes." He said: "This is a record with which I profess some familiarity—the familiarity, roughly, an egg has with an egg-beater. It is a record, essentially, of improvisation.

"Settlement of the last round of contract disputes in the airline industry (not yet quite completed) took over two years, and involved the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, the Under Secretary of Labor, the National Mediation Board, a Special Presidential Commission, nine Presidential Emergency Boards, and three Boards of Arbitration—a total of 39 public representatives. That this meant part-time employment to 24 members of this Academy [of Arbitrators] will not, I think, commend it to many of you as a wholly satisfactory, or efficient, government procedure.

"In the recent longshore case, the public participants, during its twelve-month course, were the President, the Secretary of Labor, an Assistant Secretary of Labor, the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, his Deputy, fifteen FMCS mediators, a Taft-Hartley Board of Inquiry, the Attorney General, the Federal District Court, the Mayors of numerous port cities, a Special Presidential Board which was appointed but never convened, and another Special Board under the chairmanship of a U. S. Senator.

"There were times, in the course of these marathons of maneuver, when the only promise for parties and public participants alike seemed to be the reminder, from the Garden of Proserpine, of Swinburne's consoling thought

'We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be . . .
That even the weariest river
Winds somewhere safe to sea.' "

**Moreover, with the need for more growth, fewer unemployed, more incentives to make job-creating investments, and more competitive strength in world markets, there is a great deal of persuasion to the effect that a "non-inflationary" wage guidepost, whatever the proper percentage may be, is behind the times. In a later News Letter we will be discussing these considerations.

Our Approach to Collective Bargaining

More and more, thoughtful observers have noted that the prospects of Federal intervention tend to undermine good faith bargaining. There is a natural tendency for an employer to hold back something he might otherwise offer, and for a union official to press for a demand he might otherwise withdraw, in the expectation that the Federal intervenor will seek concessions from both.

Any such action on the part of General Electric as an employer would be, of course, completely contrary to our "truth in bargaining" approach, wherein after appropriate negotiations we try to make available in our initial bargaining proposals everything that seems to be warranted at the time. Still, we are sometimes asked if the record of intervention over the last two years suggests the prudence of saving something from our offers to the unions for later bargaining with the intervenors—something we could yield up later as a final "concession" to the unions in order to get a settlement.

The answer to this must be a resounding, "No."

- **Because it would be the antithesis of bargaining in good faith; it would deceive, first, the union officials, then, the employees and, finally, the intervenor.**
- **Because once we began to try to fool people, no one could be sure when we were done with our foolishness and really had put everything on the table we believed the facts warranted in the first place.**

Will Most Union Officials Seek Intervention?

A popular notion that has been aired in public debates on Federal intervention is that most union officials are inclined to seek it on the assumption that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain in the process.

Our experience with most union officials bargaining with General Electric suggests the contrary. Ever since the Taft-Hartley Law was passed, the offices of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service always have been open to any appeals from the hundreds of union officials with whom we deal in settling the hundred or so negotiations which we conduct periodically. We have had disagreements — sometimes rather heated ones—with some of these union officials but, by and large, they have apparently found it quite satisfactory to work out these problems in their own locations with local management, without the assistance of outsiders. Generally speaking, these union officials get the available pay and benefit increases in place quite promptly for the employees they represent, without delaying the effective dates of these improvements; and without upsetting their members by seeking unwarranted strikes or issuing time-consuming calls for Federal help, in the mistaken belief that we have held something back for just such a "crisis."

Any Exceptions?

Despite the general rule that most union officials who participate in contract negotiations with General Electric management really do seem to prefer the non-intervention route, it must be observed that the rule is also proved by its occasional exceptions.

From time to time one or more top union officials have indeed made it all too clear that they regarded the bargaining table as little more than a springboard for reaching the summit. There, they hope that the final decision would be made by an intervenor who would feel constrained to add something more to the settlement terms in the interests of avoiding conflict. Thrown into a crisis—real or synthetic —an intervenor has little choice but to try somehow to "split the difference" between the parties.

Relying on this completely natural tendency on the part of any professional problem-solver to find middle ground, an intervention-minded union official avoids the narrowing of differences at the bargaining table in hopes that the expected recommendation for a 50-50 split would raise the settlement terms to a point significantly higher than direct negotiations between the two parties might produce.

For the union official who designs his strategy toward final settlement with a third party, there appears to be a routine approach. Experienced observers can usually recognize the onset of this routine by noting early clues.

The Unfolding Intervention Ritual

We, ourselves, have often observed this ritual unfold across the bargaining table, in the headlines and elsewhere.* This ritual follows this general pattern:

- **Announce union demands which the Company can grant only:**

  —By imperiling its ability to compete;
  —Or by surrendering its managers to compulsive restrictions on their ability to manage responsibly;
  —Or by surrendering its employees to compulsive restrictions on their right to employment.

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*For instance, in the negotiations of 1950, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1958 and 1960 IUE President James B. Carey not only made his routine call on the Federal Mediation Service for intervention but, in addition, sought whatever additional government help that might be in the offing, including: suggestions to President Truman to name a fact-finding board; complaints with the Federal Trade Commission; resignations from government groups in protest against the issuance of defense contracts to General Electric; charges with the SEC; and requests to presidential candidates to take part in his negotiations or strike efforts.

- **Manufacture a "crisis."**

  —By charging the Company with "union busting" and "refusing to bargain in good faith" when it does not accede to the unrealistic demands;
  —By calling for strike votes from union members; then claiming the union is being forced against its will to strike;
  —By pleading with other union officials with whom the Company deals to cooperate in the call for "unity."

- **Demand intervention.**

  —By way of first appealing to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service;
  —By later calling for the Secretary of Labor or selected Congressmen and Senators;
  —By calling again to Federal agencies that might have anything to do with the Company or the industry, however remote the connection might be.

- **Meanwhile,** make overtures in the communities and states, canvassing clergymen, town councilmen, mayors, legislators and governors in the hope that somebody somewhere will come forward as an intervenor.

What Might be the "Excuse"?

The usual reason why a union official seeks outside help is the hope that intervenors will somehow cause the employer to offer something more than would otherwise be made available. In our case these union detours have proved fruitless. But this has not kept one or two union officials from testing again and again. Indeed, they have displayed some imagination in the number and nature of the excuses they have invented to lure Government representatives to the bargaining table.

In our case, the thrust of the union calls for intervention usually has centered on alleged deficiencies in our proposals, however generous they may be. We cannot predict what faults might be found in any offer the Company might make this year, but on the basis of past experience we must be prepared for complaints about all three of the basic areas of bargaining, i.e. the economic proposals; management responsibility; employee rights.

1
The Economic Proposals

It is widely recognized that General Electric's total benefit and pay package is already among the leaders in manufacturing industry, in the electrical industry and in the communities in which we operate. Yet estimates based on early union demands, such as those outlined by the IUE at its convention last September, indicate a call for increasing our employment costs by at least 21%, compared with the 3% suggested by the government "Guideposts," and a figure closer to 2% which our own research indicates as a sounder limit for non-inflationary settlements.

With this wide discrepancy, it is easy to see how some union officials could, if they chose, find fault with the economics of any realistic offer.

2
Management Responsibility

This is the first year in many in which we approach our negotiations with an inescapable need to clarify and preserve the responsibility of management to choose the most efficient methods to operate the business.

This need arises from a recent and novel trend in court decisions on the arbitration of disputes arising from a labor contract. The trend is in the direction of making virtually every dispute subject to compulsory arbitration unless the contract specifically states that it is not arbitrable. This is contrary to the bulk of opinion of prior years which held no dispute could go to compulsory arbitration unless it was specifically made arbitrable by the contract.

In the light of this previously prevailing opinion the arbitration clause in our major contracts was considered a model in terms of the ability it afforded management to carry out its responsibilities. Now this ability is contested because the new trend in court decisions is being exploited by a few union officials.

The rising threat of compulsory arbitration on day-to-day grievances is serious. General Electric can be severely handicapped by arbitrators in its struggle to stay competitive, to earn profits, and to provide jobs. We cannot abdicate responsible decisions on such critical matters to outside arbitrators who have no responsibility for their effect on costs, sales, profits and employment.

We are hopeful that we can work out mutually satisfactory arrangements on the arbitration situation with all of the unions involved. We are cautiously optimistic that the pre-negotiation union-management study groups now working on this problem can pave the way for a constructive solution. Basically, nothing more is needed than an affirmation or reaffirmation of the good faith understandings that were reached at the national level in prior negotiations as far back as 1955. But, if this effort is not successful, some union officials could get a new excuse for calling for third party assistance.

3
Employee Rights

General Electric has a long-standing belief in an employee's inherent right of individual free choice with respect to whether he wishes to join or not to join a union. We have upheld this principle in negotiating union contracts covering the less than half of the Company's employees who are represented by unions. Some union officials have a long-standing demand for the Company to compel employees to join unions. Under this demand, an employee would be discharged if he refused. This demand is repeated once more in the lists of demands announced for the coming negotiations. Moreover, it may well be that if compulsory membership is not demanded, the newer "pay dues or get fired" approach of the Agency Shop will be sought instead.

We expect to be bargaining again on compulsory unionism, as we have done so often before. But in view of the many times we have considered this subject in all of its ramifications, it seems doubtful that anything really new will come up this time to persuade us to surrender a principle so important to employees. Thus, in the process

of renewing this old demand for compulsion on employees, some union officials may have endowed themselves with still another excuse to complain to Washington or elsewhere.

What Might be the "Crisis"?

Some time later this summer or early fall, some union official may feel that there is nothing more to be gained through normal negotiations. Then, if the old routine is followed, there will be calls for strike votes. In prior years, these votes have often been advertised as being needed primarily to strengthen the hands of the union negotiators. The implication is often left with union members that no strike would actually take place.

Judging from past tactics, an additional assurance may be heard this year. Employees may be told that if the strike votes are actually used, the strike will last only a day or two, because Federal intervention will speedily recommend the "something more" required; or union officials will readily respond to an appeal to "hold off the strike for an outside study."

At the same time, persuasions will probably be offered to top AFL-CIO officials that if just this once they will invest their reputations in joining in this "crisis," Federal intervention will quickly relieve them of any real necessity to call their members out on strike.

We think most union members and most of the top AFL-CIO officials are far too realistic and knowledgeable to be misled by such propositions.

And we think they know General Electric too well to believe, in all seriousness, that we would be so devious as to begin the practice of holding something back in anticipation of an intervenor's visit, or to offer something more just because an intervenor had arrived.

Could we be wrong in the foregoing speculations? We certainly could be.

Quite possibly some union official could go to Washington with strike votes in his hands and the top AFL-CIO officials in his pocket. He could threaten "blood baths" for the communities, as one union official did in 1960. Possibly the idea could be sold that all of this trouble could be averted if the Company would only make one more concession in the economic offer, or would agree to compulsory unionism, or would not be so insistent about protecting management's responsibilities. But we doubt this will happen. This old routine is all too familiar to employees, union officials and Washington.

What Might be the Kind of Intervention?

Union appeals to Washington will doubtless bring the normal, legal and proper response from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service that has come in the past. We have always found the Federal Mediators to be able and realistic and in no sense displaying a desire to overstep their role as prescribed by Congress in the labor law.

We have sometimes felt that the arrival of the mediators tends to delay prompt settlements, because inevitably it provides a union official with an opportunity to raise false hopes that something more might be coming if his members would support strikes or strike threats just a little bit longer. But obviously this is not the fault of the mediators. They are doing their jobs, as they must under the law; some Federal agencies must operate like well run fire departments which answer all the alarms, even the false ones.

If some union officials follow past practices, they will not stop with the FMCS. They will go above and around this agency in demanding Federal aid. It is not unusual for some union officials to harass the FMCS people for not taking sides as though a federal employee is somehow delinquent if he does not endorse the union demands and cast aspersions on management's proposals. Should this familiar pattern emerge this year, we believe the summons for replacement of FMCS by some other form of intervention will fall on deaf ears, as it should.

On balance there would seem to be virtually no parallel between General Electric's situation and the situations where Federal intervention has multiplied beyond that supplied by the good services of the FMCS.

Intervention to Protect the National Health and Safety?

Unlike many other big companies in the collective bargaining scene, General Electric is not in just one business, but in a whole host of businesses, cataloguing over 200,000 different items and selling in many separate markets. We are not involved in industry-wide bargaining. We neither set nor follow industry-wide patterns. We are probably unique in that no single union bargains for even a majority of our employees. And unlike the unions in many other industries, no single union with whom we bargain is in a position to shut down most of the other businesses competing for our customers.

Although General Electric is a major defense contractor, our government work, like the rest of our production, is widely distributed over many different plants. Some of these plants are unionized and some are not. Where unionized, a number of different unions are involved. Much of our government contracts involve research, development and services which would be unaffected by a strike. Even at those locations which were involved in the unsuccessful three-week strike called by the IUE in 1960, there was no serious delay in meeting any critical defense needs. This is a matter of record.

Intervention to Protect the National Interest in Non-Inflationary Settlements?

As evidenced by the public statements of many Government officials, by the publication of the Government's "Guideposts" for non-inflationary wage settlements, and by the Government's concern about negotiations in basic industries, the Government is convinced that it should assert the national in-

terest in trying to keep collective bargaining settlements within non-inflationary bounds.

General Electric has expressed similar concern for many years. Our communication in the post-war years on this subject has stressed that only the long-term productivity gains of the whole economy are valid for indicating the limits of non-inflationary settlements.

Although we are open-minded to any representations the various union committees might offer to justify a settlement that could go beyond the clear-cut "Guideposts," our own research, as noted earlier, has brought us to the conclusion that the usually noted government figure of 3% is not only too high for a non-inflationary guide, but far too high for companies beset by today's facts of foreign and domestic competition.

Of course, the economic dimensions of our settlements must be negotiated at the bargaining table. But certainly at this point, General Electric does not need Government intervention to persuade us that our settlements this year should be on the non-inflationary side. The rigors of the market place are already persuasive enough. General Electric products are selling today at 1954-1956 prices.

Intervention to Prevent Strikes or to Bring Speedier Settlements?

One of the primary objectives of Federal intervention, as explained by Government spokesmen, is to prevent strikes or to speed settlements when strikes have begun.

We believe that intervention at General Electric would have exactly the opposite effect. Judging from past experience, the one sure thing that will bring on a strike call from some union officials this year is any grounds for an assumption by them—mistaken though they may be—that a crisis will bring Federal intervention beyond that normally provided by the Federal mediators. The converse is also a valid expectation. If these union officials were quite sure that they would not get attention extra to that of the FMCS, it is not likely that they would want to stir up an extra crisis to attract it.

But if a strike did get started, the same principle must apply. Every bit of extra attention that such union officials get in Washington might well add extra days to the length of a strike.

Thus, the chances for a settlement without a strike—or for a faster settlement if a strike were underway—would be enhanced by the extent to which intervention-minded union officials understand that the issues must be resolved at the bargaining table between the two parties immediately responsible for the results.

Suppose Extra Intervention Comes?

We really don't believe that responsible people in Government are likely to give the extra attention a union official would be trying to attract if he were following the old intervention-getting ritual.

But there is always an outside possibility that such performance will not receive the cool audience reaction it deserves.

So, if extra intervention does come—what then?

We have already said that we will not be holding something back for the purpose of later bargaining with an intervenor. Our negotiating decisions are compelled by realistic long-range and short-range considerations applicable to our businesses. Management can neither abdicate, nor can an intervenor properly assume, the responsibility for these decisions. Therefore, the outcome must ultimately be something produced by responsible negotiators through responsible negotiations, with or without intervention.

A second look at the three areas in which some union officials might conjure an "excuse" for intervention reveals that the final results are already being shaped by the industrial realities of the 1960's. The employer and intervenor alike are powerless to alter these realities.

1
The Economic Proposals

There was a time when employers and third party intervenors seemed to enjoy a certain degree of latitude in making extravagant last minute concessions or recommendations to bring a speedy, if costly, settlement. During the lush post-war years, when the whole world was hungry for U.S. goods, compensation increases could be easily recovered in price increases. World-wide shortages, pent-up demand, and the resulting inflation supported this flabby approach to wage and price determination. An umbrella of economic immunity seemed to protect the employer or intervenor who sought peace at any price.

We have all learned to our sorrow how transient this immunity turned out to be.

Excess capacity at home and vigorous competition from abroad have transformed for many industries the expectation of price inflation into the practical certainty of price erosion.

Neither the employer nor the intervenor is a law unto himself. Neither can look to increases in prices to validate his excesses at the bargaining table.

Although there may be still some exceptions to this rule elsewhere, this is certainly not the case with General Electric. With our products selling today at 1954-1956 prices, our average compensation cost per employee has gone up 44%, and price levels of our purchased materials have gone up 10%, since 1955.

And on the cost side of the picture, we have never had the margin of freedom in working out collective bargaining settlements that has been apparently afforded to conspicuous companies in a number of other industries. When an agreement was reached by such a company, it could almost always be as-

sured that it had established a "pattern" for its domestic competitors, which would be thus saddled with similar or comparable increases in costs. We have never had such assurances. In practice, most of our formidable competitors (which number in the hundreds in the electrical industry alone) have paid little or no attention to our settlements and have gone right ahead in making the best deals they can work out to suit their particular situations.

General Electric does not set industry-wide patterns. No third party intervenor can possibly confer on us any such power.

2
Management Responsibility

Just as inflation seemed to permit the employer or the intervenor to be wastefully expensive in pressing for economic settlements, it also appeared to be indulgent about a prodigal abandonment of management responsibilities. After all, both kinds of extravagance simply added up to higher costs which could be passed on to customers in higher prices.

And just as excess capacity, foreign competition, and price erosion make a sounder economic approach imperative, they also command the protection of management ability to choose the most efficient methods for operating the business.

In our own instance, management rights were not lost to the unions in contract negotiations. Instead, they are being exposed by the judges to potential alteration by the arbitrators.

In this manner, the contracts we negotiated in collective bargaining have become, *without our agreement,* subject to renegotiation through compulsory arbitration.

Since management responsibility involves the constant efforts of management to improve efficiency, the protection of this responsibility is vital to the future of good sales and good profits for the business and good jobs and good paychecks for employees.

With increasing costs for manpower and materials on the one hand, and with price erosion on the other, the freedom to try to be efficient is the last fighting chance for a company's survival in today's competitive world.

Neither the employer, the judge, the arbitrator, nor the Federal intervenor can make the world tolerate any inefficiencies he might leave in his wake.

3
Employee Rights

In an earlier era, now passed, a quick and easy way for an employer or a third party intervenor to work himself out of a collective bargaining dilemma was to propose some form of compulsory unionism. This was apparently a good deal for the employer, on the assumption that compulsory unionism cost him nothing. It was obviously a good deal for union officials, because it assured new dues-money from employees who would be forced to support the union or be discharged from their jobs. It was an equally obvious bad deal for employees but since the bargain was made between the employer and the union officials—and hailed by the intervenor, if there was one—it was convenient to forget that this compulsory arrangement was no bargain at all for employees.

The recent series of negotiations in aerospace confirmed how obsolete this approach has become elsewhere in industry. It was never fashionable in General Electric.

We do not wish to use this space here to belabor again the many reasons for our convictions that compulsory unionism is bad for employees, bad for the country, and bad for the future of the union movement itself. This subject has been discussed at length in many of our publications over many years and was only recently reviewed again rather extensively in this publication. (See "A Report to Management: Compulsory Unionism," Relations News Letter, April 5, 1963.)

We wish only to note once more that the trend is against compulsion. And a free country's legislators have not seen fit to bestow on a third party intervenor the authority to arrest this trend.

and in summary...

A Promise, a Conviction, a Prediction

To those who may be uncertain* about how the Company will approach its negotiations this year and about what will be the probable results, we offer a promise, a conviction and a prediction. We believe they will clarify our own unique situation in the context of current economic trends and industrial relations realities.

A Promise

We promise that we will be both honest and steadfast in our resolve to follow the "truth in bargaining" approach we have pursued for so many years. We will hold nothing back simply because intervention might be expected. We will offer nothing more simply because intervention might come.

A Conviction

We are convinced that if certain union officials find that intervention will be easily available to them, they can be expected to seek it again as in the past. We are equally convinced that the response should be and will be confined to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. We do not believe that responsible people in Washington will fall prey to old or new snares to capture extra attention beyond the FMCS.

A Prediction

Our regular readers know that we rarely indulge in predictions, but there is a certain inevitable thrust to the force of our current industrial environment. It has grown far too sophisticated and far too stern to permit excesses at the bargaining table, whether they might arise from normal bargaining, extra intervention, or anything else. In General Electric, intervention can delay a settlement, breed a strike, and prolong a strike already under way. These things, intervention can do. But it cannot change the economic and industrial facts of life with which the Company must struggle. These facts can be denied only at the peril of employment and growth. These facts, the employees and public are growing to understand.

That is why the results of our negotiations, however they turn out, must be those produced by responsible bargaining, with or without intervention.

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*Any uncertainty about General Electric's situation which might arise from speculating about Federal intervention elsewhere might be quite naturally compounded by a recent Intermediate Report of an NLRB Trial Examiner that the Company did not bargain in good faith in its 1960 negotiations with the IUE. At the time this recommendation was announced, we tried to dispel any confusion arising from that source with the following paragraph in our statement to the press:

"We will vigorously appeal the [Trial Examiner] Leff Report to the Board and to the courts, if necessary, and of course, will conduct this year's negotiations with the same forthright, and we believe proper, approach as in past years' negotiations."

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EMPLOYEE RELATIONS SERVICES
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CHAIRMAN

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CHAIRMAN, ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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ISSUED IN THE INTERESTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

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"We Shall Overcome"

LABOR REPORTS articles may be reprinted with or without credit

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TEST YOUR LABOR I.Q.

ANSWERS
(Test on Page 5)

1. c) a scab
2. b) A. Philip Randolph
3. a) genocide
4. b) Sweden
5. c) 2½ times

LABOR ACROSS NATION AIDS BIRMINGHAM NEGROES

Washington, D.C.--Labor's reaction to Birmingham came swift and strong when word reached the nation that dogs and fire hoses were that city's answer to the simple request of Negroes for equal rights. Among the first to speak out was the top-ranking Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which was meeting at the time in St. Louis.

"The racial disturbances in Birmingham," said the Council, "have been shocking by any standard. They should not have happened; they must not continue; they must never occur again anywhere in America."

Pointing out that equal job rights were a key to securing racial justice in the nation, the Council appealed for Congressional action to provide equal employment opportunities for all. Full and equal rights for the Negro, said the Council, "is the only ultimate solution for Birmingham and for those other Birminghams that, under different names, and in varying degrees, are strewn across the length and breadth of this nation."

Meanwhile, in Washington another top labor body, the Executive Board of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, strongly condemned the tactics of Birmingham's police as being "worthy of Adolph Hitler and his Brown Shirts."

Calling upon President Kennedy to act to uphold the Constitution, the IUD said, "The strength of the federal government must be brought to bear upon the side of those who dare to stand up for their constitutionally guaranteed civil rights."

Backing up the indignant reaction of labor's top echelons to the events in Birmingham were international unions and central labor bodies across the entire nation.

In New York City the Central Labor Council ran a special mass meeting which adopted a resolution declaring, "the American people and the world are shocked by the spectacle of snarling police dogs and high pressure fire hoses to prevent Negro Americans from seeking their democratic rights." An on-the-spot collection taken at the meeting netted over $30,000 to be sent to the civil rights forces in Birmingham.

Minnesota labor moved quickly with wires to President Kennedy by the central labor bodies of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Urging the President to take whatever action is necessary in Birmingham, the twin cities' unions said, "The negotiated settlement must be carried out in a peaceful and orderly manner without bombings or the use of high powered fire hoses and dogs."

In Boston, a large group of local unions co-sponsored a mass rally in Boston Common. Working with labor on the rally were some 30 religious, civic and civil rights organizations.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union responded to the Birmingham events with a $2,000 contribution to the civil rights forces. Along with the donation, which was sent to Rev. Martin Luther King, the ILGWU sent a strongly worded message saluting the struggle for civil rights and condemning the brutal attacks upon the Negro non-violent demonstrators.

The United Automobile Workers dispatched Nelson Jack Edwards, a member of the UAW Executive Board, to Birmingham to confer with Dr. King and to bring him the unqualified support of the Auto Workers. In a message from Birmingham which was

published in Solidarity, the UAW newspaper, Edwards stated, "Neither firearms, water cannon, clubs, vicious dogs, or high pressure water hoses will stop this wave of revolt against the inhuman treatment of Negro citizens."

In the midst of the Birmingham events, the National Maritime Union announced its donation of $32,692 to the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, of which Rev. Martin Luther King is Honorary Chairman. The contribution was made "To bolster those in the front ranks of the fight to obtain full constitutional rights for all citizens by non-violent means."

The International Union of Electrical Workers organized a Tag Day to raise funds for the Birmingham campaign among the members of its District 4 in the Middle Atlantic area. In addition to raising funds a number of IUE locals adopted resolutions condemning the use of violence to prevent American citizens from obtaining their legal rights.

In sum, when the Birmingham battle broke, American labor throughout the land spontaneously came forward to take its place beside its allies in the civil rights movement. In many union minds too, there was a remembrance of labor's early battles and the parallels with today's struggle for human rights. In the words of the resolution adopted at the mass rally of the New York City Central Labor Council, "Labor is proud that the civil rights movement has adopted many of its techniques: the sit-down strikes of the thirties have inspired the sit-ins of today. The boycott which is being used so successfully in Birmingham was used by unions for generations. Negotiations to win basic rights is basic to organized labor."

JLC Labor Reports

MISSISSIPPI PAPER IS LIBERAL VOICE

New York--In the heartland of Mississippi a voice of liberalism sounds loud and clear every Saturday. It belongs to the Mississippi Free Press, a unique experiment in Southern interracial, pro-labor journalism. Founded three years ago by Charles Butts, an enterprising and dedicated young newspaperman, the Free Press practices what it preaches. It not only advocates integration, but employs an integrated staff.

The Mississippi Free Press specializes in two kinds of stories. In a state where trade unionism is weak, it gives prominent attention to all the activities of the labor movement. And in an area where Negroes traditionally have been seen but not heard, the Free Press authoritatively covers every effort for racial justice.

An example of the paper's reports on labor is its current series "What is a Labor Union?" Each week, in clear and simple language, it brings to its readers (mostly potential union members) the "why's" and "wherefore's" of trade unionism. It describes the workers' rights under the rules of the National Labor Relations Act; it tells of the benefits unionism has brought workers in other states; it pictures the internal workings of a union. That kind of a series elsewhere would be mere routine. In Mississippi, it's like the clarion call of the Declaration of Independence.

The Free Press' goal for this year is to reach a circulation of 25,000 which will make it the fourth largest paper in the state. To reach that goal it is actively soliciting subscriptions from all over the country at $4.00 a year. But for Mississipians it has a special rate of only $1.00 a year, which represents a big sacrifice for the sharecroppers and underpaid workers who read the paper. Also for every dollar donated to the paper it will give a free one year subscription to a Mississippi worker who would otherwise not be able to afford one. Subscriptions may be sent to The Mississippi Free Press, 1253 Valley Street, Jackson 3, Miss.

JLC Labor Reports

SKILLS FOR YOUTH AIM OF NEW COMM.

A chance for minority youth in this country to get a crack at some of the better paying skilled jobs. That's the purpose of a new government committee that met in Washington recently to begin its work, quietly but resolutely. The committee has a long name - the Department of Labor's Advisory Committee for Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship and Training - but its aims are quite simple. It is going to help young people all over America, especially the deprived youth who belong to minority groups, to have the chance to gain apprenticeships in skilled trades.

Why a special committee for youth and why the emphasis on minority youngsters? The answer is painfully clear when we look at the unemployment figures. Percentage-wise there are almost three times as many unemployed youth as unemployed adults. And among non-white young people the rate is five times as high. Furthermore, the gap is growing because more and more young people are entering the job market. Specifically, 40 per cent more youth will enter the job market in the sixties than in the fifties.

With this intensely competitive job situation, a young person's chance of getting a job depends almost entirely upon his training. If he has a skill, he's got a fairly good chance; if he hasn't, it's going to be mighty rough. This is especially so as more and more industry becomes automated. For when automation comes in, the unskilled and semi-skilled go out. It's as simple as that.

To begin to tackle the training and apprenticeship part of this problem is the job of the new Advisory Committee. Its chairman is John F. Henning, the U.S. Undersecretary of Labor. It's fifteen members, all of them unpaid, represent minority groups, labor, business and the public.

At its Washington meeting, the committee adopted the following program:

1. It will attempt to determine the number of minority youth participating in present apprenticeship programs.

2. It endorsed the establishment of apprenticeship and training information centers in industrial and metropolitan areas to familiarize junior and senior high school students and youth looking for work with apprenticeship requirements and openings.

3. It will work toward the establishment of state advisory committees in each of the states to encourage labor and management to employ minority apprentices.

4. It will study the advisability of a pre-apprenticeship program to prepare young people for successful application and participation in apprenticeship.

5. It urged action to assure employer compliance with the no-discrimination policy of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor.

The entire country has an important stake in the success of the Advisory Committee's work. Chronic youth unemployment spells danger in any society, not only for the young people, but equally for their families and for the communities in which they live.

JLC Labor Reports

Dear Editor: TEST YOUR LABOR I.Q. appears as a regular monthly LABOR REPORTS feature. A mat of the masthead is available free upon request.

1. The slang expression "fink" is sometimes used to describe:

   a) a supervisor
   b) a union organizer
   c) a scab

2. Which of the following Negro leaders is a Vice President of the AFL-CIO?

   a) Martin Luther King
   b) A. Philip Randolph
   c) Roy Wilkins

3. The crime of murdering an entire people or nation is called:

   a) genocide
   b) persecution
   c) xenophobia

4. The longest average life span is enjoyed by the people of:

   a) the United States
   b) Sweden
   c) Argentina

5. The unemployment rate among Negro workers is _____ that of white workers.

   a) the same as
   b) 25 per cent higher than
   c) 2½ times

Each correct answer counts two points. Score yourself as follows: 2-4, poor; 6-8, average; 10 superior. (Answers to test on index page.)

HOW REAL IS OUR CHILDREN'S WORLD?

by Harry Gersh

Fairy tales are wonderful for kids - in moderation. But if our kids grow up believing they live in a fairy tale world, they - and their neighbors - are in for trouble.

Social psychologist Otto Klineberg has analysed 15 primers used widely in our public school systems. These are first books, prepared to teach children to read. They are attractive, have excellent print, and colorful illustrations. But the world they describe to children in their formative years is not the real world.

And since children accept what the school and teachers say much more readily than what their parents and experience teach, they may be in for trouble. The fortunate child whose life is fairly close to the shiny lives of the kids in the books is left in his dream world. The child out of a poor or segregated environment may get the idea that he has been singled out for deprivation.

The central characters in these children's books are always white, almost always blond, and generally of Northern European stock. They live in good homes with good furniture and there's never a problem about hand-me-down clothes or buying a new pair of shoes.

The fathers in these books all have fun jobs and the mothers are never distraught. New cars and travel during vacation periods is the normal thing. Poverty or unemployment just doesn't exist.

Some illustrations do show swarthy or dark-skinned people, but the swarthy ones are easily recognized as organ-grinders or peddlers, the dark-skinned ones are inhabitants of distant countries. None of them ever live next door.

And although more than 20 million Americans are Negroes, you would never know it from the primers given our children in public schools.

Dr. Klineberg reports: "One reader has a story called 'A Summer in the South,' in which a boy and his father go 'away down South to see grandmother.' But there are apparently no Negroes even in the South...Either there are no Negroes, or they must not be mentioned."

Reading these books, the white child in the all-white community will never know that some Americans are dark-skinned. The white child in a community which contains Negroes will come to believe that there's something not quite proper about his dark-skinned neighbors. And the Negro child brought up on these books will begin to wonder whether he exists at all.

As is to be expected, most children's books, purporting to describe life, do not mention religion. The fact that most Americans belong to church or synagogue is too touchy for the authors of children's primers. But in the unusual instance when religion is mentioned, it is in terms of "everyone goes to church on Sunday." This makes someone who doesn't go to church seem rather odd to the youngster, and a Jew must appear out of this world. That is, the world of the first books.

CONGRESSIONAL SCOREBOARD

Here is a box score on legislation of particular interest to members of the United Steelworkers of America in the 88th Congress. Use this information in writing your Congressman or Senator. Every bill listed should be passed to help strengthen economic and social conditions in the nation.

BILL	HOUSE	SENATE
Tax Reduction and Reform	Hearings completed	
Anderson-King Hospital Insurance Bill, HR-3920, S-880	No action	
Federal Aid to Construction of Medical Colleges and Loans to Medical Students, HR-12	Passed, 4/24/63	
Federal Aid to Education Omnibus Bill, HR-3000, S-580	Hearings under way	Hearings under way
Youth Employment Opportunities Bill, HR-5131, S-1	Reported out of Committee, 4/8/63 Before Rules Committee	Passed, 4/10/63
Federal Standards for Unemployment Compensation	Presented May 19	
Automatic Extension of Unemployment Compensation When Conditions Warrant		
Mass Transportation Bill for Aid to Urban Areas, HR-3881, S-6.	Reported out of Committee, 4/9/63 Before Rules Committee	Passed, 4/4/63
Crucial Amendment to Mass Transit Bill to Protect Union Bargaining Rights and Contractual Benefits	Committee provision not adequate. Amendment to be presented on the floor	Morse amendment passed in place of Committee provision, 4/4/63
Extension and Expansion of Civil Rights Commission, HR-5456, S-1117	Hearings under way	

Crucial Amendment to Mass Transit Bill to Protect Union Bargaining Rights and Contractual Benefits	Committee provision not adequate. Amendment to be presented on the floor	Morse amendment passed in place of Committee provision, 4/4/63
Extension and Expansion of Civil Rights Commission, HR-5456, S-1117	Hearings under way	
Voting Rights: Automatic Appointment of Temporary Voting Referees, HR-5455, S-1283	Hearings under way	
Voting Rights: Control of Literacy Test Requirements, HR-5455, S-1283	Hearings under way	
Financial and Technical Assistance to Schools Attempting Desegregation, HR-1766, S-772	Hearings under way	
Requiring School Districts to File First-Step Plans for Desegregation, HR-1766, S-772	Hearings under way	
FEPC Legislation, HR-405, HR-1767, S-773	Hearings under way	
Allow Attorney General to File Suits in All Civil Rights Cases, HR-1768, S-1889	Hearings under way	
Public Works Appropriation: $480 Million for Needed Approved Community Projects	Passed, 4/10/63	Passed, 5/1/63
Shorter Work Week, HR-355, HR-1680	Hearings scheduled before Holland Committee, 6/4/63	
Truth-in-Lending, HR-4070, S-750		
Truth-in-Packaging, HR-2382, S-387		Hearings under way
Section 14(b): Repeal Legislation Recognizing State Right-to-Work Laws, HR-5846, S-1341		
Migrant Labor: Improve Educational Opportunities and Register Crew Leaders, S-521		
Equal Pay Bill, HR-6060, S-1409	Reported out of Committee, 5/8/63	Reported out of Committee, 5/8/63

WHO'S WHO IN THE 88th CONGRESS

This is a list of **U.S. senators** by states. The initials indicate Democratic and Republican political affiliation.

ALABAMA
Lister Hill (D)
John J. Sparkman (D)

ALASKA
E. L. Bartlett (D)
Ernest Gruening (D)

ARIZONA
Carl Hayden (D)
Barry Goldwater (R)

ARKANSAS
John L. McClellan (D)
J. W. Fulbright (D)

CALIFORNIA
Thomas H. Kuchel (R)
Clair Engle (D)

COLORADO
Gordon Allott (R)
Peter H. Dominick (R)

CONNECTICUT
Thomas J. Dodd (D)
A. A. Ribicoff (D)

DELAWARE
John J. Williams (R)
J. Caleb Boggs (R)

FLORIDA
Spessard L. Holland (D)
George A. Smathers (D)

GEORGIA
Richard B. Russell (D)
H. E. Talmadge (D)

HAWAII
Hiram L. Fong (R)
Daniel K. Inouye (D)

IDAHO
Frank Church (D)
Len B. Jordan (R)

ILLINOIS
Paul H. Douglas (D)
Everett M. Dirksen (R)

MONTANA
Mike Mansfield (D)
Lee Metcalf (D)

NEBRASKA
Roman L. Hruska (R)
Carl T. Curtis (R)

NEVADA
Alan Bible (D)
Howard W. Cannon (D)

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Norris Cotton (R)
T. J. McIntyre (D)

NEW JERSEY
Clifford P. Case (R)
H. A. Williams Jr. (D)

NEW MEXICO
C. P. Anderson (D)
Edwin L. Mechem (R)

NEW YORK
Jacob K. Javits (R)
Kenneth B. Keating (R)

NORTH CAROLINA
Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D)
B. Everett Jordan (D)

NORTH DAKOTA
Milton R. Young (R)
Q. N. Burdick (D)

OHIO
Frank J. Lausche (D)
Stephen M. Young (D)

OKLAHOMA
A. S. M. Monroney (D)
J. H. Edmondson (D)

OREGON
Wayne Morse (D)
Mrs. M. Neuberger (D)

PENNSYLVANIA
Joseph S. Clark (D)
Hugh Scott (R)

ARIZONA
1 John J. Rhodes (R)
2 Morris K. Udall (D)
3 G. F. Senner Jr. (D)

ARKANSAS
1 E. C. Gathings (D)
2 Wilbur D. Mills (D)
3 James W. Trimble (D)
4 Oren Harris (D)

CALIFORNIA
1 Don Clausen (R)
2 H. T. Johnson (D)
3 John E. Moss (D)
4 R. L. Leggett (D)
5 John F. Shelley (D)
6 W. S. Mailliard (R)
7 Jeffery Cohelan (R)
8 G. P. Miller (D)
9 Don Edwards (D)
10 C. S. Gubser (R)
11 J. A. Younger (R)
12 Burt L. Talcott (R)
13 C. M. Teague (R)
14 J. F. Baldwin Jr. (R)
15 John J. McFall (D)
16 B. F. Sisk (D)
17 Cecil R. King (D)
18 Harlan Hagen (D)
19 Chet Holifield (D)
20 H. Allen Smith (R)
21 A. F. Hawkins (D)
22 J. C. Corman (D)
23 Vacant
24 G. P. Lipscomb (R)
25 R. B. Cameron (D)
26 J. Roosevelt (D)
27 E. G. Burkhalter (D)
28 A. Bell (R)
29 G. E. Brown Jr. (D)
30 E. R. Roybal (D)
31 C. H. Wilson (D)
32 Craig Hosmer (R)

HAWAII
AL T. P. Gill (D)
AL S. M. Matsunaga (D)

IDAHO
1 C. I. White Jr. (D)
2 R. R. Harding (D)

ILLINOIS
1 W. L. Dawson (D)
2 Barratt O'Hara (D)
3 W. T. Murphy (D)
4 E. J. Derwinski (R)
5 J. C. Kluczynski (D)
6 T. J. O'Brien (D)
7 R. V. Libonati (D)
8 D. Rostenkowski (D)
9 E. R. Finnegan (D)
10 H. R. Collier (R)
11 R. C. Pucinski (D)
12 R. McClory (R)
13 D. Rumsfeld (R)
14 E. J. Hoffman (R)
15 Mrs. C. T. Reid (R)
16 J. B. Anderson (R)
17 L. C. Arends (R)
18 R. H. Michel (R)
19 R. T. McLoskey (R)
20 Paul Findley (R)
21 K. J. Gray (D)
22 W. L. Springer (R)
23 G. E. Shipley (D)
24 Melvin Price (D)

INDIANA
1 Ray J. Madden (D)
2 C. A. Halleck (R)
3 John Brademas (D)
4 E. Ross Adair (R)
5 J. E. Roush (D)
6 R. L. Roudebush (R)
7 William G. Bray (R)
8 W. K. Denton (D)
3 E. A. Garmatz (D)
4 George H. Fallon (D)
5 R. E. Lankford (D)
6 C. McC. Mathias (R)
7 Samuel N. Friedel (D)

MASSACHUSETTS
1 S. O. Conte (R)
2 E. P. Boland (D)
3 P. J. Philbin (D)
4 H. D. Donohue (D)
5 F. B. Morse (R)
6 W. H. Bates (R)
7 T. H. Macdonald (D)
8 T. P. O'Neill Jr. (D)
9 J. McCormack (D)
10 J. W. Martin Jr. (R)
11 J. A. Burke (D)
12 Hastings Keith (R)

MICHIGAN
AL Neil Staebler (D)
1 L. N. Nedzi (D)
2 George Meader (R)
3 A. E. Johansen (R)
4 E. Hutchinson (R)
5 G. R. Ford (R)
6 C. Chamberlain (R)
7 J. G. O'Hara (D)
8 James Harvey (R)
9 R. P. Griffin (R)
10 E. A. Cederberg (R)
11 Victor A. Knox (R)
12 J. B. Bennett (R)
13 C. C. Diggs (D)
14 H. M. Ryan (D)
15 J. D. Dingell (D)
16 John Lesinski (D)
17 Mrs. M. Griffiths (D)
18 W. Broomfield (R)

MINNESOTA
1 Albert H. Quie (R)
2 Ancher Nelsen (R)
6 Mrs. F. P. Dwyer (R)
7 W. B. Widnall (R)
8 C. S. Joelson (D)
9 F. C. Osmers Jr. (R)
10 P. W. Rodino Jr. (D)
11 J. G. Minish (D)
12 G. Wallhauser (R)
13 C. E. Gallagher (D)
14 D. V. Daniels (D)
15 E. J. Patten (D)

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AL T. G. Morris (D)

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2 J. R. Grover Jr. (R)
3 S. B. Derounian (R)
4 John W. Wydler (R)
5 F. J. Becker (R)
6 S. Halpern (R)
7 J. P. Addabbo (D)
8 B. S. Rosenthal (D)
9 J. J. Delaney (D)
10 E. Celler (D)
11 E. J. Keogh (D)
12 Mrs. E. F. Kelly (D)
13 A. J. Multer (D)
14 J. J. Rooney (D)
15 H. L. Carey (D)
16 J. M. Murphy (D)
17 J. V. Lindsay (R)
18 A. C. Powell (D)
19 L. Farbstein (D)
20 W. F. Ryan (D)
21 J. C. Healey (D)
22 J. H. Gilbert (D)
23 C. A. Buckley (D)
24 Paul A. Fino (R)
25 R. R. Barry (R)
26 O. R. Reid (R)
27 Mrs. St. George (R)
28 J. E. Wharton (R)
29 Leo W. O'Brien (D)
30 C. J. King (R)
31 C. E. Kilburn (R)
32 A. Pirnie (R)
33 H. W. Robison (R)
34 R. W. Riehlman (R)
35 S. S. Stratton (D)
36 F. J. Horton (R)
37 H. C. Ostertag (R)
38 C. E. Goodell (R)
39 J. R. Pillion (R)
40 W. E. Miller (R)
41 T. J. Dulski (D)

NORTH CAROLINA
7 W. H. Milliken (R)
8 W. S. Curtin (R)
9 Paul B. Dague (R)
10 J. M. McDade (R)
11 Daniel J. Flood (D)
12 J. I. Whalley (R)
13 R. S. Schweiker (R)
14 W. S. Moorhead (D)
15 F. E. Walter (D)
16 John C. Kunkel (R)
17 H. T. Schneebeli (R)
18 R. J. Corbett (R)
19 G. A. Goodling (R)
20 E. J. Holland (D)
21 John H. Dent (D)
22 John P. Saylor (R)
23 Leon H. Gavin (R)
24 J. D. Weaver (R)
25 F. M. Clark (D)
26 T. E. Morgan (D)
27 J. G. Fulton (R)

RHODE ISLAND
1 F. J. St. Germain (D)
2 J. E. Fogarty (D)

SOUTH CAROLINA
1 L. M. Rivers (D)
2 A. W. Watson (D)
3 W. J. Bryan Dorn (D)
4 R. T. Ashmore (D)
5 R. W. Hemphill (D)
6 J. L. McMillan (D)

SOUTH DAKOTA
1 Ben Reifer (R)
2 E. Y. Berry (R)

TENNESSEE
1 James H. Quillen (R)
2 Howard H. Baker (R)
3 W. E. Brock (R)
4 Joe L. Evins (D)
5 R. H. Fulton (D)
6 Ross Bass (D)
7 Tom Murray (D)
8 R. A. Everett (D)
9 Clifford Davis (D)

TEXAS
AL Joe R. Pool (D)
1 Wright Patman (D)
2 Jack Brooks (D)
3 L. Beckworth (D)
4 Ray Roberts (D)
5 Bruce Alger (R)
6 Olin E. Teague (D)
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8 Albert Thomas (D)

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GEORGIA
Richard B. Russell (D)
H. E. Talmadge (D)

HAWAII
Hiram L. Fong (R)
Daniel K. Inouye (D)

IDAHO
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Everett M. Dirksen (R)

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Birch E. Bayh (D)

IOWA
B. B. Hickenlooper (R)
Jack Miller (R)

KANSAS
Frank Carlson (R)
James B. Pearson (R)

KENTUCKY
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Thruston B. Morton (R)

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Russell B. Long (D)

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MICHIGAN
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Philip A. Hart (D)

MINNESOTA
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MISSISSIPPI
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John Stennis (D)

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PENNSYLVANIA
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Hugh Scott (R)

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SOUTH DAKOTA
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G. S. McGovern (D)

TENNESSEE
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Albert Gore (D)

TEXAS
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UTAH
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Frank E. Moss (D)

VERMONT
George D. Aiken (R)
Winston L. Prouty (R)

VIRGINIA
Harry F. Byrd (D)
A. Willis Robertson (D)

WASHINGTON
W. G. Magnuson (D)
Henry M. Jackson (D)

WEST VIRGINIA
Jennings Randolph (D)
Robert C. Byrd (D)

WISCONSIN
William Proxmire (D)
Gaylord Nelson (D)

WYOMING
Gale W. McGee (D)
Milward L. Simpson (R)

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AL G. W. Andrews (D)
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AL Albert Rains (D)
AL A. I. Selden Jr. (D)
AL Carl Elliott (D)
AL Robert E. Jones (D)
AL G. Huddleston (D)

ALASKA
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31 C. H. Wilson (D)
32 Craig Hosmer (R)
33 H. R. Sheppard (D)
34 R. T. Hanna (D)
35 James B. Utt (R)
36 Bob Wilson (R)
37 L. Van Deerlin (D)
38 P. M. Martin (R)

COLORADO
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2 D. G. Brotzman (R)
3 J. E. Chenoweth (R)
4 W. N. Aspinall (D)

CONNECTICUT
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1 E. Q. Daddario (D)
2 W. L. St. Onge (D)
3 R. N. Giaimo (D)
4 Abner W. Sibal (R)
5 J. S. Monagan (D)

DELAWARE
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3 Claude Pepper (D)
4 D. B. Fascell (D)
5 A. Herlong Jr. (D)
6 P. G. Rogers (D)
7 J. A. Haley (D)
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9 Don Fuqua (D)
10 S. M. Gibbons (D)
11 E. J. Gurney (R)
12 W. C. Cramer (R)

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2 J. L. Pilcher (D)
3 E. L. Forrester (D)
4 John J. Flynt Jr. (D)
5 C. L. Weltner (D)
6 Carl Vinson (D)
7 John W. Davis (D)
8 J. R. Tuten (D)
9 P. M. Landrum (D)
10 R. Stephens Jr. (D)

7 William G. Bray (R)
8 W. K. Denton (D)
9 Earl Wilson (R)
10 Ralph Harvey (R)
11 Donald C. Bruce (R)

IOWA
1 Fred Schwengel (R)
2 J. E. Bromwell (R)
3 H. R. Gross (R)
4 John Kyl (R)
5 Neal Smith (D)
6 C. B. Hoeven (R)
7 Ben F. Jensen (R)

KANSAS
1 Robert Dole (R)
2 W. H. Avery (R)
3 R. F. Ellsworth (R)
4 Garner E. Shriver (R)
5 Joe Skubitz (R)

KENTUCKY
1 F. A. Stubblefield (D)
2 W. H. Natcher (D)
3 M. G. Snyder (R)
4 Frank Chelf (D)
5 Eugene Siler (R)
6 John C. Watts (D)
7 Carl D. Perkins (D)

LOUISIANA
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2 Hale Boggs (D)
3 Edwin E. Willis (D)
4 J. Waggonner Jr. (D)
5 Otto E. Passman (D)
6 J. H. Morrison (D)
7 T. A. Thompson (D)
8 Gillis W. Long (D)

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1 Stanley R. Tupper (R)
2 C. G. McIntire (R)

MARYLAND
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4 Joseph E. Karth (D)
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6 Alec G. Olson (D)
7 Odin Langen (R)
8 John A. Blatnik (D)

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2 J. L. Whitten (D)
3 J. B. Williams (D)
4 Arthur Winstead (D)
5 W. M. Colmer (D)

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3 Mrs. L. Sullivan (D)
4 W. J. Randall (D)
5 Richard Bolling (D)
6 W. R. Hull Jr. (D)
7 Durward G. Hall (R)
8 R. H. Ichord (D)
9 C. Cannon (D)
10 Paul C. Jones (D)

MONTANA
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2 James F. Battin (R)

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2 G. Cunningham (R)
3 Dave Martin (R)

NEVADA
AL Walter S. Baring (D)

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2 J. C. Cleveland (R)

NEW JERSEY
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2 Milton W. Glenn (R)
3 J. Auchincloss (R)
4 F. Thompson Jr. (D)
5 P. Frelinghuysen (R)
1 Albert H. Quie (R)
2 Ancher Nelsen (R)

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Invest a nickel for progress today!

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30 C. J. King (R)
31 C. E. Kilburn (R)
32 A. Pirnie (R)
33 H. W. Robison (R)
34 R. W. Riehlman (R)
35 S. S. Stratton (D)
36 F. J. Horton (R)
37 H. C. Ostertag (R)
38 C. E. Goodell (R)
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40 W. E. Miller (R)
41 T. J. Dulski (D)

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1 H. C. Bonner (D)
2 L. H. Fountain (D)
3 D. Henderson (D)
4 H. D. Cooley (D)
5 Ralph J. Scott (D)
6 H. R. Kornegay (D)
7 Alton Lennon (D)
8 C. R. Jonas (R)
9 J. T. Broyhill (R)
10 B. L. Whitener (D)
11 Roy A. Taylor (D)

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2 Don L. Short (R)

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2 D. D. Clancy (R)
3 Paul F. Schenck (R)
4 W. M. McCulloch (R)
5 Delbert L. Latta (R)
6 W. H. Harsha (R)
7 C. J. Brown (R)
8 Jackson E. Betts (R)
9 T. L. Ashley (D)
10 Homer E. Abele (R)
11 C. P. Bolton (R)
12 S. L. Devine (R)
13 C. A. Mosher (R)
14 W. H. Ayres (R)
15 R. T. Secrest (D)
16 Frank T. Bow (R)
17 J. M. Ashbrook (R)
18 Wayne L. Hays (D)
19 M. J. Kirwan (D)
20 M. A. Feighan (D)
21 C. A. Vanik (D)
22 Mrs. F. P. Bolton (R)
23 W. E. Minshall (R)

OKLAHOMA
1 Page Belcher (R)
2 Ed Edmondson (D)
3 Carl Albert (D)
4 Tom Steed (D)
5 John Jarman (D)
6 V. Wickersham (D)

OREGON
1 Walter Norblad (R)
2 Al Ullman (D)
3 Mrs. E. Green (D)
4 R. B. Duncan (D)

PENNSYLVANIA
1 W. A. Barrett (D)
2 R. N. C. Nix (D)
3 J. A. Byrne (D)
4 Herman Toll (D)
5 W. J. Green Jr. (D)
6 G. M. Rhodes (D)
4 Joe L. Evins (D)
5 R. H. Fulton (D)
6 Ross Bass (D)
7 Tom Murray (D)
8 R. A. Everett (D)
9 Clifford Davis (D)

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1 Wright Patman (D)
2 Jack Brooks (D)
3 L. Beckworth (D)
4 Ray Roberts (D)
5 Bruce Alger (R)
6 Olin E. Teague (D)
7 John Dowdy (D)
8 Albert Thomas (D)
9 C. W. Thompson (D)
10 H. Thornberry (D)
11 W. R. Poage (D)
12 J. C. Wright (D)
13 G. B. Purcell (D)
14 John Young (D)
15 Joe M. Kilgore (D)
16 Ed Foreman (R)
17 Omar Burleson (D)
18 Walter Rogers (D)
19 G. H. Mahon (D)
20 H. B. Gonzalez (D)
21 O. C. Fisher (D)
22 Bob Casey (D)

UTAH
1 L. J. Burton (R)
2 S. P. Lloyd (R)

VERMONT
AL R. T. Stafford (R)

VIRGINIA
1 T. N. Downing (D)
2 P. Hardy Jr. (D)
3 J. V. Gary (D)
4 W. M. Abbitt (D)
5 W. M. Tuck (D)
6 R. H. Poff (R)
7 J. O. Marsh Jr. (D)
8 H. W. Smith (D)
9 W. Pat Jennings (D)
10 Joel T. Broyhill (R)

WASHINGTON
1 Thomas M. Pelly (R)
2 Jack Westland (R)
3 Mrs. J. B. Hansen (D)
4 Mrs. C. May (R)
5 Walt Horan (R)
6 T. C. Tollefson (R)
7 K. W. Stinson (R)

WEST VIRGINIA
1 Arch A. Moore Jr. (R)
2 H. O. Staggers (D)
3 J. M. Slack Jr. (D)
4 Ken Hechler (D)
5 Mrs. E. Kee (D)

WISCONSIN
1 H. Schadeberg (R)
2 R. Kastenmeier (D)
3 V. W. Thomson (R)
4 C. J. Zablocki (D)
5 H. S. Reuss (D)
6 W. K. Van Pelt (R)
7 M. R. Laird (R)
8 John W. Byrnes (R)
9 L. R. Johnson (D)
10 A. E. O'Konski (R)

WYOMING
AL W. H. Harrison (R)

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The New Republic 7/6/63
Labor

A. Philip Randolph

"The Choice, Mr. President . . ."

by Murray Kempton

It is not Asa Philip Randolph's style to embarrass presidents of the United States in large assemblies; and so, when he came as a vice president of the AFL-CIO to the White House along with 300 other labor leaders, Mr. Randolph's brief comment on the President's televised speech on civil rights two nights before was at once a stately compliment and a measured reminder: "It was a magnificent speech, but it was, *unfortunately*, made rather late."

When the President had left the room and his audience was moving toward the outer air, a Southern "brother" approached Philip Randolph and asked where he could find someone from the Labor Department. "I got a problem to tell him about," he said. "The colored people are doing all right in my state. It's the white people I'm worried about. They're being discriminated against."

Randolph gravely escorted this stray over to the nearest Labor Department official and went away. He returned to Harlem amused but unsurprised; he is the only figure in the American labor movement who has, for 20 years, been able continually to surprise his country, but nothing surprises him.

His Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is aged and fading; it never had more than 15,000 members and no more than 5,000 of these are working now. Porters with 30 years of service endlessly deal the brittle old playing cards in their recreation room on 125th Street in New York, awaiting their chance for an odd, infrequent extra run. The porters may strike any day for the 40-hour work week which they alone among the operating railroad crafts have not achieved. They can expect the other unions to support their picket lines; this little group of old men could produce a national railroad strike. Nothing is new about their headquarters except the fresh picket signs.

The porter has always been poor and a menial; segregation created his job; the Pullman Company hired Negroes as porters because Negroes were inexpensive. And for most of the 37 years of their union's history, the porters have taxed themselves for campaigns to destroy segregation on the railroads, but they seem to have been defeated by economic history. Their union has raised their pay scale to a basic $436 a month which has made a porter's job one fit for white men, so fit in fact that occasionally a white youth comes to the Brotherhood in search of a union card; it cannot be given him, because there are not enough jobs for the old members, let alone new ones. There will be no white porters, and there will be no Negro engineers; the rule for employment on the railroads is not opportunity but seniority.

World War II was the best time they have known as workers. They used its rewards to finance Randolph's March-on-Washington movement, whose threat in 1943 won from Franklin D. Roosevelt the executive order which set up the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The First Freedom Rides into North and South Carolina and Tennessee were planned in Randolph's office in 1946. Bayard Rustin, a veteran of that first adventure into jail, remembers that everyone else had discouraged him until he came to Randolph. "It doesn't matter if you only get 18 people," Randolph said then. "If you go down there, other people will rise and follow." He was looking 17 years ahead as though they were the next day.

Ralph Bunche remembers traveling to Atlanta on the Seaboard line in 1947. South of Washington he went to the diner and was shown a table behind a partition. He looked at it, announced that he had not lived quite long enough yet to accept segregation and went back to his room.

"About half an hour later, my door buzzer buzzed. I opened it and there were two sleeping car porters and a waiter from the dining car with trays neatly covered and they told me that they had decided to bring me this food, because no Negro, in their view, who refused to eat at that Jim Crow table would ever grow hungry on a train where they served. They didn't mention it, but I took it that the food was with the compliments of the company."

The Brotherhood Building on 125th Street was the headquarters of Thomas Patterson, Eastern Supervisor of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, who once traveled to Wilmington, North Carolina, to negotiate with the

Atlantic Coast Line. He was ejected from its dining car for refusing to sit at the segregated table. The next morning, Patterson completed his union business with a Coast Line lawyer; that afternoon, he sued the Line for his humiliation on the diner. The railroad settled out of court and removed for all time its Jim Crow partition; Patterson gave his profits to the Brotherhood.

In 1955, Edward D. Nixon, a Pullman porter, summoned the Negro community of Montgomery, Alabama, to boycott its buses. Nixon knew that it would be politic to choose one of the Negro ministers as leader of the boycott. The youngest and a stranger among them was Martin Luther King of the Dexter Street Baptist Church.

"He didn't say much, and I didn't know whether to trust him. But he had the richest church and he could hurt us," Nixon remembered. "So then and there, I nominated him to head our committee. I figured on pushing him out so far that he couldn't run away. And, with that bad guess, we got Moses."

Such is the history which enfolds this old command post set away in a Harlem that has changed hardly at all. Three floors down are the displays of studios that offer tap, ballet and other lessons in how to escape to the great world, and the advertisements of employment offices that offer jobs for maids in New Jersey.

"I Wish You Hadn't Said That"

"What was your class at Harvard, Phil?" Franklin D. Roosevelt asked once, bemused by the massively cultivated tone of a man whose only degree was from Cookman College, a Negro high school in Florida. "Who is Randolph?" a World War II government lawyer asked as he brought in draft after draft of an FEPC order in 1943 only to be told that "Randolph" was not yet satisfied that any of them went far enough.

"I wish you hadn't said that, Mr. Randolph," Harry Truman answered when Randolph told him in 1948 that he would advise every young Negro to refuse to serve in the Army so long as it was segregated. Randolph answered that he was sorry to have to say it; and, when President Truman was restored to calm, he signed the order which integrated the armed forces.

In 1951, William Mills, a Pullman porter, escorted a detachment of American soldiers into his car at Spartansburg, South Carolina. The sergeant was a Negro; most of the men in his command were white. One of the white boys put his head out of the window and asked in the accent of the South, "Sergeant, what time we supposed to get off." The sergeant answered and turned to see William Mills looking at him. "Yes," the sergeant said. "It's true. It's true."

Randolph is 74, thinner than he used to be. Men who have worked with him for 30 years call him "Chief" and treat him like a piece of old china; he tires more than he used to and lies down for a nap in the afternoon, like any country lawyer.

His only vanity is his manners. He has lived all his life in Harlem; he travels to the outside world as the ambassador of a Negro union. He carries a courtesy so old-fashioned that the white men with whom he negotiates are sometimes driven to outsized rages by the shock that anyone so polite could cling so stubbornly to what he believes; it was from such a shock presumably that George Meany breached the customary decorum of an AFL-CIO convention in 1959 by rasping, "Just who elected you, Phil, to represent all the American Negroes?" Randolph, almost alone on the convention floor, had been persisting in his insistence that the AFL-CIO had been derelict in its promises about civil rights.

"Every now and then," says Bayard Rustin, "I think he permits good manners to get in the way and that he even prefers them to sound tactics. Once I complained about that and he answered, 'Bayard, we must with good manners accept everyone. Now is the time for us to learn good manners. We will need them when this is over, because we must show good manners after we have won'."

Yet the Black Muslims trust Randolph more than they do any other Negro leader. When he organized a neighborhood committee on Harlem's economic problems, he invited Malcolm X, the local Muslim prophet, to join. There were objections from the respectable. Randolph replied that when any group of citizens offered a representative, it "would be most improper not to recognize him, even though it will, of course, be most unfortunate if some of the ministers decide they can't go along."

Malcolm X came to his office. Randolph patiently explained how the Negro and the white will have to live together and how wrong he thought the Muslims were not to think so. Then he congratulated the Muslims on their campaign against whiskey and narcotics. "That," he said gravely, "may be the greatest contribution any of us have ever made," and arose to help Malcolm X on with his coat and see him to the door. Malcolm X has said since that all Negro leaders are confused, but that Randolph is less confused than any of them. Last spring the Muslims put a picture of this pacifist on the cover of their weekly journal.

"When Randolph began," says Bayard Rustin, "the Negro leader had the terrible problem of living by his wits. It was very important that there be one man who could not be corrupted. That man was Randolph. Even now, any time you have a plan and don't quite trust yourself, you go to Randolph and, if you are fooling

yourself morally, you can trust him to point it out."

Randolph suddenly appears as the only figure who can reconcile the painful personal differences that have fallen upon the Negro protest movement at the height of its sweep and its fashion. We confront one of those occasions familiar in all revolutionary movements when doctrinal differences pass over into personal quarrels. Its moment of revelation came just after the murder of Medgar Evers, Mississippi secretary of the NAACP. Martin Luther King called an NAACP official to suggest that together they proclaim a day of national mourning and self-examination and was told that he was always rushing into cases where he had no place or business.

Different Roads, the Same Direction

The alliance between King and the NAACP has always been uneasy. They have moved by different roads in the same direction, King mainly in the streets, the NAACP in the courts. King's young can seem irresponsible to the NAACP's middle-aged; and the NAACP's middle-aged can seem stodgy to King's young.

Randolph is alone among these leaders because he neither feels hostility for nor excites it in any other of them. He is a pacifist in a native American tradition; before most members of King's non-violent army were born, he was reminding the Negro of Thoreau's prescription to cast the total vote with feet and voice along with the ballot. He has a natural sympathy for King. Still, there are ways in which he is more moderate than the NAACP.While the association has been in open war with the AFL-CIO, Randolph has kept his friends there, offending them only on matters of principle. The porters remain as they have always been, moderate in the particular which involves manners, and radical in the general which involves principle.

Not even a malignant imagination could assign Randolph one side or another in the quarrel between King and the NAACP. King he judges to be not just a modest man but a humble one, which, for him, disposes of the NAACP's complaint. On the other side, he reminds the radical young how important it is to respect the association and Roy Wilkins, its executive secretary. "We must cultivate Roy," he tells them. "The association is the most important of all our organizations." He respects King because he has roused the poor Negro with results more consequential than any leader before him; and he respects the NAACP because it reaches the Negro middle class and can call upon its local chapters for hundreds of thousands of dollars in a real crisis; there is no other resource like this one.

Two months ago, Randolph had announced that he would call 100,000 Negroes to Washington to demonstrate against unemployment in October; it had seemed then just an echo of his 1943 march on Washington and scarcely relevant. Wilkins and King had different concerns and higher priorities, and without them, Randolph seemed reduced to the depleted resources of the porters. But then President Kennedy introduced his civil rights bill; Washington had again become the center and Randolph's march the only certain item on the movement's agenda this summer. Randolph moved his march to August; he and King agreed to widen its scope to cover the civil rights bill. There was suddenly the surprising prospect that Congress would debate these bills with thousands of Negroes standing outside.

Randolph and others were called again to the White House on June 22, just before the President was to leave for Europe. Mr. Kennedy said that he hoped that it wouldn't be necessary for Negroes to come to Washington in great groups while the debate was going on. Philip Randolph answered that he was afraid the choice was no longer whether Negroes came to Washington or not. "The choice, Mr. President, is between a controlled and non-violent demonstration and an uncontrolled and violent one."

Mr. Kennedy answered that a President had many responsibilities and he wanted it made clear that he was not inviting them. Randolph's manners instructed him that Mr. Kennedy was talking for the record.

He returned to plan a march that would be unlimited in aim, and that would remember above all the needs of all the poor and displaced, whatever their color.

"The Negro people are just one other depressed area," he said the other day. "As long as there is unemployment, it's going to hit us. The Negro is in the position of the white hod carrier and the white longshoreman. I should like all the unemployed to come with us. We complain because the building trades have no room for Negroes, but the real trouble now is that these unions are designed for profit through scarcity. If the crafts were open to us, that could not, in the present economy, create more than 40,000 jobs.

"When we have won, there will remain the Negro sharecropper. We shall end, great as this is, with a very sharp disillusionment when the great rallies are over. We had this experience with sitdowns in the '30's. We are basically a working-class group; we will not move unless we move with the rest of the working class."

More than anything else, Philip Randolph said, he would like to bring the displaced miners of Hazard, Kentucky, to Washington with him. He was silent just a moment, contemplating what all this sudden energy could mean, not just to the Negro, but to the whole United States. His secretary came in and reminded him that it was time for his afternoon nap. The Pullman porter, weary and depleted, has raised himself for just this one last effort to redeem his country.

Jean Daniel

Ben Bella's Triumph

In a mere 12 months, the Republic of Algeria has become an important diplomatic capital of the uncommitted world – in part because of its tough, young President who understands revolution

Paris

The Algerian Republic is one year old on July first. It has not paused to rest after its long calvary. This is not a tranquil people. The Algerians have thrown themselves wholeheartedly – with an almost nihilistic frenzy – into an undertaking which for once merits the name, so widely abused in Africa, of a "revolution."

There are many different ways of summing up the past 12 months; they have been at one and the same time chaotic yet concentrated, disordered yet rich, extremely dangerous yet so promising. One way would be to say that the history of the "Democratic People's Republic of Algeria" from July 1, 1962, to July 1, 1963, is the saga of one man's struggle and of his efforts to lay the foundations of his power. That man is Ahmed Ben Bella, 44 years of age, son of peasants, one-time assistant bookkeeper and then noncommissioned officer in the French Army, who spent five of the seven years of the Algerian war in French Government prisons, or rather in residences of that government.

All noted historians, from Plutarch to Carlyle and Saint Simon to Theodore White, have been fascinated with the methods used by famous men to achieve power and keep it. President Ben Bella's technique, alternating between that of a Nietzschean superman and a shrewd peasant, which he has used to hack his way through and to reach the highest peak of honor and responsibility is rather impressive. It would be possible to describe his success by writing a treatise on the most efficient way of profiting by the divisions among one's enemies and the scruples of one's friends. However, as we shall see, Ben Bella is not completely opportunistic or entirely cynical. What, then, is he? The answer is that politics is not a choir-boy's job, nor is revolution a Salvation Army project. Only the Pharisees among us would say otherwise.

In July, 1962, Ben Bella held not a single trump-card in his hand. It is true that he was one of the nine "historical leaders" whose influence was decisive in the November 1, 1954, uprising against France. It is also true that ever since his plane was intercepted by the French in 1956, he has enjoyed great popularity with the non-political Algerian masses and with the Arab world in general. But in the final analysis the powerful frontier army in Algeria did not recognize him as its leader; his title of Vice President of the Provisional Government in Exile was purely honorary; his leadership was contested by a great many *maqui* leaders, by the Kabyles, by the students, by the intellectuals, in short by the revolutionary movement which before and after the cease-fire and the Evian agreements was preparing to affirm its authority.

Ben Bella had nothing but two absolute convictions. The first was his unshakable belief that he, Ben Bella, was the Chosen One, and that without him the revolution would collapse. The other was his belief, arrived at by observing all the other elements of the revolution from the detachment of his lengthy imprisonment, that none of them could ever enforce mutual agreement and that they were fated to commit a disastrous error which he would turn to his advantage. Ben Bella's very lack of cultural background and of a complex education may have saved him from being torn by an over-sensitive conscience and by inner conflicts. His very deficiencies became the source of his strength, and it is this which intellectuals find hard to grasp.

In one year, Ben Bella has moved through all the various stages of a rising leader. First he got rid of the provisional government and, with the aid of some unexpected alliances and the support of the Army, he set up a Political Bureau. The provisional government had committed the blunder of alienating Colonel Boumedienne, chief of the Armed Forces: Ben Bella immediately entered into an agreement with him which became the mortar cementing his power. The trade unionists were resisting him: he reshuffled their leadership with disconcerting deftness. Within the Political Bureau, which had been his platform and his springboard to power, one of his most intimate friends, Mohammed Khider, was attempting to create a mass party which would control the government and thereby reduce the authority of its chief: Ben Bella discarded him in less time than it had taken Khrushchev to retire Bulganin, and he accomplished this with the same skill shown by de Gaulle against Giraud in 1943 – despite

Labor

Circular 64-7 July 17, 1963

U. S. Department of Labor BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING Washington 25, D. C.	DISTRIBUTION ATH A-F	SUBJECT CODE: 501 Non-discrimination in Apprenticeship and Training Policy

A. Purpose: To inform and direct the staff regarding the implementation and interpretation of the Department's broadened non-discrimination policy.

B. Background and Policy: President Kennedy, in a statement dated June 4, 1963, directed the Secretary of Labor "in the conduct of his duties under the Federal Apprenticeship Act and Executive Order No. 10925 to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely non-discriminatory basis."

The President further directed that "all Federal construction programs be reviewed to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices, either directly in the rejection of presently available qualified Negro workers or indirectly by the exclusion of Negro applicants for apprenticeship training." Consequently, Secretary of Labor Wirtz directed the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training that all apprenticeship or apprenticeship and training programs now federally registered must operate on the basis of the following standards:

1. The selection of apprentices on the basisof merit alone, in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application, unless the selections otherwise made would themselves demonstrate that there is equality of opportunity.

2. The taking of whatever steps are necessary, in acting upon application lists developed prior to this time, to offset the effects of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment have resulted.

3. Non-discrimination in all phases of apprenticeship and employment during apprenticeship after selections are made.

Federal registration shall be withdrawn from apprenticeship programs which fail to operate in compliance with these standards.

Interpretation:

1. Standard No. 1. The Bureau encourages program sponsors to adopt a system of apprentice selection based solely on merit "in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application" on the ground that this kind of system is the one most in accord with a free and democratic society. In connection with this system "objective standards which permit review" does not mean that all programs must have identical standards for selection. It does mean that qualifications must be determined by fair tests, occupationally essential physical requirements or other merit standards and that eligibility must be determined by specific requirements so that questions of discrimination in selection can be promptly adjudicated.

   In order to have provided "full and fair opportunity for application," the sponsor must have disseminated publicly information about the availability of apprenticeship opportunities. In the future, such dissemination of information shall include dissemination to community groups, the local employment service and local schools as well as to other interested agencies.

   Because some program sponsors may be unable or may not wish to adopt a merit system based on objective standards which permit review, an alternative test of demonstrating equality of opportunity has been established. This is the meaning of that part of Standard No. 1 which speaks of the selections themselves demonstrating "equality of opportunity." Under this alternative test, equality of opportunity may be demonstrated in either of two ways:

   a. Where the selections made include a significant number of members of minority groups, or

b. Where the program sponsor has reserved a significant number of apprentice positions for qualified members of racial and ethnic minority groups, has disseminated publicly information about the availability of such positions and made other good faith efforts to recruit qualified persons to fill such positions, and has thereafter held such positions open for a reasonable time. Dissemination of information shall be made as specified earlier in this section.

Application of the alternative test is not intended to lower established program standards of selection in any way but merely to insure equality of opportunity for qualified applicants.

2. Standard No. 2. This Standard provides for the taking of action with regard to lists previously developed to offset the effects of any previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment resulted. Where program sponsors now make selections solely on the basis of merit alone, in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application; or selections in the past have demonstrated equality of opportunity, and the present lists are entirely the product of either of these systems of selection, no action is required with regard to application lists. Where these conditions are not met, application lists developed in the past must be disregarded to the extent necessary to provide opportunities for current selection of qualified members of racial and ethnic minority groups for a significant number of positions under one of the systems.

3. Standard No. 3. This Standard provides that there shall be no discrimination in apprenticeship or employment during apprenticeship after selections have been made. This means that no program shall discriminate on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin or because of sex or physical handicap in any employment or on-the-job training practice, including but not limited to job assignment, promotion, demotion, layoff or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation or conditions of work.

4. Selection from Existing Employees. Where apprentices are selected from a restricted pool, e.g., from present employees, the foregoing standards shall apply to admission to the pool as well as to selection for apprenticeship. Present pools shall be regarded as "application lists developed prior to this time" and shall be subject to paragraph C.2. of this section.

D. Program Language Requirements: In addition to operating in accordance with the Standards as stated and interpreted above, each federally registered apprenticeship program which does not now contain a non-discrimination clause in the form now required by Circular 62-5 1/ must, within 60 days after the date of this instruction, include the following provision in its program standards or in the collective bargaining agreement governing the program:

> "To insure that there will be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin, sex or physical handicaps, selection of apprentices under this program shall be made on the basis of merit alone in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application, or in any other manner in which selection itself demonstrates that there is equality of opportunity for training in this program; and this program shall be operated on a completely non-discriminatory basis."

1/ The language now required by Circular 62-5 is as follows:

> "Selection of apprentices under this program shall be made from qualified applicants without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or physical handicaps; women shall not be barred from apprenticeships for which they qualify."

Any federally registered program required to include such provision which shall not have so included it within 60 days of this instruction shall be deregistered.

Effective on the date of this instruction, any program seeking Federal registration or any change or amendment in any past registration shall include the following provision:

> "Selection of apprentices under this program shall be made from qualified applicants on the basis of merit alone and without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, sex or physical handicap in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application; and this program shall be operated on a completely non-discriminatory basis."

Federal registration shall be withdrawn from apprenticeship programs which fail to operate in compliance with this provision.

E. Cooperation with Other Organizations: The Secretary of Labor has recently communicated with each State Apprenticeship Agency or Council "urging affirmative consideration of these standards (numbers 1 and 2 of section B.) in the discharge of the responsibilities of (your) apprenticeship program." (See Attachment A.) Standard No. 3 was promulgated by the Secretary subsequently and will be brought to the attention of the State authorities as specified in paragraph F. 2.

F. Action to be taken

1. Regional Directors shall take immediate steps to inform all sponsors of federally registered apprenticeship programs of the policy and standards set forth in this instruction. In so doing, sponsors should be informed that it is their responsibility

to see that their programs are revised as necessary to bring them into conformity with requirements of Section D. and are in fact operated in accordance with the standards and interpretations set forth in Sections B. and C. of this instruction.

2. With reference to States with State-registered apprenticeship programs, Regional Directors shall:

   a. Meet with the chief labor officers of such State governments to inform them of the third standard promulgated by the Secretary and to urge their prompt acceptance of the three standards;

   b. Forward a report to the Administrator, to arrive no later than August 31, indicating the actions and intentions of each State Agency or Council with respect to the adoption of the Secretary's standards as contained herein.

3. Give general publicity to the Bureau's broadened non-discrimination policy and program and continuing leadership toward acceptance of these policies. Bureau staff should explain and promote these policies in all public speeches and appearances.

4. In those regions not yet staffed with an Industrial Training Advisor, the Regional Director shall select an Apprenticeship and Training Representative whom he considers best qualified for this activity to serve on the regional staff in the capacity of

Industrial Training Advisor until such time as recruitment of a specialist may be possible.

5. Recognizing that the policies set forth herein will effect their purpose only if qualified applicants from racial and ethnic minorities are informed with respect to apprenticeship opportunities that will be available under the revised standards, Regional Directors shall make special effort to assure that the organizations most useful in assuring such a supply of candidates (schools, minority group organizations, public employment service, etc.) are informed of the revised program. Regional Directors should lay plans with such groups for the stepped-up information and counseling program that will be needed to obtain qualified minority applicants.

6. A separate BAT instruction is being developed on the detailed program for achieving compliance with the program standards presented herein. In the meantime, in addition to the specific actions listed above, Regional Directors should examine all aspects of the problem of achieving compliance in their regions.

ATTACHMENT A

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Office of the Secretary

Washington

June 5, 1963

Dear _____"

I am writing to you in your capacity as Director of the _____ Apprenticeship Council.

We share, I am sure, the conviction that the opportunity to work must be based on competence and ability, without regard to a person's race, creed, color, or national origin.

A recent survey has been made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity of employment practices on Federal projects in the District of Columbia. This survey shows that in some of the trades there is adherence to the principle of equal employment opportunity. It also shows, however, that patterns of discriminatory employment have developed in other trades. The Department of Labor is now undertaking similar surveys throughout the country pursuant to President Kennedy's request of yesterday that "all Federal construction programs be reviewed to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices, either directly in the rejection of presently available qualified Negro workers or indirectly by the exclusion of Negro applicants for apprenticeship training."

The elimination of such discrimination depends, where there are apprenticeship programs involved, on taking steps to assure that significant opportunities are provided for qualified minority group applicants to gain admission to these apprenticeship programs.

Such opportunities may be provided:

1. Where the selections made would not themselves demonstrate equality of opportunity, by the selection of apprentices on the basis of merit alone, in accordance with objective standards

which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application; and

2. By taking whatever steps are necessary, in acting upon application lists developed prior to this time, to offset the effect of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment have resulted.

These standards will be supplied in determining compliance with Government contractors' obligations under Executive Order 10925 to take "affirmative action to ensure" that there is no discrimination in their employment practices -- which is a condition of their performance of Government contracts.

I am also directing the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to use these standards in determining the eligibility of apprenticeship programs for continued certification under the Federal Apprenticeship Act; and I am proposing the same standards for use by the apprenticeship councils in the District of Columbia and in the various States.

I request and urge your affirmative consideration of these standards in the discharge of the responsibilities of your apprenticeship program. What is involved here is a vital principle of working democracy: that everybody is entitled to a fair and equal chance to make a living.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary of Labor

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Labor

Rec'd 7/31/63

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George Sanchez
Thelma Stevens
Louise Stitt
Rev. John A. Wagner
Rowland Watts
Amber Arthun Warburton
Marian F. Weller

Member Organizations

Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church and Economic Life
Office of Church and Society, United Presbyterian Church in the USA
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Migrant Children's Fund
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Committee on Employment of Youth of the National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
Department of the Church in Town and Country, United Church of Christ
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

July 26, 1963

To The Members of the Executive Board of NCALL

Dear Friends:

A big push to revive Public Law 78 (importation of Mexican farm labor) is underway. Almost immediately after the House voted down H. R. 5497, two types of legislation were introduced in the House and in the Senate - a one year extension bill and a three year "phase out" bill. The one year extension is the legislation being pushed now. The bills are H. R. 6719 introduced by Representative Burt L. Talcott, Republican of California and S.1703 introduced by Senator Gordon Allott and Senator Peter Dominick, both Republicans of Colorado.

Recently the Senate Committee on Agriculture reported out S.1703. This bill does not include reforms recommended by the U. S. Department of Labor, namely, provision of adequate housing, paid transportation and workmen's compensation for domestic farm workers. The bill was reported out without holding hearings despite the facts that the House had opposed extension with a good margin; that unemployment has increased in rural areas; and that S.527, the job recruitment bill which provides for recruiting domestic farm workers is pending.

The immediate need is to get letters to all Senators now as S.1703 can be expected to come before the Senate in the near future. We urge you to alert your constituencies as to this emergency so that as many letters as possible will be received by the Senators - even though it is the vacation period. A letter is also going to NCALL general mailing list.

Those of you who attended the special meeting of the Administrative Committee in February will recall the vital discussion on the Extension of Public Law 78 and that in the general discussion there was recognition of transition problems if P. L. 78 were allowed to expire immediately,

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but also a feeling that the time had come for termination, that drifting had gone on long enough.

Though in line with NCALL By-Laws no formal action was taken, the point of view generally expressed was that voluntary organizations could help best by calling clearly for termination.

Action in the House will come later. We shall keep you posted.

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

Edith E. Lowry
Consultant

P.S. It has been suggested that special effort by church groups to contact the following Senators would be helpful: Dirksen - Illinois; Carlson - Kansas; Pearson - Kansas; Curtis - Nebraska; Hruska - Nebraska; Cotton - New Hampshire; Lausche - Ohio; Young - Ohio. Of course, letters from church groups to all Senators are important.

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1962 State Safety Award Winners

774 PLANTS QUALIFY FOR LABOR DEPARTMENT CERTIFICATE OF SAFETY ACHIEVEMENT

A total of 774 North Carolina industrial establishments have been awarded the Labor Department's *Certificate of Safety Achievement* in recognition of their outstanding work in preventing disabling injuries on the job during the year 1962.

Commissioner Frank Crane personally presented the awards to representatives of more than 500 of the winning plants in special presentation ceremonies held this past spring in eleven Tar Heel cities. Sponsored locally by Chambers of Commerce, these presentation meetings were attended by well over 1,000 plant officials and guests.

The award-winning plants qualified for the Labor Department safety honors in one of three ways: (1) by having an accident-free record during 1962; (2) by maintaining a lost-time injury rate 75 per cent or more below the State average for their industry; (3) by reducing their lost-time injury frequency rate 40 per cent or more compared with their rate for the previous year.

The following list is the complete roster of award-winning establishments for 1962. Firms honored in special community presentation ceremonies are listed separately under the names of the counties in which the presentations were held. All others are listed alphabetically, according to the number of consecutive years for which they have received the Labor Department award:

First Year Winners

Aberdeen Hosiery Mills, Inc., Aberdeen
Acme-McCrary Corporation
Acme Division, Asheboro
W. R. Adams Construction Co., Hiddenite
Al Hosiery Mill, Hickory
Alexander Motor Co., Inc., Durham
Allen Overall Company, Monroe
Aluminum Company of America
Badin Works, Badin
Arlene Hosiery Mills, Hickory
Asheville Waste Paper Co., Asheville
Austin Knitting Mills, Inc., Albemarle
B & R Frozen Foods, Inc., Wallace
Barger Millwork Company, Statesville
Baxter, Kelly and Faust, Inc., Stoneville
Big Bill Bottling Company, Inc., Reidsville
Blue Ridge Cord Co., Inc., Hendersonville
Broadway Hosiery Mills, Inc., West Asheville
W. A. Brown & Son, Inc., Salisbury
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Franklinton Fabrics, Franklinton
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Henrietta Plant, Henrietta
Burlington Industries, Inc.
St. Pauls Plant, St. Pauls
Cape Hickory Hosiery Mill, Hickory
Caro Craft, Inc., Rocky Mount
Carolina Comfort Furniture, Inc., Hickory
Carolina Power & Light Company, Asheville
R. E. Carpenter & Co., Rutherfordton
Carpenter & Phillips Mica Co., Spruce Pine
Carriker Church Furniture Company, Monroe
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Livestock Market, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Garage, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Durham Service Store, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Cold Storage Department, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Oxford Service Store, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Siler City Service Store, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Nightwatchmen, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Creedmoor Service Store, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Hillsboro Service Store, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Poultry Department, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Feed Mill, Durham
Charmeuse Hosiery Industries, Inc., Asheboro
Chipman LaCrosse Hosiery Mills Co., Inc., East Flat Rock
Chowan Veneer Co., Inc., Edenton
Christian Printing Co., Inc., Durham
Cole Milling Co., Fayetteville
Collins & Aikman Corporation
Plant "E", Ca-Vel
Collins & Aikman Corporation, Siler City
Combo Industries, Inc., Roxboro
Commonwealth Hosiery Mills, Inc., Randleman
The Courier Times, Roxboro
Denny Plywood Co., Inc., Roseboro
Don Juan Manufacturing Corp., Hertford
Durham Coca Cola Bottling Co.
Roxboro Division, Roxboro
Durham Sandwich Co., Durham
E. L. Company, Inc., N. Wilkesboro
Eastern Carolina Feed & Seed Co., Inc., Elizabeth City
Edenton Cotton Mills, Edenton
The electric Storage Battery Company
Missile Battery Division, Raleigh
Erwin Mills, Inc.
Plant No. 2, Erwin
Fayetteville Fabrics, Fayetteville
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc.
Automatic Blanket Mill, Spray
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc.
Bedspread Finishing Mill, Spray
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc.
Bleachery, Spray
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc.
Karastan Spinning Division, Spray
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc.
Sheeting Mill, Spray
Filatex Corporation, Waxhaw
Fleetline Industries, Inc., Garland
Fontana Mills Division
James Lees & Sons Company, Robbinsville
Formica Corporation
Panel & Door Plant, Tarboro
M. M. Fowler, Inc., Durham
Franklin Hosiery Company, Franklin
Gem Dandy, Inc., Madison
Gibbs Underwear Company, Lincolnton
Gilliam Furniture, Inc.
Plant No. 2, Statesville
Greene Brothers Furniture Co., Inc., North Wilkesboro
Georgia-Pacific Corporation
Hallsboro Particle Board Plant, Hallsboro
Georgia-Pacific Corporation
Plymouth Sawmill, Hallsboro
Harriss Conners Chevrolet Co., Inc., Chapel Hill
Henderson FCX Service, Henderson
Hickory Spinners, Inc., Hickory
International Stretch Products
Wilmington Lace Division, Inc., Wilmington
Iredell Finishing Company, Statesville
Jones Distributing Co., Elizabeth City
Kennedy Pottery, Wilkesboro
Kennedy's Wood Products, Co., Inc., Clinton
F. R. King Construction Co., Wilmington
Klopman Mills, Inc.
Asheboro Plant, Asheboro
Klopman Mills, Inc.
Central Falls Plant, Central Falls
Klopman Mills, Inc.
Newton Plant, Newton
L and L Manufacturing, Inc., N. Wilkesboro
Laughlin F. F. Hosiery Mills, Inc., Randleman
Lloyds Lingerie, Inc., Madison
Martin Marietta Corporation
Concrete Products Division, Lilesville

(Continued on page 2)

NORTH CAROLINA

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FRANK CRANE
Commissioner of Labor
ALMON BARBOUR *Editor*

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J. M. Mathes Co., Inc., Durham
Model Laundry & Dry Cleaners, Durham
Moffitt Knitting Mills, Inc., Asheboro
Nancy King Textile Co., N. Wilkesboro
Newgard Industries, Inc., Monroe
N. Wilkesboro Coca-Cola Bottling Co., N. Wilkesboro
Old Hickory Motors, Inc., Durham
Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation
Ecusta Paper Operations
Endless Belt Department, Pisgah Forest
Oxford Fabrics Co., Oxford
Parlier Plumbing & Heating Co., Statesville
The Peabody Drug Company, Durham
Phelps Industries, Inc., Skyland
Pifer Industries, Inc., Durham
Pine State Creamery Company
Oxford Plant, Oxford
Press Printing Company, Inc., Albemarle
J. H. Reaben Oil & Supply Co., Inc., Hendersonville
Reeves Brothers, Inc.
Grace Plant, Rutherfordton
Reidsville Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Inc., Reidsville
Rhoney Chair Company, Inc., Hickory
Ricks Laundry & Cleaners, Inc., Edenton
Riegel Paper Corporation
Fairtex Plant, Monroe
Rite-Way Laundry, Durham
Ross Fertilizer Co., Clinton
Rutherford County News, Rutherfordton
A. J. Schneierson & Son, Inc.
Balfour Plant, Randleman
A. J. Schneierson & Son, Inc.
Denton Plant, Randleman
Seabrook Blanching Corporation, Edenton
Sherrill Lumber Co., Statesville
Shrink Stayed Fabrics Corp., N. Wilkesboro
Siler City Manufacturing Company
A Division of Kellwood Company, Siler City
Smith-Prevost Cleaners, Chapel Hill
Smoky Mountain Fiber Company, Murphy
Southern Cotton Storage, Inc., Monroe
Southern Parts & Electric, Inc., Durham
Spruce Pine Mica Company, Inc., Spruce Pine
Spurgeon Hosiery Corporation, Lincolnton
Statesville Narrow Fabrics Co., Inc., Statesville
Sterling Hosiery Mills, Inc., Spindale
J. P. Steevns & Co., Inc.
Carter Plant, Wallace
Talbert and Talbert Lumber Co., Roxboro
Tie Rite Neckwear Co., Inc., Asheboro
Triangle Electric Motor Co., Inc., Durham
Triangle Motors, Inc., Durham
Tru-Pak Products Co., Inc., Rutherfordton
United Brass Works, Inc., Randleman
Union Carbide Consumer Products Co.
Division of Union Carbide Corporation
Asheboro Plant, Asheboro
Van Raalte, Franklin
Van's One Hour Martinizing, Chapel Hill
The Wallace Enterprise, Wallace
Webster Brick Co., Inc.
Draper Plant No. 5, Draper
Wee-Sox Hosiery Mills, Inc., Randleman
Worth Spinning Company, Stony Point
Yale & Towne Mfg. Co., Monroe
Yanceyville Auto Sales, Inc., Yanceyville

Second Year Winners

Acme-McCrary Corporation, Asheboro
Ramseur Division
Amcel Propulsion Company
A Division of Celanese Corporation of America, Asheville
Black Mountain Hosiery Mills, Inc., Black Mountain
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Ballet Hosiery Co., Wadesboro
Cape Fear Terminal, Wilmington
A. G. Carter, Jr., Whiteville
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Hatchery, Durham
Cheerwine Bottling Company, Salisbury
City Service Laundry, Clinton
Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Asheville, N. C.
Forest City
Columbia Mfg. Co., Inc., Ramseur
Cook Machine Co., Clinton
County Cleaners, Gatesville
Dillard Paper Company of Wilmington, Inc., Wilmington
Dixie Dry Cleaners and Laundry, Raleigh
Fabrics Industries, Inc., Monroe
General Equipment Company, Raleigh
Kearfott Division—General Precision, Aerospace, Black Mountain
Kellogg Cuthrell, Inc., Manteo
Linen White Products Co., Inc., Clinton
Lions Club Industries for the Blind of W. N. C., Asheville
Lutz Hosiery Co., Inc., Hickory
Larry Milberg & Co., Asheboro
Southern Division
The News Reporter Company, Inc., Whiteville
Pacific Mills
A Division of Burlington Industries, Inc.
Hot Springs Plant, Hot Springs
Roy Panther & Co., Lynn
Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Spruce Pine, Inc., Spruce Pine
Pinehurst Textiles, Inc., Asheboro
Leon Register, Inc., Durham
B. C. Remedy Co., Inc., Durham
F. H. Ross & Co., Inc., Raleigh
S & G Concrete Co., Wilmington
S K F Industries, Inc., Asheville
Southeastern Sight and Sound Corporation, Raleigh
Stanfield Mills, Inc., Stanfield
Tire Sales, Co., Wallace
United States Plywood Corporation
Raleigh Branch, Raleigh
W. H. Weatherly Co., Inc., Elizabeth City, N. C.
H. B. Williams Sawmill, Stovall

Third Year Winners

Amerotron Company,
Robbins Plant, Robbins
Asheboro Hosiery Mills, Inc., Asheboro
Carolina Roller & Supply Co., Inc., Lincolnton
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Main Office, Durham
Central Carolina Farmers Exchange, Inc.
Seed and Farm Supply, Durham
Curlee Machinery Company, Inc., Cary
E. & B. Oil Co. of Wallace, Inc., Wallace
Haywood Electric Membership Corporation, Waynesville
Hoyle Motor Company, Inc., Lincolnton
Liberty Hosiery Mills, Inc.
Knitting Plant, Liberty
Lincolnton Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Lincolnton
Pell Paper Box Company, Inc., Elizabeth City
Rocky Creek Mills, Inc., Turnersburg
Rolling Pin Bakery, Durham
F. S. Royster Guano Co.
Wilmington Plant, Wilmington
Sealtest Foods
Southern Division—Brevard
Sealtest Foods
Southern Division—Bryson City
Southgrand Chevrolet, Inc., Creedmoor
Spruce Pine Hosiery Mill, Inc., Spruce Pine
Sycamore Dairy, Fayetteville
Westinghouse Electric Supply Co., Raleigh

Fourth Year Winners

Ahoskie Meat & Provision Co., Inc., Ahoskie
China Grove Roller Mills, China Grove
J. E. Hanger of North Carolina, Inc., Raleigh
McCracken Oil Company, Inc., Henderson
N. C. Products Corporation
Kinston Plant, Kinston
A. J. Schneierson & Son, Inc.
Siler City, N. C. Plant, Siler City
Sealtest Foods
Southern Division—Asheville
Sides Lumber Co., Inc., Rockwell
Westinghouse Electric Corporation
Meter Division, Raleigh

Fifth Year Winners

Carolina Broom Works, Roxboro
Littleton Sales Company, Inc., Littleton
Oxford Laundry - Cleaners, Oxford
Piedmont Electric Membership Corporation, Hillsboro
Stubbs Veneer Co., Windsor
Variety Wholesalers, Inc., Fuquay Springs
Walker Martin, Inc., Raleigh

Sixth Year Winners

Avalon Hosiery Mill
Knitting Division of Elizabeth City Hosiery Mills, Elizabeth City
E. I. Du Pont de Nemours and Company, Inc.
Kinston Plant, Kinston
J-D Mills, Inc., Henderson
Jarrett's Laundry & Cleaners, Inc., Lincolnton
M. T. Company, Hendersonville
Meridian Motorcycle Company, Fayetteville
W. B. Oliver & Son, Inc., Pine Level
Parham Motor Company, Henderson
Parkdale Hosiery Mill, Catawba
Phillips Petroleum Company
Marine & Other Terminals Div.
Wilmington, Terminal, Wilmington

Seventh Year Winners

Dare County Ice & Storeg Co., Manteo
Lowe's Durham Hardware, Inc., Durham
McNeilli's Cleaners, Red Springs
Rex Cleaners, Elizabeth City
Rickman Mfg. Co., Inc., Salisbury

Eighth Year Winners

Henry V. Dick & Co. of Raleigh, Inc., Raleigh
McCracken Supply Company, Inc., Raleigh
Newton Glove, Inc., Newton

Ninth Year Winners

Richard Grey Hosiery Co., Asheboro
Hickory Handle & Mfg. Co., Conover

Textile Machine Works,
Asheboro Branch, Asheboro
Union Asbestos & Rubber Company
Plant No. 5, Marshville
William Motor Co., Inc., Smithfield

Tenth Year Winners

Smith Novelty Co., Albemarle

Eleventh Year Winners

Acme Cleaners & Shoe Shop, Nashville
Heist-McCain Hosiery Corp., Rockwell
Roseboro Milling Company, Roseboro
A. J. Schneierson & Son, Inc.
Sanford, N. C. Plant, Sanford

Twelfth Year Winners

The Atlantic Refining Company, Wilmington
Goldsboro Ice Delivery Co., Goldsboro
Leach Service Cleaners, Littleton
Snipes-Crowell Lumber Co., Inc., Stoneville
Stream Line Tools, Inc., Conover

Thirteenth Year Winners

Howell Oil Company, Goldsboro
C. D. Jessup and Company, Claremont

Fourteenth Year Winners

Bonk's Dry Cleaners, Asheboro
Conover Cleaners, Conover
Home Oil Company, Louisburg
New York Dry Cleaners, Wilmington
Sunshine Laundry & Cleaners, Wilmington

Fifteenth Year Winners

Mobil Oil Company, Wilmington
Shell Oil Company, Wilmington

Group Presentations-1962

Alamance County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Alamance Laundry & Dry Cleaners, Inc., Burlington
Burlington Hosiery Co.
May Hosiery Finishing Co., Burlington
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Pioneer Plant, Burlington
City Laundry & Cleaners, Inc., Burlington
Cherokee Flooring Corporation
Yard, Burlington
Copland-Fowler Industries, Inc., Burlington
Craftique, Inc., Mebane
Customex Mfg. Co., Inc., Burlington
Dura-Tred Hosiery Mills Co., Inc., Burlington
Elder Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
Elizabeth - Meade Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
Frissell Fabrics Inc., Burlington
Glen Raven Cotton Mills, Inc., Glen Raven
Grace Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
Holt Hosiery Mills, Inc.
Knitting Plant, Burlington
Kale Knitting Mills, Inc., Mebane
Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Concord Finishing Division, Burlington
Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Main Office, Burlington
Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Pittsboro Seamless Knitting Division, Burlington
Lindley Hosiery Finishers, Inc., Burlington
J. M. Mathes Company, Inc., Burlington
Nu-Vogue Hosiery Company
(A Division of Kayser-Roth Company, Inc.), Burlington
Sellers Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Cotton & Blending Dept., Saxapahaw
Sellers Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Dyeing, Winding & Packing, Saxaphaw
Sellers Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Mercerizing Dept., Saxapahaw
Southern Laundry, Inc., Graham
Staley Hosiery Mills, Burlington
Swift Cleaners, Inc., Elon College
Thunderbird Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
Travora Textiles, Inc., Graham
Wrightenberry Hosiery Mills, Graham

Second Year Winners

Acme Feed Mills, Inc., Burlington
Alamance Lumber Co., Inc., Burlington
Annedeen Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
B & L Hosiery Co., Inc., Burlington
Baker-Cammack Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Grabur Throwing Company, Graham
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Mayfair Knitting Plant, Burlington
Carolina Paper Box Company, Inc., Burlington
Clearmore Hosiery Co.,
Moore & Massey Hosiery Co., Inc., Burlington
Copeland Converting & Finishing Company, Burlington
Dixie Hosiery Co., Inc., Graham
Ferrell Hosiery Mill, Inc., Graham
Garrison Hosiery Co., Inc., Burlington
Ivey Hosiery Mill, Burlington
Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Burlington Seamless Knitting Division, Burlington
Lindy Hosiery Co., Inc., Burlington
Old Dominion Box Co., Inc.
Burlington Plant, Burlington
Sellers Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Silk Dept., Saxaphaw
Travora Textiles, Inc.
Finishing Plant, Graham
Walnut Textiles, Inc., Burlington

Third Year Winners

Apparel Manufacturing Corp., Mebane
Burlington Hosiery Co.
Interstate Warehouse, Burlington
Cherokee Flooring Corporation
Bondwood Department, Burlington
Duke Power Company
Burlington District, Burlington
Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Transportation Division, Burlington
Lemco Knitting Mill, Inc., Burlington
Monarch Hosiery Mills, Inc.
Ladies Seamless Division, Burlington
Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Burlington, Burlington
Sellers Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
Southerland Mills, Inc., Graham

Fourth Year Winners

Childrey Hosiery Mills, Inc., Haw River
Sharpe Hosiery Mills, Inc., Graham
Swink Hosiery Mill, Inc., Haw River

Fifth Year Winners

Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Hickory Knitting Division, Burlington
Kayser-Roth Hosiery Company, Inc.
Throwing Division, Burlington
Pickett Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington

Sixth Year Winners

Alamance Printing Company, Burlington
Boston Cleaners & Laundry, Inc., Burlington
Boston Cleaners & Laundry, Inc., Burlington
Lillien and Lee, Inc., Burlington
Sellers Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Service Dept., Saxaphaw

Seventh Year Winners

Burlington Garment Mfg., Inc., Burlington
Foil Hosiery Mills, Inc.
Graham Hosiery Mills, Inc.

Eighth Year Winners

Apparel, Inc., Mebane
Burlington Industries, Inc.
Waste Department, Burlington
Monarch Processing Co., Inc., Graham
Wilkins Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington

Ninth Year Winners

Koury Hosiery Mills, Inc., Burlington
McCuiston Hosiery Mills, Haw River
Major Dye Works, Inc., Burlington
Monarch Hosiery Mills, Inc.
Men's Half Hose Division, Burlington
Puritan Finishing Mills, Inc., Burlington
Rockfish-Mebane Yarn Mills, Inc., Mebane
Webco Mills, Inc., Burlington

Thirteenth Year Winners

Southerland Dyeing & Finishing Mills, Inc., Mebane

Fourteenth Year Winners

Leath Hosiery Mill, Inc., Graham

Sixteenth Year Winners

Western Electric Company, Inc.
North Carolina Works
Burlington Shops, Burlington

Ashe, Burke, Caldwell, McDowell and Watauga County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Alba-Waldensian, Inc.
Pauline Plant, Valdese
Alba-Waldensian, Inc.
Waldensian Division Box Plant, Valdese
Appalachian Flooring Company, West Jefferson
Artcraft Press, Inc., Morganton
Blue Ridge Electric Membership Corporation
Caldwell County Operation, Lenoir
Burke Hosiery Mill, Inc., Hildebran
Burke Lumber Co., Inc., Morganton
J. A. Cline & Sons, Inc., Hildebran
Dixie Container Corporation of North Carolina, Morganton
Dr. Pepper Bottling Company West Jefferson, Inc., West Jefferson
Drexel Knitting Mills, Inc., Drexel
Elizabeth James Mills, Inc., Marion
Fairfield Chair Company
Falls Mfg Co., Granite Falls
Hi-Way Mfg. Co., Inc., Drexel
Hudson Cotton Mills Co., Inc.
Machine Shop, Lenoir
International Resistance Company—Boone Division, Boone
Knox Knitting Company, Inc., Creston
Lenoir Chair Company No. 1, Lenoir
Lenoir Chair Company No. 3, Lenoir
Lenoir Chair Company No. 4, Lenoir
Lenoir News-Topic, Inc., Lenoir
Lenoir Veener Mill, Hildebran
Lindsey Hosiery Mills, Hildebran
McPar Hosiery Mill, Inc., Marion
Martinat Hosiery Mills, Inc., Valdese
Midway Lumber and Supply Company, West Jefferson
Morganton Sheet Metal Co., Morganton
The News Herald, Inc., Morganton
North State Canning Company, Inc., Boone
Oak Flooring Company, Inc., West Jefferson
Old Fort Manufacturing Company, Old Fort
Orton Hosiery Mill, Valdese

Parker Hosiery Mill, Inc., Old Fort
Parker Tie Company, West Jefferson
Peerless Hosiery Company, Inc., West Jefferson
Pitts Lumber, Inc., Glen Alpine
Robinson Hosiery Mill, Valdese
Shadowline, Incorporated, Boone
The Skyland Post, West Jefferson
Valdese Weavers, Inc., Valdese
Vanhorn Hosiery Mill, Hildebran
Watauga Democrat, Boone
West Jefferson Canning Company, West Jefferson
Western Carolina Hatcheries, Inc., Morganton
Wholesale Builders Supply, Inc., Boone

Second Year Winners

Dave Baer Hosiery Mill, Inc.
J. P. Pons Division, Valdese
Cross Cotton Mills Company, Marion
Estes, Morganton
Francis-Louise Fall Fashion Mills, Inc., Valdese
Guy L. Hensley Hosiery Mill, Inc., Marion
Jacquad Mills Co., Morganton
Moore Cotton Mill Co., Inc., Lenoir
Samson Cordage Works, Inc.
Icard Division, Icard

Third Year Winners

The American Thread Company, Marion
Hayes Cotton Mill Co., Inc., Lenoir
Hemlock Manufacturing Company, Inc., Granite Falls
Kraft Foods
Division of National Dairy Products Corp., West Jefferson
National Veneer Company, Lenoir

Fourth Year Winners

Eugene Cross & Company, Marion
Marion Manufacturing Co., Marion

Fifth Year Winners

B & K Hosiery Mill, Hickory

Sixth Year Winners

The McDowell News, Marion
United Rayon Knitting Mills
Div. of United Merchants & Mfgrs., Inc., Old Fort

Seventh Year Winners

Kohler and Campbell Inc., Granite Falls

Cabarrus County Award Winners

First Year Winners

The Bake Shop, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Bleachery, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Paint Department, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Yard Force, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant, Sheet Department, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Street Department, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 5, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 8, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 9, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 10, Kannapolis
Golden Crust Bakeries, Inc., Kannapolis
Propst Construction Co., Inc., Concord
Shannon Hosiery Mills, Inc.
Plant 8, Concord
Snyder Printing & Lithographing Company, Concord

(Continued on page 6)

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREAS — JUNE, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.7	27.8	27.8	— 0.4	— 0.4	$ 76.38	$ 76.26	$ 72.28	42.2	41.9	41.3	$1.81	$1.82	$1.75
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.1	.....	.....	73.96	71.31	65.69	43.0	41.7	40.3	1.72	1.71	1.63
Bakery	2.0	2.0	2.1	.....	— 4.8	78.57	76.02	69.14	42.7	42.0	40.2	1.84	1.81	1.72
Textile Mills Products	6.4	6.4	6.5	.....	— 1.5	67.84	64.94	65.89	42.4	41.1	41.7	1.60	1.58	1.58
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	77.43	75.69	78.32	44.5	43.5	44.5	1.74	1.74	1.76
Knitting Mills	2.3	2.3	2.6	.....	—11.5	60.70	57.22	56.36	40.2	38.4	38.6	1.51	1.49	1.46
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.8	.9	+12.5	.....	86.94	79.13	82.32	41.8	38.6	42.0	2.08	2.05	1.96
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	.....	.....	78.91	79.95	78.22	42.2	42.3	43.7	1.87	1.89	1.79
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.0	2.1	2.0	— 4.8	.....	93.43	96.05	...7...	40.1	41.4	...7...	2.33	2.32	2.24
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.7	2.7	2.5	.....	+ 8.0	70.47	70.52	72.54	42.2	43.0	44.5	1.67	1.64	1.63
Metal Products	2.4	2.4	2.4	.....	.....	79.77	81.36	77.97	40.7	41.3	40.4	1.96	1.97	1.93
Machinery	3.2	3.3	3.2	— 3.0	.....	91.60	92.86	78.87	45.8	46.2	43.1	2.00	2.01	1.83
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.6	4.6	4.8	.....	— 4.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.5	43.1	44.4	+ 0.9	— 2.0	$ 67.94	$ 67.42	$ 65.69	39.5	39.2	39.1	$1.72	$1.72	$1.68
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	2.9	2.9	.....	.....	72.70	71.84	73.47	44.6	44.9	46.5	1.63	1.60	1.58
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	81.83	77.91	74.42	47.3	46.1	44.3	1.73	1.69	1.68
Textile Mill Products	15.8	15.7	17.0	+ 0.6	— 7.1	61.06	60.16	58.56	38.4	37.6	37.3	1.59	1.60	1.57
Knitting Mills	6.1	6.0	6.8	+ 1.7	—10.3	52.27	50.76	49.76	35.8	34.3	34.8	1.46	1.48	1.43
Apparel	3.9	3.9	3.8	.....	+ 2.6	53.34	52.68	...7...	38.1	37.9	39.2	1.40	1.39	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.1	1.1	1.1	.....	.....	65.70	64.08	60.05	43.8	43.3	41.7	1.50	1.48	1.44
Furniture	6.7	6.6	6.7	+ 1.5	.....	67.42	67.77	63.58	39.2	39.4	38.3	1.72	1.72	1.66
HH Furniture	5.8	5.7	5.8	+ 1.8	.....	67.55	68.82	63.07	38.6	39.1	37.1	1.75	1.76	1.70
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.5	1.4	1.3	+ 7.1	+15.4	84.20	86.14	...7...	38.8	38.8	...7...	2.17	2.22	2.15
Chemicals	1.4	1.5	1.5	— 6.7	— 6.7	91.08	87.96	81.29	44.0	42.7	41.9	2.07	2.06	1.94
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	88.73	89.58	71.99	50.7	50.9	42.6	1.75	1.76	1.69
Metal Products	2.0	1.9	1.9	+ 5.3	+ 5.3	72.63	73.46	...7...	41.5	41.5	...7...	1.75	1.77	1.76
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	88.31	88.51	...7...	44.6	43.6	45.4	1.98	2.03	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.4	6.3	6.4	+ 1.6	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — JUNE, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT — PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM
HOURS AND EARNINGS — AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS — AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS — AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — JUNE, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT	1,260.3	1,262.8	1,242.9	— 0.2	+ 1.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Manufacturing	525.4	521.5	520.3	+ 0.7	+ 1.0	$ 68.64	$ 68.30	$ 67.24	41.1	40.9	41.0	$1.67	$1.67	$1.64
Durable Goods	147.5	146.1	146.6	+ 1.0	+ 0.6	70.64	70.81	67.94	42.3	42.4	42.2	1.67	1.67	1.61
Lumber & Timber Basic Products	31.5	31.2	30.6	+ 1.0	+ 2.9	59.93	60.21	60.06	42.5	42.7	42.9	1.41	1.41	1.40
Sawmills & Planing Mills	18.9	18.7	18.2	+ 1.1	+ 3.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Millwork, Plywood, etc.	6.2	6.2	6.4	.....	— 3.1	56.15	55.07	57.62	41.9	41.1	43.0	1.34	1.34	1.34
Furniture & Fin. Lumber Products	47.8	47.3	47.1	+ 1.1	+ 1.5	65.63	65.31	63.84	41.8	41.6	42.0	1.57	1.57	1.52
Household Furniture	43.3	42.9	42.8	+ 0.9	+ 1.2	65.47	65.31	63.12	41.7	41.6	41.8	1.57	1.57	1.51
Stone, Clay and Glass	11.1	11.0	11.1	+ 0.9	.....	74.70	75.88	66.36	44.2	44.9	42.0	1.69	1.69	1.58
Concrete, Brick, etc.	4.1	4.0	3.8	+ 2.5	+ 7.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Primary Metals	2.8	2.7	2.8	+ 3.7	.....	82.62	84.65	87.15	40.3	41.7	41.9	2.05	2.03	2.08
Fabricated Metals	9.5	9.3	9.0	+ 2.2	+ 5.6	87.60	87.80	75.85	43.8	43.9	41.0	2.00	2.00	1.85
Fab. Structural Metals	4.2	4.1	3.8	+ 2.4	+10.5	101.18	101.77	80.14	47.5	46.9	42.4	2.13	2.17	1.89
Machinery (Except Electrical)	13.3	13.3	13.8	.....	— 3.6	79.12	78.40	77.40	44.2	43.8	45.0	1.79	1.79	1.72
Special Industrial Machinery	6.7	6.6	6.8	+ 1.5	— 1.5	80.10	77.87	...7...	44.5	43.5	...7...	1.80	1.79	1.72
Electrical Machinery	24.0	23.9	24.9	+ 0.4	— 3.6	83.43	83.23	80.18	41.1	41.0	40.7	2.03	2.03	1.97
Ord. and Transportation Equipment	3.9	3.9	3.8	.....	+ 2.6	91.62	96.50	93.28	40.9	42.7	42.4	2.24	2.26	2.20
Other Durable Goods[1]	3.6	3.5	3.5	+ 2.9	+ 2.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nondurable Goods	377.9	375.4	373.7	+ 0.7	+ 1.1	67.56	67.47	66.99	40.7	40.4	40.6	1.66	1.67	1.65
Food & Kindred Products	36.8	35.0	34.9	+ 5.1	+ 5.4	61.76	62.16	60.34	42.3	42.0	41.9	1.46	1.48	1.44
Meat Products	8.5	8.4	8.2	+ 1.2	+ 3.7	53.82	53.24	52.88	39.0	38.3	38.6	1.38	1.39	1.37
Meat Packing	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	67.26	69.60	67.42	42.3	43.5	42.4	1.59	1.60	1.59
Dairy Products	5.6	5.6	5.6	.....	.....	74.10	75.05	74.40	46.9	47.5	48.0	1.58	1.58	1.55
Grain Mill Products	4.0	4.0	3.8	.....	+ 5.3	63.25	61.86	61.38	45.5	44.5	44.8	1.39	1.39	1.37
Bakery Products	7.6	7.5	7.6	+ 1.3	.....	73.36	72.76	67.82	42.9	42.8	41.1	1.71	1.70	1.65
Beverage Industries	5.0	4.9	4.8	+ 2.0	+ 4.2	64.61	62.92	61.72	49.7	48.4	48.6	1.30	1.30	1.27
Tobacco	25.6	25.6	26.4	.....	— 3.0	90.94	90.23	83.55	40.6	40.1	38.5	2.24	2.25	2.17
Cigarettes	18.6	18.3	19.3	+ 1.6	— 3.6	96.59	97.41	87.69	41.1	41.1	38.8	2.35	2.37	2.26
Stemmeries	5.2	5.5	5.4	— 5.5	— 3.7	69.45	66.42	66.20	38.8	36.9	37.4	1.79	1.80	1.77
Textiles	224.8	223.6	227.7	+ 0.5	— 1.3	66.01	65.37	65.44	41.0	40.6	40.9	1.61	1.61	1.60
Broadwoven Fabrics	90.8	90.1	90.0	+ 0.8	+ 0.9	72.07	71.99	71.40	42.9	42.6	42.5	1.68	1.69	1.68
Broadwoven Cotton	56.0	55.8	56.1	+ 0.4	— 0.2	71.06	70.06	68.48	42.3	41.7	41.5	1.68	1.68	1.65
Broadwoven Fiber & Silk	31.0	30.5	30.3	+ 1.6	+ 2.3	74.02	74.80	75.34	43.8	44.0	43.8	1.69	1.70	1.72
Knitting Mills	65.5	65.7	69.9	— 0.3	— 6.3	58.66	58.03	58.83	37.6	37.2	38.2	1.56	1.56	1.54
Full Fashioned Hosiery	7.5	7.6	8.4	— 1.3	—10.7	55.18	56.42	54.60	35.6	36.4	36.4	1.55	1.55	1.50
Seamless Hosiery	45.7	46.0	49.6	— 0.7	+ 7.9	58.56	57.46	59.28	37.3	36.6	38.0	1.57	1.57	1.56
Dyeing & Finishing Textiles	12.4	12.3	12.5	+ 0.8	— 0.8	69.47	70.22	69.47	41.6	41.8	42.1	1.67	1.68	1.65
Yarn Mills	47.5	46.9	46.7	+ 1.3	+ 1.7	63.27	62.67	62.13	41.9	41.5	41.7	1.51	1.51	1.49
Apparel	45.6	45.5	44.0	+ 0.2	+ 3.6	50.01	50.38	50.44	37.6	37.6	38.5	1.33	1.34	1.31
Men's & Boys' Clothing	17.6	17.3	17.1	+ 1.7	+ 2.9	47.23	47.58	47.88	36.9	36.6	38.3	1.28	1.30	1.25
Paper & Allied Products	13.5	13.7	13.9	— 1.5	— 2.9	102.86	103.68	101.29	43.4	43.2	43.1	2.37	2.40	2.35
Pulp & Paperboard Mills	8.5	8.7	8.9	— 2.3	— 4.5	115.98	114.48	113.01	44.1	43.2	43.3	2.63	2.65	2.61
Paperboard Containers	3.6	3.6	3.5	.....	+ 2.9	78.31	83.76	76.32	42.1	43.4	42.4	1.86	1.93	1.80
Printing	10.5	10.4	10.4	+ 1.0	+ 1.0	88.24	89.70	...7...	38.2	39.0	38.7	2.31	2.30	...7...
Newspapers	5.4	5.4	5.3	.....	+ 1.9	98.36	99.32	95.79	36.7	37.2	36.7	2.68	2.67	2.61
Chemicals	16.4	17.0	11.9	— 3.5	+37.8	85.22	83.13	86.50	42.4	42.2	42.4	2.01	1.97	2.04
Plastics & Synthetic Materials	10.1	10.1	6.0	.....	+68.3	95.22	92.82	107.57	42.7	42.0	43.2	2.23	2.21	2.49
Other Nondurable Goods[2]	4.7	4.6	4.5	+ 2.2	+ 4.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nonmanufacturing	734.9	741.3	722.6	— 0.9	+ 1.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Mining	2.8	2.8	3.5	.....	—20.0	75.17	78.25	79.38	46.4	48.6	49.0	1.62	1.61	1.62
Non-Metallic Mining	2.8	2.8	3.0	.....	— 6.7	75.17	78.25	78.05	46.4	48.6	49.4	1.62	1.61	1.58
Contract Construction	73.1	69.8	72.5	+ 4.7	+ 0.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transp., Comm., & Pub. Utilities	67.1	66.5	65.6	+ 0.9	+ 2.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transportation (Except RR)	33.6	33.5	32.8	+ 0.3	+ 2.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Communications & Pub. Utilities	24.7	24.3	23.9	+ 1.6	+ 3.3	95.99	97.10	96.41	40.5	40.8	41.2	2.37	2.38	2.34
Trade[3]	228.4	227.2	223.9	+ 0.5	+ 2.0	66.17	65.51	64.32	40.1	39.7	40.2	1.65	1.65	1.60
Wholesale	59.1	59.0	57.7	+ 0.2	+ 2.4	84.97	84.74	83.07	42.7	42.8	42.6	1.99	1.98	1.95
Retail[3]	169.3	168.2	166.2	+ 0.7	+ 1.9	58.50	57.75	56.59	39.0	38.5	39.3	1.50	1.50	1.44
Retail General Merchandise	34.6	34.4	34.4	+ 0.6	+ 0.6	45.43	42.84	42.80	33.9	32.7	33.7	1.34	1.31	1.27
Department Stores	15.4	15.3	14.9	+ 0.7	+ 3.4	49.35	46.26	47.00	32.9	31.9	33.1	1.50	1.45	1.42
Limited Price Variety	7.5	7.7	8.2	— 2.6	— 8.5	30.89	29.02	28.70	29.7	27.9	28.7	1.04	1.04	1.00
Retail Food Stores	25.5	25.4	24.4	+ 0.4	+ 4.5	52.94	51.90	51.83	34.6	33.7	35.5	1.53	1.54	1.46
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate[6]	49.2	48.5	47.5	+ 1.4	+ 3.6	87.45	89.09	91.22	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Service	140.0	138.7	137.3	+ 0.9	+ 2.0	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Hotels & Rooming Houses	9.2	8.4	8.8	+ 9.5	+ 4.5	34.10	31.15	32.71	42.1	35.8	41.4	.81	.87	.79
Personal Services	25.6	25.5	25.3	+ 0.4	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Laundries & Dry Cleaners	15.5	15.4	15.4	+ 0.6	+ 0.6	36.96	36.96	34.94	38.9	38.9	38.4	.95	.95	.91
Government	174.3	187.8	172.3	— 7.2	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Federal	40.0	38.8	39.9	+ 3.1	+ 0.3									
State & Local Schools	66.3	82.6	66.3	—19.7	.....									
State & Local Non-Schools	68.0	66.4	66.1	+ 2.4	+ 2.9									

[1] Includes: Transportation Equipment, Instruments, and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Leather and Leather Products, Rubber Products, and Petroleum Products.
[3] Excludes: Earnings in Eating and Drinking Places.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.
[6] Reflects Earnings in Insurance Companies Only.
[7] Not comparable.
* Less than 0.1% change.

Williams Printing Co., Kannapolis
Wiscassett Mills Company
No. 2 Carding & Spinning, Albemarle
Wiscasset Mills Company
Wiscasset Knitting Department, Albemarle
Wiscassett Mills Company
Hoover Hosiery Company, Albemarle
Wright Motor Co., Kannapolis

Second Year Winners

Bill Dove Motor Company, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Cotton Warehouse, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Wash Cloth Dept., Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 2, Carding, Kannapolis,
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 4, Shop & Yard, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 7, Spinning, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 7, Weaving, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 8, Weaving, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 9, Spinning, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 10, Spinning, Kannapolis
Cardell Carter Pontiac - Buick, Inc., Kannapolis
Concord Motors, Inc., Concord
Locust Hosiery Mills, Inc., Mt. Pleasant
E. L. Morrison Lumber Co., Inc., Concord
Mt. Pleasant Milling Co., Mt. Pleasant
Nu Tred Tire Service, Concord
Penn Carol Hosiery Mills, Inc., Mt. Pleasant
Sparks Oldsmobile, Inc., Kannapolis

Third Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 9, Carding, Kannapolis

Fourth Year Winners

Brown Manufacturing Co., Spinning, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 6, Finishing (Put up & Sew), Kannapolis
Mt. Pleasant Hosiery Mills, Mt. Pleasant

Fifth Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 6, Weaving, Kannapolis

Sixth Year Winners

Brown Manufacturing Co.
Carding, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Set Dept., Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 4, Cloth Room, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 8, Carding & Spinning, Kannapolis
Roberta Manufacturing Co.
Carding & Spinning, Kannapolis
City Pressing Club, Concord
Southern Latex Corporation, Concord

Seventh Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 5, Carding, Kannapolis
DeWitt Motor Company, Concord
Sussex Hosiery Co., Concord

Eighth Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 6, Beaming, Kannapolis
Sunshine Cleaners — Centerview, Kannapolis

Ninth Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 2, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 2, Weaving, Kannapolis

Tenth Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company, Kannapalis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Cutting Dept., Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Dye Dept., Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Sample Dept., Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Sewing Dept., Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Supply Room, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Wrapping & Packing, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 1, Weaving, Cloth & Knitting, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 4, 1 Spin, Kannapolis
Young Cleaners & Dyers, Concord

Eleventh Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 6, Maintenance, Kannapolis
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 10, Kannapolis,
Cannon Mills Company
Plant 11, Spinning, Kannapolis

Twelfth Year Winners

Cannon Mills Company
Plant 7, Kannapolis

Cleveland County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Fiber Industries, Inc., Shelby
McBrayer Motors, Inc., Shelby
Shelby One Hour Martinizing Cleaners, Shelby
Star Press, Inc., Shelby
Star Publishing Co., Shelby
Whiteway Cleaners, Shelby
Young Motor Sales, Shelby

Second Year Winners

Cline Motors, Shelby
Lafayette Cleaners, Shelby

Third Year Winners

Fallston Builders Supply Co., Inc., Fallston
Fiber Glass Division
Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, Shelby
Sadie Cotton Mills Co., Inc., Kings Mountain
Spangler & Sons, Inc., Shelby

Fifth Year Winners

Foote Mineral Co.
Kings Mountain Operations, Kings Mountain

Davidson, Davie County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Bills Hosiery Mill, Denton
Black Lumber Co., Inc., Thomasville
Blackwelder Mfg. Co., Inc., Mocksville
Botany Cottons, Inc.
Jewel Mill Division, Thomasville
Carolina Lingerie Co., Inc., Mocksville
Carolina Propane Gas Service Co., Inc., Lexington
Circle Manufacturing Co., Thomasville
Colony Craft Furniture Co., Inc., Denton
Hoover Chair Co., Lexington
Irving Knitting Mills, Inc., Lexington
Mid-State Tile Company, Lexington
Peerless Mattress Co., Lexington
Piedmont Candy Co., Lexington
Piedmont Garment Co., Inc., Mocksville
Plymouth Hosiery Mills, Thomasville
Siceloff Manufacturing Co., Inc., Lexington
Streetman Novelty Furniture Co., Lexington
Stroupe Mirror Company, Thomasville
Surratt Hosiery Mills, Denton
Thomasville Furniture Industries, Inc.
Plant T, Thomasville
United Furniture Corporation, Lexington
Welco Furniture, Inc., Thomasville
Yarbrough Hosiery Mill, Lexington

Second Year Winners

The Dispatch Publishing Co.
Dixie Furniture Company, Inc., Lexington
Duke Power Company,
Thomasville Branch, Thomasville
Miller Tool & Machine Co., Inc., Welcome

Third Year Winners

Monleigh Garment Co., Inc., Mocksville
G. W. Smith Lumber Co., Lexington

Fourth Year Winners

Erwin Mills, Inc.
Plant No. 3, Cooleemee
Hinkle Milling Co., Thomasville
Thomasville Furniture Industries, Inc.
Main Office, Thomasville

Fifth Year Winners

Thomasville Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Thomasville

Eleventh Year Winners

Thomasville Furniture Industries, Inc.
Plant E, Thomasville

Thirteenth Year Winners

B. & F. Mfg. Co., Inc., Mocksville
Welcome Milling Co., Welcome

Forsyth, Yadkin, Surry, and Stokes County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Atlantic Bitulithic Company, Winston-Salem
Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation
Winston-Salem Branch, Winston-Salem
Dixie Concrete Products, Inc., Winston-Salem
The Duplan Corporation
Forsyth Division, Winston-Salem
Goody's Manufacturing Corporation, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Central Repair Shop, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Elkin Quarry, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Enka Quarry, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Pilot Mountain Quarry, Winston-Salem
Hanes Hosiery Mills Company, Winston-Salem
Alvis Hole Construction Co., Walnut Cove
Industries For The Blind, Winston-Salem
The Proctor-Silex Corporation
Mount Airy Plant, Mount Airy
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
No. 92-2 Processing, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Wood Working Shop, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Archer Aluminum Division No. 40, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Zone Maintenance, Winston-Salem
Hugh G. Strickland, Inc., Winston-Salem
J. A. Vance Co., Winston-Salem

Second Year Winners

W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Delivery Department, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Greystone Quarry, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Piedmont Quarry, Winston-Salem
W. E. Graham & Sons Division
Vulcan Materials Company
Shelton Quarry, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Turkish Department, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Whitaker Park Cigarette Blending,
Winston-Salem
WSJS Radio and Television,
Winston-Salem

Third Year Winners

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
No. 9 Metal Can, Winston-Salem

Fourth Year Winners

International Minerals & Chemicals
Corporation, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Bonded Warehouse, Winston-Salem
Weaver Fertilizer Co., Winston-Salem

Fifth Year Winners

Isom & Ingram Hosiery Mill, Inc.,
Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Classing Department, Winston-Salem

Sixth Year Winners

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Air Conditioning, Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
Research Department, Winston-Salem
Wil-Ray Builders, Winston-Salem

Seventh Year Winners

Indera Mills Company, Winston-Salem
Western Electric Company, Inc.
North Carolina Works-Winston-Salem,
Winston-Salem

Eighth Year Winners

Boonville Cleaners & Laundry, Boonville
Wachovia Oil Co., Winston-Salem

Ninth Year Winners

Piedmont Engraving Co., Winston-Salem
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
No. 256 SPD, Winston-Salem

Tenth Year Winners

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
No. 60 Processing

Twelfth Year Winners

Superior Cleaners, Winston-Salem

Thirteenth Year Winners

Walnut Cove Hosiery Mill, Walnut Cove

Sixteenth Year Winners

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company
No. 8 Stemmery, Winston-Salem

Gaston County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Aberfoyle Manufacturing Company
Rex Division
Plant No. 1, Gastonia
American & Efird Mills, Inc.
Adrian Plant, Mount Holly
Belmont Throwing Corporation, Belmont
C & W Roller Shop, Inc., Gastonia
Gastonia Electric Co., Inc., Gastonia
Harden Manufacturing Company, Dallas
Howard Brothers Manufacturing Co.,
Gastonia
Pyramid Mills Co., Inc., Bessemer City
A. M. Smyre Mfg. Co., Gastonia
J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.,
Ragan Plant, Gastonia
Sunshine Uniform & Linen Service,
Gastonia
Textiles, Incorporated, Gastonia
Wales Manufacturing Company, Inc.,
Gastonia

Second Year Winners

American & Efird Mills, Inc.
Efird Plant No. 1, Mount Holly
Carson's Laundry, Gastonia
Gastonia United Oil Co., Inc., Gastonia
G. G. Walker Motor Co., Inc., Gastonia

Third Year Winners

Gastonia Weaving Co., Gastonia

Fourth Year Winners

Homelite
Division of Textron, Inc., Gastonia
Southeastern
Precision Tool & Die, Inc., Gastonia

Sixth Year Winners

Huffman's Laundry & Cleaners, Gastonia
Piedmont Machine Shop, Inc., Gastonia

Seventh Year Winners

Gettys Cleaners, Gastonia

Eleventh Year Winners

American & Efird Mills, Inc.
Main Office, Mount Holly

Sixteenth Year Winners

Firestone Textiles, Gastonia

Greensboro Award Winners

First Year Winners

The American Agricultural Chemical Co.,
Greensboro
Blue Bell, Inc.
Lee Street Plant, Greensboro
Blue Gem Manufacturing Company,
Greensboro
George C. Brown & Company, Inc.,
Greensboro
H. L. Coble Construction Company,
Greensboro
Cone Mills Corp.
Eno Plant, Greensboro
Cone Mills Corp.
Granite Plant, Greensboro
DeSoto Chemical Coatings, Inc.,
Greensboro
Elm Street Weaving Company, Greensboro
Guilford Dairy Co-Operative Association
Thomasville Branch, Greensboro
Guilford Dairy Co-Operative Association
Asheboro Branch, Greensboro
A. J. Hewett, Contractor, Greensboro
McLeod Leather & Belting Co., Inc.,
Greensboro
Mayfair Cafeteria, Inc., Greensboro
Sears, Roebuck and Co., Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Asheboro Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Burlington Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Davidson Quarry, Greesnboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Eno Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Hickory Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Hicone Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Lexington Quarry, Greensboro
Vick Manufacturing Division, Greensboro
Richardson-Merrell, Inc.

Second Year Winners

American Oil Company, Guilford
Cone Mills Corp.
Tabardrey Plant, Greensboro
Dixie Belle Textiles, Inc.
Gibsonville Plant, Gibsonville
Piedmont Blouse Co., Inc., Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Crabtree Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Garysburg Quarry
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Gaston Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Mebane Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Salisbury Shop, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Woodleaf Quarry, Greensboro
Thompson-Arthur Paving Co., Greensboro
J. D. Wilkins Company, Greensboro

Third Year Winners

AMP Incorporated
Greensboro Plant, Greensboro
Blue Bell, Inc.
Central Shop, Greensboro
Cameo Hosiery Company, Greensboro
Cone Mills Corp.
Haynes Plant, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Elm City Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Kings Mountain Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Reidsville Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Truck Fleet, Greensboro
Wafco Mills, Inc., Greensboro

Fourth Year Winners

Carolina Loom Reed Co., Inc., Greensboro
Dixie Overall Service, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Belgrade Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Buchanan Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Charlotte Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Goldsboro Quarry, Greensboro
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
Rolesville Quarry, Greensboro

Fifth Year Winners

Lynch Hosiery Mills, Greensboro

Sixth Year Winners

Benbow Reproductions, Inc., Greensboro
Phillips Petroleum Company
Marine & Other Terminals Division
Superior Stone Company Division
Martin Marietta Corporation
McLeansville Quarry, Greensboro

Seventh Year Winners

Carolina Blower Co., Inc., Greensboro
Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., Greensboro

Eighth Year Winners

American Cleaners, Greensboro
Summit Center Cleaners, Greensboro
Sunset Cleaners & Laundries, Inc., Greensboro

Ninth Year Winners

Cone Mills Corp.
Power Plant, Greensboro

Eleventh Year Winners

Western Electric Company, Inc.
N. C. Works—Greensboro

Thirteenth Year Winners

Boren Clay Products Company, Pleasant Garden

Fourteenth Year Winners

Burlington Industries, Inc.
Sample Weaving Plant, Greensboro

Fifteenth Year Winners

Peerless Cleaners, Greensboro

High Point Award Winners

First Year Winners

Adams-Millis Corporation
Mac Panel Company, High Point
Amos Hosiery Mills, Inc., High Point
The Borden Company
Charlotte Plant, High Point
Crown Hosiery Mills, Inc., High Point
W. A. Davis Milling Company, Inc., High Point
The Englander Company, Inc., High Point
Globe Furniture Company, High Point
Hall Printing Company, High Point
The Lilly Company, High Point
Young's, Inc., High Point

Second Year Winners

Adams-Millis Corporation
Plant Four, High Point
Adams-Millis Corporation
Plant Six, High Point
Anvil Brand, Inc.
Hudson Division, High Point
Burlington Throwing Company, High Point
Tomlinson's of High Point, Inc.
Office, High Point

Third Year Winners

The Borden Company
Asheville Plant, High Point
The Borden Company
Rocky Mount Branch, High Point
Duke Power Company
High Point Branch, High Point
Griffin Upholstery Co., High Point
Heritage Furniture Co.
Quilting-Cushion Division, High Point
White Frames, Inc., High Point

Fourth Year Winners

Henderson & Mooney Mfg. Co., Inc., High Point
Heritage Furniture Co.
Trende' Division, High Point

Fifth Year Winners

Adams-Millis Corporation
Plant Seven, High Point
Deluxe Saw and Tool Company, High Point

Sixth Year Winners

Thomas Furniture Co., High Point

Mecklenburg County Award Winners

First Year Winner

Arts Engraving Co., Inc., Charlotte
Arzberger Engravers, Inc., Charlotte
Atlantic Company, Charlotte
W. A. Buening Co., Inc., Charlotte
Carolina Marble & Granite Works, Inc., Charlotte
Charlotte Development Laboratories of the Celanese Fibers Company, Charlotte
Charlotte Machine Company, Charlotte
Fulbright Laboratories, Inc., Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Denton Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Sylva Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Hickory Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Rockingham Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Henderson Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Fayetteville Terminal, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Durham Bulk Plant, Charlotte
J. A. Jones Construction Company, Charlotte
Pet Milk Company
Dairy Division, Charlotte
Ralston Purina Company, Charlotte
Reeves Bros., Inc.
Curon Div. Cornelius
Republic Steel Corporation,
Culvert Plant, Charlotte
Schachner Leather & Belting Company, Charlotte
Standard Chemical Products, Inc., Charlotte
Stately Lady Nitewear, Inc., Charlotte
Western Electric Co., Inc., Charlotte

Second Year Winners

Air Reduction Co., Inc.
Air Reduction Sales Company
Charlotte Oxygen Plant, Charlotte
Arnold, Hoffman & Company, Inc.
Charlotte Plant, Charlotte
Carolina Metal Products Corp., Charlotte
Cherokee Paper Box Company, Inc., Charlotte
Dillard Paper Company of Charlotte, Inc., Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Elizabeth City Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Wilmington Terminal, Charlotte
Martin Marietta Corporation
Sinclair & Valentine Division, Charlotte
Reichhold Chemicals, Inc., Charlotte

Third Year Winners

Johnston Manufacturing Co., Charlotte
Richardson Electrical Equipment Co., Inc., Charlotte

Fourth Year Winners

Humble Oil & Refining Company
Rocky Mount Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Raleigh Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Phillips Petroleum Company
Marine & Other Terminals Division
Charlotte Terminal, Charlotte
Republic Steel Corporation
Warehouse, Charlotte
Virginia-Carolina Chemical Corp., Charlotte
Westinghouse Electric Corporation
Charlotte Apparatus Repair Plant, Charlotte

Fifth Year Winners

Humble Oil & Refining Company
Asheville Bulk Plant, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Burlington Bulk Plant, Charlotte

Sixth Year Winners

Davidson College Laundry, Davidson
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Morehead City Terminal, Charlotte

Seventh Year Winners

Barber Manufacturing Company, Charlotte
Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc.
Charlotte Division, Charlotte
Humble Oil & Refining Company
Washington Bulk Plant, Charlotte

Eighth Year Winners

Criminger Cabinet Shop, Charlotte

Eleventh Year Winners

Dixie Tag & Label Co., Charlotte
Winsor & Jerauld Manufacturing Co.
Southern Division, Charlotte

Twelfth Year Winners

Martin Marietta Corp.
Concrete Pipe Division, Charlotte

Thirteenth Year Winners

R. T. Barbee Company, Inc., Charlotte
The Dowd Press, Inc.

Fourteenth Year Winners

Union Carbide Consumer Products Co., Charlotte

Sixteenth Year Winners

Charlotte Workshop For The Blind, Inc., Charlotte
Linde Company
Div. Union Carbide Corp., Charlotte

Wilson County Award Winners

First Year Winners

Carolina Laundry & Cleaners, Inc., Wilson
James C. Dempsey, Jr., Inc., Wilson
High's, Inc., Wilson
Linstone, Inc., Wilson
Nutrena Mills, Wilson
Ralston Purina Company
Wilson Plant, Wilson
Sealtest Foods
Wilson Plant, Wilson
Service Laundry Co., Inc., Wilson
Stephenson Millwork Co., Inc., Wilson
Tobacco City Motors, Inc., Wilson
Wilson Veneer Co., Inc., Wilson

Second Year Winners

One Hour Cleaners & Laundry, Inc., Wilson
Wilson Broom & Mop Mfg. Co., Inc., Wilson

Third Year Winners

Mello Ice Cream Co., Wilson
Sandifer-Batts Pontiac Company, Wilson
The Wilson Daily Times, Inc., Wilson

Fourth Year Winners

Cargill Incorporated, Wilson
Contentnea Guano Company, Wilson
Samson's Inc., Wilson

Seventh Year Winners

One Hour Cleaners, Wilson

Eleventh Year Winners

Wilson Motor Parts

Labor

FOR RELEASE
ON DELIVERY

TESTIMONY OF ERWIN N. GRISWOLD, COMMISSIONER
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER
OF THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
ON S. 1937 AND RELATED BILLS
TUESDAY, August 20, 1963

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

On behalf of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, I am pleased to respond to your invitation to present our views on Federal policies which affect racial discrimination in the field of employment.

In connection with its forthcoming statutory report, the Commission has unanimously adopted a recommendation that:

> "Congress enact legislation establishing a right to equal opportunity in employment when that employment is assisted by the Federal Government or affects interstate commerce, with authority to initiate action and to issue appropriate orders vested in a single administrator located in the Department of Labor, and provision for appeal to an independent authority."

Senate Bill 1937 is consistent with and would effectuate the Commission's recommendation. I therefore urge its enactment.

The economic disadvantage of Negroes is a fundamental cause of current social unrest, demonstrations and protests. One week from tomorrow, the National Capital will be the scene of the largest civil rights gathering in our history. Thousands of Negro and white citizens from all parts of the country will come to this city under the banner of "Jobs and Freedom." The focus of the day will be employment opportunities as well as the broad range of civil rights issues now pending before Congress. In the South, demonstrators against segregated public accommodations have listed equal employment opportunity as one of their major goals. In the

North, the demonstrations of recent months have highlighted growing dissatisfaction with restricted employment opportunities and the high rate of unemployment among nonwhites. Few of us can honestly believe that we can somehow cure these symptoms without correcting those economic ills, from which, in large measure, they spring.

The persistence of economic injustices, the disparity between white and Negro income levels, and the rising unemployment rate among Negroes now urgently demand of Congress speedy corrective action. In addition, the changing patterns of the job market foretell mounting economic deprivation for Negroes rendered jobless by automation and increasing technological change .

Testimony has already been presented before this Committee substantiating the well-known fact that the Negro "still ranks among the poorest of the poor in the United States and that his economic status relative to whites has not improved for nearly twenty years." Whatever improvements Negroes have achieved in occupational levels and in incomes have tended to result from general shifts in the economy rather than from any significient lessening of the economic disparity between Negroes and whites. It is still a fact that one-third of employed Negroes are service workers, compared to 11 percent of employed whites; and that only 17 percent of employed Negroes have achieved the status of white collar workers, compared to 47 percent for whites. The unemployed rate for nonwhites has remained twice as high as the rate for whites, and among young Negroes has shown a disturbing tendency to increase persistently. Finally, the income of nonwhites has remained at 50 to 60

percent the income of whites, and in fact, since the mid-fifties, the gap has widened.

But even more disturbing to Negroes than this general economic disparity is the discrepancy in earning power between Negroes and whites with the same number of years of schooling or performing the same kind of work. It is disturbing to realize that in his lifetime a Negro college graduate will earn less than the white who did not go beyond the 8th grade. And that even with the same years of schooling, Negro teachers, physicians, clerks, sales workers, bus and truck drivers, and household workers all earn less than their white counterparts.

There is reason for further concern in the fact that the manpower trends predicted for the future indicate that there will be even greater problems in this area unless firm steps are taken to improve the situation. The very areas of employment where Negroes made gains during World War II and thereafter (production jobs) are the areas where employment opportunities appear to be shrinking. At the same time, opportunities are expanding in the categories where Negroes have yet to make significant advances (professionals, managers, clerical and sales workers).

All of us recognize, of course, that the economic disparity between whites and nonwhites is not entirely attributable to employment discrimination. Inequality in education bears its share of responsibility for this current situation, as well as the general erosive effects of segregation which have too often sapped the enthusiasm, interest and aspirations of Negroes in every age group. Nevertheless, the evidence already presented to this Committee substantiates the conclusion that regardless of educational attainment, Negroes continue to be denied equal employment opportunities because of their race and color.

Further substantiation, if any were needed, is provided by the experiences of Negroes in the Armed Forces when contrasted with those in the civilian labor market. The Armed Services, particularly the Army and the Air Force, have demonstrated the improved utilization of Negro manpower which is possible when policies of equal opportunity are followed. A detailed Commission report will soon be released on this subject. I might briefly summarize the major findings here.

While there are many pitfalls in comparing civilian and military occupations, the evidence shows that both Negro enlisted men and officers have attained higher occupational levels than have Negroes dependent upon the civilian employment market. This is so in every clerical, technical and skilled field for which the data permit comparison, including technicians in electronic, drafting, medical and dental fields; aircraft and automotive mechanics; electricians and communications linemen; construction and related craftsmen; and printing craftsmen. The performance of the Army in utilizing Negro manpower is exceptionally outstanding. In nearly all of the occupations studied, the Army's proportion of Negroes was two, three or even four times higher than the proportion of Negroes in the discriminatory environment of the civilian economy.

Negro military personnel have conclusively demonstrated that given equal employment opportunities they have the education, skill and capacity to perform at managerial, scientific and technical levels. Our civilian economy could only be greatly strengthened by a similar effective use of Negro manpower.

Faced as we are with the current racial disparity in the civilian economy and with the projected manpower trends which will intensify the problems of occupational status, unemployment and income for the Negro, establishment of equal employment opportunities becomes imperative. Nothing short of a nationwide affirmative and conscious effort by Government, employers, unions and others - as called for by this bill - will avoid the economic waste and social unrest which await us. No American community can justify its claim to democracy nor long preserve peace and order when one-fourth of Negro youth are unemployed, and when many other Negroes are employed at less than their full capacity.

Senate Bill 1937 embodies a bold and fresh approach to the problem but no more than is necessary to cope with the magnitude of the issues we face. It preserves those features of the State commission approach which have been most effective and incorporates improved features to cope with the current issues on a national level. The question before this Committee is not whether Federal action is needed to promote equal employment opportunity but rather whether the particular form that Federal action takes will be equal to the task.

This bill appropriately emphasizes the positive concept of equal employment opportunity. The current economic and employment status of Negroes is not simply the result of employers refusing to hire qualified Negro job seekers. It is more the result of restrictive practices of labor unions, both as to membership and apprentice training, and of other personnel and manpower systems established by tradition, habit or convenience which by their operation have the effect of excluding Negroes from employment opportunities. The goal is not merely to ensure

nondiscriminatory treatment of the Negro applicant when he arrives at the personnel office, but rather to ensure that Negroes as well as whites will know of job vacancies, will be referred by placement agencies and will possess the requisite training to qualify. Nondiscrimination alone will not solve the problem we face if Negroes never learn of jobs, are denied referrals by employment agencies and are barred from training facilities. Equal employment opportunity is properly defined by the statute in terms of the entire employment process.

Since the Act broadens the usual concept of nondiscriminatory employment practices and seeks to encourage a review of basic personnel and manpower systems, the Administrator should be authorized to acquaint persons subject to the Act with these objectives and with methods by which these objectives may be achieved. The bill does not so provide and might well be amended accordingly.

A second significant feature of the bill is the administrative structure proposed. The Commission has recommended, and S. 1937 so provides, that the agency responsible for the administration of the statute be located within the Department of Labor so that the many skills and services of the Department may be effectively utilized to achieve equal employment opportunity. Public employment agencies, apprenticeship training, and manpower development all have a vital role to play in influencing and affecting the personnel systems of our economy. The Department's policy decisions and programs in these areas and the activities of other Bureaus of the Department have a profound impact on equality of opportunity which must be coordinated with the program of the Equal Employment Opportunity Administration. Placing the Administration within the Department of Labor will make this possible.

Furthermore, vesting administration in a single administrator responsible to the Secretary of Labor is an improvement over the sometimes cumbersome multi-headed policy making commissions. The Administrator is properly made responsible for planning, developing, initiating and executing the program necessary to effectuate the purposes of the Act, and he is given the discretion and authority to accomplish this objective. This approach is vital to the success of the agency.

The provision of this bill granting the Administrator authority to decide whether or not to receive an individual complaint is sound. The Administrator must exercise initiative in directing the resources of the agency to those fields and to those problems which careful study and research have indicated are of prime importance. The program and direction of the agency should not be determined by individual complainants. In addition persons subject to the Act should be protected from the harassment of disgruntled and misguided individuals.

Also reliance on the complaints of individuals focuses attention on questions of employer and labor union guilt or innocence. The far more important issue is whether all persons are afforded equality of opportunity. The emphasis of the bill is properly on affirmative action. At the same time, ample opportunity is afforded for the correction of violations, however uncovered, through persuasion and conciliation, thus preserving a feature of State commission procedures which has proven effective.

It is recognized that under the provisions of this bill the Administrator has been granted considerable authority and discretion. This is essential and proper provided adequate review of his actions,

orders and decisions is possible. With minor exceptions, the powers of the Administrator are adequately circumscribed by administrative and judicial review procedures. For instance if the Administrator issues any remedial or cease-and-desist order, the person against whom the order is issued has the right of appeal to the Equal Employment Opportunity Board. If the Administrator rejects an individual's complaint, finding no violation of the statute, the complainant may appeal to the Board. No order of the Administrator is enforceable unless it has been reviewed and affirmed by the Board. The Board hears each case de novo, and parties have the right to present evidence and to examine and cross-examine witnesses. The Board may affirm, modify or reverse orders of the Administrator.

The very nature of the Board as an agency independent of the Administrator, separating the prosecuting and judging functions, further ensures the adequacy of the review of the actions of the Administrator. This structure is consistent with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission and with the Administrative Procedures Act, and is properly extended to the sensitive area of equal employment opportunity.

Finally judicial review of the orders of the Board by a court of appeals serves as a final check on both the Administrator and the Board. Under these circumstances the grant of authority to the Administrator will not endanger the rights of persons subject to the Act.

However, there are three areas where the Committee might well want to enlarge the opportunity for appeals to the Board in order to give ample protection to the rights of all parties.

1. Since the Administrator may refuse to receive written complaints from an individual, the complainant should

have the right to appeal his decision to the Board. The decision of the Administrator not to investigate a complaint should not be arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable.

2. Only persons "against whom an order is issued" may appeal to the Board (Sec. 6d). Either complainant or respondent should have the right of appeal if dissatisfied with the order of the Administrator. Perhaps the more desirable language "person aggrieved" should be used in this section as is used in section 9a governing the right to judicial review by the court of appeals.

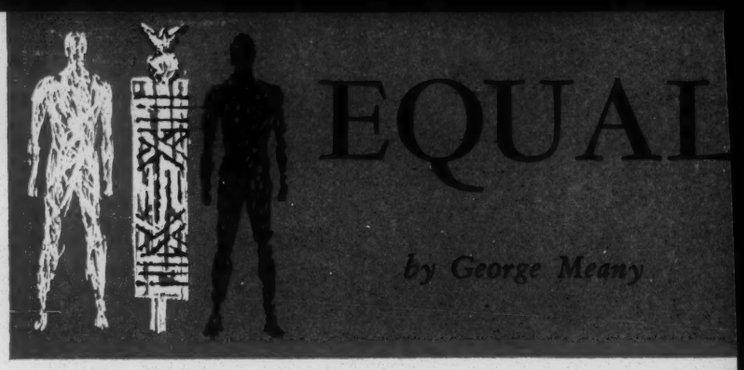
3. Regulations issued by the Administrator should not become effective unless reviewed and approved by the Board.

Two additional suggested changes may be mentioned for consideration by the Committee. Section 16c of the Act refers to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The Commission on Civil Rights has recommended the establishment of the President's Committee by statute. However if this bill were enacted and if the Administrator were authorized to act on behalf of the contracting agencies, there would be no need for the President's Committee and its current activities could then be terminated. The duplication of Federal agencies should not be encouraged.

Also the coverage of this bill, while comprehensive, including employment resulting from Federal contracts would not cover employment resulting from Federal grants. The distinctions between contracts and grants do not appear to warrant the differential treatment.

In conclusion, the solution of the economic and moral issues we face would be advanced by the enactment of S. 1937. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights supports and recommends such action.

The Federationist
Labor August, 1963



EQUAL

by George Meany

Let me say at the outset that we are happy to present our views on civil rights legislation in an atmosphere of impending action. As I am sure you know, we have appeared many times, before many congressional committees, under far less promising circumstances.

In the course of preparing this testimony, I looked through our files for a sampling of the civil rights statements we have made over the years—not only the congressional testimony but convention resolutions and policy declarations by the AFL-CIO, and earlier, by the AFL and CIO as separate federations.

Those statements are remarkably consistent. They are not only consistent in what they propose; they are also consistent in their sense of urgency.

We have been insisting for a long time that establishing and maintaining full and equal rights for Negro Americans is a matter of "here and now." We have done this in the full knowledge that not all individual units of the trade union movement agree with the policies adopted, without apparent dissent, at trade union conventions.

This has contributed to our sense of urgency. The labor movement has not been the only advocate of civil rights legislation during the last decade; there have been the church groups and, of course, the Negro organizations themselves. But I think it is fair to say that we are the only one, among the civil rights forces, which has openly called for legislation for the correction of shortcomings in its own rank.

On this score our credentials cannot be challenged. It can be truly charged that some segments of the labor movement have ignored the established policies of the AFL, the CIO and the AFL-CIO. We have said so ourselves, before Congress and elsewhere. We have pleaded for legislative help to translate principle into practice. But until very recently, there has been very little disposition on the part of the Congress, or the country as a whole, to provide that help.

Obviously this is no longer the case. And I think all of us must acknowledge that the change has taken place because the Negroes are no longer willing to wait for the white majority, in its own good time, to do what is right. I do not offer a blanket endorsement of every Negro demonstration, every sit-in or every picketline. But it is beyond question that the organized militancy of the Negroes has forced their plight to the active attention of the nation.

Fortunately, there was a quick response. President Kennedy's firm and eloquent address on June 11 stirred the nation's conscience. It has inspired other men of goodwill to speak out. The overwhelming national consensus in support of equal rights is now becoming visible and is asserting itself at last.

We have been glad to note that the President has by no means let the matter rest. He has called to the White House the leaders of many groups, including businessmen, union officials, women, lawyers, Negro spokesmen and the clergy. He has brought together the congressional leaders of both parties. And he has submitted to Congress a program, part of which you are now considering.

As a result, the American people have begun to grasp the fact that civil rights is not a matter for abstract debate but an immediate crisis. This realization has come none too soon. For the proposals I am about to discuss are urgent, not because we say so, but because the course of history demands their enactment.

We are not offering a blueprint for the future—a program that can be mulled over and then set aside or one that can be delayed by endless debate over technicalities. The mulling over has been going on for two decades; indeed, in the broader sense it has been going on for more than a century. What we are discussing here today is a program for the here and now, for this year, for this session of Congress.

In the hope of simplifying the work of the committee, I will offer the AFL-CIO position within the context of the Administration bill, title by title. Where other legislative proposals are also involved, I will discuss them in connection with the corresponding section of the basic bill.

Title I—Voting Rights

This ought to be the least controversial issue before the committee and, therefore, I will deal with it briefly.

Surely there is no possible argument against the proposition that every American citizen, unless he is demonstrably an incompetent, has the right to vote. This has nothing to do with integration as such. It is simply a recognition of basic democratic principles, the principles that are the very foundation of our country.

A citizen who is denied the right to vote is not a citizen at all. And a nation which extends the franchise to some citizens but denies it to others, solely on artificial grounds such as race, is not truly democratic.

Yet this is what happens in many southern communities. The right to vote is denied to Negroes through the use of transparently fraudulent "qualifications" for those seeking to register. The 85th Congress recognized this fact and enacted legislation intended to meet it. Experience has shown that this legislation must be strengthened.

A major device now employed to bar Negroes from the polls is the so-called literacy test. There is not the slightest doubt that such tests have been the pretext under which highly-educated Negroes have been disqualified, while all whites—including the semi-literate—have been duly accepted. This is a matter of record, documented in the Civil Rights Commission report of 1961 and further elaborated in congressional hearings

GEORGE MEANY, President of the AFL-CIO, presented this testimony on pending civil rights bills before the House Judiciary Committee on July 17.

1957, when the advance of economic activities was slowing down, was a major cause of the 1958 recession. The sharp rise in unemployment and the drop in business profits in 1958 produced a record peacetime deficit of $13.1 billion in the government's cash operations in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959. It would have been wiser to emphasize government efforts to achieve and maintain prosperity in 1957 than to try to produce a budget surplus.

The federal government's economic responsibility is to maintain prosperity—maximum use of manpower, plants and machines. The Employment Act of 1946 declares that "it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government to use all practicable means . . . to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

The most important way by which the government can "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" is through its tax and expenditure policies. The federal government adds to sales, production and employment when it puts more money into the economy's spending stream, through expenditures, than it takes out of the spending stream in the form of taxes. This process adds to economic activities—it lifts the demand for goods, services and manpower.

When the federal government takes more money out of the spending stream through taxes than it puts in through expenditures, it dampens down further increases in sales, production and employment. Such a policy has a braking effect on additional increases in economic activities.

The federal government should put more money into the economy's spending stream—to add to sales, production and employment—until the economy approaches full employment and maximum use of plants and machines. When the economy is operating in high gear and unemployment is at a minimum, the federal government should seek a balanced budget or budget surplus to prevent the creation of inflationary shortages.

The concentration of federal policy should be on the state of affairs in the national economy. With high levels of joblessness, the government should continue to place more money into the spending stream than it takes out until the economy approaches full employment and general prosperity.

How would such a policy affect the federal debt? Obviously, if the federal government cuts taxes by $10 billion in 1963 and increases its investment outlays in public works, the federal debt will rise in the next year or two. But sales, production and employment will also increase—family incomes and business profits will rise and the country, as a whole, will be more prosperous. The entire economy will be lifted and the federal government's tax revenues will also increase.

The main issue concerning the federal debt is: how big is the debt in relation to the nation's total production of goods and services. A very large debt—in relation to total national production—means that heavy interest payments will be needed. But America does not face this problem. The total amount of interest payments on the federal debt is less than 2 percent of the total production of goods and services and these interest payments on government bonds and securities are made to American families and businesses.

Most of the federal debt was built up during World War II—part of the price that was paid for the war effort. In 1946, after the end of World War II, the federal debt was 27 percent greater than total national production. Between 1946 and 1962 there was some increase in the debt, but there was a much greater rise in the gross national product. In 1962, the federal debt was down to little more than half of total national output. America was in a much stronger position to carry the federal debt in 1962 than it was in 1946.

Rising national production, with increasing sales and employment, lightened the burden of the federal debt in the postwar years. A growing, full employment economy can continue to maintain a light burden in the future. In 1963, America needs major emphasis on programs and policies to put idle men, plants and machines to work—which will also increase government tax revenues.

When full utilization of manpower and productive capacity is reached, there may be a reason for government investment outlays in public works to level off. But actions to hold down government investments or to reduce government outlays before full employment is attained will cut the chances of ever getting there.

America can afford increased government investment outlays to create jobs, boost sales and improve public services. The nation cannot afford the waste and increasing social danger of rising unemployment and inadequate public services for a growing population.

Rising government investments for improved public services are needed to boost the economy toward full employment and maximum use of the nation's increasing capacity to produce more goods and services more efficiently.

County hospital in Windsor, N. C., enriches the community; similar needs remain unmet across the nation.

RIGHTS *here and now!*

the following year.

We do not quarrel with the proposition that a voter should be literate. But tests should be reasonable and, above all, should be equally applied. We have long agreed with the standard which was earlier proposed by the President, that the completion of the sixth grade in school is in itself an adequate qualification.

In our view, a given period of formal schooling—and we believe sixth grade serves the purpose—should be decisive rather than presumptive proof of literacy. We are frankly dismayed that this year's Administration proposal, as well as Title IV of the Republican civil rights bill, H. R. 3139, retreats from that position. Both give only a presumption of literacy to those who have completed sixth grade, allowing for rebuttal evidence.

Such a compromise would destroy the purpose of the bill. Interminable challenges would delay indefinitely the registration of qualified Negroes. These challenges would have to be fought out one by one, voter by voter. Because the outcome would be determined by impartial federal courts, the battles might ultimately be won. But "ultimately" is the wrong way to meet an immediate need.

Throughout this testimony, in the hope of expediting congressional action, we have held to the barest minimum our criticisms of the Administration program. But the proposals relating to voting rights are so inadequate, and in some respects so contradictory, that we urge the committee to rewrite them.

Aside from voter qualifications, we commend to your favorable attention a provision in Title I of H. R. 3139. It directs the Bureau of the Census to compile nationwide registration and voting statistics, from January 1, 1960, to date, which would show what proportion of the potential voters in each state actually registered and went to the polls, according to race, color and national origin.

Presumably this information might be used to enforce Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment. That would be all to the good; we support Congressman Stratton's bill intended to achieve the same result. In addition, such a survey would elicit much valuable information on registration and voting patterns everywhere in America.

The President, in the bill before you, has outlined enforcement procedures for ensuring the right to vote which are superior to the long and involved remedies now available. We are glad he has recognized the need for prompt handling of complaints by the federal courts and court-appointed referees. We would have preferred authorization of federal registrars in areas where the abuses are flagrant—as we have repeatedly said. But for the time being, at least, we are willing to go along with the President's alternative. The question can be reexamined on the basis of results, just as the work of the 85th Congress is being reexamined now.

It should be noted, in that connection, that voting rights were once widely considered to be the one sure remedy for racial discrimination of every kind. It is now clear that this is not true. The evil of discrimination persists even where voting rights are unimpaired.

I make this point in order to emphasize that the proposals now before Congress, even if adopted in their entirety, are not necessarily final. The fight for truly equal rights must go on until it is finally and totally won.

Title II—Public Accommodations

In contrast to the previous title, this one is, of course, the most explosive. It generates the most heat on both sides. From a long-range point of view, it may not be the most important. But time has run out on long-run solutions, so it must be faced and faced boldly.

It has been charged that this section of the Administration bill would extend the control of the federal government to every store, restaurant, barber shop and beauty parlor in America. It is alleged that this would destroy the sacred American right of freedom of association and would deny to merchants their right to decide with whom they would do business.

There will undoubtedly be much oratory to this effect in the weeks ahead. Yet it seems to me that this is all irrelevant; and some of it is plain nonsense.

When a man goes into a business that invites and depends upon public patronage, he has already given up, voluntarily, a part of his freedom to do as he pleases. He has set up a public place and invited the public to spend money there. By so doing, in nearly all communities, he has also subjected himself to regulations as to fire hazards, other safety and health problems, workmen's compensation, weights and measures, opening and closing hours—a whole range of local, state and federal statutes, all based upon the established principle of protecting the public from dangerous or undesirable practices by those who operate public places.

The President now asks a federal law to make it clear that a public business must in fact be open to the public—all of the public. Surely this is no more an intrusion on the rights of a merchant than any of the other matters I have mentioned.

The merchant still has a full opportunity to protect himself. Certainly he has a right to expect his custom-

ers to be able to pay their bills. Certainly he has a right to insist upon orderly conduct and proper dress. He can impose whatever standards he chooses—as long as they are equally applied, without regard to race, creed or national origin. Does he want men to wear jackets and neckties? Does he want to rule out Bermuda shorts or bar women in slacks? Fine; that's up to him—as long as the rules are uniformly enforced on all customers, all members of the public.

Actually, experience in many states and municipalities, and in the facilities controlled by the federal government, has proved that the fears of merchants, and of the segregationist spokesmen, have no factual basis.

As recently as 1946 and 1947, in my own home area, New York City, a Negro could not be sure what sort of reception he would receive in a restaurant or at a lunch counter. He was not likely to be turned away, but there was a good chance that he would be ignored, or badly served, or otherwise made to realize that he was not welcome. And this was in the nation's most cosmopolitan city, known the world over for its diversity of population.

Within a few years all this was forgotten. Oh, I suppose there may be a few establishments in New York where Negro patrons are still regarded with hostility; you can find almost anything in a city of eight million people. But for more than a decade, Negroes have been accepted in eating places—as they had long been accepted in retail stores and other places of public accommodation—on exactly the same basis as whites.

And do you know what has happened detrimental to the interests of the restaurants and lunch counters? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. New York still has some of the finest restaurants in the world—and, I suppose, some of the worst. But they are no better and no worse than they were before.

I have deliberately offered this part of our case in practical terms, rather than as an appeal for fair play, because I am aware that many businessmen in southern states have a dollars-and-cents concern about a public accommodations law. Their whole livelihood may depend upon the prosperity of their establishments. No matter what their personal sentiments may be, they are afraid that Negro patronage will lead to economic disaster.

But we are completely convinced that a uniform federal law, uniformly obeyed, will not impose a burden upon any public establishment. Fears to the contrary have no basis in fact or experience.

Now let me refer briefly to the hardcore segregationists who argue that they simply do not want to do business with Negroes and who defend this position on the ground of "freedom of association" and "freedom of choice" as to those they will accept as customers. With them I have no sympathy.

The Negro ought to be, and in fact is, as much a part of the "public" as anyone else. I repeat, a man who sets up a place of public accommodation has, by that action, voluntarily surrendered one segment of his right of "freedom of association." During business hours, within the framework of whatever uniform and equally-applied rules he may devise, he must "associate" with whatever members of the public choose to patronize his establishment. If he cannot accept this requirement he should stop pretending to run a public place and go into some other occupation.

A man who does not want to "associate" with certain parts of the public should not cater to the public. Subject to reasonable, uniform standards, he has to take the public as it comes. If he discriminates on the basis of race alone, he is in conflict with the public policy of the United States. He has a simple choice—to comply with that policy or go out of business.

In presenting this point on a pragmatic basis, I do not in any way intend to brush aside its moral and human aspects. The rebuffs suffered by Negroes in places of public accommodation have been highlighted in most of the demonstrations in southern cities. For it is true that while a man may be poor, while he may have been denied a fair chance to get an education, while he may live in a shack or a tenement, the open, public and unashamed insult of denial of service—service that is available to others, regardless of their character, as long as they are white—is the last straw.

Here the Negro is told to his face that he is not like other men—no matter what he may be in himself. This is an incredible and intolerable state of affairs in any civilized society and it cannot be allowed to continue.

We urge you to erase this blot from our record as a nation by adopting the Administration's proposals.

Title III—Public Education

Nine years ago the Supreme Court recognized that segregation, in itself, is a barrier to equal education. The AFL-CIO wholeheartedly agrees. Yet segregation in education is still an ugly fact.

The effects are exactly what the court had in mind. For as we move into the area of equal employment opportunity—which I will discuss later—we find innumerable employers who say something like this:

"I don't discriminate, but there are no qualified Negroes available."

At a later time, under the discussion on Title VII, I will discuss those instances in which this is a mere pretext. But it is not always a pretext. Sometimes it is the plain truth.

The most important single reason why it is sometimes true is that Negroes, as a whole, simply do not have equal educational opportunities.

They do not have equal educational opportunities in many parts of the country—north as well as south—because they are consigned to segregated schools.

A few weeks ago, the exercise of federal power made it possible for newsmen to report that there were

integrated schools, of some sort and at some level, in every state in the union. We were not impressed.

Yes, this represented progress of a sort. But it was the kind of progress that the Negro community, a tenth of the nation, properly scorns.

The statistics are familiar and have been adequately presented by other witnesses. I will only say that you know, Mr. Chairman, that the public schools in the south have not been desegregated in fact; and that a large measure of segregation, intentional or not, still prevails in the north.

This is indefensible. It flouts the findings of the highest court in the land. It must be corrected by federal legislation.

The President has proposed such legislation. Authorizing the Attorney-General to institute civil action on behalf of the victims of school segregation is an obvious need. Such suits are beyond the financial means of most private individuals. And there are places in this country, shameful though it is, where a Negro could file such a suit only in the face of inevitable economic reprisals and at the real peril of his life.

In this spirit, we have reservations about the requirement that written complaints must be the basis for action by the Attorney-General. It would be more desirable, it seems to us, to empower the Attorney-General to act on his own discretion when the circumstances warrant it. We object even more vigorously to the parallel provisions of H.R. 3139, which would stay the hand of the Attorney-General—and the courts—if a state or school district were making an elaborate pretense of desegregation.

The provisions for technical assistance to desegregating school districts are not new, but their reiteration is welcome. In that connection, I call to your attention, with some pride, a resolution adopted by the AFL Executive Council on May 18, 1954—the day after the Supreme Court's historic decision.

The resolution said, in part:

"The implementation of this decision will involve not only broad social adjustments but a tremendous physical expansion of inadequate school facilities in many states . . . .

"We strongly urge the Administration and Congress to establish a billion-dollar fund for loans and grants to the states in urgent need of help to modernize and democratize their school systems.

"This would be the wisest investment our government could make in the future of our country. It would be an act of good faith on the part of the federal government in the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision and the democratic way of life.

"Finally, it would prevent non-compliance with the Supreme Court's decision by any state which might otherwise plead poverty to excuse its failure to provide the necessary facilities for the integration of its public school system."

Now, nine years later, let us hope that a system of rewards for school systems that are willing to desegregate will, in combination with the Attorney-General's new powers, be adequate to meet the need. Certainly this approach is worth a trial; and the results will be a matter of record after two years, when the Commissioner of Education delivers the report called for in the bill.

Moreover, as we read Title VI, federal aid can be withheld from recalcitrant school districts under other educational measures, even though these laws do not in themselves make integration a requirement.

Another point is implicit here, as in many sections of this testimony.

When we talk about equal opportunity in education, what we mean is an equal opportunity to get a *good* education. This is not achieved by adding five Negroes, say, to an existing class of 40 whites.

Equal educational opportunities demand adequate educational facilities, regardless of race. Our country needs more and better schools, more and better teachers, more and better thinking about the nature of public education in America. I know this is not within the jurisdiction of your committee, Mr. Chairman, but I hope it will be part of your thinking as you weigh the issue before you.

The same applies to the problem of housing, which is inseparable from that of education.

Segregated housing is one of the most fundamental causes of racial strife. It is the basis for de facto school segregation in the north. It is a source of explosive discontent—and I am understating the matter—in every metropolitan center.

It is certainly not my contention that all Negroes live in slums. There are comfortable, attractive Negro residential areas in almost every major city—well-kept homes, showing every evidence of the pride and care of their owners.

But much of the time, the desirable suburbs are closed off. The Negro is limited to certain, too-narrow neighborhoods, where there simply is not enough good housing or room enough to build it. This is certainly the dilemma that faces the Negro in Washington.

He may have a doctor's degree from Harvard, he may earn $15,000 or $25,000 a year, but he cannot buy a suitable home in Maryland or Virginia. His other qualifications do not matter; all that matters is the color of his skin.

A few moments ago I spoke about segregation in education. Let's face it; the only practical way to get rid of segregated schools is to get rid of segregated neighborhoods. And we can do that when every American can buy any house he wants and can afford. This is the ultimate solution—not to transplant the students, but their parents.

President Kennedy's executive order on housing may have great effect in the future. But because it does not apply to FHA and other loan commitments previously

made, it does not help the Negro who is house-hunting right now for a house that is already built.

One reason why it doesn't help is that housing is still in short supply. As in the field of education, to ensure equal access to housing there must be enough housing. And we do not have enough housing, especially for those in the middle and lower-income brackets.

Here again, I am aware that housing in itself is not the direct concern of this committee. But since you are all members of the Congress you are well aware that no single problem can be considered out of the context of the nation's needs.

Even the admirable housing bill enacted by the previous Congress did not cope with the dilemma faced by those who are a little too well off for public housing, but not quite properous enough to afford adequate private housing. At some early date the Congress will have to grapple with this matter.

Titles IV and V—Community Relations Service, Civil Rights Commission

These sections of the Adminsistration bill establish explicit mediation, conciliation and investigatory agencies dealing with civil rights problems. Since mediation—a meeting of the minds—is fundamental to a successful attack on discrimination, and since facts are often elusive, we believe both agencies would be most valuable in assuring compliance with the other titles of the bill.

The 1961 AFL-CIO convention, as a matter of fact, instructed member organizations to originate or join with interracial committees in their own areas. Following the recent meeting of union officers with the President—which I regret to say I was unable to attend because I was in Europe at the time—I wrote to all the state and local central bodies of the AFL-CIO, urging them to implement this policy and to report their actions to me.

We are wholly in favor of federal efforts to encourage interracial dialogue, which Title IV contemplates.

As for the Civil Rights Commission, it has surely earned, by its thorough and diligent work, the right to permanent status. As I said earlier, civil rights is not a temporary problem, subject to a one-shot solution.

Title VI—Federally-assisted Programs

In the words of a distinguished southern spokesman, a member of the other house—a man whose ability I admire, but whose views on this issue I deeply deplore —this is the "genocide law."

He says, in effect, that if federal funds are denied to states which insist upon discrimination and segregation, the states will use what money they have for the benefit of the white population only, leaving the Negroes to shift for themselves.

Or, to put it another way, he implies that the only reason there are any facilities for Negroes in the south is that federal money pays for them.

I do not believe it; and, I am certain, neither does he.

By our principles in the labor movement, many white southerners—including many union members—may be wrong-headed on the race issue. But they are not monsters and they are not fools, either.

In some respects this short section of the Administration bill may be the most effective. It hits where it hurts—in the pocketbook. It makes discrimination an expensive luxury.

There is nothing unfair about this. Those who take the federal government's money are simply required to obey the federal law.

It so happens that the section of the country where segregation and discrimination are most prevalent—the southeastern states—is a section which, year in and year out, is heavily subsidized by the rest of the country.

Let me make it clear that we do not take sectional sides in the labor movement. We know—since the figures are a matter of record—that for the last 30 years, at least, the federal government has spent billions of dollars more in the south than it has taken out in taxes. We know that in many ways, the south has used this subsidy to good advantage. Southern enterprise has been stimulated; the southern standard of living and level of education have come a little closer to the rest of the country.

But it makes no sense for the rest of the country to prop up a few states that cling to discredited, disgraceful and undemocratic practices. It is unfortunate enough that some southern institutions seem to be dedicated to the eternal glorification of a rebellion against the United States; we do not have to pay their bills as well.

In short, we believe this title is just and necessary and it has our unqualified support.

Title VII—Equal Employment Opportunity

The Administration bill is limited to the creation of a commission which would undertake the duties now being performed by the body established by executive order of the President. We have no objection to this but, of course, it is only a beginning.

In his message, the President repeated his endorsement of equal opportunity legislation already pending in Congress. Presumably he referred to H.R. 405, recently approved by the Committee on Education and Labor.

There is, however, an equal employment opportunity section in H.R. 3139 as well. So I hope it will be in order for me to discuss the employment question in the broadest sense. As the spokesman for organized labor, I could hardly do otherwise.

The various aspects of civil rights I have covered up to this point affect the labor movement only to the extent that they affect other Americans.

Moreover, aside from voting rights, these other aspects—important as they are—apply for the most part to Negroes who have good jobs or a reasonable prospect of getting them.

Equal education, for example, has meaning only for those Negro children whose parents can afford to keep them in school or for the young Negroes who can afford to finish out their apprenticeships.

Equal access to housing has meaning only for those who can afford to buy.

Equality in places of public accommodation is relevant only for those with money to spend.

So it seems to us in the AFL-CIO that the vital issue, the chief among equals, if you will, is jobs.

I referred earlier to a hypothetical example of an employer who would hire Negroes if he could find qualified applicants.

But that is only one side of the coin. On the other side you find the trained, qualified Negroes who cannot find a place for their talents. You find the untrained but naturally gifted Negroes who are denied a fair chance to develop their aptitudes. And you find the Negroes who, on the basis of their own observation and experience, simply don't try.

Here again, I will leave the statistics to others. We have recited them often enough. A Negro unemployment rate at least twice that of whites; a pattern of Negro employment concentrated in the lowest-paid and most menial jobs—the figures tell their own story.

It would be easy for me to point the finger at southern industry, where genuinely integrated production forces are almost unknown and let it go at that. It would be easy to say that the problems in northern cities stem to a considerable degree from the emigration of southern Negroes who face a hopeless future in their home areas. All this is true, but it is not the whole truth and the issue is too grave for hair-splitting.

The plain fact is, Mr. Chairman, that Negro workers as a whole, north or south, do not enjoy anything approaching equal employment opportunity.

We ask you now, as we have asked the Congress for many years, for effective, enforceable legislation to correct this glaring injustice, which must be corrected in order to make the other aspects of a civil rights program effective.

We have a selfish reason; in fact, we have two of them.

First, we need the statutory support of the federal government to carry out the unanimously-adopted principles of the AFL-CIO.

Our conventions have repeatedly endorsed a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, armed with all necessary powers. Long before merger, the AFL and CIO separately pressed for such legislation. The most recent AFL-CIO convention, in December 1961, while strengthening our own internal civil rights machinery, pleaded again for federal help—help that would apply to the labor movement as well as to employers.

In other words, we need the force of law to carry out our own principles.

Why is this so? Primarily because the labor movement is not what its enemies say it is—a monolithic, dictatorial, centralized body that imposes its will on the helpless dues payers. We operate in a democratic way and we cannot dictate even in a good cause.

So in effect, we need a federal law to help us do what we want to do—mop up those areas of discrimination which still persist in our own ranks.

Second, we want federal legislation because we are tired of being the whipping-boy in this area.

We have never at any time tried to gloss over the shortcomings of unions on the subject of equal opportunity. Yes, some of our members take a wrong-headed view; I have just said so, I have said so before and I repeat it again.

But we in the labor movement publicly deplore these few holdouts against justice. We do our utmost to bring them around to the right side. And at the same time, the employers—who actually do the hiring—escape in many instances with no criticism whatever.

If there has been any widespread outcry from employers who want to hire Negroes, but have been prevented from doing so by a union, it has not reached my ears.

On the other hand, there have been innumerable instances in which a fair employment and promotion policy has been established in a company at the insistence of the union, over the employer's languished protests.

When it comes to legislation, it has been the labor movement that has asked for equal employment opportunity laws, applicable to unions as well as to management while it has been the employers and their associations which, at every level—local, state and federal—have been in bitter opposition.

Yet if you base your opinions on newspaper accounts, you would think that the barriers to Negroes, especially in the crafts, were union barriers, pure and simple.

This is untrue and unfair.

Consequently we take exception to the manner in which Title II of H.R. 3139 proposed to deal with cases of discrimination. The guilty employer simply loses his government contracts. But the guilty union is subject to a whole range of continuing sanctions, including court action and National Labor Relations Board proceedings.

For example, a union that discriminates can be forced to give back pay to the victims. Not so the employer. A union that discriminates anywhere can be denied certification throughout the country—in other words, obliterated. It is not hard to imagine a southern employer, or even a northern one, cooking up a discrimination case as a device for getting rid of a union.

We do not object to strong, effective enforcement powers applied to unions. We do object to a slap-on-the-wrist approach to employers, who are in most cases responsible for job discrimination in the first place.

Moreover, H.R. 3139 merely clothes with statutory power the present jurisdiction of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity—that is, it would apply only to employers having government contracts or subcontracts. This is true of the Administra-

tion bill as well. However, the President's message endorsed, in addition, the broader coverage of H.R. 405. This is clearly preferable and we urge its adoption.

I have spoken about the labor movement's selfish interest in this question. But aside from that, we support enforceable equal opportunity in employment because it is morally right.

Surely every American is entitled to be judged on his own, on the basis of his ability. He ought to have the same rights on the assembly line, in apprenticeship training or anywhere else that he now enjoys on the ball field. We lost the best of Satchel Paige to ghetto baseball; we [illegible] every Willie Mays we can find.

However, [illegible] I have said from time to time in other sections of t[illegible] testimony, equal opportunity is meaningless withou[illegible] full opportunity. We agree that it must be written int[illegible] law. But as I have repeatedly pointed out, the one greatest contribution that could be made toward equal employment opportunities for Negroes would be full employment opportunities for everyone.

A program designed to open up jobs for Negroes at the expe[illegible] of whites is no program at all. What we need is jobs [illegible] all who want and need them.

This is not [illegible] theoretical problem. For instance, one of the unions that has worked most vigorously and most successfully for job integration, all along the line, is the United Auto Workers. Yet in some of the auto plants, successfully integrated 20 years ago, the proportion of Negroes is steadily declining with the drop in employment. Twenty years' seniority is no longer enough to ensure a job in Detroit.

Confronted with this problem—and I am not minimizing it—some Negro spokesmen call for "super-seniority" and superior hiring preference for Negroes.

They say that except for discrimination in the past, Negroes would now have a fair share of the seniority enjoyed by white workers. That is true. But then they say that, as a form of penance, senior white workers should be dismissed to make room for Negroes with less service. And they say that hiring opportunities should not be equal; they should be loaded in such a way as to give Negroes precedence.

Believe me, Mr. Chairman, I understand the feelings that lead to these demands. They stem from a century of frustration. But as a trade unionist, I cannot accept them.

First of all, super-seniority would throw into the street white workers who were in no way responsible for the previous discrimination against Negroes. They would be deprived of their personal livelihood because of a community sin. It is possible, of course, that the axe might fall on a leader of the Ku Klux Klan. It is equally possible that the victim might be the long-abused chairman of the local union's civil rights committee.

It seems to me that our common goal is justice, not vengeance. This is especially true when vengeance would be exacted from those whose only guilt was the color of their skin. We are against that sort of thing for Negroes; we are against it for whites as well.

Second, the demand for special treatment for Negroes, at any level, misses the point. There is not much future in a program for sharing misery. Yes, Negroes have been held back, unfairly and unreasonably; to the extent that unions have been responsible, we accept our share of the blame. But the road ahead must be broad enough for all, not a bottleneck through which we squeeze people of one kind or another, leaving some of every kind looking in from the outside.

In short, the only real remedy is jobs for all.

Third, the safeguards built up by the trade union movement over the years—seniority included—are important to workers of all races. And all workers, of all races, will suffer if they are destroyed. If you destroy seniority in the hope of correcting racial injustice, you destroy it entirely. Those who might reap quick benefits could also be the first losers. Once hired what rights would they have to stay on the job? How and where would they plead if they were fired?

I repeat, I understand both the bitterness and the impatience of Negroes. But in this respect they are not thinking clearly.

In employment, as in all the rest, equal means enough; equal without enough means nothing at all.

These, then, are the elements we believe should be—and must be—incorporated into the law of the land.

Most of them are covered, as I have noted, by the Administration bill.

But as the President also has said, the hour is too late for half measures. The battle for true equality for all Americans has now been joined; let us fight it out all the way.

It would help to clear the air, I think, if all of us recognized that equality can no longer be doled out in small portions. And it would help if the Negro minority realized that the final victory is at hand and can be won—not in the distant future, but now—through the orderly processes of legislation and litigation as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

This would be a healthy thing all around and I hope it will come to pass.

Let us therefore move forward, Mr. Chairman, here in this committee, whose heritage is so distinguished; let us move forward in the House and in the Senate; let us demonstrate that a government of law *can* work; that the Constitution means what it says and that it applies equally to every American.

We in the labor movement hope, with the deepest sincerity, that this will be a truly bipartisan effort. Many times in the past, when the nation has been plunged into crisis the Congress has risen above narrow considerations of political advantage and has provided the wisdom and the statesmanship the occasion demanded.

This is just such a time. While, for purposes of clarity, I have referred to the Administration bill and to the Republican bill, the legislation that finally emerges from your deliberations should be the country's bill. Nothing less will fully serve the national interest.

Current
Aug. 1963

THE FUTURE OF LABOR UNIONS

Whether the trade union movement can maintain its usefulness under the conditions of a changing economy is a question that worries sympathetic observers.

THE THREAT OF OBSOLESCENCE

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A. H. Raskin

"American unionism, thirty years after the New Deal, is in the grip of two contradictory developments. One of these is a new surge of social and economic inventiveness in adapting collective bargaining to the dizzying requirements of rapid technological change. The other is a conjunction of challenges so inimical in their total effect to the traditional structure of our unions, that they presage nothing less than the eventual disappearance of unions as we know them. The historians of American institutions may record this as a period in which the labor movement was innovating itself into the grave.

"On the face of it, labor has never seemed stronger—nor more likely to stay strong. Total membership, to take the most obvious measure, is as high as it has ever been, maintaining a level of slightly over 18 million in most of the period since World War II. True, membership is not growing; and the increase in the number of civilian workers—now exceeding 70 million—has reduced the unions' percentage of the total labor force. Nevertheless, inroads into union strength made by technological innovation in such fields as mining and manufacturing have thus far been counterbalanced by sufficient expansion in other fields to keep the numerical level from going down.

"The reserves in employe pension and welfare funds are increasing by $5 billion a year, and unions are still showing a high degree of ingenuity in broadening the range of fringe benefits. Thirty thousand workers in the two biggest can companies, for example, are now assured of three months of paid vacation every five years, in addition to their regular annual rest periods. Short-week benefits in auto and steel have put a more dependable floor under weekly earnings. Supplemental unemployment payments have helped bolster yearly earnings. The unions' own treasuries and strike funds are at record levels—a prosperity attested to by the glittering new headquarters that internationals and their locals are putting up in Washington, New York, and every other large city.

"Then, too, there is the notable development of joint labor-management committees meeting all year round to look for solutions to the complicated manpower problems created by all the new technological advances. Such committees now function in industries—steel, automobiles, rubber, electrical manufacturing, meat-packing, construction, coal, and others—where once the idea of cooperative decision-making would have been anathema.

"It is still too early to judge the effectiveness of this kind of experimentation, but certain useful devices have already been hit on for giving workers

a stake in increased productivity and thus encouraging them to welcome change, instead of fighting it. The progress-sharing formula developed by the Kaiser Steel Corporation and the United Steelworkers of America is one such device. Through it the union's members at the Kaiser mill in Fontana, California, get a monthly bonus equal to roughly one-third of all the savings in production costs that accrue to the company from automation, economies in materials and supplies, higher individual productivity, or any other factor. The workers also are guaranteed that no one at Fontana will lose his job as a result of the introduction of more efficient machinery; any shrinkage in total manpower needs will be handled through normal attrition—retirements, deaths, and voluntary quittings.

"Finally, to round off the picture of labor's apparent vigor, there is its firmly established cachet. Three times within the last few months, President Kennedy has invited twenty or thirty top unionists to the White House for lunch. Few state dinners are given without several labor leaders and their wives mingling with the ambassadors, Cabinet officers, and other dignitaries. Arthur J. Goldberg, only two-and-a-half years ago special counsel to the AFL-CIO, has already moved from Secretary of Labor to Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Labor is represented on almost every advisory or administrative body created by the President—whether to evaluate foreign aid, to foster culture, or to operate communications satellites in space. Labor-endorsed candidates hold positions of prominence in Congress, in state capitols, and in city halls across the country.

"For all this, however, labor organization in the United States—at least in its present form—is being hurled inexorably into obsolescence. The nature of work is changing; the frustrations of work are changing; the need for work is changing. Out of these changes comes the ironic likelihood that in a period when unions are turning most of their attention to easing the impact of automation on their members, the labor movement itself may become technology's most spectacular victim. For, despite all its accomplishments and its very solid acceptance as a fact of American life, the present situation, not only of the work force but of foreign and domestic trade and of public attitudes toward strikes and wage policies, is one in which all roads seem to lead downhill for unionism. Whether labor pursues policies that can be called 'responsible,' or ones that are 'irresponsible,' the outlook is pretty much the same: a withering of union strength and influence. The process will be neither swift nor dramatic, but unless the labor movement can arrive at a drastic reassessment of its function, it appears inevitable.

The causes of decline

"The first and simplest problem facing the unions is the erosion of membership resulting from automation and other technological advances in their traditional strongholds—factories, coal mines, and railroads. . . . And though the unions have begun to tap such new sources of membership as civil service employes, teachers, and retail clerks, there is little sign that over the long haul these sources will provide a sufficiently large new influx to balance the loss of manual workers. To make the outlook gloomier, some reasonably informed people are now predicting that in twenty years' time only a handful of workers will be needed to produce all the nation's goods.

"Another significant factor in the diminution of union strength is the decline of the strike as an effective bargaining tool. Such a statement may appear ludicrous in a year that has already witnessed a five-week tie-up of all Atlantic and Gulf ports, a sixteen-week shutdown of the New York

newspapers, an even longer press blackout in Cleveland, two Taft-Hartley national emergency injunctions in the aerospace industry, and the still unremoved threat of a nationwide rail stoppage over the size of train crews. But the fact remains that automation is making certain industries totally invulnerable to strikes; certain others have so much surplus capacity that strikes, far from threatening damage, provide a handy opportunity for management to unload burdensome inventories; and still other industries perform services of such crucial public importance that even the White House has felt called upon to characterize strikes against them as 'unacceptable exercises of an undeniable right.'. . .

"For those workers who still tend to regard their unions as a kind of slot machine—into which they deposit their dues and then duly extract regular wage increases—the rewards of membership are not nearly so substantial as they were in the immediate postwar period when wages and prices were spiraling throughout the economy. A serious damper has now been put on wage gains by the combined effects of unemployment, public concern about inflation, and the squeeze on many industries themselves from increased overseas and domestic competition.

"Even before the White House officially established the policy of gearing higher wage and fringe benefits to the basic annual rise of roughly 3 per cent in national productivity, such a standard had officially come to be used in many sectors of the economy as a guide to non-inflationary increases. The initial push came from the General Motors-United Auto Workers contract in 1948, which had been designed to put more science into wage determination. The contract contained two new features—both by now basic elements in all G.M. contracts. One was an annual improvement provision, under which the workers would get an increase based on the over-all expansion in national productivity. The other was a cost-of-living escalator, intended to keep higher prices from swallowing up any of the improvement.

Will computers replace bargainers?

"Neither the G.M. formula nor the Kennedy guidelines that descend from it operate with slide-rule exactness. Yet both substitute a mechanized measurement for the customary interplay of economics, personality, and muscle in collective bargaining. To the extent that these mechanistic standards become institutionalized in the bargaining process, they take most of the excitement and all of the surprise out of it. Inevitably, their long-term application will make the outcome of bargaining so predictable that workers are bound to ask why they need a bargaining committee at all—why a computer could not represent them just as satisfactorily.

"This may become even more true if the kind of progress-sharing plan that has just been developed at Kaiser should be widely accepted. . . . Indeed, the authors of the Kaiser formula acknowledge that it would not work at all if there were no electronic brains to carry out the myriad computations swiftly enough to permit a monthly payoff.

"Actually, however, much of the bargaining process these days is centered on measures to enhance job security, not on how much more money is to go into pay envelopes. It is coming to be understood that the quest for better methods to protect workers from the adverse effects of automation requires more time and far more evenness of mind and temper than negotiators can give it under the club of a strike deadline. That is why it is being ever more widely proposed that unions and employers should designate joint committees to meet at frequent intervals and discuss mutual problems. . . .

"In general, automation presents the kind of problems to the unions that

puts them as members of joint committees into an almost impossible position. For either they share in presiding over the outright dismissal of workers, or, if the displacement rate is low enough, their role is to protect the individual worker while the total reservoir of jobs dries up. In either case, the union leader willy-nilly becomes a partner in the liquidation of his own empire. . . .

"So long as the national unemployment rate stays above 5½ per cent, as it has now for more than five years, union members will continue to view every forced curtailment with dread and to bear a grudge against every union leader who agrees to a shakeout plan."

Unions have become "adamant about demanding guarantees that any manpower savings brought about by technological innovation will be effected through normal attrition and not mandatory layoffs. The steel union would not even begin to discuss the progress-sharing formula with Kaiser until it had received such an assurance from the company. . . .

"But arrangements of this kind, consoling as they are for workers already on the job, offer nothing to the huge wave of youngsters now attempting to enter the job market. The man with a job is protected, even if he must be transferred to another job. The youth without a job finds the 'keep out' sign more firmly in place than ever. The young are coming out of school to seek work at a rate that makes it necessary for us to create 25,000 new jobs every week for the next ten years, without any allowance for the jobs being wiped out by technological change or for those needed to sop up the 4 million already idle.

"These young workers have no memories of the depression, of the sit-down strikes or of company goons and yellow-dog contracts. Their image of unions was formed largely by three years of televised testimony before the McClellan Committee on the seamier side of labor-management relations. To this image is now being added a conviction that union seniority systems and attrition programs for dealing with automation are conspiratorial devices foisted on industry by labor organizations, whose sole concern is to guard the vested rights of their own dues-payers.

"There is an equally intense hostility to the unions among many Negroes and other victims of racial or religious discrimination—among those Negroes, for instance, who have never been able to break into either the building or printing trades. Now their demands for equal treatment have not only the encrusted prejudices of fifty years or more to overcome, but the additional resistance of many craft unionists that results from the growing obsolescence of their own particular manual skills.

MORE JOBS THROUGH MORE POLITICS

"All of the above problems—the demise of the strike; increased mechanization of bargaining; increased bureaucratization of the work process itself; automation and unemployment—will require for even their proximate solution a degree of political commitment American labor has never shown. They demand that politics become a principal business of unions, not a haphazard adjunct of their narrowly economic purposes. This is a difficult, perhaps impossible readjustment for a movement that has always prided itself on its abhorrence of ideology. Even in Great Britain, where class lines are more sharply drawn and where the Labor Party has an excellent chance of recapturing power in the next election, the unions are not really the party's dominant element in policy or purpose.

"American unions, which will be more and more compelled to move

away from their blue-collar identification if they are to appeal successfully to industry's newcomers, are already conscious of the need for more direct involvement in community affairs; they know they must do more in education, health, recreation, and philanthropy. But they lack conviction and direction. Their programs for securing the public weal are as lackluster, and offered as perfunctorily, as those that the Administration keeps shoveling into the Congressional hoppers: looking forward to all the right things, but with no real expectation that anyone will pay attention. Labor's stock refrain is that it is for everything the President wants in order to stimulate the economy, only that the President's bills do not go far enough.

"When union leaders come to the White House, they are docile guests. I asked one labor participant in a recent presidential luncheon whether any of the unionists had told Mr. Kennedy he was not doing enough about the unemployed. 'Oh, we didn't have to tell him,' was the bland reply. 'He told us. He said the real problem in America was not balancing the fiscal budget but balancing the human budget.' And with that problem tidily wrapped up, everybody went on a personally guided tour of the White House upstairs. They all left confirmed in their opinion that the United States had a great President. . . .

"The democratic countries of Western Europe are a generation ahead of us in government policies for promoting full employment, influencing plant location, and assisting workers in their search for new jobs. Yet even their policies are inadequate for meeting the challenges of our technological revolution.

Support for federal planning

"Clearly, the United States will never move into an era of abundance without a great deal more planning for the effective use of our manpower and material resources. Equally clearly, the disposition in Congress is to fight anything that smacks of planning. Labor's big task, for its own survival and the country's good, is to mobilize grass-roots political sentiment in favor of greater federal responsibility for full production, full distribution, and full employment.

"If workers are to give ungrudging acceptance to the idea that the total welfare requires maximum mechanization, they will want assurance that the country knows what to do with the fruits of this increased efficiency. Such assurance demands an economic general staff representing all elements in the population and administering a program aimed at the balanced and sustained development of high levels of public and private activity. The chances for eradicating poverty and joblessness would be vastly better with such a program than they can possibly be if we continue to rely on the notion that tens of thousands of corporation and individual decisions, each predicated on what is good for the business, will automatically add up to full protection for the national economy.

"Labor has no more urgent job in the Sixties than the focusing of its political energies on the conquest of want, illiteracy, intolerance; the building up of both health and decent housing; the realization of the limitless promise of this scientific Golden Age. And apart from their general social necessity, these undertakings would be vastly more inspiriting, to union membership and leadership alike, than the present ever more routine function in the policing of day-to-day plant grievance and the writing of mechanized contracts.

"Labor thus far has only one basic answer for joblessness, a shorter work week—and this at a time when two-fifths of our own people are classed as living below minimum standards of decency, and want is endemic in

most parts of the world. This is a policy of despair. Until we at least make a stab at abundance, we should not settle for a policy of sharing the misery. What is needed from labor is a degree of independent leadership that will give vitality to the concept of direct political action for jobs and an expanding economy." ("The Obsolescent Unions," *Commentary*, July 1963)

THE LIMITS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Mr. Jacobs is a former union organizer, now a staff member of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California at Berkeley, and author of Dead Horse and the Featherbird *(see* Current, *October 1962, page 55).*

Paul Jacobs

All symptoms point to two fundamental alterations in the system of collective bargaining which has operated successfully since the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935. First, it has proved less and less adequate for the solution of some basic problems now faced by unions and management; and second, an increasing number of workers are, and seem likely to remain, outside the system.

The increasing rate of technological unemployment is a leading example of the inability of union-management collective bargaining to handle a problem, or at least to handle it alone. The government must not merely intervene to settle strikes (the New York newspaper strike, the airline flight engineers strike). It must assume a share, and perhaps a major share, of the cost of retraining displaced workers, for no one can expect either management or the workers themselves to absorb all the costs of moving and retraining.

The permanent Cold War has also imposed new limits on union-management collective bargaining in the growing number of military and aero-space industries: some form of government intervention occurs the moment a serious dispute flares up.

"Fundamental changes in the nature of the work force and in the attitude of workers toward unions have received more recognition outside the unions than inside them, despite their weakening effect on unions and consequently on collective bargaining. . . .

"In retrospect, it is possible to see why the social energy that made unions so attractive in the late Thirties has now disappeared, to the detriment of the bargaining system. World War II and the Cold War converted unions from a militant stance to unquestioning acceptance of the status quo." The reasons for expelling Communist-controlled unions from the CIO were good ones, but an inevitable consequence was to bring all serious political debate inside the CIO to a standstill. The favored position of the unions with liberals and social welfare groups has been lost, partly because of the unions' lack of social vision and their failure to adapt to new circumstances, partly because of their past economic success and a lag in public understanding of the role that unions play in a technological society. Now that the unions' long fight for the right to exist has been won and their fight to establish justice for workers on the job is over for the most part, they have become an integral part of the system of authority needed to operate an industrial plant. But they have found nothing to take the place of their former moral fervor.

"Until recently the right to strike has always been considered an essential part of collective bargaining. Now, public sanction of stoppages is being withdrawn, and the concept of compulsory arbitration seems to

be growing as the popular cure-all. . . . [Yet] all the experience in this country indicates that compulsory arbitration succeeds only when the parties to the dispute would be disposed to agree without it. . . . [It] does not *resolve* disputes; it merely seeks to impose a truce upon the combatants. But either the need for such truces must be understood and accepted, or the state must have the police power to enforce them. A society that forces men to work by use of the police power cannot be called free.

"No sharper illustration of the gaps in public knowledge about unions can be found than in the fondness presently being expressed for compulsory arbitration. If new methods must be developed for maintaining industrial justice, a widening of public knowledge about unions and their functions is essential. . . .

"Some of the most extreme public misconceptions about collective bargaining grow from the natural tendency to think about THE union, as if the 186 international unions and 78,000 locals in the AFL-CIO made up some kind of homogeneous entity." In fact, in all the millions of places where men and women work, the enormous range of occupations, technologies, physical layouts, kinds of people and ways in which their work brings them together or keeps them apart help determine the character of the union, its internal government and its relationship to management. One thing that is common to all unions, however, is the all-importance of its contract with the employer, which involves the preservation—and, when possible, the expansion—of the union's jurisdictional sovereignty.

"Over the years, the necessity to preserve [the contract] has not merely converted radical union leaders into supporters of the Establishment, or simply provided unions and management with mutually satisfactory economic relationships; it has come to take on a life of its own, an existence separate from the parties to it and not dependent upon them. The contract has become an institution itself. It has given rise to a system of informal governance at the plant level under which the rights that the contract originally established have been transmuted in the minds of the workers into *natural* rights. . . .

Group versus individual rights

"[However,] unions bring rights to the group, not to the person. As a result, union government, from the shop level on up, is forced to reconcile the varying demands and needs of union members vis-à-vis each other as well as group needs vis-à-vis the employer." Many clashes of interest develop. "Day workers quarrel with night workers over what bonus will be paid for the midnight to 8 a.m. shift; skilled workers dispute with semi-skilled men over how much of a differential there shall be between their wages; younger workers argue with older ones about seniority systems."

Sometimes, too, an individual worker acts in a way that both the company and the union officials disapprove of. Or a union may make no attempt to press a worker's grievance or, if forced, may press it in such a half-hearted way that failure is guaranteed. Conversely, union officials may believe, correctly, that a member's rights have been violated, but he may refuse to process his grievance. Who owns the grievance, the union or the worker?

"New but still very shadowy concepts of industrial justice are beginning to emerge from the wreckage of collective bargaining. It is impossible to imagine, for example, that America could ever return to the kind of labor-management relations that existed before the passage of the Wagner Act, when the employer was given all the authority for determining the relations between himself and his workers. The days are also past when

the government's role in labor-management relations was merely as a referee. Today, whether union leaders and management spokesmen like it or not, government is entering directly and increasingly into these relations. Both the courts and the legislature have begun to involve themselves deeply in areas that were once considered inviolate.

"Until recently, the courts maintained the traditional attitude toward unions: they were voluntary associations whose internal life was their own affair. They were given the right to dispense justice to their members, free of outside interference. The relationship between the union and its members, formalized in the union constitution, was regarded as a contract, with all of its conditions enforceable by law. Now, however, the courts—and the legislature, too—are maintaining that the exclusive bargaining rights granted to American unions, along with the variety of other membership-enclosing devices, have reduced to polite fictions both the old voluntary association theory and the legal theory that the union constitution is an enforceable contract between member and union.

Due process for members

"One important reason for the change in the legal attitude toward unions is that due process is still in a very primitive stage in most American unions. Sometimes union laws are so vague as to cover almost any offense—in the Carpenters' Union, for example, expulsion is possible for 'an attempt to create dissension among the members'; in many other unions 'conduct unbecoming to a union member' may serve as the sole basis for charges. Frequently the procedures for hearings and trials are lacking in those safeguards against bias and self-interest which are normally found in civil or criminal law. Despite these weaknesses only three unions—the United Auto Workers, the Upholsterers, and the Packinghouse Workers—have established independent boards outside the union to review cases of members against whom either a local or the national organization has taken action. What is worse, no other unions have even shown any signs of pursuing voluntarily the path that these three unions have opened up.

"As a matter of fact, there is not much real evidence that wholesale violations of due process are taking place in unions. Despite the lurid publicity given to the 'thousands' of complaints allegedly received by the McClellan Committee, American union leaders seem easily able to govern their organizations without resorting to suppressive devices on a mass scale or to the establishment of trusteeships. But the potential for punitive action by union leaders against union members exists, for unions still have control over an important part of their members' lives, and in the absence of adequate principles of due process workers must necessarily look outside union administration and collective bargaining for their ultimate protections.

"As the legal attitude is changing about the rights of union members vis-à-vis their leaders, so there is a growing change in the views of workers toward rights in their jobs. Although the right not to be fired arbitrarily, the right to bargain collectively for wages, the right to help determine working conditions, and the basic right to hold a job are derived initially from the terms of the union contract, workers eventually begin to look at these rights as having an existence apart. Every union representative and management official must deal with this phenomenon. 'This job is *my* job,' the worker maintains as he fights off other workers, the union, the employer, and sometimes even the government whenever an attempt is made to take the job away from him. The airline flight engineer who is replaced by a pilot, the railroad fireman who is taken out of the cab, or the steelworker who loses his job to another union member with

more seniority because of an operational merger is fighting not only for a job, for the right to make a living, but for the particular job at which he has been employed.

"No one, no local union president, no international union officer, no company vice-president of personnel, no arbitrator, no government official, no judge, has come up with a solution that satisfies all the conflicting interests in such situations. Here, again, union-management collective bargaining is of little use, for its limited and special nature, its dependence on 'collective' action, prevents it from being a useful tool to assess *individual* rights. Government, through the law, will be required to assume the burden of developing a theory about job rights. . . .

THE CONDITIONS OF SURVIVAL

"Despite the present breakdown of collective bargaining, industrial justice still depends upon the existence of unions, at least in the immediate future. However, if unions are to survive, they must discard their outmoded methods and attitudes. It is obvious that the organizing techniques they have been using for so long are no longer effective enough. The white-collar and technical employes who provided the margin of defeat for the union shop in the recent elections in aerospace plants are typical workers of the future. For years the AFL-CIO has summarily dismissed the associations that claim the allegiance of these white-collar, technical, and professional workers as 'company unions,' but it is they, not the AFL-CIO, that represent a growing number of workers and appear to be far more responsive to the needs of the new semi-professional employes. Union leaders must study the operations of these organizations.

"Unions also should become a voice for the great mass of unemployed workers. No one has seriously tried to do this this, and unless the unions fill the vacuum a dangerous spokesman may arise who will use the discontent of the unemployed for vicious political purposes. The farm workers are still unorganized, too, and this should also be a task of the unions, despite the great difficulties involved.

"Perhaps unions would have a better chance of taking a significant place in a new bargaining system if the AFL-CIO merger were dissolved. The marriage between these two groups has never been very happy, and whatever advantages it might have had have disappeared. Neither group really wants the alliance any longer, even though they feel unable to free themselves. When the AFL and the CIO were separate entities, each had a special identity, a special behavior as an organization and as an organizer of workers. The federation has no identity; it is as amorphous and characterless as the dull resolutions perfunctorily discussed and apathetically approved at its conventions. With the loss of identity has come a sharp drop in staff morale; one of the few things that engenders some excitement among union officials of both groups is the thought of a split.

"To be sure, improving staff morale, important as that is, is not enough by itself to justify the break. But there are other purposes that a separation might serve. A more sensible consolidation than the present one would be to follow the natural lines of work rather than the present cumbersome groupings of criss-crossing jurisdictions. The building trades have a natural affinity, for example, since carpenters, bricklayers, hodcarriers, and the other construction crafts are together at work. It seems equally foolish for newspaper printers, stereotypers, and engravers to be in separate unions, for they are part of one continuous work process. So, too, the transportation

unions and the industrial unions are linked at work. Unions like that of the Machinists, which are both craft and industrial, are more difficult to place into such a framework, but the future development of this union seems to be toward the industrial type. The Teamsters is the only real general union in the United States encompassing all kinds of jurisdiction. No other union seems interested in or capable of following this pattern.

"Even now, the internal organization of the AFL-CIO reflects the natural work grouping in some ways. There is a building trades department, an industrial union section, a metal trades division. More power rests with these separate groups than with the parent federation. The people in them are more comfortable with each other than they are with the men and women whose work is strange to them. But the minimal pact that holds these groups together inhibits them from developing their own organizing and operating style. The fact that the industrial union section of the AFL-CIO is now undertaking its own organizing campaign indicates that some recognition is being given to the need for freeing the potential energies bottled up within the AFL-CIO. An authentic split might be the impetus for a surge of activity in which many unions would participate far more energetically than they do in the lackadaisical atmosphere of the AFL-CIO today. . . .

The threat of permanent unemployment

"The most serious weakness in traditional collective bargaining, however, is its incapacity to deal with the economic conditions that are making unemployment a permanent way of life for millions. . . . The concept that government is there not just to help when economic catastrophe strikes but to avert the catastrophe, whenever possible, before it begins is widely accepted today. More, rather than less, government seems inevitable. . . .

"One development probably will be the replacement of crisis negotiations between unions and management, carried on under the tremendous pressure of contract deadlines, with continuous bargaining under the watchful eyes of public representatives. . . . Some national consensus about both jobs and profits will have to emerge, however, before unions or workers will ever abandon the right to certain strikes.

"The place of unions in the structure of industrial justice will continue to grow smaller unless unions return to the political function that once was primary with them. They will need to design new political tools and new forms of political participation, for it is clear that future union-management relations will depend less and less on sheer economics and more and more on political instruments and political techniques.

"When the potential of unions was being more fully realized, it was not just the legal right to strike that made them unique. So long as their economic function brought dignity to workers . . . , unions rightly commanded the respect of the community and the allegiance of their members. Unions freed workers from worrying about being fired arbitrarily. They provided the means for many workers to hurdle the barrier raised by lack of formal education and to become eminent citizens. They instilled the principles of industrial justice so deeply in the society that no one seriously questions them any longer.

"Now unions must move on from the simple economic level. In Israel, in the Scandinavian countries, in England, and in many other foreign lands unions are an integral part of the political system, not onlookers as they are in America where the simplistic AFL tradition of rewarding friends and punishing enemies in the political arena is still dominant. . . .

"Unions have the potential to be a unique political force: they are the

only institutions in society that bind together men who spend an important part of their lives together, sharing the common experience of work. If unions disappear, industrial justice may survive, but their absence will be felt, not just among workers . . . but among all the people of America." (*Old Before Its Time: Collective Bargaining at 28.* Available through Readers Service)

COURTS INSTEAD OF STRIKES?

A New York Post *columnist, writing in* Look:

Max Lerner

"The liberal today is caught between his old loyalty to the cause of the unions and a new social realism that makes him ask whether the paralyzing power exerted by a few unions is good for society as a whole. He is driven to ask whether there is not a way out of the whole mess that will protect the rights and the living standards of the workers, but also protect the larger society."

The core of a new working plan could be:

"1) Labor and management set up *continuing committees,* paid for by both sides, to plan and negotiate all through the year, instead of waiting for the end of a contract.

"2) These committees deal with the core problem of automation by some formula for sharing the cost savings, either the Kaiser Plan or some other.

"3) Both labor and management submit any unsolved problems to an agreed-upon panel of what I should like to call 'labor courts,' rather than arbitrators. I propose labor courts because we need an agency that (in the few cases where the differences will be bitterly disputed) can hear testimony, subpoena records, study the economics of a total industry, develop principles, set precedents, have those precedents studied by the public as a whole and build up a body of public knowledge and opinion that will create a climate in which the courts can carry on their work.

"It will, of course, take years before such continuing committees and labor courts can function smoothly and build up a body of opinion. But the Swedish precedent and the experience of the American garment industries show that it can be done.

"Eventually, decisions of the labor courts would receive the same kind of attention now given to decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court. The labor courts' findings would be studied, criticized and debated in the law schools and the law reviews. This process would lead to the development of the pride of craft that is now found in the whole American judicial system." ("Way Out of Our Strike Dilemma," *Look,* Apr. 23, 1963)

A retired financier and government consultant:

Bernard Baruch

"What is needed is a Court of Labor-Management Relations which would have jurisdiction to settle strikes when, in the President's judgment, the national interest is jeopardized by their continuation and after the collective bargaining processes and the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act have been exhausted. This Court, composed of representatives from labor, business and the public, should have the power after hearing evidence from the contesting parties to hand down decisions binding upon both. . . .

"Call it compulsory arbitration or judicial arbitration, we must in the end come to such a procedure." (New York *Journal-American,* July 10, 1963)

MAKING THE ECONOMY WORK

WHO IS THE FARM PROBLEM?

The author of The Squeeze *(see* Current, *December 1960, page 26, and January 1961, page 39) and* The American Oasis: The Land and Its Uses, *Dr. Higbee is professor of land utilization at the University of Rhode Island. In a study for the Twentieth Century Fund, he finds that today's farmer is a new man, shaped by forces which did not exist in previous generations. (See also* Current, *September 1962, page 41.)*

Edward Higbee

"American agriculture is beyond the halfway mark in its second major technological revolution. During the first of these upheavals on the rural landscape, between 1850 and 1910, the Indians of the Great Plains were confined to reservations, Negro slavery was abolished, and the total of farms increased from 1.4 million to 6.4 million, most of them owned and operated by a single family. These changes occurred during the revolution of the mule and the horse when animal power on a mass scale was harnessed to a marvelous assortment of tillage implements, and man in the United States was released from the hoe, the sickle, and the fear of hunger. Now agriculture is undergoing a second period of change—the revolution of science, mechanics, and heavy capital investment. While it has not as yet done away with the family farm it has gone a long way toward getting rid of the farm family.

"In 1935 American farm units reached an all-time peak of 6.8 million. Since then there has been a precipitous drop in numbers. By 1961 there were left only 3.7 million. Within another decade or two this figure will very likely be cut back to 1.4 million. Since this was the starting point in 1850, the cycle will then be complete. . . . A hundred years ago, when there were only about 32 million people in the United States, about 65 per cent of them lived on farms. By 1980 probably less than 5 per cent of the people will live and work on the soil. Although most of the land will continue to be devoted to husbandry, the newer ways of rural life will bear little resemblance to those of the past. The culture, even more than the agriculture, of 185 million Americans is in flux.

"In 1800, during the time of the sickle, an average of 56 hours of labor were required to produce an acre of wheat. . . . By 1910, when horse-drawn implements had taken over a substantial part of corn production, 147 man-hours were required to raise 100 bushels. This was quite an improvement over the 344 man-hours needed in the hand-hoe days of 1800, but today a few exceptional farmers in the corn belt raise 100 bushels of corn with less than four hours of labor. . . . Mechanical devices are taking over jobs in fruit and vegetable production where some of the most primitive and degrading conditions for human living in rural America still prevail. While labor efficiency and living standards have improved more rapidly in agricultural areas than in cities in recent years, some of the nation's poorest people are yet to be found in rural districts where social and economic progress took a detour. . . .

"It is the great weight of poverty at the lower levels that makes all

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SPECIAL WEEK SET TO HONOR OLDER CITIZENS

North Carolina will honor its older citizens during the week of September 15-21, the annual Special Week on Aging.

During this special observance, the health, happiness and welfare of North Carolina's aging citizens will be given special consideration, according to Margaret A. Chears, executive secretary of the Governor's Coordinating Committee on Aging.

North Carolina has more than 300,000 persons 65 years of age and older and this segment of the State's population is increasing rapidly. The total population of the State doubled between 1910 and 1960, while the number of older people increased fourfold during this half-century period. Even more striking is the fact that this age group doubled during the two decades 1940-1960.

Special programs honoring older citizens will be held in many N. C. counties and communities during the week of September 15-21.

INDUSTRIAL LIGHTING SURVEY IS PUBLISHED

"LIGHTING IN NORTH CAROLINA INDUSTRY," a booklet summarizing a special survey conducted by the Industrial Extension Service, School of Engineering, N. C. State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, is now available.

Single copies may be obtained free from the Industrial Extension Service. The booklet was compiled by J. R. Ogburn and W. Frank Hodge of the I.E.S. staff in Raleigh.

The booklet summarizes the results of a lighting survey made in 98 Tar Heel manufacturing plants. Specific industries surveyed include textiles, metal working, furniture, food processing, chemicals and plastics, building materials, and battery manufacturing.

Urging wide study and use of the booklet, Commissioner Frank Crane said: "Adequate illumination of work places is one of the main factors in preventing industrial accidents."

5,509 FIRMS CHECKED BY LABOR INSPECTORS

Labor Department inspectors visited 5,509 industrial, mercantile and service-industry establishments during the months of May, June and July. The inspected firms employed 212,333 workers.

The establishments were inspected to determine compliance with the State Labor Laws and the Safety and Health Regulations.

The inspectors made 2,875 recommendations for correction or improvement of working conditions not conducive to employee health and safety. Compliance with similar recommendations made during previous inspections was noted in 2,935 instances.

Other inspection activity during the three months included 1,800 conferences held with employers and workers; 269 reinspections made to insure compliance with the Labor Laws and safety and health regulations; 25 industrial accident investigations; and 98 special investigations made in response to employee complaints.

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	July, 1963	July, 1962	1st 7 Mos. 1963	1st 7 Mos. 1962
Albemarle	$ 28,253	$ 224,517	$ 422,629	$ 631,371
Asheboro	60,890	94,770	1,407,110	1,698,020
Asheville	2,385,193	477,923	6,487,771	4,880,936
Burlington	393,190	1,004,807	2,615,139	3,231,910
Chapel Hill	257,179	700,419	2,245,368	1,768,592
Charlotte	4,251,722	2,308,514	29,478,607	24,317,841
Concord	78,400	388,427	797,083	1,063,563
Durham	881,281	966,380	11,136,438	6,242,205
Elizabeth City	136,645	73,600	1,197,116	660,000
Fayetteville	966,348	1,246,615	6,454,079	5,936,571
Gastonia	491,775	423,750	3,143,825	3,669,650
Goldsboro	243,622	172,700	2,234,558	2,634,307
Greensboro	2,172,839	2,266,607	16,113,854	18,754,917
Greenville	202,230	394,700	3,138,424	2,541,477
Henderson	162,296	50,650	796,921	576,100
Hickory	152,395	256,004	1,265,022	1,770,268
High Point	978,648	350,568	5,716,106	6,311,392
Jacksonville	12,000	48,451	815,300	2,152,156
Kinston	97,075	821,856	1,839,929	4,062,062
Lenoir	74,351	95,010	579,829	848,987
Lexington	72,850	100,460	706,783	1,229,523
Lumberton	139,400	22,000	1,020,650	861,394
Monroe	56,500	13,600	278,100	797,400
New Bern	372,040	134,450	871,060	860,807
Raleigh	2,135,314	3,588,500	14,662,566	16,358,890
Reidsville	77,700	31,300	592,932	785,073
Roanoke Rapids	101,877	139,679	1,011,251	1,114,401
Rocky Mount	359,346	238,069	2,921,853	1,841,030
Salisbury	659,291	161,550	2,428,761	1,560,073
Sanford	128,075	46,200	376,250	636,050
Shelby	190,500	74,950	1,253,760	819,990
Statesville	269,281	369,110	2,071,513	1,855,060
Thomasville	51,380	116,950	1,449,821	1,441,523
Wilmington	1,134,211	589,306	2,434,981	1,201,830
Wilson	140,450	971,241	2,479,125	7,284,958
Winston-Salem	1,221,886	1,837,485	9,384,582	8,368,675
GRAND TOTAL	$21,136,433	$20,923,518	$141,829,096	$140,769,002

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FRANK CRANE
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ALMON BARBOUR
Editor

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NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT SETS JULY RECORD IN STATE DESPITE SEASONAL DECREASE

Nonagricultural employment registered a new high for the month of July in North Carolina, despite a seasonal decline of 4,700 from the June job figure.

July non-farm employment totaling 1,258,800 in the State was 14,700 higher than in July, 1962.

Factory jobs totaling 522,900 were up 400 from a year ago, while non-manufacturing employment groups showed an over-the-year gain of 14,300.

Average hourly earnings of factory workers held firm at $1.67. The factory workweek remained unchanged at 41 hours. Average weekly earnings in manufacturing also held firm at $68.47.

The only significant employment increase from June to July occurred in the construction industry, in which jobs were up 1,500.

Other employment groups showing increases over the month included finance, insurance and real estate—up 400 from the June level, food products, cigarette manufacturing, ordnance and transportation equipment, and communications and public utilities, up 200 each; and lumber, furniture, fabricated metals, machinery, tobacco steemmeries, printing and mining—up 100 each.

These job gains were more than offset by seasonal declines of 2,300 in the textile industry due mostly to summer vacations; 2,200 in public school custodial and maintenance jobs; 800 in federal government, due mostly to seasonal curtailment of agricultural stabilization committee operations; and 100 in State and local government due to adjournment of the General Assembly.

Other decreases included 1,100 in retail trade and 200 in wholesale trade caused by the usual midsummer lull in merchandising; and decreases of 700 in electrical machinery manufacturing, 200 in apparel firms, 200 in chemicals, and 100 in stone, clay and glass products.

CITY BUILDING PERMITS UP 9 PER CENT IN JULY

Building permits totaling $21,136,433 were issued in 36 Tar Heel cities of more than 10,000 population during July.

The July building figure was one per per cent higher than the $20,923,518 total reported for July, 1962.

The cities issued permits totaling $141,829,696 during the first seven months of this year—an increase of 0.7 per cent over the $140,769,002 reported for the same period last year.

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO - HIGHT POINT AREAS — JULY, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.5	27.7	27.4	— 0.7	+ 0.4	$ 75.12	$ 76.62	$ 73.10	41.5	42.1	41.3	$1.81	$1.82	$1.77
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.2	4.2	— 2.4	— 2.4	67.40	74.90	70.73	40.6	43.8	42.1	1.66	1.71	1.68
Bakery	2.0	2.1	2.1	— 4.8	— 4.8	70.49	78.57	76.50	39.6	42.7	42.5	1.78	1.84	1.80
Textile Mills Products	6.1	6.4	6.3	— 4.7	— 3.2	66.46	67.52	66.14	41.8	42.2	41.6	1.59	1.60	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	74.91	76.56	78.94	43.3	44.0	44.6	1.73	1.74	1.77
Knitting Mills	2.0	2.3	2.3	—13.0	—13.0	58.82	60.70	56.39	38.7	40.2	38.1	1.52	1.51	1.48
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.8	.9	+12.5	.....	95.03	87.78	86.05	44.2	42.0	42.6	2.15	2.09	2.02
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	.....	.....	83.47	78.91	75.78	43.7	42.2	42.1	1.91	1.87	1.80
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.1	2.0	1.9	+ 5.0	+10.5	92.57	94.07	...7...	39.9	40.2	...7...	2.32	2.34	2.26
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.7	2.7	2.5	.....	+ 8.0	67.73	70.47	69.39	40.8	42.2	43.1	1.66	1.67	1.61
Metal Products	2.4	2.4	2.3	.....	+ 4.3	80.75	79.77	77.22	41.2	40.7	39.6	1.96	1.96	1.95
Machinery	3.3	3.2	3.1	+ 3.1	+ 6.5	81.22	91.40	79.12	42.3	45.7	43.0	1.92	2.00	1.84
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.5	4.6	4.8	— 2.2	— 6.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.6	43.7	44.4	— 0.2	— 1.8	$ 68.63	$ 67.37	$ 65.69	39.9	39.4	39.1	$1.72	$1.71	$1.68
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	2.9	2.9	.....	.....	73.12	73.30	70.04	45.7	46.1	44.9	1.60	1.59	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	80.10	79.81	75.41	46.3	46.4	44.1	1.73	1.72	1.71
Textile Mill Products	15.7	15.8	16.7	— 0.6	— 0.6	62.72	61.12	58.25	39.2	38.2	37.1	1.60	1.60	1.57
Knitting Mills	6.0	6.1	6.7	— 1.6	—10.4	54.68	52.19	52.13	37.2	35.5	36.2	1.47	1.47	1.44
Apparel	3.7	3.9	3.8	— 5.1	— 2.6	54.07	53.34	...7...	38.9	38.1	38.9	1.39	1.40	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.1	1.1	+ 9.1	+ 9.1	64.82	65.11	61.63	43.5	43.7	42.5	1.49	1.49	1.45
Furniture	6.7	6.7	6.8	.....	— 1.5	68.97	67.20	65.34	40.1	39.3	39.6	1.72	1.71	1.65
HH Furniture	5.8	5.8	5.8	.....	.....	68.60	67.73	63.84	39.2	38.7	38.0	1.75	1.75	1.68
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.6	1.5	1.5	+ 6.7	+ 6.7	76.13	84.97	...7...	36.6	38.8	...7...	2.08	2.19	2.07
Chemicals	1.5	1.5	1.4	.....	+ 7.1	85.43	82.40	83.38	42.5	41.2	43.2	2.01	2.00	1.93
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	85.49	88.73	77.98	48.3	50.7	45.6	1.77	1.75	1.71
Metal Products	2.1	2.0	2.0	+ 5.0	+ 5.0	75.66	72.80	...7...	41.8	41.6	...7...	1.81	1.75	1.74
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	1.0	.9	—10.0	.....	84.00	88.06	...7...	43.3	44.7	40.6	1.94	1.97	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.4	6.4	6.4	.....	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — JULY, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current	One Month	One Year	One	One		One	One		One	One		One	One

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO - HIGHT POINT AREAS — JULY, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.5	27.7	27.4	— 0.7	+ 0.4	$ 75.12	$ 76.62	$ 73.10	41.5	42.1	41.3	$1.81	$1.82	$1.77
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.2	4.2	— 2.4	— 2.4	67.40	74.90	70.73	40.6	43.8	42.1	1.66	1.71	1.68
Bakery	2.0	2.1	2.1	— 4.8	— 4.8	70.49	78.57	76.50	39.6	42.7	42.5	1.78	1.84	1.80
Textile Mills Products	6.1	6.4	6.3	— 4.7	— 3.2	66.46	67.52	66.14	41.8	42.2	41.6	1.59	1.60	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	74.91	76.56	78.94	43.3	44.0	44.6	1.73	1.74	1.77
Knitting Mills	2.0	2.3	2.3	—13.0	—13.0	58.82	60.70	56.39	38.7	40.2	38.1	1.52	1.51	1.48
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.8	.9	+12.5	.....	95.03	87.78	86.05	44.2	42.0	42.6	2.15	2.09	2.02
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	.....	.....	83.47	78.91	75.78	43.7	42.2	42.1	1.91	1.87	1.80
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.1	2.0	1.9	+ 5.0	+10.5	92.57	94.07	...7...	39.9	40.2	...7...	2.32	2.34	2.26
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.7	2.7	2.5	.....	+ 8.0	67.73	70.47	69.39	40.8	42.2	43.1	1.66	1.67	1.61
Metal Products	2.4	2.4	2.3	.....	+ 4.3	80.75	79.77	77.22	41.2	40.7	39.6	1.96	1.96	1.95
Machinery	3.3	3.2	3.1	+ 3.1	+ 6.5	81.22	91.40	79.12	42.3	45.7	43.0	1.92	2.00	1.84
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.5	4.6	4.8	— 2.2	— 6.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.6	43.7	44.4	— 0.2	— 1.8	$ 68.63	$ 67.37	$ 65.69	39.9	39.4	39.1	$1.72	$1.71	$1.68
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	2.9	2.9	.....	.....	73.12	73.30	70.04	45.7	46.1	44.9	1.60	1.59	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	80.10	79.81	75.41	46.3	46.4	44.1	1.73	1.72	1.71
Textile Mill Products	15.7	15.8	16.7	— 0.6	— 0.6	62.72	61.12	58.25	39.2	38.2	37.1	1.60	1.60	1.57
Knitting Mills	6.0	6.1	6.7	— 1.6	—10.4	54.68	52.19	52.13	37.2	35.5	36.2	1.47	1.47	1.44
Apparel	3.7	3.9	3.8	— 5.1	— 2.6	54.07	53.34	...7...	38.9	38.1	38.9	1.39	1.40	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.1	1.1	+ 9.1	+ 9.1	64.82	65.11	61.63	43.5	43.7	42.5	1.49	1.49	1.45
Furniture	6.7	6.7	6.8	.....	— 1.5	68.97	67.20	65.34	40.1	39.3	39.6	1.72	1.71	1.65
HH Furniture	5.8	5.8	5.8	.....	.....	68.60	67.73	63.84	39.2	38.7	38.0	1.75	1.75	1.68
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.6	1.5	1.5	+ 6.7	+ 6.7	76.13	84.97	...7...	36.6	38.8	...7...	2.08	2.19	2.07
Chemicals	1.5	1.5	1.4	.....	+ 7.1	85.43	82.40	83.38	42.5	41.2	43.2	2.01	2.00	1.93
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	85.49	88.73	77.98	48.3	50.7	45.6	1.77	1.75	1.71
Metal Products	2.1	2.0	2.0	+ 5.0	+ 5.0	75.66	72.80	...7...	41.8	41.6	...7...	1.81	1.75	1.74
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	1.0	.9	—10.0	.....	84.00	88.06	...7...	43.3	44.7	40.6	1.94	1.97	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.4	6.4	6.4	.....	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — JULY, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT	1,258.8	1,263.5	1,244.1	— 0.4	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Manufacturing	522.9	525.0	522.5	— 0.4	+ 0.1	$ 68.47	$ 68.47	$ 66.75	41.0	41.0	40.7	$1.67	$1.67	$1.64
Durable Goods	147.2	147.3	146.3	— 0.1	+ 0.6	69.81	70.31	67.94	41.8	42.1	42.2	1.67	1.67	1.61
Lumber & Timber Basic Products	31.5	31.4	30.5	+ 0.3	+ 3.3	59.64	59.36	60.34	42.3	42.1	43.1	1.41	1.41	1.40
Sawmills & Planing Mills	18.9	18.8	18.1	+ 0.5	+ 4.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Millwork, Plywood, etc.	6.2	6.2	6.4	.....	— 3.1	57.89	54.54	58.32	43.2	40.7	43.2	1.34	1.34	1.35
Furniture & Fin. Lumber Products	47.8	47.7	47.3	+ 0.2	+ 1.1	66.14	65.73	63.54	41.6	41.6	41.8	1.59	1.58	1.52
Household Furniture	43.3	43.3	42.9	.....	+ 0.9	65.51	65.57	63.08	41.2	41.5	41.5	1.59	1.58	1.52
Stone, Clay and Glass	11.0	11.1	11.1	— 0.9	— 0.9	74.29	74.70	68.64	43.7	44.2	42.9	1.70	1.69	1.60
Concrete, Brick, etc.	4.1	4.1	3.9	.....	+ 5.1	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Primary Metals	2.8	2.8	2.8	.....	.....	85.08	81.81	85.69	41.5	40.3	41.0	2.05	2.03	2.09
Fabricated Metals	9.6	9.5	8.9	+ 1.1	+ 7.9	84.74	87.20	77.19	42.8	43.6	41.5	1.98	2.00	1.86
Fab. Structural Metals	4.3	4.2	3.8	+ 2.4	+13.2	94.02	100.28	82.70	45.2	47.3	43.3	2.08	2.12	1.91
Machinery (Except Electrical)	13.4	13.3	13.9	+ 0.8	— 3.6	75.93	78.94	75.07	42.9	44.1	43.9	1.77	1.79	1.71
Special Industrial Machinery	6.7	6.7	6.8	.....	— 1.5	75.29	80.10	...7...	42.3	44.5	...7...	1.78	1.80	1.72
Electrical Machinery	23.3	24.0	24.9	— 2.9	— 6.4	81.00	83.43	78.99	39.9	41.1	40.3	2.03	2.03	1.96
Ord. and Transportation Equipment	4.1	3.9	3.9	+ 5.1	+ 5.1	89.28	91.62	95.44	40.4	40.9	42.8	2.21	2.24	2.23
Other Durable Goods[1]	3.7	3.6	3.0	+ 2.8	+23.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nondurable Goods	375.7	377.7	376.2	— 0.5	— 0.1	68.14	67.80	66.33	40.8	40.6	40.2	1.67	1.67	1.65
Food & Kindred Products	36.6	36.4	35.5	+ 0.5	+ 3.1	62.46	62.20	60.32	42.2	42.6	41.6	1.48	1.46	1.45
Meat Products	8.5	8.5	8.3	.....	+ 2.4	56.56	54.51	52.50	40.4	39.5	38.6	1.40	1.38	1.36
Meat Packing	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	72.32	68.26	68.69	45.2	43.2	43.2	1.60	1.58	1.59
Dairy Products	5.6	5.6	5.7	.....	— 1.8	74.10	74.10	74.56	46.9	46.9	48.1	1.58	1.58	1.55
Grain Mill Products	3.9	4.0	3.8	— 2.5	+ 2.6	65.49	63.70	64.26	45.8	45.5	45.9	1.43	1.40	1.40
Bakery Products	7.7	7.6	7.6	+ 1.3	+ 1.3	71.40	73.36	72.76	42.0	42.9	42.8	1.70	1.71	1.70
Beverage Industries	5.2	5.1	4.9	+ 2.0	+ 6.1	66.46	67.45	65.27	49.6	51.1	50.6	1.34	1.32	1.29
Tobacco	25.9	25.5	27.5	+ 1.6	— 5.8	88.65	90.94	81.53	39.4	40.6	38.1	2.25	2.24	2.14
Cigarettes	18.8	18.6	19.5	+ 1.1	— 3.6	94.71	96.59	86.69	40.3	41.1	38.7	2.35	2.35	2.24
Stemmeries	5.3	5.2	6.4	+ 1.9	—17.2	66.61	69.63	63.72	36.4	38.9	35.8	1.83	1.79	1.78
Textiles	222.5	224.8	225.2	— 1.0	— 1.2	66.08	66.01	64.40	41.3	41.0	40.5	1.60	1.61	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	90.1	90.7	89.8	— 0.7	+ 0.3	70.14	71.74	69.81	42.0	42.7	41.8	1.67	1.68	1.67
Broadwoven Cotton	56.1	56.0	56.1	+ 0.2	.....	68.39	70.39	67.32	41.2	41.9	40.8	1.66	1.68	1.65
Broadwoven Fiber & Silk	30.3	31.0	30.0	— 2.3	+ 1.0	72.84	74.02	73.27	43.1	43.8	43.1	1.69	1.69	1.70
Knitting Mills	65.1	65.6	68.6	— 0.8	— 5.1	59.35	58.97	58.83	37.8	37.8	38.2	1.57	1.56	1.54
Full Fashioned Hosiery	7.2	7.5	8.2	— 4.0	—12.2	57.90	55.18	55.57	37.6	35.6	36.8	1.54	1.55	1.51
Seamless Hosiery	45.6	45.8	48.4	— 0.4	— 5.8	58.62	59.03	59.12	37.1	37.6	37.9	1.58	1.57	1.56
Dyeing & Finishing Textiles	12.2	12.4	12.4	— 1.6	— 1.6	66.97	70.90	68.15	40.1	42.2	41.3	1.67	1.68	1.65
Yarn Mills	46.4	47.4	45.9	— 2.1	+ 1.1	62.51	63.12	61.09	41.4	41.8	41.0	1.51	1.51	1.49
Apparel	45.5	45.7	43.9	— 0.4	+ 3.6	50.12	49.34	49.78	37.4	37.1	38.0	1.34	1.33	1.31
Men's & Boys' Clothing	17.6	17.6	17.0	.....	+ 3.5	47.34	46.18	47.75	36.7	35.8	37.6	1.29	1.29	1.27
Paper & Allied Products	13.6	13.6	14.0	.....	— 2.9	107.89	103.49	103.17	44.4	43.3	43.9	2.43	2.39	2.35
Pulp & Paperboard Mills	8.5	8.5	8.9	.....	— 4.5	122.93	116.77	115.44	45.7	43.9	44.4	2.69	2.66	2.60
Paperboard Containers	3.5	3.6	3.6	— 2.8	— 2.8	77.38	78.31	78.84	41.6	42.1	43.8	1.86	1.86	1.80
Printing	10.6	10.5	10.6	+ 1.0	.....	86.56	88.55	...7...	37.8	38.5	38.4	2.29	2.30	...7...
Newspapers	5.4	5.4	5.4	.....	.....	97.99	98.89	94.43	36.7	36.9	36.6	2.67	2.68	2.58
Chemicals	16.3	16.5	14.9	— 1.2	+ 9.4	86.92	85.22	85.04	42.4	42.4	42.1	2.05	2.01	2.02
Plastics & Synthetic Materials	10.5	10.1	9.3	+ 4.0	+12.9	95.89	95.22	92.62	43.0	42.7	42.1	2.23	2.23	2.20
Other Nondurable Goods[2]	4.7	4.7	4.6	.....	+ 2.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nonmanufacturing	735.9	738.5	721.6	— 0.4	+ 2.0	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Mining	2.9	2.8	3.5	+ 3.6	—17.1	74.68	74.70	82.48	46.1	46.4	50.6	1.62	1.61	1.63
Non-Metallic Mining	2.9	2.8	2.9	+ 3.6	.....	74.68	74.70	81.89	46.1	46.4	51.5	1.62	1.61	1.59
Contract Construction	74.6	73.1	73.6	+ 2.1	+ 1.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transp., Comm., & Pub. Utilities	67.3	67.5	64.8	— 0.3	+ 3.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transportation (Except RR)	33.6	34.0	31.9	— 1.2	+ 5.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Communications & Pub. Utilities	24.9	24.7	24.1	+ 0.8	+ 3.3	97.99	95.58	96.64	41.0	40.5	41.3	2.39	2.36	2.34
Trade[3]	227.1	228.4	223.2	— 0.6	+ 1.7	66.33	66.00	64.96	40.2	40.0	40.6	1.65	1.65	1.60
Wholesale	58.9	59.1	57.8	— 0.3	+ 1.9	85.37	84.58	83.85	42.9	42.5	43.0	1.99	1.99	1.95
Retail[3]	168.2	169.3	165.4	— 0.6	+ 1.7	58.65	58.35	57.42	39.1	38.9	39.6	1.50	1.50	1.45
Retail General Merchandise	34.5	34.6	33.9	— 0.3	+ 1.8	44.95	45.50	43.31	33.8	33.7	34.1	1.33	1.35	1.27
Department Stores	15.2	15.5	14.6	— 1.9	+ 4.1	49.47	49.70	47.66	33.2	32.7	33.1	1.49	1.52	1.44
Limited Price Variety	7.5	7.4	8.0	+ 1.4	— 6.3	31.29	31.19	30.50	29.8	29.7	29.9	1.05	1.05	1.02
Retail Food Stores	25.0	25.5	24.4	— 2.0	+ 2.5	53.20	52.59	52.85	35.0	34.6	36.7	1.52	1.52	1.44
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate[6]	49.6	49.2	47.7	+ 0.8	+ 4.0	89.95	88.36	88.85	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Service	140.0	140.0	137.6	.....	+ 1.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Hotels & Rooming Houses	9.0	9.2	9.0	— 2.2	.....	34.78	33.05	33.73	41.9	40.8	42.7	.83	.81	.79
Personal Services	25.6	25.6	25.3	.....	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Laundries & Dry Cleaners	15.5	15.5	15.4	.....	+ 0.6	36.20	36.86	35.88	38.1	38.8	39.0	.95	.95	.92
Government	174.4	177.5	171.2	— 1.7	+ 1.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Federal	39.3	40.1	39.0	— 2.0	+ 0.8									
State & Local Schools	67.4	69.6	66.1	— 3.2	+ 2.0									
State & Local Non-Schools	67.7	67.8	66.1	— 0.1	+ 2.4									

[1] Includes: Transportation Equipment, Instruments, and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Leather and Leather Products, Rubber Products, and Petroleum Products.
[3] Excludes: Earnings in Eating and Drinking Places.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.
[6] Reflects Earnings in Insurance Companies Only.
[7] Not comparable.
* Less than 0.1% change.

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	May, 1963	May, 1962	1st 5 Mos. 1963	1st 5 Mos. 1962
Albemarle	$ 189,500	$ 131,318	$ 356,796	$ 348,204
Asheboro	780,450	164,200	1,289,140	1,458,750
Asheville	596,881	428,703	3,700,690	3,213,938
Burlington	478,644	492,945	1,886,783	1,983,023
Chapel Hill	715,550	257,550	1,657,927	892,599
Charlotte	4,316,224	3,952,382	21,001,665	19,487,482
Concord	105,200	103,311	506,181	571,928
Durham	1,015,180	997,280	8,368,028	4,513,105
Elizabeth City	91,575	38,300	1,023,356	246,100
Fayetteville	1,131,730	1,355,176	4,798,438	3,909,529
Gastonia	710,800	575,150	2,405,650	2,422,150
Goldsboro	375,595	435,550	1,679,485	1,870,425
Greensboro	2,737,111	2,676,613	11,631,161	13,487,107
Greenville	306,356	433,400	2,821,098	1,578,976
Henderson	101,500	115,350	541,125	413,100
Hickory	339,821	251,695	910,852	1,360,414
High Point	750,751	921,941	3,473,261	5,121,544
Jacksonville	437,900	241,500	671,100	1,484,430
Kinston	231,450	1,477,509	1,550,024	3,012,529
Lenoir	118,520	36,926	389,543	723,152
Lexington	115,731	551,599	527,433	973,401
Lumberton	171,350	73,400	743,050	686,894
Monroe	10,000	55,000	188,000	618,400
New Bern	98,850	83,250	466,090	591,907
Raleigh	1,317,056	2,395,178	11,003,503	10,485,681
Reidsville	243,232	70,950	492,932	668,773
Roanoke Rapids	145,035	268,781	733,317	822,870
Rocky Mount	211,214	279,823	1,592,505	1,293,972
Salisbury	209,200	274,183	1,500,120	1,260,408
Sanford	14,675	82,400	208,575	523,750
Shelby	64,760	231,790	960,960	652,040
Statesville	220,300	165,650	1,531,007	1,264,950
Thomasville	297,900	312,585	1,327,479	1,277,768
Wilmington	239,280	53,480	1,104,019	537,259
Wilson	336,520	648,829	1,477,825	2,304,309
Winston-Salem	1,129,693	841,354	6,957,740	5,063,948
Grand Total	$20,355,534	$21,475,051	$101,476,858	$97,124,815

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	June, 1963	June, 1962	1st 6 Mos. 1963	1st 6 Mos. 1962
Albemarle	$ 37,580	$ 58,650	$ 394,376	$ 406,854
Asheboro	57,080	144,500	1,346,220	1,603,250
Asheville	401,888	1,189,075	4,102,578	4,403,013
Burlington	335,166	244,080	2,221,949	2,227,103
Chapel Hill	330,262	175,574	1,988,189	1,068,173
Charlotte	4,225,220	2,521,845	25,226,885	22,009,327
Concord	212,502	103,208	718,683	675,136
Durham	1,887,129	762,720	10,255,157	5,275,825
Elizabeth City	37,115	340,300	1,060,471	586,400
Fayetteville	689,293	780,427	5,487,731	4,689,956
Gastonia	246,400	823,750	2,652,050	3,245,900
Goldsboro	311,451	591,182	1,990,936	2,461,607
Greensboro	2,309,854	3,001,203	13,941,015	16,488,310
Greenville	115,096	567,801	2,936,194	2,146,777
Henderson	93,500	112,350	634,625	525,450
Hickory	201,775	153,850	1,112,627	1,514,264
High Point	1,264,197	839,280	4,737,458	5,960,824
Jacksonville	132,200	619,275	803,300	2,103,705
Kinston	192,830	227,677	1,742,854	3,240,206
Lenoir	115,935	30,825	505,478	753,977
Lexington	106,500	155,662	633,933	1,129,063
Lumberton	138,200	152,500	881,250	839,394
Monroe	33,600	43,000	221,600	661,400
New Bern	32,930	134,450	499,020	726,357
Raleigh	1,523,749	2,284,709	12,527,252	12,770,390
Reidsville	22,300	85,000	515,232	753,773
Roanoke Rapids	176,057	151,852	909,374	974,722
Rocky Mount	970,002	308,989	2,562,507	1,602,961
Salisbury	269,350	138,115	1,769,470	1,398,523
Sanford	39,600	66,100	248,175	589,850
Shelby	102,300	93,000	1,063,260	745,040
Statesville	271,225	221,000	1,802,232	1,485,950
Thomasville	70,962	46,805	1,398,441	1,324,573
Wilmington	196,751	75,265	1,300,770	612,524
Wilson	860,850	4,009,408	2,338,675	6,313,717
Winston-Salem	1,204,956	1,467,242	8,162,696	6,531,190
Grand Total	$19,215,805	$22,720,669	$120,692,663	$119,845,484

Labor

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Jobs, Rights and the Economy

Analysis of the latest jobless figures offers little cause for comfort. Clearly, the U. S. economy is failing to provide enough jobs for a fast growing labor force. The implications are especially disturbing in the face of today's just demands for equality of opportunity.

The 5.6 percent jobless rate hides the fact that one Negro worker in ten and one white worker in twenty is without a paycheck. It disguises a jobless rate of 16 percent for young white workers and 33 percent for Negro youth.

Unemployment—white or Negro—is inexcusable. It means misery for the white worker and his family and hoplessness for the Negro. It means social dynamite in our cities as patterns of juvenile delinquency become strengthened by enforced youth idleness.

For the Negro worker without a job or forced to work at a subsistence wage, the right to equal accommodations has little meaning. Nor can such a worker be expected to cheer if he learns that a law has been passed which guarantees him equal right to nonexistent employment. A strong civil rights law complete with fair employment practices is urgently needed. But a full employment economy must be achieved to give such a law full meaning.

With full employment, many of the tensions of American life will subside. Joblessness cruelly puts the Negro workers into a devisive competition with the white worker which harms both and which makes civil rights progress more difficult.

Recent economic developments, therefore, are cause for apprehension. They indicate that the economy—after its spring pickup—is leveling off.

Walter E. Heller, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, has termed the economy's present pace "moderate." He has stated that present growth won't "eat into our unemployment problem."

Mr. Heller could turn out to be an optimist. With present rates of productivity, a merely moderate growth rate could mean higher unemployment. If the economy falters even slightly, jobless rates could shoot upward sharply.

Latest statistical evidence gives small cause for optimism. Most of the leading economic indicators are pointing downward. While there is nothing infallible about these indicators, the general outlook seems to show that the revitalized boom of a few months back is again on the wane.

The Labor Department has confirmed AFL-CIO contentions that the private sector of the economy is not creating a significant number of new jobs. Yet, it is here that productivity has shot upward most rapidly. Moderate growth in this sector has become an invitation to job displacement.

Still Last Hired

Ignoring reality, the Federal Reserve Board has chosen this moment to bolster interest rates. Its action is an invitation to new recession. It has acted in the name of the balance of payments and the gold outflow. It is asking the American worker—especially the Negro—to balance America's payments imbalance with continued or added joblessness.

More jobs are needed because there can be no lasting prosperity without them. More jobs are needed because the American Negro cannot be expected to sit still while he is condemned increasingly to payless paydays. More jobs are needed because we invite explosion with today's lack of opportunity for new workers.

Business has had its fast tax write offs and tax credit but has failed to produce the necessary jobs. Business has had record profits during the past year, but the jobs have not been forthcoming.

The time has come for a people-oriented tax cut of significant magnitude. The time has come for public sector programs sufficient to the needs of the people. The warning signals again are flying. Especially now, protracted economic levelling off or more recession will be intolerable.

The Job Lag

A recent Labor Dep't study should be of great concern to the nation. This study shows that job growth in the private sector of industry is lagging badly.

Between 1957 and 1962, about 2.4 million new nonfarm jobs were added in the United States. That's a total gain of only about half a million a year —far less than the increase in the labor force.

More startling is the revelation that fewer than a million of these new jobs were added in the private sector. The big growth came in local and state governments which had to provide more teachers, police, sanitation forces, and the like to meet the demands of a growing population.

But government cannot be depended upon forever to provide jobs in a private enterprise economy. Sooner or later the need for more taxpayers in the private economy will limit job opportunities in the public sector.

Labor Sec. Wirtz has attributed the lag in private jobs to a slow growth rate. This is part of the story. The fact is, however, that last year the real increase in goods and services was six percent. Yet joblessness was as great at the end of the year as at the start. Higher GNP alone apparently is no longer the answer. Part of the answer lies in the quality of growth—the kinds of goods and services produced.

By now, this nation should have drawn a clear lesson from the advance of automation and electronics. New techniques are all too obviously wiping out more jobs than they create. While the impact is most dramatic in goods-producing industry and on the farm, it has already become noticeable in white collar and the services.

Part of the answer must lie in greater leisure—earlier retirement, longer vacations, and shorter hours. This is the true significance of the new breakthroughs in steel and aluminum.

Rauh Appointed

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Washington counsel of the United Auto Workers since 1951, has been named general counsel of the union. Harold Cranefield, formerly general counsel, had requested to be relieved of his duties and will continue as legal consultant. Rauh has represented the UAW in the Federal courts, before federal agencies and before Congressional Committees.

Vicious Attacks Upon NLRB Stepped Up in Dixie Press

Although it is simply carrying out the law's intent without favor, the National Labor Relations Board is being subjected to increasing attack. To hear these attacks, it would be thought that the Board invariably favors labor. Such is far from the case.

The Board's action in the case of the United Furniture Workers Local 270 and the Ft. Smith (Ark.) Chair Co. would indicate that the Board is strictly legal in its interpretations.

Local 270 went on strike against the Ft. Smith Co. with whom it had held a contract for many years. The strike was over wages and working conditions. The company refused to bargain and fired all 206 workers although strikes to enforce bargaining are a protected activity.

A trial examiner found the company guilty of unfair labor practices and ordered reinstatement. The finding was overturned by the two-to-one decision of a Board panel consisting of Chmn. McCulloch, Leedom, and Brown. McCulloch and Leedom voted to uphold the company.

At issue in the situation was a technicality. The Taft-Hartley law requires the filing of advance notice of a strike with the Federal Mediation Service and the state department of labor. So far as could be determined, the union filed no such notice. The strike, therefore, was found to be unlawful.

Vicious editorials attacking the NLRB are appearing with monotonous regularity in the Southern press and elsewhere. Most of these are canned aditorials that distort and rely upon half-truth.

Attacks from Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond and Rep. Phil Landrum (D., Ga.), co-authors of Landrum-Griffin, have been played up in the South. These attacks allege NLRB interference with free speech because an examiner recommended that an election conducted in an atmosphere of fear induced by pro-employer community leaders be set aside.

Rep. James G. O'Hara (D., Mich.), Rep. Frank Thompson (D., N. J.) and Rep. Roman Pucinski (D., Ill.) recently took the House floor in an eloquent 60-minute defense of the NLRB. Although they replied effectively to Rep. Landrum, Southern papers failed to mention the rebuttal.

Sen. Thurmond, Rep. Landrum and Rep. Robert Griffin (R., Mich.), are trying to strip the Board of its right to process unfair labor practice charges. Answering this demand, Rep. Pucinski noted that it has been an old favorite of the NAM and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

Pucinski noted that some two years ago he headed a subcommittee that looked into Board procedure and found needless delays in processing charges. He pointed out that these delays have been largely eliminated. He said that if the 14,000 unfair labor practice charges filed in fiscal 1962 had to go to the courts as proposed by the board's opponents, delays would be interminable.

IUD BULLETIN

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Labor Blasts Higher Interest

Federal Reserve Board action in lifting the discount rate from three to 3.5 percent has been termed "incredible" by IUD and Auto Worker Pres. Walter P. Reuther.

The discount rate is the price banks pay for money. Interest rates are scaled upward from this rate. The action will mean higher interest costs to small business, those who buy on installment plans and eventually to home buyers.

The FRB action was also hit by AFL-CIO Pres. Meany who termed it "outrageous" and urged an immediate "meaningful" tax cut to offset the "ill-considered" action.

Reuther noted that the higher discount rate "will inevitably have an adverse effect upon economic activity."

"It is difficult to understand," he said, "the reasoning which holds that the domestic economy must be braked in the name of the balance of payments. There are less painful ways to halt the outflow of U. S. capital and to slow down the pace of foreign borrowing in the United States."

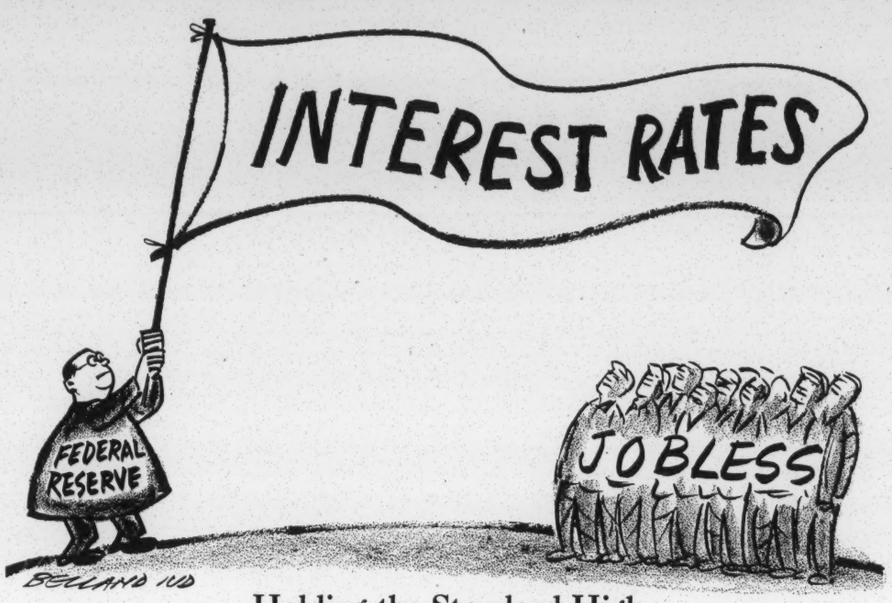
Reuther stressed that America needs least of all a monetary policy of a deflationary nature. He called current policies "an invitation to new recession" and pointed out that recent studies have indicated doubt about the ability to stem the gold outflow with higher interest rates.

The Administration and the FRB have been trying to keep domestic capital home and to attract foreign capital by "operation nudge." This has involved driving up so-called "short-term" interest rates and holding down "long-term" rates.

Short-term rates are those paid on Treasury bills and other government and private obligations that must be paid back in 90 days, or within some othed relatively short period. Idle money is usually invested in this kind of obligation. "Operation nudge" is supposed to keep these funds home.

It is possible to raise short-term rates within limits without affecting long terms. But, as recent experience has shown, constant forcing up of short terms generally means higher interest rates all around.

The Treasury began to pay three percent on its short-term obligations to keep "hot money" from going abroad. Banks were able to borrow from the reserve at three percent. They bought higher interest Treasury notes and bills and made a profit on turnover. The FRB then raised the discount rate.



Holding the Standard High

All was not harmony within the FRB over the higher rate. J. T. Robertson, a member of the seven-man governing board, voted against the hike and made his views public. Robertson said that the action was uncalled for in view of "our high level of unemployment."

The action was defended by FRB Chmn. William McChesney Martin who, as always, seemed to feel that high interest does not have any major impact on jobs.

The U. S. currently pays out more to the world than she takes in, although her trade balance—excess of exports over imports—is the highest in the world. The problem arises from the need to pay for troops abroad, tourism, foreign military aid, U. S. direct investments abroad and foreign borrowing in the U. S. The U. S. —or any other nation—can't play international banker on the basis of the world's present gold production, unless other means are taken to protect its currency.

The best answer is a booming economy which would draw capital like a lodestone because of the ability to make money. Barring this, a nation can legitimately defend its currency by other means. Most nations tax borrowing by foreigners and place limitations upon the ability of domestic capital to go abroad.

A better answer is a new currency arrangement. A halting step has been taken in this direction with the establishment of the International Monetary Fund. Experts like Robert Triffin of Yale have urged a kind of international federal reserve to do the world's banking so that there would not be runs on national currencies.

President Kennedy took limited steps in these directions in his recent call to Congress. He called for an interest equalization tax on the sale of foreign securities in the United States. Later, however, Canada, which accounts for more than half of all foreign securities, was exempted on new issues.

The President also is planning cuts of $900 million in U. S. spending abroad. He has asked authority to borrow $500 million in foreign currency from the International Monetary Fund. This latter step will permit the U. S. to repay limited claims in foreign currency rather than in gold. The IMF step is movement toward world currency reform.

Labor's view that higher interest rates are no answer was bolstered by a recent study of the conservative Brookings Institution of Washington, D. C. The study found a need for new world currency arrangements because there simply isn't enough gold to finance growing world transactions. It also reported that policies now followed to close the U. S. payments gap will create deflation in the free world. It opposed deflationary higher interest at home.

Meanwhile, Nat Goldfinger, AFL-CIO research director, said in a radio news conference that the current balance of payments deficit of $3.2 billion out of a total output of $580 billion should not be cause for panic. He charged that the FRB is currently "banker dominated."

Citizens Moving In School Dispute

New York City's Public Education Association, a citizens' group, is moving to keep the schools open in September.

PEA is calling together the 33 organizations represented in its coordinating committee to find means of averting a strike by the United Federation of Teachers.

The organization wants to suggest a plan to settle the outstanding dispute which has seen city and state officials turn their backs on salary increases and other improvements.

Dr. Frederick McLaughlin, PEA director, said his organization has no intention to act as mediator or to enter negotiations. He indicated that a plan might be suggested to both the Board of Education and the Teachers.

Dr. McLaughlin talked about support among his groups for a $10 million to $15 million package for better salaries and school conditions. He has indicated that between $5 million and $6 million would go for salaries now.

The UFT had originally sought $56 million but has since cut this in half to $28 million. The school board has rejected all increases and proposed a two-year contract with unspecified increases next year. The union has rejected this proposal. Dr. McLaughlin has said that community groups would "take up the cudgels" and press for funds for salaries and improvements.

Charles Cogan, UFT president, has predicted that 30,000 of the city's 40,000 teachers will go on strike on Sept. 9, when the schools open, unless there is a settlement. He has pointed out that the teachers were bound by a no-strike pledge only for the duration of their contract which expired last June 30.

Cogan recently sent a wire to the Board of Education urging a stepped up pace of negotiations. The Board has taken the position that it has no funds for school salaries or improvements. Appeals to Mayor Robert Wagner and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller have been fruitless. Earlier, UFT had indicated where additional funds could be found.

High Growth Rate

Government figures show that Gross National Product last year was $555 billion, a rise of seven percent over 1961. After allowing for higher prices, growth was six percent. Despite this growth rate, unemployment averaged about 5.5 percent.

STRIKE CONTINUES. Shown here are members of the International Woodworkers Union and the Lumber and Sawmill Workers, a unit of the Carpenters, as they picketed a plant of U. S. Plywood in the Northwest. Some 16,000 workers were locked out by four other firms after 4,000 struck against U. S. Plywood and St. Regis Paper.

Unions Win First Contract In West Coast Timber Strike

The West Coast lumber strike is solid and the two unions concerned—the Int'l Woodworkers of America and the Lumber and Sawmill Workers—have dented employer ranks.

The strike was originally directed against U. S. Plywood and the St. Regis Paper Co. Four other major producers—Weyerhaeuser, Rayonier, Int'l Paper and Crown Zellerbach—retaliated by locking out their employees. Altogether, 4,000 workers went on strike and another 16,000 workers were locked out. The unions have filed unfair labor practice charges against the employers who locked out their workers.

The two unions agreed a year ago to forgo wage increases when the firms pleaded poverty, only to find later that they were making excellent profits. This year when the companies again refused to grant improved wages and working conditions, the unions struck the two firms after contracts had terminated.

The strike has since spread to plants of the Georgia-Pacific Co. which has gone along with the newly formed employer association of the big six companies. So far, Georgia-Pacific has refused to budge despite the closing down of its plants.

The strike is beginning to pinch the big companies, who now find one large firm with a new contract. First to settle was Simpson Timber which employs 5,000 workers.

Simpson has settled for a 33.5 cent an hour package in a new three-year contract. The union has called this "the wedge to get settlements with other employers."

The Big Six group recently was reported to have offered a 26-cent package but both sides were still far apart as this was written. The unions have asked a 35-cent package, including wages, better travel time, and a joint study committee on automation.

Negotiations were reported about to begin with the Timber Operators Council representing some 200 employers with 60,000 union workers. One other big firm—Boise-Cascade—is also operating. These firms now are producing in a tight supply situation. While a spokesman for the Timber Council said the Simpson settlement didn't represent a pattern, it was known that the view wasn't unanimous with Council members.

Federal mediators are conducting separate talks with the two unions involved and the struck timber companies in Portland, but an early settlement was considered unlikely.

Meanwhile in a separate development, two other unions signed a new one-year contract with a group of 49 West Coast pulp and paper mill operators. Signing the new pact for 20,000 members were the Int'l Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the United Papermakers and Paperworkers. The pact was reported to have been approved in a referendum vote of the affected groups of workers.

Power Struggle

The power structure in the Senate was dented slightly last month with a setback for Dixiecrat Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D., Va.), chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Robertson was overruled by a seven-to-six committee majority that crossed party lines. The amount of money involved was a piddling $4,700, but the setback was a jolt to the Senate establishment.

The issue was out-of-town hearings for the "truth-in-lending" bill, sponsored by Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.). The measure is supported by consumers, labor, and even some banks. It is vigorously opposed by credit sellers and high-interest money lenders. These groups want to shut off publicity on the high costs of consumer credit and to defeat the bill. Out-of-Washington hearings would center attention on the need for action.

The bill is the brainchild of Sen. Douglas, who heads a subcommittee with jurisdiction over the bill. In 1962, the Senator asked Robertson to authorize out-of-town hearings. The Virginian said in writing that he could not authorize such hearings but that if the Subcommittee voted for them he would sign the necessary vouchers.

Early this year, Sen. Douglas' subcommittee voted for the hearings. Sen. Robertson refused to authorize the expenditures. Sen Douglas then offered to take out a second mortgage on his house to raise the money. Robertson replied by calling the subcommittee vote invalid because it took place after 12 noon on a day when the Senate was in session.

Finally, a full committee meeting was convened. Supporting Douglas were the following Senators: Clark (Pa.), Proxmire (Wisc.), Williams (N. J.), Muskie (Me.), Neuberger (Ore.), McIntyre (N. H.), Democrats, and Javits, Republican. Opposed were Sparkman (Ala.) and Long (Mo.), Democrats, and Bennett (Utah), Tower (Tex.), Simpson (Wyo.), Dominick (Colo.), Republicans.

Gets State Post

Terrell R. Sheffield, member of Local 276 of the United Automobile Workers, has been named Security Labor Representative of the Texas Employment Commission. He is one of four labor representatives whose job is to educate both workers and employers on the State's employment program.

IMPROVED TRAINING. CWA Pres. Joseph A. Beirne is shown as he testified before a House Labor subcommittee in support of a broadened Manpower Development and Training Act. Shown with Beirne is Sylvia Gottlieb, his assistant and CWA research director.

Significant Overtime Cited As Cause of Unemployment

America is faced with a "picture of significant unemployment" on the one hand and "substantial overtime in many key industries" on the other, Joseph A. Beirne, president, Communications Workers of America, told the House Select Committee on Labor in recent manpower testimony.

Beirne registered his union's support for improved training allowances, easing of eligibility requirements for training, relocation allowances equal to those in the Trade Expansion Act, better commuting travel allowances and elimination of local and state limitations on job availability for trainees.

Beirne reported that in his industry, the average workweek for 560,000 employees was 39.9 hours. The average, however, hid a 37.5 hour week for telephone operators and a 44.1-hour week for plant craftsmen. Each group approximated 30 percent of the total work force.

Interestingly, Beirne said, the plant group was the only one to experience layoffs in 1962 and is the only one "in which the hiring of new employees is and has been at a standstill in many parts of the country."

"CWA estimates that if no overtime had been worked in the telephone industry in 1962 in the male plant group, employment would have been available for approximately 17,250 young male employees," Beirne said.

He estimated that with a 35-hour workweek for all employees, 75,000 jobs would have been opened up. He charged that Bell is trying to lengthen the workweek for clerical employees and that the company is seeking to go to a seven-day week, 24 hours daily, in its new automatic billing and other computer operations.

He said that these machines are ending the myth that clerical workers' jobs are closely related to management. He added that if the problem can't be solved at the bargaining table, it may be necessary for the union to come to Congress for relief. He said that while CWA supports a stronger training bill, so far such activity has made "no appreciable dent" in unemployment.

Beirne urged action to restrict overtime by requiring two-and-one-half to triple time pay for hours in excess of seven in any day and pointed to a resolution to that effect adopted by his convention. He also urged formation of a Bureau of Automation in the Labor Dep't.

In earlier testimony, IUE Pres. and IUD Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey urged tax cuts, federal spending and public works to make more job opportunities. Without these, he said, "the effect of retraining will give us better trained unemployed workers." He supported amendments to improve eligibility for training, provide literacy courses where needed, postpone the date required for 50-50 state matching funds, and improve relocation allowances.

Labor Fights for Rights Law

Organized labor put its full support behind the President's civil rights bill last month, urging Congress to go even further. At the same time, labor took steps to accelerate its own campaign against discrimination.

Labor's support for the President's bill was registered in testimony of AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and IUD and Auto Worker Pres. Walter P. Reuther.

Labor also joined with the leadership Conference on Civil Rights in urging that a Fair Employment Practices Commission provision be included in the omnibus civil rights bill. Among spokesmen who urged this upon Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) were Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director, and Jack Conway, executive assistant to the IUD president.

Speaking for the Leadership Conference after meeting with the House Judiciary chairman, Clarence Mitchell of the National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People said that the group had been assured that Celler would "entertain a motion" in committee to add an FEPC provision.

In the Senate, meanwhile, the Judiciary Committee, headed by Dixiecrat James Eastland (D., Miss.) is moving at a snail's pace in its hearings on sections of the bill dealing with voting rights and school desegregation. Sen. Kenneth Keating (R., N. Y.) accused the committee of engaging in a filibuster. For five straight days, the committee required Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to appear before it to answer badgering questions.

"We have been insisting for a long time that establishing and maintaining full and equal rights for Negro Americans is a matter of 'here and now.' We have done this in the full knowledge that not all individual units of the trade union movement agree with the policies adopted, without apparent dissent, at trade union conventions," AFL-CIO Pres. Meany said in his House testimony.

Meany urged Congress action to help the trade union movement "translate principle into practice." He declared that the time for action has come and said that there now is an "overwhelming national consensus in support of equal rights."

Testifying later, IUD and UAW Pres. Reuther said that the President's bill (H. R. 7152) is a "vital and necessary beginning" toward a federal civil rights code "that will guarantee all Americans equality in law and equality in fact."

Reuther urged that the measure be strengthened and said that if the bill is weakened "one scintilla" the committee will have failed the nation.

RIGHTS MARCH. John Swainson, former governor of Michigan, Walter P. Reuther, and the Rev. Martin Luther King were among the front line leaders of Detroit's recent mammoth civil rights parade which brought out 100,000 marchers in the biggest demonstration of its kind yet held in the U. S.

Reuther described the Administration bill as a "moderate and restrained" proposal. He asserted that a Fair Employment Practices Commission, federal voting registrars, and a requirement that all school districts commence to desegregate "here and now" are in order.

"Can anyone seriously argue," he asked, "that Congress has the power to regulate the color of the margarine that goes on the restaurant table but not the color of the citizen who sits at that table?"

He said a Negro seeking service at a small lunch counter can be just as hungry as one who seeks service at a Howard Johnson restaurant. He answered the Mrs. Murphy rooming house argument by pointing out that the "right to choose roomers in one's own residence is one thing but this right of privacy has no applicability in a small commercial hotel, a small restaurant, a bowling alley or a barber shop."

Reuther urged that Title III of the bill, which would authorize the Attorney General to institute civil action for school desegregation upon receipt of a complaint, be approved as a first step. He pointed out that in 1960, both parties pleged action along these lines with the Democrats calling for full desegregation by 1963. He pointed out that only 0.3 of one percent of deep south Negro children are in desegregated classes.

He urged a penalty for discriminatory practices, pointing out that the law regulates the way people drive cars and that he saw no reason that there can't be legislation "that regulates this basic human problem."

When it comes to auto traffic, he noted: "We have a fellow on a motorcycle with a blue uniform. When you go through a red light, he gives you a $10 ticket and it's that $10 that accelerates the educational process."

In accelerating labor's own drive, AFL-CIO Pres. Meany announced a five-man committee to step up its antidiscrimination drive. Meany said that the committee's first task will be to mount a campaign in 30 to 40 major cities to "wipe out discrimination where it exists—on the jobs, in the schools, in the voting booths, in the housing developments, stores, theaters, or recreation areas."

Meany will chair the special five-man committee. Other members named are: AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. William F. Schnitzler; IUD Pres. Walter P. Reuther; Building Trades Pres. C. J. Haggerty; Sleeping Car Porters Pres. A. Philip Randolph.

Meany notified President Kennedy that the committee is ready to work with his Administration in wiping out discriminatory practices. He also announced that staffs of international unions will be recruited and assigned to the committee and that directors of key AFL-CIO staff committees will work closely with it.

In his letter to Pres. Kennedy, Meany reiterated labor's full support of civil rights legislation before Congress, including legislation for equal employment opportunity.

Labor Gives Full Backing To Fair Job Practices Law

Full backing for fair employment practices legislation was registered by AFL-CIO spokesmen last month.

Support came in testimony before a Senate Labor subcommittee conducting hearings on bills introduced by Sens. Humphrey (D., Minn.), Clark (D., Pa.) and Case (R., N. J.). Urging a strong fair employment practices act were AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Steelworker Pres. David J. McDonald.

Meany said that it is time for the nation to "stop talking" and to act because the "atmosphere today is different."

While reiterating his support for strong civil rights action in other areas, Meany stressed that "true equality of opportunity cannot come about for our deprived minorities without equality of access to employment."

Meany urged action by the Congress and the Administration to "create jobs and qualify people to fill them." He said that without jobs for all, jobs for Negroes cannot be had "no matter how fair our employment practices."

The AFL-CIO head stressed that the trade union movement knows that it has civil rights problems within its own ranks. He added that although progress has been made, the AFL-CIO has only limited powers and manpower for policing its 60,000 locals.

"Ours is not a monolithic organization. It is a confederation of unions. The only sanction which we can use against a union is to expel it from our organization. And if we expel a union we have done nothing to eliminate its discriminatory practices," he said.

He pointed out that the only federal power to eliminate job discrimination in private industry lies in government contract work and that the only enforcement power is contract cancellation. He called for a broad federal statute which will reach employers regardless of their status as government contractors.

The AFL-CIO president noted that employers in the service industries sometimes complain that they will suffer loss of patronage if they employ Negroes. He said this argument would lose validity if a law is applied equally to all.

Meany urged that any law permit the administering agency to issue complaints and make inspections. He pointed out that the Fair Labor Standards Act has been enforceable because of the inspection feature. He also pointed out that any program to open up jobs for Negroes at the expense of whites "is no program at all."

"I do not believe such perference is justified. No individual white worker should be penalized for past practices in which he may have had no voice. Furthermore, these demands reject equality of opportunity; they would merely replace one kind of discrimination with another," he added.

McDonald said that the United Steelworkers "wholeheartedly endorses and urges this Committee and the Congress to adopt legislation which would prohibit discrimination in employment."

The Steelworker president expressed strong opposition to a proposal by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) which would deprive unions of services of the National Labor Board if they discriminate. He said that he had no fears for the USWA but that attacks on discrimination "must be made on an across-the-board basis, not directed to unions alone or, for that matter, only to employment in which a union is involved."

As reported elsewhere, labor has joined with the civil rights leadership in urging the consolidation of fair employment practices in the omnibus civil rights bill before the House Judiciary Committee.

A separate bill has been voted out of the House Labor Committee but is being blocked in the Rules Committee. The measure would establish a five-man commission empowered to issue orders banning discrimination in jobs.

Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Calif.) sponsor of the House FEP bill was scheduled to ask consolidation in an appearance before the House Judiciary Committee.

It is considered important to get the measures combined because of the Rules Committee blockade. To get any measure out of rules will probably involve the little-used "calender Wednesday" procedure which permits the chairman of the affected committee to call out a bill if he can get a clear calender. It would be virtually impossible to use this procedure twice.

Stoppages Decline

There were fewer work stoppages in the first half of 1963 than during any comparable period since the end of World War II. Labor Dep't figures show that there were 1,880 stoppages involving 540,000 workers and that 138 stoppages involving 108,000 workers carried over from 1962. Idleness accounted for only 0.16 percent of estimated worktime.

RIGHTS RALLY. This civil rights rally was held recently in New York by the Fur and Leather Department of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Big Vacation Gain Won in Aluminum

The United Steelworkers of America has reached agreement with five major aluminum producers on revised contracts providing 10 weeks' vacation with 13 weeks' pay every five years.

Unlike the contract in steel, all employees eligible for vacations — those with more than one year's service—will receive this treatment. In the pioneering steel contracts, employees with 15 years or more of service received a total of 13 weeks' vacation every five years.

The new contract covers some 30,000 blue collar workers employed by Aluminum Co. of America, Kaiser Aluminum, Reynolds Metals, Olin Mathieson, and Ormet Corp.

The revised contracts also provide for an extension of 10 months to June 1, 1965, in the basic pacts which were due to expire at the end of next July.

Contracts between the big five and the Aluminum Workers Int'l Union had not been worked out at press time. AWIU represents about the same number of workers in the industry as does the USWA. A new contract between Alcoa and the United Auto Workers for 5,000 workers was also in the process of negotiation.

The new USWA pacts also provide improved insurance and sick and accident benefits. They were negotiated without formal reopening of contracts.

The new contract terms have been hailed by the United Steelworkers as a "significant" step toward greater job security and employment opportunity.

CIVIL RIGHTS TESTIMONY. This was the scene as IUD and UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther appeared before the House Judiciary Committee to urge passage of the President's Civil Rights bill. Identified (L-R): Jack Conway, assistant to the IUD president; Joe Rauh, UAW general counsel; Reuther.

Congress Establishment Blocks Legislative Action

A liberal Republican has taken off on Congress inaction and termed the present session "the biggest and longest-running slow motion show to hit Washington in years."

Making the charge was Sen. Jacob Javits (R., N. Y.). Javits tried to lay the responsibility at the doorstep of the Administration and his claims were hit as a "political message" by Sen. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), majority leader.

The fact is that Congress has been engaging in a slow motion show. The fact also is that the GOP leadership has teamed up with conservative Democrats to make certain that the pace remains exasperatingly slow. Congress has done virtually nothing on a bipartisan basis during the current seven-month long session.

Behind Congressional inaction lies the "establishment" which uses seniority prerogatives and every trick permitted by the rules of the Senate and House to stall action. Heading the establishment are powerful committee chairmen, the minority leadership, and the men who control appropriations.

A bipartisan group headed by Sens. Clark (D. Pa.) and Case (R., N. J.) set out earlier this year to modernize archaic Senate rules. Some 30 Senators lined up with the bipartisan move. While hearings on a resolution were promised by the Senate Rules Committee, headed by Sen. Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), the attempt so far has gotten nowhere.

In the House, the powerful Rules Committee says what can reach the floor and what can't. The Committee was enlarged at the start of the Kennedy Administration to give greater weight to its bills, but Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.), has remained chairman. Smith has managed to sit on almost every essential bill. A bipartisan attempt to modernize the rules has passed almost unnoticed because Smith has been able to prevent it from getting off the ground.

Sen. Clark recently took the Senate floor to recite a tale of legislative woe. He reported that of 102 Administration recommendations, only four have been enacted into law. Over 70 percent haven't even reached the Senate calender, Clark noted.

"I do not believe it is telling secrets out of school to say that in many cases the chairmen of the relevant committees do not intend to take action on the President's program because the President's recommendations are not in line with the views of the Senate establishment," Clark said.

Many key committees are headed by Southerners who are using a "sit down" on all issues to prevent civil rights legislation.

Clark urged four changes in the rules: permit Committees to meet while the Senate is in session; a rule of germaneness, requiring speakers to stick to the issue; cloture—end to filibustering—by majority vote of the Senate; immediate consideration by the Senate Rules Committee of proposals to modernize the Senate. His talk fell on deaf ears.

ABC Makes New Organizing Gain

Seven hundred new union members have been gained as the result of a successful organizing campaign by the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union at the bakery plants of the Cushman Baking Co. in Lynn, Mass., and Portland, Maine.

The initial victory took place at the Cushman plant in Lynn, Mass., when the ABC won a National Labor Relations Board election on July 11, receiving 172 votes against 150 cast for "no union." This was a run-off election due to the inconclusive results of balloting which took place on June 20 and in which the Teamsters' Union participated. The Teamsters were eliminated from the run-off on July 11 because they placed last in the first vote.

Twelve days later, on July 23, the bakery employees at the Cushman Bakery plant in Portland voted for the ABC 166 to 95. There are about the same number of workers in the Portland unit as in the Lynn plant.

Despite the expected opposition by the company, the workers' interest in trade unionism, sparked by effective work of ABC supporters inside both plants, carried the organizing effort to its successful conclusion.

Committee OK's More ARA Funds

The House Banking and Currency Committee has revived hope for a stronger area redevelopment program by voting out a truncated version of an added authorization measure that has already passed the Senate.

The Senate approved $455 million more for ARA which has used up most of the funds granted in its original appropriation. As approved by the House Banking Committee, $100 million has been trimmed from the proposed appropriation. The Committee version would also prohibit ARA from financing hotels and motels in depressed areas.

The expanded ARA program was originally defeated in the House by a 209-204 vote. Passage in the Senate gave the measure new life. Charges that a deal has been made to get Dixie backing for the bill in return for Northern support for a $250 million cotton export subsidy bill have been denied.

VICTORY TALK. The United Papermakers and Paperworkers regained bargaining rights at the 2,300-worker Oxford Paper Co., Rumford, Me., by defeating UMW Dist. 50 by a vote of 1,055 to 725. Drive was part of a coordinated effort involving UPP, IUD, and the AFL-CIO. Identified: Nello Ricardi, AFL-CIO; Glenn Hawthorne, UPP; Donald O'Leary, president UPP Local 900; Frank Wiseman, UPP representative assigned to the IUD New England drive; Warren Olsen, UAW representative assigned to IUD.

Members Paid Profit Share But Contract Fight Goes on

Payment of $500,000 in profit sharing has marked another gain in the battle of the United Steelworkers to require the Production Plating Co. of Lebanon, Ohio, to honor its union contract.

Profit share payments were made to 160 members of Local 4779 USWA as part of management's obligation under a two-year contract with the Production Plating Div. of Huyler Co. of New York, former owner of the firm. The contract runs until August of 1964, but Milton Keiner, president of Triton Corp., the purchaser of the plant, has refused to honor it.

Profit shares run to $5,000 in some cases. Fifty-four union members still awaiting recall to their jobs were among those receiving checks.

Al Whitehouse, Director USWA Dist. 25, expressed satisfaction with payout but stressed that the battle to restore the union contract and job rights will go on without letup.

The fight at Production Plating began last December when Keiner purchased the plant. The new owner said that he would close the plant and move to Indianapolis rather than deal with the "irresponsible" union. He then refused to recognize a "successor" clause in the contract.

The United Steelworkers had contract relations with Keiner's predecessor for 12 years without a strike. During that period, it was necessary to process only seven grievances to the arbitration stage.

Keiner closed the plant for two weeks and sent discharge notices to all workers. He then reopened the plant, rehiring on a selective basis which discriminated against active unionists. He then informed the workers that "this plant can and will be run without a union."

The union obtained a temporary injunction prohibiting the hiring of replacements. When this was vacated, the union struck the plant and filed unfair labor practice charges. Enlisting the support of the local Chamber of Commerce, Keiner turned Lebanon into a miniature police state.

On March 22, the NLRB issued a six-page complaint charging that Keiner had violated the "successor" clause of the contract and the rights of its employees to self-organization. In a rare action, the NLRB general counsel went into federal court in Cincinnati. The court issued a temporary restrainer prohibiting Keiner from closing, threatening to close, refusing to hire USWA members, or threatening workers with job loss for joining the union.

Local 4779 suspended its strike when the employer made a commitment not to hire replacements. Huyler, the former owner, agreed to honor its profit sharing obligations. Hearings on union charges have since been completed by a trial examiner but an intermediate report has not yet been issued.

Race Bars Banned In Apprenticeship

Certification of apprenticeship programs which discriminate will be denied by the federal government. Without certification, those in such programs will be ineligible for jobs on federal contract work.

New regulations were made public by Labor Sec. Wirtz, who pointed out that they are designed to insure equality of opportunity within the nation's apprenticeship programs. Wirtz promulgated the regulations in response to a recent Presidential directive requiring "the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs to be on a completely nondiscriminatory basis."

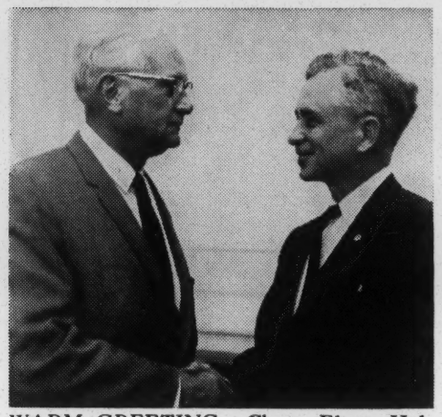
The Labor Dep't certifies programs through its Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. Programs certified henceforth must meet these criteria:

- Apprentices must be selected on an equal opportunity basis determined by fair tests, physical requirements, and other merit standards. A "significant number of minority group workers within a program will be viewed as proof of fairness.
- Where previously developed lists of applicants for apprenticeships are not in harmony with the first standard, they must be disregarded to the "extent necessary" to provide equal opportunity.
- After selection has been made, it must be shown that a program does not discriminate in employment to which it is related—job assignments, pay rates, promotion, demotion, layoffs, or other conditions.
- Where apprentices are selected from a given pool, as in selection from employees of a firm, admission to the pool and selection for apprenticeship must be on a nondiscriminatory basis.

The President's recent order on apprenticeship also directed review of federal construction programs to prevent racial discrimination in hiring by rejection of presently qualified Negro workers or indirectly by exclusion from apprenticeship training.

Living Costs Jump

The Consumer Price Index jumped 0.4 percent in June to a new record high. Prices advanced for most goods and services, with substantial increases for food, tobacco and used cars. Prices were 1.2 percent over June of last year chiefly because of higher food, housing and medical care costs.



WARM GREETING. Chmn. Elmer Holland (D., Pa.), had a warm greeting for IUE Pres. James B. Carey when the latter appeared before Holland's Labor subcommittee to testify on behalf of a strengthened Manpower Development and Training Act.

Atomic Measure Fought by Labor

A bill to permit the Atomic Energy Commission to turn over fissionable materials to private ownership is being fought by the AFL-CIO.

The law now permits only the government, through the AEC, to manufacture and own fissionable materials. AEC can and does lease such materials out to private industry but its use is subject to federal supervision.

AEC has been most generous with its contractors. It has waived fees in many cases on the grounds that free use is essential to development of the peaceful atom.

Proposals for private ownership of atomic materials are being advanced in the name of free competition, private enterprise and broader participation in applying atomic fuels to peaceful uses.

The federal government has spent billions of taxpayer money to develop atomic energy. With private ownership, control will pass out of government hands.

AFL-CIO Leg. Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller told the Joint Atomic Energy Commission, now conducting hearings, that surrender of federal ownership would result in benefit to big business monopoly at the expense of the community. He also stressed that the AFL-CIO is much concerned with the impact the measure could have on health and safety regulations.

"There is a strong and dangerous possibility," Biemiller said, "that authorization for private ownership of special nuclear materials will bring about a situation with a few multi-purpose companies like Westinghouse and General Electric in control of fabrication and manufacturing and with a handful of private utilities in control of the fuel market."

Protections in Steel Pact Consistent With Art. XXI

The "Experimental Agreement" included in the modified Steelworkers' contracts with the steel industry adds to job protection for union members but in no way infringes upon rights guaranteed by Article XXI of the AFL-CIO Constitution to other unions.

This has been made clear by USWA Pres. David J. McDonald who said as new agreements were concluded that USWA remained fully conscious of its obligations under Section XXI throughout the negotiations.

The "Experimental Agreement" spells out limitations upon contracting out of work, upon supervisors doing work falling within the bargaining unit, and upon scheduling of overtime while workers are on lay off.

Article XXI of the AFL-CIO Constitution provides for the settlement of internal disputes among affiliated unions. It deals with the question of "contracting out" in Section 3 which declares that each affiliate must "respect the established work relationship of every other affiliate." It prohibits agreement or collusion or the exercise of economic pressure to disrupt an established work relationship except with the consent of the union party to that relationship.

The "Experimental Agreement" runs from Aug. 1 of this year through Dec. 31 of next year. It agrees that the companies and union have existing rights and provides for certain supplemental "protections for bargaining unit employees or affirms existing management rights" in the area of contracting out.

Actually, the "Experimental Agreement" confirms past practices in line with the requirements of Article XXI.

It prohibits the contracting out for performance within the plant of production, service, day-to-day maintenance or repair work which has been performed regularly by bargaining unit employees. This could be changed only by mutual consent.

This means that the employees of an outside contractor could not come into a plant and perform work now done by USWA members. It would not bar the employer from sending out work which has been traditionally done by contractors outside the plant.

The agreement specifically provides for the maintenance of the existing status where some of the production, service, day-to-day maintenance and repair now is performed within the plant by bargaining unit employees and some by outside contractors.

It provides that where production, service, day-to-day maintenance and repair work within the plant have been performed by employees of outside contractors, such work may continue to be contracted out.

Other maintenance and repair work performed within the plant and the installation and reconstruction of equipment and productive facilities may not be contracted out unless the company can demonstrate that such a course is more reasonable than performance by bargaining unit employees. This could require the affected company to go to arbitration to prove that added contracting out of plant major maintenance or repair is the more feasible course and that it is not acting arbitrarily.

On the other hand, the agreement specifically provides that: "New construction including major installation, major replacement and major reconstruction of equipment and productive facilities at any plant may be contracted out." Sole limitation upon this provision is recognition by the parties of rights and obligations in effect at a plant prior to the new agreement.

The agreement also calls for the establishment of labor-management committees at each plant to resolve problems arising in connection with the operation of contracting out provisions. This committee may discuss all current problems in this area. Union members of the committee must be given notice of any significant items of work to be performed within a plant by an outside contractor's employees.

Jenkins Named To Labor Board

Howard Jenkins, Jr., a Republican, has been named by President Kennedy as a member of the National Labor Relations Board, replacing Philip Ray Rodgers whose term expired late this month.

Jenkins, a Colorado lawyer, is the first Negro ever appointed to the NLRB. He has been assistant commissioner of the Bureau of Labor-Management Reports.

The new NLRB appointee is the son of a letter carrier. He won his law degree from the University of Denver and did graduate work at New York University Law School. He served as a chief enforcement officer in the Rocky Mountain region for the War Labor Board and later taught at Howard University Law School.

Test Ban Viewed as Small Step

Despite opposition from the far right and some of the nation's military leadership, the Senate is expected to agree to a limited nuclear test-ban treaty. Hearings will probably go on for some time and debate will be sharp but the necessary two-thirds majority is expected to vote for a treaty.

A test ban by itself will not reduce levels of armaments or end the cold war. It will leave the big power blocs still armed to the teeth. But the ban will probably ease East-West tensions and could be the first halting step toward disarmament.

The world at large seems highly gratified by the new treaty. It should mean, at the least, that the air man breathes and the ocean waters upon which he depends will not be further contaminated by atomic fallout.

Executive officers of the Int'l Union of Electrical Workers have expressed the view that the treaty is a "first step" in "lifting the threat of global devastation and the annihilation of mankind." In a recent statement, they acclaimed the treaty as promising hope for disarmament and the achievement of enduring peace.

While the treaty will not limit the building of conventional and atomic weapons, it will probably halt the further development of superbombs and at least slow down the search for the will-o-the-wisp "absolute" weapon—the anti-missile missile.

This was indicated by Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, who recently talked of the "coming freeze" in atomic weaponry.

In urging the test ban, Khrushchev called for the freezing of East-West arms budgets and, if possible, their reduction. Khrushchev has compelling internal reasons for arms reduction. The new Soviet middle classes are demanding more and better consumer goods. The chronic USSR farm crisis can be solved only by diverting capital from arms to the farms. These considerations—plus Soviet bloc strains and the challenge of Red China—may explain the present Soviet willingness to negotiate.

While total disarmament will probably remain a dream, arms reduction within a framework of national security is possible for both sides. And if arms are causing problems for the Soviet economy, they are also causing serious distortions in the U. S. economy. Failure to achieve and maintain an effective test ban will be an invitation to arms escalation, renewal of testing and possible annihilation.

'Whew!'

It will also mean an even more crushing burden of taxation and increasing denial of civilian sector needs for Americans.

Over the past decade, America has spent half-a-trillion on defense. Three years ago, the arms budget came to $46 billion. This year, at least $54 billion will be spent.

It was not for nothing that former President Eisenhower warned of the military-industrial complex. Total defense procurement alone this year will be more than $28 billion, an increase of more than $6 billion since the start of this decade.

About 100 giant companies get the bulk of defense contracts. Almost nine-tenths are let without competitive bidding. Because of such relationships, strong alliances have been built between the military and industry.

Defense creates jobs but it also distorts growth and increasing evidence indicates that it now is causing regional joblessness. Military spending is a poor economic reed upon which to lean since it means using resources and manpower for nonproductive purposes.

Defense contracts have become a way of redistributing national income. California gets most spending on a per-capita basis and Washington State, Utah and Colorado are not far behind. Kentucky, on the other hand, gets back almost nothing for its tax dollars.

"We are aware," Defense Sec. Robert McNamara has said, "that the award of new defense contracts and the establishment of new defense facilities in a particular area can make the difference between prosperity and depression."

Marquis Childs, nationally known columnist, has pointed out that defense is creating two Americas. There are, he said, areas like West Virginia with an eroded industrial base and the new thriving industrial areas created by defense. Even the industrial Midwest, he said, is "feeling the pull of industry" away to the big missile bases.

Defense accounts for an ever-increasing share of the federal budget which has remained about a sixth of gross national product over the last decade. The budget rose from $64 billion in 1955 to $89 billion last year but defense accounted for $16 billion of the $25 billion increase. There seems no doubt that defense spending is causing starvation of essential civilian public sector outlays.

America now spends about 11 percent of her national income on domestic and foreign military needs. This is twice as much as in West Germany or France. Japan has spent relatively little on defense. Growth has been far greater in these nations than at home. Without spending to maintain troops abroad, America would have no balance of payments problem.

Defense determines the kind of research and development we how have. R&D spending is rising at an astronomical rate, but two-thirds is federal money and much of the rest supplements direct government outlays. Government now determines the nature of research and $13.5 billion in federal funds this year will go into defense-related and space research.

Defense gets first call on our engineers. While there are 160,000 more engineers and scientists than in 1955, all but 30,000 have gone into federally supported projects. J. H. Holloman, assistant Commerce secretary, has warned that we are "robbing Peter to pay Paul" in this area.

Hubert Humphrey, majority Senate whip, has pointed out that 85 percent of every German research dollar is private and that as a result Germany is developing modern plant and new products. England, he noted, spends three-quarters of her research dollars on government military and related projects and has the slowest growth rate in industrial Europe.

"What is happening to our civilian economy, as we plow more and more of our scientific personnel, our brains, into the military and into space and into atomic energy for military purposes?" he asked.

Prof. Kenneth Boulding of Michigan State University is an authority on the economics of disarmament. He has stated that with proper planning disarmament will lead "to a much better state of the world than we now have."

Settlement Comes In Long Oil Strike

The year-long strike of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367 against Dutch Shell at Pasadena, Tex., has come to a close.

Settlement came after a 27-hour bargaining session. Terms had not been announced as the *IUD Bulletin* went to press. Settlement was announced in Houston, Tex., by William E. Simkin, chief of the U.S. Conciliation Service.

The OCAW strike was a shining example of union solidarity. Throughout the year, not a single person within the bargaining unit who went on strike crossed the picket line. Only 48 bargaining unit workers failed to heed the strike call. The firm sought to continue operations with white collar, engineering and supervisory personnel.

Strikers received $20 weekly in strike benefits, and the union had distributed $1.5 million in benefits by last April.

The strike was the first in 10 years and came only after steady deterioration of working conditions. Shell was not satisfied with ever-rising productivity gains which has seen the bargaining unit shrink from 2800 to 2200 without reduction of output. Contract terms were subject to membership ratification and a vote was in progress at press time.

Student-Labor Conference Set

A joint IUD-Washington Student Conference Committee conference on Aug. 10, will look at the relationship of "American Students and American Unions."

The meeting is expected to bring together about 150 representative students now employed in intern programs by Congressmen, government agencies, unions and other organizations. About 10,000 students are employed in Washington in summer intern programs.

The conference will hear IUD Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey speak on "Civil Rights and the Labor Movement." Jack Conway, administrative ass't to IUD Pres. Reuther, will speak on "Automation, Employment and Jobs." Arnold Zander, president of the State, County and Municipal Employees, will speak on "Disarmament, Peace and the American Labor Movement." Luncheon speaker will be Rep. Robert W. Kastenmier (D., Wisc.), who will discuss "Students and the Unfinished Business of America."

SWEDISH EXPERTS. This panel of Swedes testified recently before a Senate Manpower Subcommittee headed by Sen. Joseph Clark (D., Pa.), on how management, labor, and government work together for full employment. Identified (L-R): Arne Geiger, president of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions; Berthil Kugelberg, head of the employers federation, and Ernst Michanek, Swedish labor undersecretary.

Survey Refutes AMA Claims On Voluntary Health Plans

A recent report of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center has knocked into a cocked hat American Medical Ass'n claims that voluntary insurance plans are taking care of medical needs.

The Center has reported that more Americans are going more deeply into debt because of high medical costs. It found that 40 percent of families had larger medical bills last year than the year before, and that older people, especially, are becoming medical debtors.

While seven in ten Americans had medical coverage of some kind, almost half of those with big bills had no insurance or found themselves without coverage for their ailments. A fourth of all families owed for doctor, dentist, or hospital bills. This did not include debt to finance companies incurred for this purpose. Last year's average medical debt was $175, a jump of $60 over 1957.

Medical expenses were somewhat above average in families with heads over 65 years of age. More than half of families with children under six had heavy medical expenses.

Nearly a third of those with big bills had no medical insurance and another 16 percent had insurance that covered nothing on their bills. Over half those over 65 had no medical or hospital insurance. About 1.8 million families had bills over $1,000 not covered by insurance. Most with large debt paid partly out of current income; a tenth borrowed; a fourth used savings. Old folks especially used savings reserves.

The Survey Center's findings bear out contentions of the National Council of Senior Citizens which reported recently that the new, much-advertised old age health policies are "deceptive, inadequate and much too costly for older people."

The Council has reported that it expects the House Ways & Means Committee to hold hearings on the current old-age hospital care bill proposed by the Administration. This bill would provide several options, one of which would permit up to 45 days of hospital care for retirees without any cost. It would also cover all retired persons over 65, whether under Social Security or otherwise.

The Council has urged a letter-writing campaign without delay. It stressed that letters to Congressmen are required to counter massive AMA pressure.

The Survey Center's study also refuted the AMA contention that Kerr-Mills programs are taking care of old age medical needs. As of last June 30, only half the states had programs and five of the states accounted for nearly nine-tenths of all payments. In some states, the program is clearly being used as a substitute for former medical relief programs.

High Profits Reported

A recent *Wall Street Journal* roundup shows that profits of the big corporations reached a record rate during the second quarter. On the basis of reports of 498 companies, net income after taxes was running at $3,304,968,000 annually, up 15.9 percent over the same quarter of last year.

Union Organizers Beaten As Local Police Stand By

For the second time in less than three months, union organizers seeking to leaflet the Hartwell, Ga., plant of the Monroe Shock Absorber Co. were subjected to mob violence.

Last July 18, six union officials were harassed, beaten, and forced to leave town by a mob that surged out of the plant, obviously with the blessing of the company. Local police refused protection although they and the mayor had been notified of the handbilling.

Victims of the mob action were: Pat Greathouse, UAW vice-president; John Chupka, Textile Worker secretary-treasurer; Nick Zonarich, IUD organizational director; Jim Pierce, IUD Carolinas coordinator; Joe Mooney, assistant to Greathouse; Ken Young, then Zonarich's assistant.

None of the six union officials was seriously injured but all were slugged repeatedly while local cops watched with partisan interest. Chupka was thrown to the ground and beaten with a stick.

The story began last April when seven organizers from the IUD's Carolinas campaign were threatened at knife point. The IUD had been requested by the UAW to handbill the plant because its Carolina operation is headquartered nearby. Auto Workers now represents the workers at the main plant of the company at Monroe, Mich., and is seeking to organize a third plant at Cozad, Neb.

This time, law enforcement officers—including the Georgia Highway Patrol—had been requested to provide protection. Instead, the city police gave comfort to the mob. The Georgia Highway Patrol was nowhere in sight, although Gov. Carl Sanders, on July 15, had promised to safeguard the legal right of the union organizers to handbill on public property.

In the April attempt to handbill, the organizers had been stripped of their leaflets, threatened with knives and crowbars, and warned to "clear out or be killed." The second effort was made to determine whether police protection against company-inspired mobs would be provided.

Notified of the scheduled second effort, the mayor of Hartwell bluntly warned the UAW not to send organizers into town. On July 17, the nearest Georgia Highway patrol post was informed that the distribution would take place next day. A patrol lieutenant told organizers that he had been instructed to provide protection.

The following morning, the local sheriff was informed of the pending distribution. The sheriff and a patrol captain seemed entirely unconcerned.

As the organizers approached the plant, a "lookout" ran into the building and immediately thereafter the mob emerged, climbed into company trucks and made for the union men. Greathouse—who wore a UAW tee shirt—was first target. Leaflets were seized and burned and organizers were slugged. The assailants admitted that they were on company time and shouted that they wanted no "NAACP'ers" or "Communists" around.

When the union men sought to stand their ground, they were pushed and kicked uphill toward waiting local cops who made no move to provide legal protection. When Greathouse called for the arrest of two of the mob, he was informed that the watchers "didn't see a thing." When organizers reached their car, they found all tires slashed. They finally escaped the area in an "emergency" car waiting in Hartwell after the mob forced the one gas station willing to sell new tires to drop the idea.

After more than four hours, the organizers eluded the mob and left the state. They were forced to send a tow truck across the South Carolina line to rescue their disabled car.

The facts have been provided and depositions given to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which now is gathering additional information.

The end is not yet in Hartwell. IUD and UAW officials are planning a new test with a sufficient number of Georgia union men on hand.

Digest Discontinued

Because of staff changes and greater emphasis on organizing and bargaining activity, the *IUD Digest* has been discontinued.

The quarterly first appeared in early 1956 and terminated publication with the winter 1963 issue. The magazine carried feature articles on national and labor issues. It had been designed both for information and to provide speech material.

While the magazine has been discontinued, other publications of the Department will continue to appear. This will include continuation of the Department's extensive pamphlet program.

NEW BOARD MEMBER. Howard Jenkins Jr. has been named by President Kennedy to replace Philip Ray Rodgers whose term as a member of the National Labor Relations Board has expired. The new member, a Republican, is the first Negro ever appointed to the Labor Board.

Bracero Program Pushed in Senate

Sen. Harrison Williams (D., N.J.) has called for a "determined" effort and strong public support to prevent approval in the Senate of a bill which would extend Public Law 78 for another year.

PL 78 authorizes the importation of Mexican Bracero labor which is used to undercut the wages of U.S. farm workers on the big factory farms. After a series of maneuvers, the Senate Agricultural Committee has approved an extension offered by Colorado Republican Sens. Allott and Dominick.

The Mexican labor program was passed as a Korean War measure over a decade ago and has been extended four times. Despite better enforcement, come 200,000 Braceros were imported last year.

The Bracero program extension was defeated in the House by a vote of 174 to 158. The big growers are now pushing for Senate approval as a means of getting the program extended.

In hearings before a Senate Migratory Labor Subcommittee headed by Sen. Williams, Labor Undersec. John Henning called extension "unthinkable" unless benefits now going to Braceros are also extended to U. S. nationals. Henning termed PL 78 a "bad law."

If the extension of the law is defeated in the Senate, the Bracero program will die on December 31. Sen. Williams has pointed out that the Agricultural Committee did not even hold hearings on S. 1703, the Allott-Dominick extension.

Pressures of Radical Right Rocking Republican Politics

The Republican Party is being rocked by pressures from a radical right now driving hard to capture control and nominate Barry Goldwater for President next year.

Goldwater's hopes were set back somewhat at the recent Governor's Conference in Miami where he was the subject of a blast from New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

Rockefeller hit hard at the radical right. He declared that the GOP was bound for oblivion if it accepted domination from "the vociferous and well-drilled elements" on the right who are "boring within the party."

"They have no concern with and offer no solution for the problems of chronic unemployment, of education and training, of housing, of racial injustice and strife, and all the other problems which must have answers if our democratic ideals are to be translated into living reality," the GOP hopeful charged.

Goldwater's friends have denied that he is a member of the radical right, but the Arizona Senator has done nothing to cut ties from the extremist wing. Goldwater has denied that he is a segregationist but his states' rights stand allies him closely with the nation's racists whether he likes it or not.

Rockefeller is seeking to make a comeback and offset his loss of popularity due to his divorce and remarriage. GOP Governors at Miami however were reported doubtful that he could overcome these political handicaps. They gave Goldwater a six-to-one lead. Popular polls show that Goldwater has slipped slightly, but give him a commanding lead over Rockefeller.

Neither Michigan GOP Gov. George Romney nor Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton emerged from the Miami political brawl with added popularity. The latter wasn't even present and the former emerged as the only politician to correct a press conference statement with a press release.

The more sober-sided Eastern wing of the GOP now seems to be frantically searching for a way to stop Goldwater. This may yet become Rockefeller's role. Richard Nixon, now abroad, has called upon the GOP to fight radical right encroachment. Nixon, once again, is being mentioned as a hopeful. Sen. Thruston Morton (R., Ky.), a dark horse, seems to be courting the far right. He recently accepted an award from far right Americans for Constitutional Action which interlocks with the John Birch society.

Goldwater, while accepting far right support, seeks to become identified as "Mr. Conservative." He has already declared that he will oppose a nuclear test ban treaty. He has stated that he would let the Cubans take back Cuba, and that he would supply lots of U. S. aid to that end. He is committed to withdrawal of U. S. recognition of the Soviet Union and, if consistent, would put America on a new collision course.

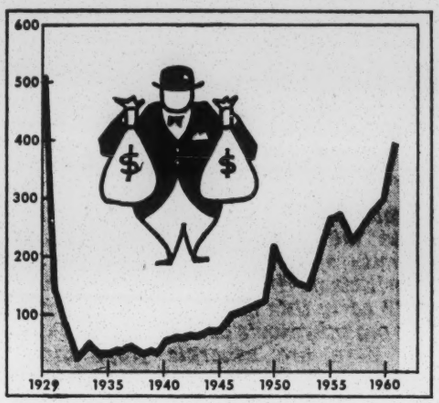
Goldwater has stated that the income tax is evil but feels that it can't be repealed. He would cut federal spending and revise the tax code to "encourage" investment. He would push "right to work" laws, break up national unions as we know them, and forbid all union political activity. Whether or not he is a son of the Birchers, Goldwater obviously stands as a symbol of their hopes.

The Arizona Senator hasn't declared himself on the states' rights amendments being pushed by the extremists but these are not inconsistent with his stated views. They would let the states bypass Congress in amending the Constitution, create a super-court of state supreme court justices able to override the U. S. Supreme Court and nullify its apportionment decision. Thirteen states have approved the Constitutional amending procedure, 15 have approved the apportionment amendment and five the Court proposal. Altogether, 18 states have acted favorably on one or more of the far right proposals.

The aim of the states' rights movement with which Goldwater is identified is, in the words of Amherst Prof. Henry Steele Commager, to form a "less perfect union." This is the issue rocking the GOP now, and may be the central issue of the 1964 Presidential Campaign if the far right prevails.

Cream Skimmed

The "cream-of-the-crop"—those most easily retrained—have so far gone through the programs established by the Manpower Retraining and Development Act, Clint Fair, AFL-CIO legislative representative, told reporters in a recent radio interview. Fair said that the program must be "fortified" through the addition of training to improve basic educational levels. He also urged "overhauling" and upgrading of the nation's vocational education system.



MILLION DOLLAR INCOMES. The number of persons with incomes of a million or more has increased to the highest level since the end of the palmy twenties. Some 398 persons had average incomes of $2 million last year.

Million Dollar Incomes Increase

Those confiscatory upper bracket taxes notwithstanding, the rich grow richer. That conclusion inevitably follows from an examination of the latest statistics of the Internal Revenue Service.

The figures show that 398 super-millionaires reported incomes in excess of a million dollars in 1961. This was the greatest number since the year of the Great Crash, in 1929, when 513 taxpayers achieved such distinction.

Tax avoidance has become much more sophisticated since 1929. Much of upper bracket holdings are now invested in such things as state and municipal bonds which offer tax-free income. The use of tax losses to offset taxable gains has become almost a science. Seventeen persons with incomes of more than a million paid no taxes at all.

The U.S. tax structure dealt mercifully with the super-millionaire last year. The average income of the 398 was $2 million. After-tax income was $1.2 million.

The 398 super-millionaires are not to be confused with the ordinary garden variety millionaire. It is estimated that there are some 100,000 of latter merely "worth" a million or more.

The incomes of those at the top of the heap comes only in minor degree from salaries. Most comes from profits on the sale of stock and real estate, from dividends and interest, and from rents and royalties. Profits on stock and property sales are taxable at the "capital gains" rate which is much lower than that on earned income.

YOUTH RALLY. This meeting of youth, sponsored by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, drew 4,000 workers from 70 nations to a camp outside Vienna on the Hungarian border. Shown is the United Auto Worker delegation.

Commission on Automation To Be Named by President

President Kennedy has announced that he will appoint a commission on automation to make an intensive study of its impact and recommend needed legislation. The commission is to report by the end of next year.

The announcement was contained in a message dealing with the current rails dispute. Sen. Jacob Javits (R., N. Y.) said shortly thereafter that he and three liberal Democrats would introduce a resolution authorizing a commission to strengthen the Administration's hand.

"We cannot," said the President, "stop progress." He added that it is the country's responsibility that "this public blessing" does not become a "public curse" to displaced workers.

As the President announced his panel, reports showed that investment in new plant and equipment is being stepped up considerably. The advance was attributed to the faster tax write-offs and the investment credit granted to business last year.

Business now is moving hard to make new depreciation rules permanent. The rules may again be modified by the Treasury after July 1 of next year. Industrialists are complaining that only about 55 percent of their plant and equipment was included under new fast write-off regulations.

For their own reasons—largely because they wanted to show higher profit—some large and small industry hasn't taken advantage of the new rules. Business wants changes which would provide added incentives so that these firms would take advantage of the regulations and bolster the case for still faster write-offs. While faster write-offs add to corporate cash, they also tend to write profits down because the latter become available after depreciation reserves are set aside. It's a matter of how books are kept. Business, apparently, wants both huge reserves and higher profits.

Recent figures show that industry has benefited to the tune of $2.3 billion on the tax credit and faster write-offs. Both actions were intended to stimulate new plant investment. Whether they can do so permanently in the face of economic slack is debatable, but there is no doubt that so far they have stimulated plant modernization and automation more than expansion of output.

The new plant boom was supposed to bite into unemployment but joblessness, if anything, is greater than last year. Job opportunities for new workers are disappearing. The impact of automation now is being felt even among the most highly skilled.

The recent convention of the American Newspaper Guild illustrated the problem. The Guild stated that its "overriding concern" in meeting the problem of automation must be the jobs of its members. It took the position that "no workers should lose their jobs as the result of the introduction of new techniques in our industry." It will seek this protection through job security clauses in new contracts. It heard John Diebold, automation expert, describe new data processing machines of the near future that will be able to transmit whole newspapers over wire to other machines which will reproduce them.

Meeting to View Rightist Assault

A major conference on the three constitutional amendments being pushed by the radical right is being sponsored by the IUD. The conference will take place on Friday, Sept. 6, 1963, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington.

The conference is expected to bring together about 200 delegates from labor, church, civil liberties, civil rights and education groups.

Archibold Cox, Solicitor General of the United States, will speak on the amendment intended to create a Court of the Union, made up of state supreme court chief justices who could override the U. S. Supreme Court. An amendment that would by-pass Congress in amending the Constitution will also be discussed by the Solicitor General.

Charles S. Rhyne, Chairman of the Institute of Municipal Law Officers and past president of the American Bar Association, will examine the impact of a proposed amendment to end federal judiciary authority over legislative apportionment. Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) will be the luncheon speaker.

Afternoon sessions will involve a panel discussion on combatting these amendments which have had full or partial approval in 18 legislatures. IUD Admn. Dir. Jacob Clayman will chair the opening session and IUD Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey has been invited to chair the luncheon.

IUE Starts Talks For GE Contract

Talks between the International Union of Electrical Workers and General Electric were scheduled to start on August 5, ten days early, IUE Pres. James B. Carey has announced.

As talks were about to begin, both parties expressed hope of an early settlement. IUE represents about 70,000 of the firms 130,000 hourly rated workers and is pattern setter for the company's workers.

Carey set Sept. 1 as the target for a settlement as long ago as last April. The present contract expires on Sept. 29. Joint union-management subcommittees have held 28 meetings since last May, exploring solutions to problems affecting GE employees.

IUE has urged "creative bargaining unshackled by rigid positions." The union has urged bargaining based upon the facts and a "recognition of the public interest."

Cement Workers Make New Gains

Settlements with major employers have been announced by Felix Jones, President, United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union.

The settlements, subject to local union ratification, were reached following intensive negotiations with Ideal Cement, Lone Star Cement, Marquette Cement Manufacturing, and Alpha Portland. Similar settlements with other producers are expected for the more than 85 cement locals still in negotiations.

The new two-year pacts provide significant improvements including:

- Wage increases of seven cents per hour each year.
- Restrictions upon overtime work during periods of curtailed plant operation.
- A fourth week of vacation after 20 years instead of 25 years of service as previously provided.
- An equal rights employment clause.
- Payment by the company of the full costs of group insurance for employees and dependents, plus an improved program.
- Improved sick benefits.
- Improved pensions.

The old contracts expired on May 1, but bargaining continued with the old agreements in effect.

"The possibility of a general strike was evident just prior to settlements," the union said.

Kenneth Young Takes IUE Post

Kenneth Young, formerly IUD assistant director of publications and public relations and more recently assistant to the IUD organizational director, has resigned his post in the Department to become publicity director for the International Union of Electrical Workers.

Young assumed his new post on August 5. He will be responsible for the activites of the IUE's publicity department.

The new IUE publicity director came to the IUD from the Insurance Workers in early 1957. He served as assistant director of publications and public relations until early this year. He has played an active part in getting IUD's current coordinated organizing drives under way.

Young is a graduate of Antioch College and has been in the labor movement since he graduated in the immediate postwar period. He is 36 years of age, married, and has three children.

MOB VIOLENCE. This was the scene at the Hartwell, Ga., plant of the Monroe Shock Absorber Co., Hartwell, Ga., just before the approaching mob began to beat up union officials. Photo was taken by TWUA staff member Jim Blackwell who was forced to retreat to his car when spotted by the mob (See Story, P. 13).

Federal Employees Union Affiliates With Department

Affiliation of the American Federation of Government Employees to the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, was announced last month by Dep't Pres. Walter P. Reuther.

"We are most gratified by the affiliation of the AFGE to the Department and look forward to the opportunities it offers to both parties. We pledge our fullest support to AFGE and its members in the effort to win improved status for federal employees," Reuther said.

The IUD president pointed out that because of President Kennedy's executive order regarding recognition and bargaining rights, there now exists "an exceptional opportunity" in AFGE's jurisdiction. He pledged full Department assistance in helping the union to take advantage of its new opportunities. He added:

"The IUD pledges material assistance to AFGE in its organizing program. It offers full support and technical assistance in bargaining and legislative work.

"The AFGE is the first union of federal employees to affiliate with the Department, and the IUD's third union of government employees. Already affiliated are the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the American Federation of Teachers.

"The IUD looks forward to a long and fruitful association and extends an enthusiastic welcome to AFGE Pres. John Griner and his associates."

AFGE recently won exclusive bargaining rights for 8,600 employees of the Social Security Administration headquarters in Baltimore, Md. The vote was 3,899 for AFGE Lodge 1923 and 1,346 against.

The election was won after an intensive drive which saw desk-to-desk distribution of union literature and personal contacts with all nonmembers. The vote for the union was more than twice as great as its previous membership. The election was one of the biggest held among white collar employees in a single establishment.

AFGE also won rights for 144 professional employees who voted in a separate election to be included in the over-all bargaining unit. Certification has been held up because of technical problems of timing. The decision, however, will not affect certification for the broad unit.

AFGE has also won bargaining rights for Social Security Payments Center employees in Kansas City, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia.

With the affiliation of the Government Employees, the IUD now has 59 affiliates. These unions are affiliated for more than six million members.

New Training Hailed

USWA Pres. David J. McDonald has hailed a new 12 week college residential program of union education as a "giant step forward." The program, to be run by USWA and the University of Indiana, was conceived by Dist. 30 Dir. James Robb and Educational Dir. Emory Bacon. It will stress local union leadership development and liberal arts. It is being financed by a grant of $85,000 from the Ford Foundation, USWA District 30 and the international union.

Labor

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

Dear Mr. Employer:

The amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act which became effective September 3, 1961, extended the coverage of the Act to additional employees and put into effect the first of several gradual steps toward the establishment of a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and a 40-hour maximum workweek for all within its coverage. The purpose of this communication is to call your attention to the wage and hours and child-labor requirements of this law which become effective September 3, 1963.

Employees now subject to the $1.15 minimum wage must be paid not less than $1.25 an hour beginning September 3, 1963, with a 40-hour maximum workweek and overtime compensation at not less than one and one-half times the employee's regular rate of pay for all hours worked over 40 in any workweek. For those now subject to a minimum wage of $1.00 an hour, there will be no change at this time in the minimum rate which must be paid, but, beginning September 3, 1963, such employees become subject to a 44-hour maximum workweek and must be paid not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for all hours worked over 44 in any workweek.

Inside this folder is the official poster which must be displayed on and after September 3, 1963. This poster supersedes the one issued in 1961. Examine it carefully to assure that you are in compliance with the new requirements of the law.

You are urged to contact representatives of the Divisions at the nearest Wage-Hour office for information as to how the law applies to individual businesses or to particular employees, thereby avoiding unintentional violations and attendant back-wage liabilities.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence T. Lundquist

Administrator

Enclosure

SOME, BUT NOT ALL, ARE WARY OF NEGRO RIGHTS FIGHT

Southern labor leaders play it safe

By Michael Munk

JUST AS THE LIBERAL wing of the Democratic Party justifies its caution on racial issues by pointing to its embarrassing Southern wing, so has the AFL-CIO leadership often asserted that it can do little to enforce integration among its Southern affiliates. But little has appeared in the national press about the views of Southern labor leaders and their relation to the civil rights movement. On Sept. 10, however, the New York listener-supported FM station WBAI, in a series of interviews conducted by Dale Minor, shed light on this crucial question. This article is based on interviews Minor gathered during July and August in Alabama and Mississippi.

The Rev. Edward Gardner of the Birmingham movement's negotiating team revealed that local union leaders had refused invitations to discussions on large-scale hiring and upgrading of Negro workers. "It's hard to get these men to the meetings because they seem to fear that they'll be put on the spot. The employers tell us that union contracts tie their hands—that it's up to the unions to decide who is hired. I don't know whether this is true or not, because the union leaders don't tell us the other side."

And the Rev. James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference believes that "like most established institutions, Southern unions want to play it safe. A lot of officials are afraid of what they think would be antagonizing Southern white workers. No real effort has been made for a joint effort between unions and the civil rights movement."

SOME WON'T TALK: The position of Southern union leaders ranged from outright refusal to discuss any racial matters (United Steel Workers secretary R. E. Farr in Birmingham) to unqualified support for the movement (Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers regional director M. C. Anderson, also of Birmingham). In the middle were the state and local AFL-CIO council representing, according to Minor, the "more highly paid skills and trades and largely white memberships." Their position was outlined by Barney Weeks, president of the Alabama Labor Council AFL-CIO and "one of Birmingham's leading liberals."

Weeks denied that unions control hiring, and pointed out that Alabama's "right to work" law (similar laws exist in most Southern states) outlaws the union shop and thereby the requirement that workers must be union members before being hired. "It's up to us to organize the workers after they're hired," Weeks said. He also declared all contracts that had contained discriminatory hiring and promotion provisions have been "renegotiated in line with national AFL-CIO policy."

Asked whether Alabama unions had been active in civil rights demonstrations, Weeks said, "No, we haven't been in the forefront, but some of us have been active behind the scenes." He attributed the lack of leadership to intimidation by racists, who have thrown bottles on his lawn and harassed him with telephone calls: "The Klan, the White Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society put tremendous pressure on anyone who speaks out, which means that people who are liberal, whether in the Committee of 100 of the Chamber of Commerce, in the PTA or in labor organizations, must attempt to work behind the scenes to be effective."

Herblock in the Washington Post
"What's the matter? We don't say 'niggers' up here."

Weeks himself is a member of Birmingham's bi-racial committee, and helps administer the 12-year-old Southern Labor School organized by COPE councils of the 13 Southern states. He said that "since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision," the school's programs, directed to local and state officers, have emphasized civil rights. The school is conducted across the state line at the Mountain View Hotel in Gatlinburg, Tenn., according to Weeks, because integrated facilities are not available in Alabama. The civil rights sessions, he said, stress how discrimination keeps both Negro and white workers down by playing one race off against the other.

EMPLOYERS' ROLE: A white labor leader who would not disclose his name spoke of a dilemma faced by liberals. "As private citizens, the union leadership is much more liberal on race questions than most employers. The disgusting thing about all this is that while we have been working for years to educate our membership, the employers—the same ones who made the hiring agreement with Birmingham Negroes—have been fighting us all the way. They use the race issue to fight union organization. They go into these sessions with civil right leaders and agree to hire and upgrade Negroes and then go right out afterward and tell white workers not to join unions because it will mean Negroes will get their jobs."

Daniel Powell, COPE director for Area 5 (Mid-Deep South) said both white and Negro workers have, of course, the "same common interests," but pointed out that since the end of the Civil War, the "ruling class" has skillfully used racism to divide the workers. He cited the Populist movement of the late 19th Century as finally breaking up on this issue and declared that "as long as this tactic is successful, the demagogues will remain in power."

All over the South, Powell said, "congressmen who vote against legislation that would benefit workers use the racial issue at election time to distract voters from their record in opposition to their interests . . . It's all based on fear."

Powell cited several examples—including George Smathers' 1950 defeat of Sen. Claude Pepper in Florida—of campaigns that illustrate how anti-labor Southern congressmen get elected. When union organizers appear in the Black Belt, he said, photos showing Northern labor leaders sitting with Negroes are distributed to white workers, and other photos showing local racist labor leaders at KKK rallies are shown to Negro workers. The politicians tell whites that their labor is worth more than that of Negroes, and that unions will force their wages down to the Negroes' level. Powell noted that in Alabama the sales tax was passed over union opposition when proponents reprinted an announcement of union support for a civil rights group, and argued that a sales tax is the only tax Negroes pay.

LACK OF JOBS: Weeks and Donald Stafford, president of the Birmingham Central Labor Council, said the basic obstacle to job equality was the lack of jobs generally. Unemployment in Alabama's Etowah and Walker counties is about 17%. Jefferson county (Birmingham) had 20,000 persons, or 8.2% of the labor force, out of work.

Faced by such heavy unemployment, they explained, "white workers are apprehensive when civil rights are mentioned." They said "it would be unfair to ask white workers to quit jobs or for laid-off whites to wait until Negroes are hired," to meet civil rights leaders' demands. Since years and years of discrimination have resulted in almost all seniority going to whites, unemployment means long lines of white workers, many with years of seniority, waiting for call-backs or looking for new jobs. The only solution, they agreed, "is jobs for all." Stafford was critical of the Kennedy Administration's retraining program, two of whose three projects in Birmingham involved training workers in skills already in surplus supply.

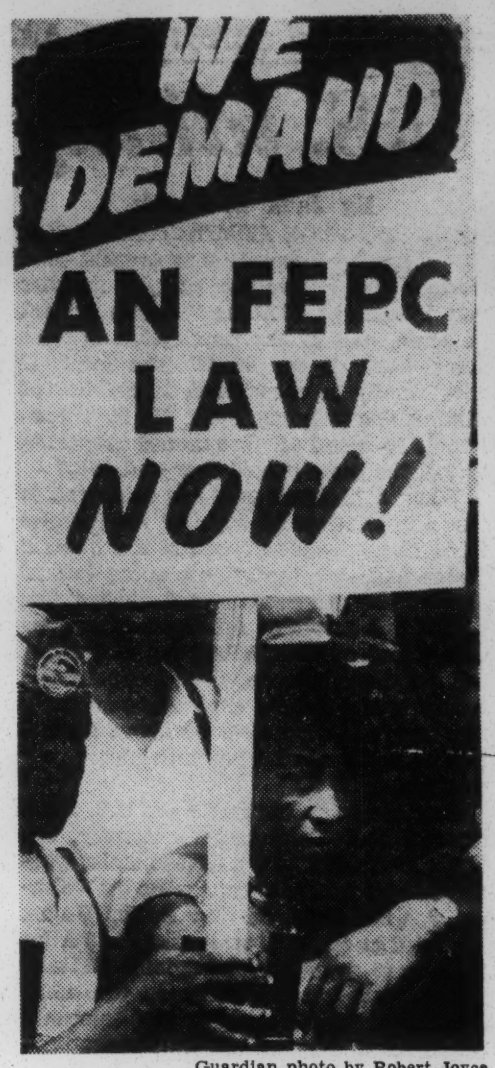
R. E. Farr of the USW declared, "Unemployment among steelworkers is our number one problem." His union is about 70% white and maintains segregated facilities in its union halls. Farr, like most other AFL-CIO and Teamster leaders in the Deep South, refused to discuss racial questions. He did, however, note that the unemployment rate among Birmingham steelworkers is now between "25% and 30%" and that his union's membership has fallen from 28,000 in 1959 to 21,000 today. He said automation was reducing "the number of workers every day while more steel is being produced."

NO POSITION: O. J. Reynolds, business agent for the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers local in Birmingham, is in another position. As a white, he runs a 1,400-member union that is three-fourths Negro. His comment on civil rights: "The union doesn't care one way or the other, it's an individual thing."

Claude Ramsey, president of the Mississippi Labor Council in Jackson, was more concerned with bringing industry to the state than with job equality. He did acknowledge, however, that racial tension hampers industrialization and said he was convinced that ultimately, the "Southern way of life" would yield before industrial development.

He was severely critical, as were other Southern labor leaders, of state government development programs that advertize cheap, non-union labor as a lure to runaway plants. Not only are these minimum wage plants no solution to the problem, he said, but they hurt the chances for progress. When established in a town, they tend to discourage other plants from coming to the area and dipping into their labor supply. They move from site to site as tax advantages and anti-union local ordinances expire, he said.

IN RIGHTS FIGHT: M. C. Anderson of Mine-Mill put the rights problem in sharp focus. As director of a 4,000-member union district in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, whose membership is 80% to 100% Negro, he declared that "Mine-Mill cooperates in every possible way, both financially and morally, with the civil rights movement." Asbury Howard, Mine-Mill international vice president, is president of the Bessemer Voters League and the Jefferson County League, which are spearheads of the Negro voter registration drive in the area.



Guardian photo by Robert Joyce
NEGROES SEEK A BREAK ON JOBS
But whites, too, are out of work

Anderson recalled that throughout its history Mine-Mill had always fought for equal employment and promotion rights for Negroes and that after Mine-Mill's expulsion from the CIO in the late 1940s on "communist" charges, the USW had raided its Southern locals with the whispering campaign that white workers should join "a white man's union." As Anderson put it: "They won, too," and replaced non-discriminatory contracts with so-called "lines of promotion" that froze workers in lines designed to keep Negro workers at the bottom of the pay and job scale. At first, Anderson said, employers used to hire Negroes in the mines simply to keep all-white unions from organizing them. When national unions established Jim-Crow locals for Negro workers, employers then used the tactic of telling whites Negroes would run their union, and warning Negroes that whites would control the union's leadership.

A CONTRADICTION: The final question put to Powell by Minor was: "Under present conditions of unemployment, is it correct to say that Southern white workers find a real contradiction between the movement for job equality and their own economic self-interest?" Powell replied that this was only partly true. Actually, he said, low wages and employment at the bottom of the scale mean low top wages too.

Powell foresaw a big boost to the South's economy from increased purchasing power for Negroes. On the other hand, he acknowledged that the general lack of jobs creates competition for jobs, and that this is how "many white workers see Negro demands." He also observed that he found Negro workers more eager than whites to join unions. "They understand the need for them more because they've been exploited more." Powell concluded that there was no protection for the white workers in keeping Negroes down, and said that more and more of his members were realizing that "If you keep a man in the ditch, you've got to get down there with him yourself."

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LABOR WEEK®

HOW JOBS, WAGES ARE SHIFTING

Now you can see exactly how your State rates with others in the growth, or loss, of jobs in factories.

Biggest gains show up in the South and West. Many Northern and Midwestern States have been losing ground.

Hourly-pay scales for factory workers have been rising all across U. S. Details of what's been happening are shown here.

Americans have been vaguely aware for many years that jobs are more plentiful, and wages higher, in some areas of the country than in others.

For the first time, it is possible to show where changes have taken place in the last 10 years, State by State, as some old established industries have moved to new locations and new industries have been developed.

This is what has been happening to factory employment and wages, as given in detail in the chart on this page:

- The West has made the sharpest gains in jobs, partly as a result of the expanding aircraft, defense and space industries. The increase in 10 years was 35 per cent, amounting to more than a half million jobs.
- Wages tend to be higher in the West and Midwest, but have risen all across the U. S.
- The South has been gaining rapidly in the number of industrial jobs, and pay scales have been rising, too. Yet hourly-pay rates in the South remain below those in other areas.
- The Northeast has shown the greatest decline in the number of factory jobs, declining by 8.1 per cent, from nearly 6 million factory jobs in 1952 to 5.5 million.
- The Midwest has declined almost as much as the Northeast. The decline

(continued on next page)

TRENDS IN JOBS AND PAY—STATE BY STATE

	FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, 1962	PERCENTAGE CHANGE SINCE 1952	AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE, 1962	PERCENTAGE INCREASE SINCE 1952
Alabama	239,400	UP 5.7%	$2.06	57.3%
Arizona	54,600	UP 86.3%	$2.57	46.0%
Arkansas	112,500	UP 36.9%	$1.66	45.6%
California	1,386,800	UP 39.4%	$2.79	49.3%
Colorado	93,200	UP 32.4%	$2.61	60.1%
Connecticut	417,600	DOWN 4.4%	$2.46	47.3%
Delaware	55,400	DOWN 6.0%	$2.41	50.6%
Florida	221,900	UP 83.7%	$1.99	57.9%
Georgia	347,000	UP 11.6%	$1.77	47.5%
Idaho	31,600	UP 32.2%	$2.34	30.0%
Illinois	1,203,900	DOWN 5.3%	$2.60	48.6%
Indiana	599,500	DOWN 4.2%	$2.65	48.9%
Iowa	174,300	UP 0.1%	$2.53	56.2%
Kansas	117,200	DOWN 15.4%	$2.52	50.0%
Kentucky	172,400	UP 14.6%	$2.27	51.3%
Louisiana	139,200	DOWN 10.3%	$2.29	62.4%
Maine	104,900	DOWN 9.9%	$1.89	40.0%
Maryland	258,100	DOWN 1.9%	$2.40	54.8%
Massachusetts	685,100	DOWN 6.5%	$2.24	42.7%
Michigan	939,100	DOWN 14.4%	$2.91	47.0%
Minnesota	238,400	UP 8.6%	$2.52	51.8%
Mississippi	127,500	UP 33.8%	$1.64	50.5%
Missouri	386,300	DOWN 2.1%	$2.38	50.6%
Montana	22,000	UP 22.2%	$2.58	38.7%
Nebraska	68,400	UP 9.8%	$2.20	50.7%
Nevada	6,000	UP 36.4%	$3.02	55.7%
New Hampshire	88,700	UP 8.0%	$1.88	36.2%
New Jersey	809,300	DOWN 2.8%	$2.51	45.1%
New Mexico	17,000	UP 57.4%	$2.20	43.8%
New York	1,848,600	DOWN 9.6%	$2.44	43.5%
North Carolina	527,700	UP 21.3%	$1.64	36.7%
North Dakota	6,400	DOWN 3.0%	$2.14	37.2%*
Ohio	1,212,500	DOWN 10.5%	$2.76	50.8%
Oklahoma	90,400	UP 12.7%	$2.19	40.4%
Oregon	141,400	DOWN 4.7%	$2.64	28.8%
Pennsylvania	1,399,600	DOWN 10.2%	$2.41	46.1%
Rhode Island	118,600	DOWN 18.8%	$2.02	36.5%
South Carolina	259,500	UP 17.2%	$1.68	40.0%
South Dakota	13,800	UP 11.3%	$2.17	52.8%
Tennessee	328,700	UP 18.2%	$1.93	44.0%
Texas	501,100	UP 18.1%	$2.32	47.8%
Utah	53,500	UP 66.1%	$2.66	61.2%
Vermont	35,600	DOWN 9.4%	$1.96	41.0%
Virginia	291,300	UP 15.9%	$1.91	43.6%
Washington	232,000	UP 18.1%	$2.81	42.6%
West Virginia	122,700	DOWN 10.0%	$2.55	53.6%
Wisconsin	455,400	DOWN 3.9%	$2.51	47.6%
Wyoming	7,400	UP 12.1%	$2.61	38.1%

Note: Comparable data unavailable on Alaska and Hawaii.
*Six-year gain, 1956-62. Ten-year comparison not available.

Basic data: U. S. Dept. of Labor

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[*continued from preceding page*]

. . . Northeast, Midwest still the big industrial areas

in 10 years was 7.1 per cent, or 400,000 jobs in manufacturing industries.

These changes are all pointed up in a new 633-page study by the Labor Department of changes in wage rates and job trends across the country.

Changing industrial patterns. New manufacturing industries, an analysis of the study shows, are being developed in many parts of the nation. Factory jobs are being created where few existed before, in States formerly considered to be mainly agricultural and rural.

In the Southern States, for example, the number of jobs in manufacturing increased by 15 per cent in 10 years, to more than 3.8 million. Hourly-pay rates for factory workers in the South rose, at the same time, by 43.4 per cent, to an average of $1.95 an hour.

An analysis by the Economic Unit of "U. S. News & World Report" of the official report suggested that some of the changing industrial patterns resulted from movement of plants from older industrial areas to the South and West.

New plants. Companies have opened new plants in the South and West, in some instances, instead of expanding facilities in original locations.

It is noted, too, that the loss of factory jobs shows up most graphically in States where labor unions have their largest membership. Some States, especially in the South, have held out the promise of "friendly" labor as an attraction to companies to move to or build new factories in those States.

Pay scales in the West have risen 46.3 per cent to $2.75 an hour, highest level for any area of the nation.

Gains in the Northeast in the past 10 years have amounted to 44.8 per cent, with wages reaching $2.39 an hour. The Midwest has had an increase of 48.6 per cent, to $2.63 an hour.

Range: $1.64 to $3.02. The figures on wages show Nevada at the top, with an hourly-pay scale of $3.02. Michigan was in second place, with a wage rate of $2.91 an hour.

Lowest average wages were shown for Mississippi and North Carolina, each at $1.64 an hour.

In rate of expansion of factory jobs, Arizona set the fastest pace, with a gain of 86.3 per cent in 10 years. Florida was second, with 83.7 per cent.

Although factory jobs have been declining in the Northeast and Midwest, these are still the more highly industrialized areas, as measured by number of jobs in manufacturing industries.

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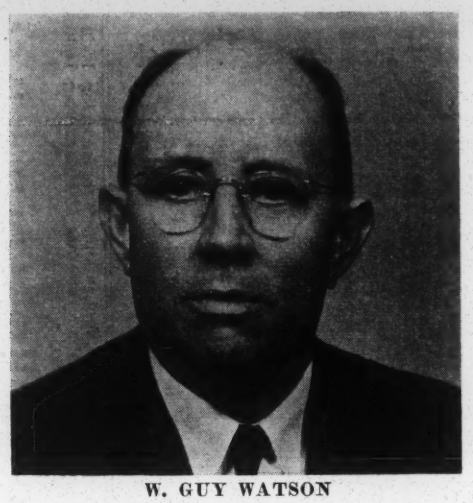
Vol. XXX RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, SEPTEMBER, 1963 No. 9

GUY WATSON RETIRES



W. GUY WATSON

W. Guy Watson, Supervisor of industrial safety and labor regulations inspections for the Department of Labor for the past 17 years and a Labor Department employee for 28 years, retired from active service on August 30th.

Watson was first employed by the Department as a Factory Inspector on Sept. 1, 1935. At that time, the Department of Labor numbered 27 people, of whom more than half were in the inspection division.

Guy and Mrs. Watson plan to continue living at their home at 5231 Hillsboro Road, Raleigh.

Commissioner Frank Crane was high in praise of the outstanding contribution made by Guy during his more than a quarter-century of service in the Department of Labor and to the employers and employees of North Carolina.

"Guy has been an untiring worker in promoting the health and safety of North Carolina employees and the improvement of working conditions in industry throughout the entire State," Commissioner Crane said. "He will be missed by all of his associates, fellow workers and friends in the Department of Labor."

Labor Department inspectors visited 2,052 Tar Heel industrial, mercantile and service establishments employing 73,800 workers during August. They made 37 complaint investigations, 95 reinspections, investigated four serious accidents, and held 629 conferences with employers and employees. They made recommendations for improvement of health, safety and working conditions in 1,200 instances and noted more than a thousand compliances with similar previous recommendations.

NORTH CAROLINA RANKS 13th IN NATION IN NUMBER OF NONFARM WORKERS

North Carolina, with over 1.2 million workers in 1962, ranks 13th among the states of the Nation in nonfarm employment, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Regional Director of the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics in the South. New York leads all states with 6.3 million workers, but has shown a slower rate of employment growth than most other states in recent years.

Between 1939 and 1962, nonagricultural employment in North Carolina increased by 100.9 percent—exceeded by thirteen states, most in the South and West. Arizona led with a 280.3 percent increase, followed by Nevada (255.7 percent), and Florida (254.1 percent). The national average increase was 80.7 percent.

Employment in all major nonfarm industries in North Carolina advanced during the 1939-62 period, but the distribution of workers shifted. Following national trends, goods producing industries (construction, mining, and manufacturing) declined in relative importance as a source of jobs; while service industries (trade; transportation, communications, and public utilities; finance, insurance and real estate; miscellaneous service; and government) gained. The goods producing industries, which provided 56.0 percent of all nonfarm jobs in 1939, accounted for only 47.9 percent in 1962. The share of jobs in the service industries rose from 44.0 percent in 1939 to 52.1 percent in 1962.

Earnings of North Carolina factory production workers have trended steadily upward over the past 12 years. Gross average weekly earnings amounted to $43.34 in 1950, but by 1962 had increased 54 percent to $66.91. Of the twelve southern states, Texas had the highest average in 1962—$96.05—almost equal to the national average of $96.56. There was considerable variation in earnings among the states, primarily reflecting differences in industry composition. Texas, for example, has a concentration of workers in high skill industries such as chemicals, petroleum refining, primary metals, machinery, and transportation equipment; while in North Carolina a large percentage of workers is employed in the lower paying textile industry.

These trends and comparisons are drawn from a new Bureau of Labor Statistics' report of employment and earnings. It includes, in addition to data for each state, information for 146 major areas, including Charlotte, Greensboro - High Point, and Winston-Salem.

The report shows that, in Charlotte, nonagricultural employment grew from 84.6 thousand in 1954 to 112.7 thousand in 1962—an increase of nearly 33.2 percent. During the 8-year period, manufacturing employment increased from 22.1 to 27.1 thousand, and gross average weekly earnings of factory production workers advanced from $52.66 to $73.46.

From 1954 to 1962, manufacturing employment in the Greensboro-High Point area increased from 38.4 to 44.1 thousand, and in Winston-Salem from 32.5 to 38.7 thousand. During the same period, gross average weekly earnings of factory production workers in the Greensboro-High Point area rose from $47.73 to $65.35.

Among major areas, Flint, Michigan, reported the highest average weekly earnings in 1962 ($135.38) — followed

(Continued on page 4)

VETERAN INSPECTOR DIES

GEORGE W. KING

Labor Department employees were saddened last month by news of the death on August 31 of George W. King of Asheville, veteran Industrial Safety Inspector in the Western District.

King had been employed by the Department of Labor for 26 years prior to his retirement from active service on June 30, 1963. He came with the Department originally in July, 1937.

As Industrial Safety Inspector, George helped to carry the message of accident prevention and better working conditions to many hundreds of industrial plants throughout Western North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA

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Commissioner of Labor
ALMON BARBOUR *Editor*

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NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT SETS AUGUST RECORD

Nonagricultural employment climbed to a new high in North Carolina for the month of August.

Mostly seasonal job gains totaling 22,200 in August brought the State's total non-farm employment up to 1,283,000. This was 18,700 higher than in August, 1962.

Factory employment totaling 543,400 in August was up 19,800 from July and was 2,300 higher than a year ago. Non-manufacturing jobs totaling 739,600 were up 2,400 from July and were 16,400 higher than a year ago.

An influx of 14,200 seasonal tobacco stemmery workers, most of whom were employed at the Federal minimum wage of $1.15 an hour which prevailed in August (the minimum advanced to $1.25 on Sept. 3) caused average hourly earnings in all the State's manufacturing to drop four cents last month—from $1.67 in July to $1.63 in August.

However, the over-all factory workweek was up by 0.5 hours to an August average of 41.3 hours. Weekly earnings in manufacturing averaged $67.32.

Textile mill employment was up 3,900 over the July level as all divisions of the industry reported better business and general employment gains. The same was true of apparel manufacturing, which reported August job gains of 1,100. Other increases included 600 in electrical machinery, 400 in chemicals and 300 in furniture.

Principal gains over the July job levels in non-manufacturing industries included increases of 1,400 in retail trade, 300 in construction, and 200 each in the transportation and service industries.

AUGUST BUILDING PERMITS TOTAL $24,312,304 IN 36 TAR HEEL CITIES

Building permits totaling $24,312,304 were issued by public officials in 36 North Carolina cities of more than 10,000 population during August.

The August building total was 14.8 per cent higher than the $21,185,910 reported by the same cities for August, 1962.

The cities reported a total of $166,141,400 in permits during the first eight months of this year—a 2.6 per cent increase over the $161,954,912 reported for the same period in 1962.

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREAS — AUGUST, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT: Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM: One Month Ago	One Year Ago	HOURS AND EARNINGS: AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS: Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS: Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS: Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.8	27.4	27.9	+ 1.5	— 0.4	$ 76.20	$ 75.12	$ 74.16	42.1	41.5	41.9	$1.81	$1.81	$1.77
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.2	....	— 2.4	71.06	70.39	67.64	42.3	41.9	40.5	1.68	1.68	1.67
Bakery	2.0	2.0	2.1	....	— 4.8	71.86	72.04	72.98	39.7	39.8	41.0	1.81	1.81	1.78
Textile Mills Products	6.3	6.1	6.5	+ 3.3	— 3.1	66.04	66.78	67.82	41.8	42.0	43.2	1.58	1.59	1.57
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.4	2.5	2.4	— 4.0	....	74.22	75.77	78.58	42.9	43.8	44.9	1.73	1.73	1.75
Knitting Mills	2.2	2.0	2.5	+10.0	—12.0	58.56	58.82	61.89	39.3	38.7	42.1	1.49	1.52	1.47
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.9	1.0	....	—10.0	95.26	95.03	79.00	43.3	44.2	40.1	2.20	2.15	1.97
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	....	....	83.22	83.47	79.66	43.8	43.7	44.5	1.90	1.91	1.79
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.1	2.1	1.9	....	....	94.94	93.13	...7	40.4	39.8	...7	2.35	2.34	2.27
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.8	2.7	2.5	+ 3.7	+10.5	68.88	67.73	71.78	42.0	40.8	43.5	1.64	1.66	1.65
Metal Products	2.3	2.4	2.3	— 4.2	+12.0	84.02	80.36	80.54	41.8	41.0	41.3	2.01	1.96	1.95
Machinery	3.3	3.3	3.2	....	....	84.11	81.22	80.35	44.5	42.3	43.2	1.89	1.92	1.86
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.6	4.4	4.9	+ 4.5	+ 3.1	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5
					— 6.1									
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	44.0	43.5	44.6	+ 1.1	— 1.3	68.28	67.37	65.69	39.7	39.4	39.1	1.72	1.71	1.68
Food & Kindred Products	3.0	2.9	2.9	+ 3.4	+ 3.4	71.52	73.09	70.20	44.7	45.4	45.0	1.60	1.61	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	....	....	75.68	77.85	79.80	44.0	45.0	45.6	1.72	1.73	1.75
Textile Mill Products	15.9	15.7	16.9	+ 1.3	— 5.9	59.72	60.26	57.25	37.8	37.9	36.7	1.58	1.59	1.56
Knitting Mills	6.2	6.0	6.8	+ 3.3	— 8.8	54.91	55.20	52.42	37.1	37.3	36.4	1.48	1.48	1.44
Apparel	3.8	3.7	3.8	+ 2.7	....	56.82	54.85	...7	40.3	38.9	38.7	1.41	1.41	...7
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.2	1.1	....	+ 9.1	63.79	64.82	64.53	43.1	43.5	43.9	1.48	1.49	1.47
Furniture	6.8	6.7	6.8	+ 1.5	....	70.82	68.63	67.13	40.7	39.9	40.2	1.74	1.72	1.67
HH Furniture	5.9	5.8	5.9	+ 1.7	....	71.20	68.60	66.47	40.0	39.2	39.1	1.78	1.75	1.70
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.5	1.6	1.4	— 6.3	+ 7.1	83.37	76.13	...7	39.7	36.6	...7	2.10	2.08	2.09
Chemicals	1.5	1.5	1.4	....	+ 7.1	83.40	85.43	85.34	41.7	42.5	43.1	2.00	2.01	1.98
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	....	....	83.42	85.89	81.46	47.4	48.8	48.2	1.76	1.76	1.69
Metal Products	2.1	2.0	2.1	+ 5.0	....	75.72	75.66	...7	42.3	41.8	...7	1.79	1.81	1.70
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	....	....	86.68	84.00	...7	42.7	43.3	41.6	2.03	1.94	...7
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.4	6.4	6.4	....	....	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5	...5

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAY INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — AUGUST, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT: Current Month[4]	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM: One Month Ago	One Year Ago	HOURS AND EARNINGS: AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS: Current Month	One Month	One Year	AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS: Current Month	One Month	One Year	AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS: Current Month	One Month	One Year

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREAS — AUGUST, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.8	27.4	27.9	+ 1.5	— 0.4	$ 76.20	$ 75.12	$ 74.16	42.1	41.5	41.9	$1.81	$1.81	$1.77
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.2	.....	— 2.4	71.06	70.39	67.64	42.3	41.9	40.5	1.68	1.68	1.67
Bakery	2.0	2.0	2.1	.....	— 4.8	71.86	72.04	72.98	39.7	39.8	41.0	1.81	1.81	1.78
Textile Mills Products	6.3	6.1	6.5	+ 3.3	— 3.1	66.04	66.78	67.82	41.8	42.0	43.2	1.58	1.59	1.57
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.4	2.5	2.4	— 4.0	.....	74.22	75.77	78.58	42.9	43.8	44.9	1.73	1.73	1.75
Knitting Mills	2.2	2.0	2.5	+10.0	—12.0	58.56	58.82	61.89	39.3	38.7	42.1	1.49	1.52	1.47
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.9	1.0	.....	—10.0	95.26	95.03	79.00	43.3	44.2	40.1	2.20	2.15	1.97
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	.....	.....	83.22	83.47	79.66	43.8	43.7	44.5	1.90	1.91	1.79
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.1	2.1	1.9	.....	+10.5	94.94	93.13	...7...	40.4	39.8	...7...	2.35	2.34	2.27
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.8	2.7	2.5	+ 3.7	+12.0	68.88	67.73	71.78	42.0	40.8	43.5	1.64	1.66	1.65
Metal Products	2.3	2.4	2.3	— 4.2	.....	84.02	80.36	80.54	41.8	41.0	41.3	2.01	1.96	1.95
Machinery	3.3	3.3	3.2	.....	+ 3.1	84.11	81.22	80.35	44.5	42.3	43.2	1.89	1.92	1.86
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.6	4.4	4.9	+ 4.5	— 6.1	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	44.0	43.5	44.6	+ 1.1	— 1.3	68.28	67.37	65.69	39.7	39.4	39.1	1.72	1.71	1.68
Food & Kindred Products	3.0	2.9	2.9	+ 3.4	+ 3.4	71.52	73.09	70.20	44.7	45.4	45.0	1.60	1.61	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	75.68	77.85	79.80	44.0	45.0	45.6	1.72	1.73	1.75
Textile Mill Products	15.9	15.7	16.9	+ 1.3	— 5.9	59.72	60.26	57.25	37.8	37.9	36.7	1.58	1.59	1.56
Knitting Mills	6.2	6.0	6.8	+ 3.3	— 8.8	54.91	55.20	52.42	37.1	37.3	36.4	1.48	1.48	1.44
Apparel	3.8	3.7	3.8	+ 2.7	.....	56.82	54.85	...7...	40.3	38.9	38.7	1.41	1.41	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.2	1.1	.....	+ 9.1	63.79	64.82	64.53	43.1	43.5	43.9	1.48	1.49	1.47
Furniture	6.8	6.7	6.8	+ 1.5	.....	70.82	68.63	67.13	40.7	39.9	40.2	1.74	1.72	1.67
HH Furniture	5.9	5.8	5.9	+ 1.7	.....	71.20	68.60	66.47	40.0	39.2	39.1	1.78	1.75	1.70
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.5	1.6	1.4	— 6.3	+ 7.1	83.37	76.13	...7...	39.7	36.6	...7...	2.10	2.08	2.09
Chemicals	1.5	1.5	1.4	.....	+ 7.1	83.40	85.43	85.34	41.7	42.5	43.1	2.00	2.01	1.98
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	83.42	85.89	81.46	47.4	48.8	48.2	1.76	1.76	1.69
Metal Products	2.1	2.0	2.1	+ 5.0	.....	75.72	75.66	...7...	42.3	41.8	...7...	1.79	1.81	1.70
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	86.68	84.00	...7...	42.7	43.3	41.6	2.03	1.94	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.4	6.4	6.4	.....	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAY INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — AUGUST, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT	1,283.0	1,260.8	1,264.3	+ 1.8	+ 1.5	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Manufacturing	543.4	523.6	541.1	+ 3.8	+ 0.4	$ 67.32	$ 68.14	$ 66.67	41.3	40.8	40.9	$1.63	$1.67	$1.63
Durable Goods	148.2	147.1	147.7	+ 0.7	+ 0.3	72.42	70.14	69.01	42.6	42.0	42.6	1.70	1.67	1.62
Lumber & Timber Basic Products	31.3	31.4	30.7	— 0.3	+ 2.0	60.63	60.21	60.20	42.7	42.4	43.0	1.42	1.42	1.40
Sawmills & Planing Mills	18.8	18.7	18.3	+ 0.5	+ 2.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Millwork, Plywood, etc.	6.2	6.2	6.4	.....	— 3.1	58.05	57.62	57.89	43.0	43.0	43.2	1.35	1.34	1.34
Furniture & Fin. Lumber Products	48.0	47.7	47.6	+ 0.6	+ 0.8	69.60	66.46	65.48	42.7	41.8	42.8	1.63	1.59	1.53
Household Furniture	43.5	43.3	43.3	+ 0.5	+ 0.5	69.28	65.83	64.60	42.5	41.4	42.5	1.63	1.59	1.52
Stone, Clay and Glass	11.1	11.0	11.2	+ 0.9	— 0.9	73.78	74.63	69.92	43.4	43.9	43.7	1.70	1.70	1.60
Concrete, Brick, etc.	4.1	4.1	4.1	.....	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Primary Metals	2.8	2.8	2.8	.....	.....	86.31	85.08	85.49	41.9	41.5	41.3	2.06	2.05	2.07
Fabricated Metals	9.7	9.6	9.0	+ 1.0	+ 7.8	86.40	85.57	79.34	43.2	43.0	42.2	2.00	1.99	1.88
Fab. Structural Metals	4.4	4.3	3.8	+ 2.3	+15.8	94.53	93.81	81.41	44.8	45.1	42.4	2.11	2.08	1.92
Machinery (Except Electrical)	13.6	13.4	14.0	+ 1.5	— 2.9	80.15	77.33	76.71	43.8	43.2	44.6	1.83	1.79	1.72
Special Industrial Machinery	6.8	6.7	6.9	+ 1.5	— 1.4	78.40	76.18	...7...	43.8	42.8	...7...	1.79	1.78	1.72
Electrical Machinery	24.1	23.5	25.0	+ 2.6	— 3.6	83.83	81.81	79.76	41.5	40.5	40.9	2.02	2.02	1.95
Ord. and Transportation Equipment	3.9	4.0	3.9	— 2.5	.....	92.74	90.35	96.83	41.4	40.7	42.1	2.24	2.22	2.30
Other Durable Goods[1]	3.7	3.7	3.5	.....	+ 5.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nondurable Goods	395.2	376.5	393.4	+ 5.0	+ 0.5	65.69	67.30	66.09	40.8	40.3	40.3	1.61	1.67	1.64
Food & Kindred Products	36.5	37.1	35.6	— 1.6	+ 2.5	62.01	62.60	58.20	41.9	42.3	40.7	1.48	1.48	1.43
Meat Products	8.5	8.5	8.5	.....	.....	54.37	56.56	48.87	39.4	40.4	36.2	1.38	1.40	1.35
Meat Packing	2.5	2.5	2.5	.....	.....	69.08	72.32	68.14	44.0	45.2	43.4	1.57	1.60	1.57
Dairy Products	5.6	5.6	5.7	.....	— 1.8	75.05	73.94	74.10	47.5	46.8	47.5	1.58	1.58	1.56
Grain Mill Products	4.0	3.9	3.8	+ 2.6	+ 5.3	62.48	66.82	61.92	44.0	46.4	45.2	1.42	1.44	1.37
Bakery Products	7.7	7.7	7.7	.....	.....	71.82	71.57	70.98	42.0	42.1	42.0	1.71	1.70	1.69
Beverage Industries	5.2	5.2	4.9	.....	+ 6.1	70.47	66.10	63.12	52.2	49.7	49.7	1.35	1.33	1.27
Tobacco	39.7	25.9	40.9	+53.3	— 2.9	76.89	88.26	70.49	40.9	39.4	37.9	1.88	2.24	1.86
Cigarettes	18.5	18.8	19.2	— 1.6	— 3.6	97.53	94.71	87.14	41.5	40.3	38.9	2.35	2.35	2.24
Stemmeries	19.5	5.3	20.0	+267.9	— 2.5	56.70	66.61	52.99	40.5	36.4	36.8	1.40	1.83	1.44
Textiles	226.5	222.6	227.8	+ 1.8	— 0.6	66.01	65.21	65.28	41.0	40.5	40.8	1.61	1.61	1.60
Broadwoven Fabrics	91.3	90.1	90.1	+ 1.3	+ 1.3	72.67	70.22	71.23	43.0	41.8	42.4	1.69	1.68	1.68
Broadwoven Cotton	56.4	56.0	56.1	+ 0.7	+ 0.5	71.83	68.30	68.56	42.5	40.9	41.3	1.69	1.67	1.66
Broadwoven Fiber & Silk	31.1	30.3	30.3	+ 2.6	+ 2.6	74.80	73.44	75.24	44.0	43.2	44.0	1.70	1.70	1.71
Knitting Mills	66.2	65.2	69.8	+ 1.5	— 5.2	60.45	59.44	59.29	38.5	38.1	38.5	1.57	1.56	1.54
Full Fashioned Hosiery	7.2	7.2	8.4	.....	—14.3	57.53	57.90	57.83	37.6	37.6	38.3	1.53	1.54	1.51
Seamless Hosiery	46.9	45.7	49.5	+ 2.6	— 5.3	59.88	59.03	59.59	37.9	37.6	38.2	1.58	1.57	1.56
Dyeing & Finishing Textiles	12.4	12.2	12.3	+ 1.6	+ 0.8	66.33	66.57	65.60	40.2	40.1	40.0	1.65	1.66	1.64
Yarn Mills	47.9	46.4	47.0	+ 3.2	+ 1.9	61.76	62.36	61.24	40.9	41.3	41.1	1.51	1.51	1.49
Apparel	46.7	45.6	44.6	+ 2.4	+ 4.7	51.72	50.12	50.95	38.6	37.4	38.6	1.34	1.34	1.32
Men's & Boys' Clothing	17.7	17.6	17.2	+ 0.6	+ 2.9	48.36	47.45	48.01	37.2	36.5	37.8	1.30	1.30	1.27
Paper & Allied Products	13.7	13.6	14.0	+ 0.7	— 2.1	107.89	108.14	101.79	44.4	44.5	43.5	2.43	2.43	2.34
Pulp & Paperboard Mills	8.6	8.6	8.9	.....	— 3.4	118.26	121.86	112.41	43.8	45.3	43.4	2.70	2.69	2.59
Paperboard Containers	3.6	3.5	3.7	+ 2.9	— 2.7	89.24	79.24	78.99	46.0	42.6	43.4	1.94	1.86	1.82
Printing	10.7	10.7	10.5	.....	+ 1.9	87.71	86.64	...7...	38.3	38.0	38.8	2.29	2.28	...7...
Newspapers	5.5	5.4	5.4	+ 1.9	+ 1.9	98.69	97.62	96.57	37.1	36.7	37.0	2.66	2.66	2.61
Chemicals	16.7	16.3	15.3	+ 2.5	+ 9.2	84.23	86.92	85.48	41.7	42.4	41.9	2.02	2.05	2.04
Plastics & Synthetic Materials	10.7	10.5	9.7	+ 1.9	+10.3	92.40	95.89	92.20	42.0	43.0	42.1	2.20	2.23	2.19
Other Nondurable Goods[2]	4.7	4.7	4.7	.....	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nonmanufacturing	739.6	737.2	723.2	+ 0.3	+ 2.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Mining	2.8	2.9	3.4	— 3.4	—17.6	75.19	74.68	83.95	46.7	46.1	51.5	1.61	1.62	1.63
Non-Metallic Mining	2.8	2.9	2.9	— 3.4	— 3.4	75.19	74.68	83.32	46.7	46.1	52.4	1.61	1.62	1.59
Contract Construction	74.9	74.6	73.7	+ 0.4	+ 1.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transp., Comm., & Pub. Utilities	67.7	67.4	65.0	+ 0.4	+ 4.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transportation (Except RR)	33.9	33.7	32.2	+ 0.6	+ 5.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Communications & Pub. Utilities	25.0	24.9	24.0	+ 0.4	+ 4.2	97.51	97.58	95.58	40.8	41.0	41.2	2.39	2.38	2.32
Trade[3]	229.7	227.8	225.2	+ 0.8	+ 2.0	66.33	65.76	64.64	40.2	40.1	40.4	1.65	1.64	1.60
Wholesale	59.7	59.2	58.1	+ 0.8	+ 2.8	85.17	84.94	84.05	42.8	42.9	43.1	1.99	1.98	1.95
Retail[3]	170.0	168.6	167.1	+ 0.8	+ 1.7	58.65	58.11	56.74	39.1	39.0	39.4	1.50	1.49	1.44
Retail General Merchandise	35.7	34.5	35.2	+ 3.5	+ 1.4	44.88	45.29	43.34	34.0	33.8	34.4	1.32	1.34	1.26
Department Stores	15.6	15.2	15.1	+ 2.6	+ 3.3	48.54	49.20	47.14	32.8	32.8	33.2	1.48	1.50	1.42
Limited Price Variety	8.1	7.5	8.4	+ 8.0	— 3.6	33.50	31.71	31.21	31.9	30.2	30.6	1.05	1.05	1.02
Retail Food Stores	25.3	25.4	24.3	— 0.4	+ 4.1	53.55	53.00	50.83	35.0	35.1	35.3	1.53	1.51	1.44
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate[6]	49.5	49.5	47.8	.....	+ 3.6	90.99	89.61	87.59	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Service	140.4	140.2	137.9	+ 0.1	+ 1.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Hotels & Rooming Houses	9.3	9.3	9.0	.....	+ 3.3	34.69	35.03	34.43	42.3	42.2	42.5	.82	.83	.81
Personal Services	25.6	25.6	25.3	.....	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Laundries & Dry Cleaners	15.4	15.5	15.3	— 0.6	+ 0.7	35.90	36.10	34.49	38.6	38.0	37.9	.93	.95	.91
Government	174.6	174.8	170.2	— 0.1	+ 2.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Federal	38.6	39.3	37.7	— 1.8	+ 2.4									
State & Local Schools	68.2	67.5	66.3	+ 1.0	+ 2.9									
State & Local Non-Schools	67.8	68.0	66.2	— 0.3	+ 2.4									

[1] Includes: Transportation Equipment, Instruments, and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Leather and Leather Products, Rubber Products, and Petroleum Products.
[3] Excludes: Earnings in Eating and Drinking Places.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.
[6] Reflects Earnings in Insurance Companies Only.
[7] Not comparable.
[8] Less than 0.1% change.

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

(In Thousands of Employees)

Winston-Salem Area

INDUSTRY	*AUGUST, 1963	JULY, 1963	AUGUST, 1962
Total Manufacturing	37.3	36.7	40.2
Food & Kindred Products	1.5	1.5	1.6
Textile Mill Products	9.5	9.6	10.0
Furniture	1.1	1.1	1.0
Metals	1.6	1.6	1.5
All Other Mfg. Inds.[1]	23.6	22.9	26.1

INDUSTRY	JULY, 1963	JUNE, 1963	JULY, 1962
Total Manufacturing	36.6	35.9	38.4
Food & Kindred Products	1.5	1.5	1.5
Textile Mill Products	9.6	9.3	9.7
Furniture	1.1	1.1	1.0
Metals	1.6	1.5	1.5
All Other Mfg. Inds.[1]	22.8	22.5	24.7

INDUSTRY	*JUNE, 1963	MAY, 1963	JUNE, 1962
Total Manufacturing	35.9	36.0	37.6
Food & Kindred Products	1.5	1.5	1.5
Textile Mill Products	9.3	9.7	10.0
Furniture	1.1	1.0	1.0
Metals	1.6	1.6	1.5
All Other Mfg. Inds.[1]	22.4	22.2	23.6

* Preliminary

[1] Includes: Tobacco; Apparel; Lumber; Paper; Printing; Chemicals; Stone, Clay & Glass; Transportation Equipment & Misc. Mfg. Inds.

N. C. RANKS 13TH IN NATION

(Continued from page 1)

closely by Kenosha, Wisconsin ($132.02), and Detroit ($130.24). All three areas are centers of auto manufacturing, and the high weekly earnings reflect the long workweek that characterized the industry during the year. At the lower end of the earnings scale were Fall River, Massachusetts ($64.33), and Greenville, South Carolina ($65.50)—areas of predominant textile and apparel employment. Southern areas for which highest earnings were reported in 1962 were Birmingham ($106.13), Houston ($113.10), and Baton Rouge ($123.90).

These facts, and many others, are brought out in 670-page report, *Employment and Earnings Statistics for States and Areas, 1939-62.* The bulletin brings together, for the first time, all of the annual averages for employment, hours, and earnings in states and metropolitan areas, prepared by state agencies cooperating with the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The volume is available at $3.50 a copy from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Suite 540, 1371 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, 30309. Monthly data are published currently by the state agencies and information for each state and area is summarized in another BLS publication, *Employment and Earnings.*

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	August, 1963	August, 1962	1st 8 Mos. 1963	1st 8 Mos. 1962
Albemarle	$ 42,725	$ 94,050	$ 465,354	$ 725,421
Asheboro	85,849	45,550	1,492,959	1,743,570
Asheville	1,691,543	483,014	8,179,314	5,363,950
Burlington	434,705	580,755	3,049,844	3,812,665
Chapel Hill	913,616	127,253	3,158,984	1,895,845
Charlotte	5,071,233	5,096,846	34,549,840	29,414,687
Concord	178,351	65,500	975,434	1,129,063
Durham	1,271,325	464,636	12,407,763	6,706,841
Elizabeth City	45,765	58,500	1,242,881	718,500
Fayetteville	518,665	514,885	6,972,744	6,451,456
Gastonia	1,476,450	330,450	4,620,275	4,000,100
Goldsboro	371,475	410,943	2,606,033	3,045,250
Greensboro	3,126,293	4,731,389	19,240,147	23,486,306
Greenville	224,415	357,090	3,362,839	2,898,567
Henderson	162,350	119,577	959,271	695,677
Hickory	161,800	90,054	1,426,822	1,860,322
High Point	401,717	637,913	6,117,823	6,949,305
Jacksonville	310,775	152,513	841,565	2,369,156
Kinston	310,755	152,513	2,150,704	4,214,575
Lenoir	164,298	103,851	744,127	952,838
Lexington	144,150	554,218	850,933	1,783,741
Lumberton	125,500	97,100	1,146,150	958,494
Monroe	154,700	76,500	432,800	873,900
New Bern	38,225	39,686	909,285	900,493
Raleigh	1,795,764	1,005,431	16,458,330	17,364,321
Reidsville	59,500	158,879	652,432	943,952
Roanoke Rapids	81,836	230,350	1,093,087	1,344,751
Rocky Mount	290,224	209,872	3,212,077	2,050,902
Salisbury	221,897	667,600	2,650,658	2,227,673
Sanford	67,200	37,700	443,450	673,750
Shelby	207,780	371,750	1,461,540	1,191,740
Statesville	199,145	268,500	2,270,658	2,123,560
Thomasville	257,928	138,515	1,707,749	1,580,038
Wilmington	353,170	110,435	2,788,151	1,312,265
Wilson	277,000	1,659,460	2,756,125	8,944,418
Winston-Salem	3,358,670	878,145	12,743,252	9,246,820
Grand Total	$24,312,304	$21,185,910	$166,141,400	$161,954,912

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

USDL--5960

For Release Sunday Editions
October 20, 1963

Address by

Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor
before the
Eight-State Regional Conference of Jack and Jill Inc.,
Sheraton Motel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Saturday, October 19, 1963
8:00 P.M.

* *

Thank you very much for this triple treat that you have given me by inviting me to be your banquet speaker. I say triple treat because: First, it's a great honor and challenge to me, as it should be to any man, to be guest speaker for any woman's organization--and even more so because this is "our" Jack & Jill Conference. (At this point may I add that I'm very happy to see so many of our fathers. It's always nice to know that one is not alone. Thank you, fathers, for your moral support).

Secondly, this is a rare privilege you have given me also because I, too, am a Jack and Jill father of four children. And, as you have heard, Philadelphia is also my birthplace. So, here I am with the rare privilege of being back home and speaking before such a wonderful, beautiful, and illustrious group of ladies.

Thirdly, this is a very great pleasure for me since I notice that the birthdate of your national organization is June 1, 1946, and four months later of that same year on October 19, my wife and I were married. So, I consider it a great pleasure that we are able to celebrate our wedding anniversary with such an appropriate group as mothers and fathers of Jack and Jil.

The theme of your Conference "New Frontiers in Youth Development" is a very timely one, and one of great importance to me. In my new job as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor for Manpower, I have had a great deal of contact with youth and the problems they face in this decade. I will discuss with you some of the steps your Government is taking to improve and more fully utilize the nation's manpower.

As we see the picture, the importance of an education for today's youth cannot be overly stated, particularly for Negro boys and girls. For one out of every three Negro youths with only an eighth grade education is unemployed, compared with one out of six for the high-school graduate and one out of eight for those with one or more years of college; and less than one out of 22 Negroes over 24 years of age with one or more years of college is unemployed. The more education a young Negro gets, the nearer his income approaches that of his white counterpart. The Negro elementary school graduate, compared with the white elementary school graduate gets only 68% of the white's income. This increases to 71% for the Negro high school graduate and to 85% for the college graduate. Therefore, the youth who has not completed grade school will earn $100,000 less in his life time than the high-school graduate; the high-school graduate will earn $140,000 less than the college graduate. So, we can see that education does pay off-- and it is worth the strugle and sacrifice that each of you wil make and are making to educate your youngsters, as well as the youngsters whom you may, in the future, provide scholarships for.

Jack and Jill is the nucleus of a marvelous opportunity for helping some less fortunate youth to further his education.

The President of the United States said in an address to the nation, "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or State in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day--one third as much chance of completing college--one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man--twice as much chance of becoming unemployed--about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 per year--a life expectancy which is seven years less--and the prospects of earning only half as much."

We have been victimized by racial prejudice. And, it would appear to me, that the time has come when the opponents of decency and right must recognize the inevitable change. In this Emancipation year, we stand at the dawn of a new day--on a new path toward full citizenship and personal dignity. At the beginning of our great Nation, Americans assumed a mortgage on their freedom, but after almost two centuries we are in the throes of bankruptcy because we are behind in our payments to the United States Constitution. So, we face a paradox that all of us in this room have had some experience with. That paradox is the reluctance to accept the Negro in employment on the one hand--and giving him an inferior education on the other, and now demanding that he be fully prepared at a time when many employers are embarrassed that they have practiced unequal opportunities.

We are being faced now with the fact that we must be ready because the walls of discrimination in so many areas have crumbled completely. Our task now is to see to it that our youths are fully prepared so that the old familiar excuse of an employer "I would, but I can't find a qualified individual" will no longer prevail.

The total number of nonwhites in the civilian work force is 8 million, which represents 11% of the total work force. There are in this work force today 600,000 men and women who have been out of work for more than 26 weeks. More than one out of every four in this group of "long-term unemployed" is nonwhite.

Although the Negro has made rapid improvements in his fundamental living standards and in every phase of his daily life, and made it faster than most other groups in the same short span of 100 years, we still find too large a segment of the Negro population deprived economically and socially. This deprivation of so large a segment of the population has had an adverse effect upon this nation.

The Government is ready and will be increasingly ready to employ Negroes for managerial positions, but this means that those employed will have to have equal training and demonstrate equal capacities. It means an increasingly tough position in the under-graduate school years for student and teacher alike. It means greater stress in the home, in school, and in the community must be placed on help young people in greater numbers achieve academic status.

The Department of Labor has made substantial progress in the recognition of Negroes in the important administrative positions in its various departments. We can point with pride to Mr. George L-P Weaver, who is known to many of you here, and who is the Assistant Secretary of International Affairs and represents the United States Government in International Labor Organizations. The Federal Regional Director of the United States Employment Service in the New York, New Jersey region, which is the largest manpower area in the United States and includes the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands is also a Negro.

Today in Washington and throughout the Federal service, any job, every job, is open to a Negro, Protestant, Catholic, or Jew if he or she can qualify.

These are indeed new frontiers for our young people. However, even though there have been new developments, I do not wish it to appear that all is perfect in Washington or in any Federal region. The millennium is not with us, but we are progressing. In the coming year 20,000 college graduates will be needed to staff the needs of the Federal Government. This figure is based upon the needs of the Government in terms of its programs and in terms of the rise in skill requirements that are called for in programs of increasing technical and professional content.

These career positions are available to those who wish to compete in the Federal personnel system. They range across the entire occupational and professional spectrum. About one- half of these career positions will be filled through the channeling device of the Federal Service Entrance Examination. There will be positions in administration, economics,psychology, fiscal matters, and personnel administration in a broad variety of operating programs such as social security, internal revenue and other programs that are essential to our national security and welfare.

In order to help the Negro meet these needs the Secretary of Labor has conducted a series of occupational conferences, held on Negro college campuses. The first of these was held at Howard University; the second at Atlanta University; the third at Fisk,and the last at Texas Southern. Attending these conferences were the presidents, deans, and other officials of every Negro college in the United States. The prime topic of discussion during these conferences was the problem of motivation and preparation of minority groups for employment in the newly emerging employment opportunities.

You, too, as community leaders and, more importantly, as mothers, must give greater attention to the necessity of motivating youngsters to obtain

educational training so as to develop their skills to the highest potential. Your Government, under the Manpower Act of 1962, has recognized the need for trained workers and is presently offering opportunities in all sections of the country.

Although the road ahead of us is long and the task seems overwhelming, we have much to be proud of. Real progress is being, and has been made.

Between 1900 and 1950, Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges increased over 28 times. Negroes receiving B.A or B.S. degrees increased 84 times in the same period compared to 16 times for whites. In a 1961 survey of college seniors, 96% of Negroes as compared with 76% of whites planned to go to graduate or professional school.

Another interesting fact about Negroes that is not generally known, is that about one-quarter of a million are today attending colleges and universities, about 100,000 of whom are in the South and the District of Columbia.

And, Negro enrollment in higher education is higher than total enrollment in Great Britain or Italy, and nearly as high as in West Germany or France, even though the Negro population in America is less than half the total population of any of these nations.

The high financial cost of certain types of professional education such as medicine, is a serious obstacle to Negro youth. 34% of Negro youth, compared with 12% of white, report financial handicaps as barring the way to graduate and professional schools.

Part of our time and efforts, yes, and part of your time and efforts, must therefore be set aside to get special funds for the less fortunate and the more deserving youth who is so eager to obtain his post graduate education. A push up the ladder of success is always helpful.

The capacity of our Negro students is well illustrated by the selection of a Negro, Mr. Julius Chambers, to the distinguished post of Editor-in-Chief of the University of North Carolina LAW REVIEW -- the highest honor that a law school student can receive.

For the first time in history, three outstanding medical schools with southern traditions--John Hopkins, Duke, and Emory--last month admitted Negroes on a competitive basis. Each of them had won a National Medical Fellowship. Thus, another barrier down--another new frontier conquered.

If any of you believed that because of the historical 1954 decision that "racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional"-- if you believed this ruling would eliminate Negro colleges, let me assure you it did not. On the contrary, an interesting and significant development is the interest of the white student in attending colleges which were formerly all Negro. For example, Lincoln University in Missouri reports more than 500 white students, and West Virginia State College is now evenly split between Negro and white.

We are the products of the same evolution as the white man. Our difficulties arise from our different environment. We are forced into the ghetto; our background has been rural and in a part of the country where education has been low. But every year we become more urban and there are greater opportunities for achieving high cultural and intellectual standards.

The President's Executive Order on Fair Housing is another step in the direction of obliterating this injustice. The college class, the theatre, the lecture, the library, the excellent programs on educational TV stations--all are our right to enjoy--but, a right without using it is an empty right.

Basic to the Government's program is the principle that improvements of equal opportunity for all minorities is fundamental to the elimination of other inequities that exist within our society. To accomplish this the President set forth a basic policy in Executive Order 10925, issued on March 6, 1961. The President said, "It is the plain and positive objective of the United States Government to promote and insure equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government."

Yes, I repeat--the walls of segregation and discrimination are crumbling. New frontiers are opening up every day where they never existed before. The Negro youth of today has a much better chance of educational advancement and attaining goals that were thought impossible by even his parents a few years ago.

I submit that Americans in every one of our fifty States, are richer today because of the advancements the Negro has won. And, our society is more mature for what has been learned in granting him, all too slowly, his freedom. But, yet the task ahead poses significant challenges.

As we embark upon the second century following the Emancipation, we observe that there are more forces working for the realization of civil rights for all Americans than ever before in history. Much of the credit for this progress must go to the Negro himself, because he has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to work with his white neighbors for their common benefit, in addition to the ability to rise from slavery and become an educated contributor to society.

We must always remember that democracy is never static. It is a constantly moving force that challenges us to reach new and higher levels of

achievement each day. There are many ways to meet the challenge of leadership in interracial matters. But, I suggest quite simply that we begin anew in our own hearts and minds to strive to treat every man as an individual and never judge anyone in terms of generalizations. Let us become more thoroughly aware of the very patterns of prejudice that yet exist on our jobs, in public accommodations, in churches, in our neighborhoods and Nation, and resolve to use our every influence to eradicate them.

Making this choice will become easy if all of us realize that as spiritual inheritors of all civilization's past, we are not only the trustees of its glorious present, but we are the architects for its boundless future.

I believe that most Americans are dedicated to the fundamental principle that the common welfare is served best when all Americans can earn their living, establish their homes, and live without fear of racial or religicus discrimination.

As parents, our job is also well defined--we must help today's youngster in every way--we must advise, give, and share of our own experiences. This is not always easy, for youth today knows where it wants to go.

The opportunity is here for the youth of today. With all the forces at work today in favor of youth, I can think of no better advice than this poem by a great American--a great Negro American--Dr. George Washington Carver:

"Figure it out for yourself, my lad,
You've all that the greatest of men have had,
Two arms, two hands, two legs, two eyes,
And a brain to use if you would be wise,
With this equipment they all began.

"So start for the top and say "I can."
Look them over, the wise and the great,
They take their food from a common plate
And similar knives and forks they use,
With similar laces they tie their shoes,
The world considers them brave and smart,
But you've all they had when they made this start.

"You can triumph and come to skill,
You can be great if you only will.
You're well equipped for what fight you choose;
You have arms and legs and brain to use,
And the man who has risen great deeds to do
Began his life with no more than you."

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NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Research
Labor

USDL--5962

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions
October 20, 1963

LABOR SECRETARY SETS APPRENTICESHIP ANTI-DISCRIMINATION STANDARDS AND COMPLIANCE PROCEDURES

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz today issued proposed standards and compliance procedures to insure equality of opportunity within the Nation's apprenticeship system.

The compliance procedures implement standards, originally issued last July, which provide that Federal certification will be withheld from any apprenticeship program that does not meet the following criteria:

1. Selection of apprentices on the basis of qualification alone, unless the selections otherwise made would themselves demonstrate that there is equality of opportunity.

2. Action to remove the effects of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment may have resulted.

3. Non-discrimination in all phases of apprenticeship and employment during apprenticeship after selections are made.

To achieve compliance with these standards, the Secretary has set forth procedures for carrying out a review at the local, regional and national levels of existing programs; and procedures for processing complaints from individuals

alleging discrimination. He also directed full Federal-State cooperation in States which have Apprenticeship Committees and agencies responsible for enforcement of Fair Employment Practices Acts.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is charged with the responsibility of insuring compliance with the new standards. In doing so, it will notify all sponsoring groups (joint labor-management committees, etc.) of the new regulations and what they entail. The Bureau will seek, first, to achieve voluntary compliance, and will encourage the creation of private procedures by the sponsoring groups to accomplish this.

The Department's standards were issued as a result of a statement by President Kennedy, directing the Secretary of Labor "to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely non-discriminatory basis."

The new standards and compliance procedures will appear this week in the Federal Register. Interested persons may submit written statements of data, views or arguments in regard to any or all of the policies contained in the Secretary's document within 15 days after publication in the Register. Submissions should be directed to the Secretary of Labor, United States Department of Labor, Constitution Avenue and Fourteenth Street, N. W., Washington 25, D. C.

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(S-64-964)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.
/ 29 CFR SUBTITLE A /
NON-DISCRIMINATION IN APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

This document sets forth the substance of rules regarding nondiscrimination in apprenticeship which the Secretary of Labor proposes to issue pursuant to the authority granted him in the 29 U.S.C. § 50 and 5 U.S.C § 22.

A. Background and Policy: President Kennedy, in a statement dated June 4, 1963, directed the Secretary of Labor "in the conduct of his duties under the Federal Apprenticeship Act (29 U.S.C. § § 50-50b) and Executive Order No. 10925 (26 F.R.1977) to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely non-discriminatory basis." The President further directed that "all Federal construction programs be reviewed to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices, either directly in the rejection of presently available qualified Negro workers or indirectly by the exclusion of Negro applicants for apprenticeship training."

Pursuant to these instructions, the Secretary of Labor directed the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to insure that all apprenticeship or apprenticeship and training programs now federally registered operate on the basis of the following standards:

1. The selection of apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone, in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application, unless the selections otherwise made would themselves demonstrate that there is equality of opportunity.
2. The taking of whatever steps are necessary, in acting upon application lists developed prior to this time, to remove the effects of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment may have resulted.
3. Non-discrimination in all phases of apprenticeship and employment during apprenticeship after selections are made.

Discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin has no place in American life today, particularly in the programs by which young people

acquire the skills that determine their future employment prospects. Full equality of opportunity for all is a goal toward which both labor and management have pledged their efforts and which warrants the full cooperation of labor, management and the community.

B. General Directions: This document sets forth procedures to be used in implementing the program set forth by the President and the Secretary.

The Bureau's primary job, in this context, is to encourage and assist program sponsors and the community in achieving equality of opportunity, voluntarily and by their own efforts, through the adoption and implementation of the equal opportunity standards for apprenticeship set forth above. This encouragement and assistance is to be undertaken constructively and in a manner reflecting the historic advisory and counseling services of the Bureau. If there should be apprenticeship programs in which equal opportunity cannot be obtained voluntarily through the various processes outlined in this document, procedures are set forth below for the withholding or withdrawal of governmental recognition from such apprenticeship programs.

C. Promotion of Equal Opportunity: Regional Directors shall take immediate steps to inform all sponsors of federally registered apprenticeship programs of the policy, standards and requirements set forth in this document and to promote the voluntary acceptance by sponsors of the standards. Regional Directors shall insure that general publicity is given to the Bureau's non-discrimination policy and program and that Bureau field personnel give continuing leadership toward acceptance of these policies. Recognizing that the policies set forth herein will effect their purpose only if qualified applicants from racial and ethnic minorities are informed with respect to apprenticeship opportunities that will be available under the revised standards, Regional Directors shall make special effort to guarantee that the organizations most useful in assuring such a supply of candidates (schools, public employment service, minority group organizations, etc.) are informed of the revised program. Regional Directors should lay plans with such groups for the stepped-up information and counseling program that will be needed to obtain qualified minority group applicants.

D. Program Reviews: Regional Directors shall initiate a systematic review of existing federally registered programs, inform program sponsors of the equal opportunity standards, encourage their adoption, and take appropriate action regarding programs which do not adopt and operate in accordance with the standards. Each program review shall involve the following steps:

1. Notification to the program sponsor of the equal opportunity standards and the taking of all appropriate action to urge their voluntary acceptance.
2. Maintenance of a file on the program review which shall accompany the report forwarded regarding the review.
3. Determination of racial and ethnic composition of the program. Where the composition of the program demonstrates

that there is equality of opportunity no further review will be made. A file shall be maintained regarding such programs, which will contain the information which indicates that equal employment opportunity is being provided. This file shall be forwarded through supervisory channels to the Administrator of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for review.

4. Use of the following checklist:

a. The Formal Program Language Requirement. Does the program contain a formal non-discrimination clause consistent with the equal opportunity standards set forth in Section A of this document? (Programs already containing the language required by Circular 62-5 are not required to adopt new written provisions. See Section H.)

b. Selection of Apprentices.

(1) Selection on the basis of qualifications alone.

(a) Does the program select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone in accordance with objective standards which permit review after

full and fair opportunity for application (See Section G.1 below) and

(b) Is the application list composed entirely of applicants selected and ranked solely on the basis of qualifications alone in accordance with objective standards that permit review after full and fair opportunity for application? (See Sections G.1d and G.2 below.)

(2) Alternative Selection Plan. If the program does not qualify under section (1) above, has the program adopted an alternative equal opportunity plan for selecting apprentices which is consistent with the Standards for apprenticeship set forth in Section A and which is acceptable to the Administrator? Does the program operate in accordance with such plan? Field representatives should submit through channels to the Administrator for approval alternate selection plans which appear to be consistent with the equal opportunity standards set forth in Section A. A copy of the approved plan should be included in the case file.

c. Program Operation. Is there any discrimination in apprenticeship or employment during apprenticeship, including but not limited to job assignment, promotion, demotion, layoff, or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation or conditions of work? (See Section G.3 below.)

5. Where the program has not adopted or is not operating in accordance with the equal opportunity standards, the field representative shall notify the program sponsor (even in group programs where it is an individual employer who is deficient) and indicate possible methods of providing equal opportunity in accordance with this document. For a reasonable time, not to exceed 30 days from the time the sponsor is notified of the lack of equal opportunity, the field representative shall make every reasonable effort to encourage corrective action, recording the facts and information in the case report. This effort to obtain corrective action shall include an opportunity for any body designated by the program sponsor or industry group for reviewing complaints of discrimination to resolve the issue.

6. At the close of the review for programs found to be in conformity, or at the close of the time allowed for voluntary corrective action for programs found not to be in conformity, the field representative shall forward the case file through supervisory channels to the Regional Director for review.

7. The Regional Director shall review findings of conformity or achievement of corrective action on a spot check basis in sufficient proportion to assure himself that Bureau equal opportunity policy is being properly carried out. Where upon review the Regional Director does not concur in the finding of the field representative, he may order further investigation or such other action as may be necessary and appropriate.

8. Upon receipt of any finding of nonconformity by a Field Representative, the Regional Director shall notify the program sponsor that such a finding has been made and that the program will be deregistered unless the finding is set aside or appropriate corrective action taken. The sponsor shall have 15 days within which to file a written request for a hearing with the Regional Director.

a. If the program sponsor does not request a hearing within 15 days, the Regional Director shall review the case.

(1) Where upon review the Regional Director concurs in the finding of noncompliance and failure to achieve satisfactory corrective action, he shall so notify the program sponsor and the complainant, if any, and shall forward the case file to the Administrator, stating his concurrence and his recommendations, if any.

(2) Where upon review, the Regional Director does not concur in the finding of the field representative, he may order further investigation or such other action as may be necessary and appropriate.

b. If the program sponsor within 15 days files a written request, the sponsor shall be accorded a hearing before a hearing officer designated by the Regional Director. The hearing shall be informally conducted. Every party shall have the right to counsel and a fair opportunity to present its case or defense, including a right of cross-examination. The hearing officer shall prepare

a decision on the basis of the record before him, setting forth findings and conclusions on the question of non-compliance and recommendations, if any. This decision shall be final as to any complainant with respect to whom it is adverse. Copies of the decision shall be furnished to the program sponsor, and the complainant, if any. Exception to the decision may be filed by the program sponsor with the Administrator within 15 days. If exceptions are filed and if there is a complainant, a copy of the exception filed shall be furnished to him and he shall be given 15 days in which to file a reply with the Administrator. A copy of such reply shall be furnished to the program sponsor.

9. Upon receipt of the Regional Director's concurrence in the finding of the field representative or of a decision of a hearing officer that a program is not in conformity, the Administrator will so inform any private organization designated by the industry in question to assist in achieving equal opportunity and shall allow the organization a reasonable time

normally not to exceed 20 days to achieve voluntary corrective action.

10. Following the receipt of exceptions and replies to be filed or for the action provided for in subsection 9 above, the Administrator shall render a final decision in writing based on the file or the record as the case may be. If the decision is that the program is in nonconformity and that satisfactory action to achieve conformity has not been taken, the program shall be deregistered. The Administrator shall notify the Regional Director, the Program sponsor, the complainant, if any, and any private organizations of the type described in subsection 9 of his decision.

    In each case in which deregistration is ordered the Administrator will make public notice of the order and will notify the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the Solicitor of Labor who will notify contracting agencies.

11. If in the judgment of the Administrator a particular situation warrants and requires special processing and expedited determination, he shall take the steps necessary to permit such determination; provided, that no person or

or party affected by such determination shall be prejudiced by such special processing.

12. Priorities. Until such time as all larger programs shall have been reviewed, field representatives shall not review programs with a total of 5 or less apprentices in training except in connection with the processing of complaints. Review should also be deferred of programs which have been examined under the complaint procedure provided for in section E below and which have been found by the Bureau to provide equal opportunity or which have taken necessary action to provide such opportunity.

E. Complaint Processing. Complaints may be filed with the Bureau or any field representative by any applicant or apprentice who feels that he has been discriminated against on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin with regard to apprenticeship or that the equal opportunity standards have not been followed in his case. The complaint shall be in writing and shall be signed by the complainant. It must include the name, address, and telephone number of the person allegedly discriminated against, the program sponsor involved and a brief description of the circumstances of the alleged discrimination.

Complaints received by the Bureau Headquarters Office will be transmitted to the field for processing.

It is Bureau policy to encourage local program sponsors to establish, either individually or in an industry group, fair, speedy and effective procedures for reviewing complaints of discrimination. The desirability of establishing such review procedures should be brought to the attention of all program sponsors as soon as possible.

Regional Directors shall institute procedures to insure that upon receipt of any complaint field representatives shall:

1. Prepare and maintain a complete case file for each complaint received. It shall contain the original complaint, reports of investigations and visits, and correspondence with the employer, the program sponsor, and others regarding all phases of the case in chronological order, including recommendations made and final disposition of the case. This file shall be forwarded to the Regional Director for review upon local disposition of each complaint. A separate local office correspondence and reports file shall be maintained for essential internal records and correspondence regarding each case.

2. When the program sponsor or industry group has designated a body for reviewing complaints of discrimination, the Bureau field representative, upon receiving a complaint shall after establishing a case file direct the complainant to file his complaint with the representative of the review body. He shall give the complainant the name and address of this representative.
3. No later than 60 days following the filing of a complaint with the review body by the complainant the field representative shall obtain reports from the complainant and the review body of the disposition of the complaint. If the complaint has been satisfactorily adjusted and there is no other indication of failure to apply equal opportunity standards, the case shall be closed and the parties appropriately informed.
4. When a complaint has not been resolved through local review procedures within 60 days, where no local review procedure exists or where despite satisfactory resolution of the complaint there is evidence that the equal opportunity practices of the program are not in accordance with these rules, the field representative shall notify the program sponsor of the complaint or such evidence, solicit a response from the sponsor and conduct whatever other investigation is necessary to determine the facts,

including where necessary, interrogation of the complainant, the employer and other involved persons. The pertinent facts should be recorded.

5. Where the program is not operating in accordance with the equal opportunity standards, the field representative shall notify the program sponsor (even in group programs where it is an individual employer who is deficient) and indicate possible methods of providing equal opportunity in accordance with this document. For a reasonable time, not to exceed 15 days from the time the sponsor is notified of the lack of equal opportunity, the field representative shall make every reasonable effort to encourage

corrective action, recording the facts and information in the case report.

6. From this point on, compaints shall be processed procedurally in the same manner as program reviews (see section D. 6-11).

F. Reinstatement of Program Registration: Any program deregistered pursuant to this document may be reinstated upon presentation of adequate evidence to the Administrator that the program has established and is operating under a selection system based on qualifications alone and is in compliance with the equal opportunity standard set forth in section A (3).

G. Interpretations:

1. Selection on the Basis of Qualifications. The Bureau encourages program sponsors to adopt a system of apprentice selection based solely on qualifications "in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application" on the ground that this kind of system is the one most in accord with a free and democratic society.

   a. "Objective standards which permit review" does not mean that all programs must have identical standards for selection. It does mean that qualifications and eligibility must be determined by specific requirements so that questions of discrimination in

selection can be promptly adjudicated. These requirements must be established and disseminated publicly prior to selection.

b. Selection "on the basis of qualifications alone" means that apprentices are chosen from those applicants meeting the minimum qualifications for the trade or craft solely on the basis of their qualifications compared to those of other applicants. Examples of standards by which comparative qualifications may be determined are fair aptitude tests, high school diploma, age requirements, occupationally essential physical requirements, fair interviews, high school grades and previous work experience. Under this test, both actual selection for and entry into apprenticeship must be on the basis of comparative qualifications alone.

It is not enough for a program to establish a lengthy list on the basis of minimum qualifications standards and then select apprentices from the list on a basis other than comparative qualifications such as on the basis of time of application. Where the number of applicants meeting the qualification requirement

is greater than the number of job openings, "qualifications alone" means (1) that the applicants are ranked on the basis of criteria which measure comparative qualifications (e.g., fair aptitude tests, etc.) and are selected on the basis of the rankings, or (2) that without ranking each individual, criteria which measure comparative qualifications are used to identify the "best qualified" in a total number not in excess of the total number of apprentice openings and selections for employment from within the "best qualified" group are made through any non-discriminatory system.

c. To "permit review" adequate records must be kept of the selection process. These must include a brief summary of each interview and the conclusions on each of the specific factors, e.g., motivation, ambition, willingness to accept direction, which are part of the total judgment.

d. "After full and fair opportunity for application" means that the program sponsor has, prior to the time of selection and in the future at least once annually, allowed a substantial period of time for new applicants to apply for apprenticeship, has publicly disseminated information about the availability of

apprenticeship opportunities and has ranked the new applicants thus received along with previous applicants on the basis of their comparative qualifications. In the future, such information shall be posted at the normal place of application for apprenticeship and disseminated to the local employment service and the local schools.

The information so disseminated must describe the qualification standards and selection procedures, and specify the anticipated number of openings, the method and place of making application, the dates within which applications will be accepted. It should indicate the approximate date at which the results of the selection process will be made known to all the applicants.

2. Necessary Action on Prior Application Lists. Where program sponsors have or adopt a selection system based on qualifications as specified in section G. 1 the Standard stated in Section A. 2 does not require any action with regard to "application lists developed prior to this time" beyond that required by section G. 1. Where program sponsors do not have a selection system based on qualifications, the Standard stated in section A. 2 requires that "application

lists developed prior to this time" be opened to the extent necessary to provide current opportunities for selection of qualified members of racial and ethnic minority groups.

3. Nondiscriminatory Operation: There must be no discrimination in apprenticeship or employment during apprenticeship after selections have been made, including but not limited to job assignment, promotion, layoff or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation or conditions of work. All apprentices employed shall be subject to the same job performance requirements.

4. Selection from Existing Employees: Where apprentices are selected from a restricted pool, e.g., from present employees, admissions to the pool as well as selection for apprenticeship shall after the effective date of this document be on a nondiscriminatory basis. Selections from the pool may be made on the basis of seniority of employment.

H. Program Language Requirements: Each federally registered apprenticeship program which does not now contain a nondiscrimination clause in the form required by Circular 62-5 3/

3/ The language now required by Circular 62-5 is as follows: "Selection of apprentices under this program shall be made from qualified applicants without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or physical handicaps; women shall not be barred from apprenticeships for which they qualify.

must contain a formal nondiscrimination clause consistent with the equal opportunity standards set forth in section A of this document. The Bureau suggests the following language as appropriate for adoption by program sponsors desiring to select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone:

> "Selection of apprentices under the program shall be made from qualified applicants on the basis of qualifications alone and without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, sex or physical handicaps in accordance with objective standards which permit review, after full and fair opportunity for application; and this program shall be operated on a completely non-discriminatory basis."

Irrespective of the form of the formal nondiscrimination clause adopted, all federally registered apprenticeship programs are required to operate in accordance with the equal opportunity standards as stated and interpreted above and all Bureau correspondence regarding program language requirements shall so indicate.

I. New Programs: Any program seeking Federal registration hereafter must select apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application and must adopt a nondiscrimination clause in the form suggested in section H or its equivalent. In addition to the language requirement, the submission to the Bureau must include a concise statement of the selection procedure and of the selection standards which the program sponsor proposes to apply.

J. Bureau and State Agency Cooperation:

(a). Regional Directors shall encourage State Apprenticeship Council (SAC) States to accept the equal opportunity standards for apprenticeship and to adopt effective procedures to implement the Standards including program reviews, the processing of complaints, deregistration of noncomplying programs, and consultation and cooperation with private organizations designated by the industry in question to assist in achieving equal

opportunity in apprenticeship. Regional Directors shall submit nondiscrimination programs developed by states to the Administrator for determination as to consistency with the equal opportunity Standards. Where state programs are determined to be consistent with the equal opportunity Standards, Regional Directors shall work out with SAC states a division of responsibilities between Federal and state personnel for carrying out the procedures adopted to implement the policy. This division should generally be based on present assignments for the servicing of apprenticeship program accounts.

(b). In SAC states which adopt a nondiscrimination program consistent with the equal opportunity standards, BAT field representatives shall file their reports with BAT State Supervisors. Where the state supervisor concurs in any finding of non-compliance and failure to take corrective action, he shall forward the file to the State agency with a recommendation for deregistration. He shall at the same time notify the Regional Director who will notify the Administrator.

(c). Regional Directors shall request that SAC state agencies notify them of any state deregistration. Regional Directors shall then notify the Administrator who will in turn notify the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the Solicitor of Labor. The Solicitor of Labor will notify contracting agencies.

(d). Regional Directors shall consult with state officials regarding methods of cooperation with state fair employment practices commissions and shall report the results of such consultations to the Administrator. Interested persons may submit written statements of data, views, or arguments in regard to any or all of the policies or procedures contained in this proposal within 15 days after this document is published in the Federal Register. Submissions should be directed to the Secretary of Labor, United States Department of Labor, Constitution Avenue and Fourteenth Street N.W., Washington 25, D. C.

Signed at Washington, D. C., this 18th day of October, 1963.

W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR 1913 50 1963 YEARS OF PROGRESS THE DIGNITY OF LABOR IN A FREE SOCIETY

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of October 21, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

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Dean Harding B. Young of Atlanta University on Puerto Rican Industry Committee

Harding B. Young, Dean of the School of Business, Atlanta University, has been named by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz to three review committees to consider in October, minimum wage rates in Puerto Rican industries producing knitwear and linens.

These committees which convene in Santurce, P.R., are authorized under Fair Labor Standards amendments of 1961 and represent employers, employees, and the public including residents of Puerto Rico and the continental United States. They may recommend the minimum rate or rates to be paid employees in specific industries in lieu of the rate resulting from statutory increase provided by the amendments.

(MORE)

Earlier appointees to Puerto Rican Industry Review Committees include Thomas M. Jenkins, Dean of College of Law, Florida A&M University; and James M. Nabrit, Jr., President of Howard University. Mr. Jenkins served in September 1963, at hearings concerned with the sugar, hosiery, and rubber products industries. Mr. Nabrit served in June 1963, on the committee concerned with the tobacco industry.

* * * * *

Negro College Officials Assist Labor Department Seminars

Four additional Negro educators from Negro Colleges have offered assistance as resource leaders at the Labor Department's one-day Regional Practices Seminars on Employment Opportunities for Minority Groups.

Dr. William H. Hale, President of Langston University, Langston, Okla., will serve in Denver on October 22; Dr. Lewis M. Jackson, Dean of Men at Central State College in Wilberforce, Ohio, will serve on October 17 in Cleveland; and Dr. Charles M. Hoard, Dean of Students at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Mo., will serve in Chicago on October 18 and Kansas City, Mo., on October 28.

These seminars are intended to assist Labor Department field staffs in working with unions, industry groups, individual companies, the Negro communities and other organizations in order to gain acceptance of policies relating to equal employment opportunities. Previous seminars have been addressed by Dr. Samuel M. Nabrit, President of Texas Southern University; Dr. Carl Hill, President of Kentucky State College; Mr. Anthony Rachal, Jr., Director of Placement and Recruitment at Xavier University; and Mr. J. Percy Bond, Director of Admissions and Placement, Morgan State College. Mr. Rachal

(MORE)

who served in Dallas will also assist at Seattle on October 23 and 24.

* * * * *

Directories of Labor Organizations Cover the World

Labor Department Directories of Labor Organizations now cover Africa, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere. Newest revised and expanded edition is for Asia and Australasia, listing 2,100 major labor organizations with membership of 41 million. Prepared by the Department's Bureau of International Affairs (Assistant Secretary of Labor George L-P Weaver) this newest edition in two volumes sells for $7, at the U.S. Government Printing Office.

* * * * *

Hearing Scheduled on Employment of Foreign Agricultural Workers in Florida

Secretary of Labor W. Williard Wirtz has announced that a public hearing will be held in Miami, November 5, to consider the possible "adverse effect" of the employment of foreign agricultural workers on the wages and working conditions of domestic farmworkers in Florida. It had been previously determined that the employment of foreign agricultural workers at a rate of less than 95¢ an hour would adversely affect wages and working conditions of domestic workers.

* * * * *

Emancipation Proclamation Celebration Booklet Still Available

"America is for Everybody," the Department of Labor's booklet published earlier this year in commemoration of the Emancipation Proclamation is still available.

The illustrated booklet has a statement by President John F. Kennedy, a preface by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and a foreword by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz. It also has a reproduction of the Emancipation

(MORE)

Proclamation signed by President Abraham Lincoln.

The economic status of the Negro in 1863 and in 1963 is presented in text and table, as is the status of the Negro in the labor market. The work concludes in effect, as is stated by the President: "The task is not finished. Much remains to be done to eradicate the vestiges of discrimination and segregation, to make equal rights a reality for all of our people, to fulfill finally the promises of the Declaration of Independence."

The booklet is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at 30¢ per copy. A limited number of copies are available upon request in the office of Arthur A. Chapin, Manpower Minority Group Specialist, Main Labor Building, Washington 25, D.C.

* * * * *

President's Commission on Status of Women Submits Report

The President's Commission on the Status of Women, established by Executive Order in December 1961, under the chairmanship of the late Eleanor Roosevelt, has submitted its 22-month "action-program" report to the President on the anniversary of Mrs. Roosevelt's death.

The report, including among its 24 signers Miss Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women, Inc., asks further executive action by the President and questions the constitutionality of many State laws which discriminate against women.

The Commission considered all women but was "particularly mindful" of the circumstances of certain women, including those who are members of minority groups, for whom many of its recommendations have added significance.

(MORE)

Its recommendations express special concern for women in whose families "the unbroken cycle of deprivation and retardation repeats itself from generation to generation."

In employment, the Commission enlisted the aid of the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the U.S. Employment Security Service in removing some apparent discriminations because of sex in job referrals and promotional policies. In recommends an executive order on the Federal level to bring the matter to the attention of private employers.

The report itself, an 86-page two-color book with 21 charts--"American Women" sells for $1.25 at the U.S. Government Printing Office.

* * * * *

Assistant Secretary Weaver Says Worker Participation in Alliance Necessary

Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs George L-P Weaver, commenting that the workers themselves have rarely been consulted in Alliance for Progress planning, stated further: "One of the primary objectives of the United States at the Bogota meeting was to drive home the need for worker participation. I can tell you that no subject raised at the conference was more strongly and unanimously endorsed. We can consider this a significant breakthrough for the trade unionists and working people of Latin America. It has been signed into reality in the Declaration of Cundinamarca by representatives of each of the 19 nations meeting at Bogota."

The Alliance for Progress program was established to provide technical and financial cooperation among the American Republics to improve and strengthen democratic institutions through self-help, and comprehensive and well conceived national programs for economic and social development.

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(MORE)

"It will profit the Negro little if he wins his constitutional right to vote in every town, county, and state in the union if his economic status perforce disinterests him in the governmental processes. Desegregated and expanded educational opportunities cannot of themselves guarantee the Negro a meaningful role in our society. Fair housing laws and fair housing practices will not provide him with a decent home in which to raise his family if his income is insufficient to maintain one."

--John F. Henning, Under Secretary of Labor

* * * * *

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Labor

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FROM THE OFFICE OF
SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
352 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.
CApitol 4-3121, ext. 4744

FOR THURSDAY P.M.,
OCTOBER 24, 1963 RELEASE

WILLIAMS INTRODUCES NEW BILL TO PROVIDE FAST TAX WRITE-OFF FOR CONSTRUCTION OF FARM WORKER HOUSING

A tax benefit to farmers and others building farm labor housing would be provided under legislation introduced today by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.

Rapid amortization of the construction costs, over a period of five years, is the form of the benefit. Under present tax law, such construction costs must be depreciated over 25, 30, or 40 years--whatever may be the entire useful life of the housing facility.

In addition to new construction, remodeling or alterations to improve existing farm labor housing could qualify for the special tax deduction.

Senator Williams, on introducing the bill, stressed two points. First, Williams said, the farmer is in the burdensome and nearly unique position of having to provide large numbers of seasonal, short-term employees with housing, which then may stand vacant for large portions of the year. Second, he described the bad housing conditions that many farm workers are faced with at present. Williams quoted examples of labor camps lacking water supplies, refuse disposal facilities, and window screens. "The fact that the migratory worker may, at some future time, become obsolete is no reason to countenance the housing conditions he is sometimes faced with now," Williams said.

Williams pointed out that the principle of federal assistance for farm housing is well established. Another Williams bill (S. 981) which would expand the direct financial aid for farm housing available under the Housing Act of 1949 was the subject of Senate hearings last week. "But the gravity of the farm labor housing situation is such," Williams said,

"that we should give the most serious consideration to every means at our disposal for correcting it."

To qualify for the special tax deduction under the new bill, the owner of newly constructed farm housing would obtain a certificate from the Secretary of Agriculture covering these three points:

1. that the housing has been constructed to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for agricultural workers;

2. if the housing is to be rented, rather than being furnished to farm workers rent-free, that the rentals will be reasonable in view of the occupants' probable incomes and earning capacities; and

3. that during the 5-year amortization period, the housing will be made available primarily for occupancy by domestic agricultural workers and will be maintained in accordance with applicable minimum standards on safety and sanitation.

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NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

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Week of October 28, 1963

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Arthur Chapin, Secretary's Special Assistant, Addresses Jack & Jill, Inc.

Quote, Education and Employment--Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy

Apprenticeship Anti-Discrimination Standards Set by Secretary of Labor

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has issued proposed standards and compliance procedures to insure equality of opportunity within the Nation's apprenticeship system.

The compliance procedures implement standards, originally issued last July, which provide that Federal certification will be withheld from any apprenticeship program that does not meet the following criteria:

1. Selection of apprentices on the basis of qualification alone, unless the selections otherwise made would themselves demonstrate that there is equality of opportunity.

2. Action to remove the effects of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment may have resulted.

3. Nondiscrimination in all phases of apprenticeship and employment during apprenticeship after selections are made.

(MORE)

To achieve compliance with these standards, the Secretary has set forth procedures for carrying out a review at the local, regional, and national levels of existing programs; and procedures for processing complaints from individuals alleging discrimination. He also directed full Federal-State cooperation in States which have apprenticeship committees and agencies responsible for enforcement of Fair Employment Practices Acts.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is charged with the responsibility of insuring compliance with the new standards. In doing so, it will notify all sponsoring groups (joint labor-management committees, etc.) of the new regulations and what they entail. The Bureau will seek, first, to achieve voluntary compliance, and will encourage the creation of private procedures by the sponsoring groups to accomplish this.

The Department's standards were issued as a result of a statement by President Kennedy, directing the Secretary of Labor "to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely nondiscriminatory basis."

* * * * *

Negro Union Leaders of Chicago Among New Labor Mediator Selectees

The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service announces the selection of nine new mediators, to work on the nationwide staff to help settle labor-management disputes.

Among these is Richard D. Williams of Chicago. Mr. Williams, a machinist was employed by the Maremont Automotive Products Co. of Harvey, Ill., from 1951 to March 1963, when he became International Representative of UAW (United Auto Workers), stationed in Chicago. He has studied union

(MORE)

leadership for two years at the University of Chicago, is 37, married, and makes his home at Markham, Ill.

* * * * *

Vincent J. Browne of Howard University Assists Labor Department Seminars

Vincent J. Browne, Administrative Assistant to the President of Howard University, has joined the Negro educators assisting the Labor Department's One-Day Regional Seminars on Employment Opportunities for Minority Groups. Mr. Browne will serve as a resource leader in the Chambersburg, Pa. region.

These Seminars, which are being addressed by Negro college presidents and executive staff members, are intended to assist Labor Department field staffs in working with unions, industry, and organizations as well as with Negro communities to gain acceptance of equal employment opportunity policies.

* * * * *

Decent Housing for Farmworkers Urged by Under Secretary of Labor

Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning, testifying before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, in support of S. 981 (Housing for Domestic Farm Labor), stated:

"A decent place to live is the keystone to improvement in the well-being of agricultural workers and their families. It is important to growers as well as to the workers themselves. It can make the difference between having a responsible, efficient, and dependable labor force and one which, because of high turnover or labor shortage, can result in loss of crops. The workers themselves consider bad housing and the inability to obtain adequate sanitary facilities as one of the greatest drawbacks to their employment.

"Inadequate housing has long been recognized as one of the principal problems of farmworkers.

(MORE)

"Our domestic farmworkers are perhaps the most economically deprived group in the Nation's work force. Many of them have little education and are not prepared to adapt to a changing labor market. Their employment at best is subject to many variables, including weather and crop conditions.

"The jobs they must compete for are low-paid as well as uncertain. Total annual earnings from farm wage work in 1961 averaged $881 in cash wages for those workers who did 25 days or more of such work in the year. Inclusion of earnings from nonfarm work would raise the overall average annual earnings in 1961 to $1,054.

"Among farmworkers generally, migrants receive the lowest pay. Their situation with regard to housing is particularly acute."

* * * * *

Arthur Chapin, Secretary's Special Assistant, Addresses Jack & Jill, Inc.

Arthur A. Chapin, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor and Manpower Minority Group Specialist, addressed the Eight-State Regional Conference of Jack & Jill, Inc., in Philadelphia, telling the organization of mothers dedicated to the present and future welfare of children:

"We face a paradox that all of us in this room have had some experience with. That paradox is the reluctance to accept the Negro in employment on the one hand--and giving him an inferior education on the other, and now demanding that he be fully prepared at a time when many employers are embarrassed that they have practiced unequal opportunities.

"Our task, now that the walls of discrimination in so many areas have crumbled completely, is to see to it that our youths are fully prepared so that the old familiar excuse of an employer 'I would, but I can't find a qualified individual' will no longer prevail.

(MORE)

"The importance of an education for today's youth cannot be overly stated, particularly for Negro boys and girls. For one out of every three Negro youths with only an eighth grade education is unemployed, compared with one out of six for the high school graduate and one out of eight for those with one or more years of college; and less than one out of 22 Negroes over 24 years of age with one or more years of college is unemployed. The more education a young Negro gets, the nearer his income approaches that of his white counterpart. The Negro elementary school graduate, compared with the white elementary school graduate gets only 68 percent of the white's income. This increases to 71 percent for the Negro high school graduate and to 85 percent for the college graduate. Therefore, the youth who has not completed grade school will earn $100,000 less in his life time than the high school graduate; the high school graduate will earn $140,000 less than the college graduate. So, we can see that education does pay off--and it is worth the struggle and sacrifice that each of you will make and are making to educate your youngsters, as well as the youngsters whom you may, in the future, provide scholarships for.

"An interesting fact about Negroes that is not generally known is that about one-quarter of a million are today attending colleges and universities, about 100,000 of whom are in the South and the District of Columbia.

"And, Negro enrollment in higher education is higher than total enrollment in Great Britain or Italy, and nearly as high as in West Germany or France, even though the Negro population in America is less than half the total population of any of these nations.

"The high financial cost of certain types of professional education such as medicine, is a serious obstacle to Negro youth. Thirty-four percent

(MORE)

of Negro youth, compared with 12 percent of white, report financial handicaps as barring the way to graduate and professional schools.

* * * * *

Quote: Education and Employment--Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy

"No less than one-third of all our young people do not graduate from high school at all. These are the millions of school 'dropouts,' whose plight has come to form a nationwide problem of critical proportions.

"When no adequate remedial schooling is provided for these children--and none is available in many communities--they often find themselves not only unemployed but virtually unemployable, for they lack any marketable skill in a society where the need for unskilled labor is rapidly shrinking under the advance of automation."

--Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy
Address to B'nai B'rith, October 13, 1963

* * * * *

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North Carolina Labor and Industry

Monthly Bulletin of the DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, *Frank Crane, Commissioner*

Vol. XXX RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, OCTOBER, 1963 No. 10

NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT RISES TO ALL-TIME HIGH OF 1,302,000 IN SEPT.

Nonagricultural employment climbed to an all-time high in North Carolina during September.

A total of 1,302,000 Tar Heels were at work in non-farm jobs in September. This was 18,300 higher than the August job total and 15,700 higher than in September, 1962.

Factory employment, totaling 551,200 in the State during September, was up 7,400 from the August level but was 1,800 below the 553,000 total of September, 1962.

Nonmanufacturing jobs, totaling 750,800 in September, were up 10,900 from August and were 17,500 higher than in September, 1962.

Seasonal job gains totaling 27,200 were responsible for the big September employment increase. These included 15,300 in public schools, 9,100 in tobacco stemmeries, 1,500 in retail trade, 1,000 in transportation, 200 in the lumber industry, and 100 in finance, insurance and real estate.

These increases were partly offset by seasonal and other job decreases totaling 8,800 in thirteen employment groups. September job declines included 3,300 in construction, 1,700 in service industries, 1,200 in State and local government, 600 in federal government, 500 in textiles, 400 in food products, 200 each in cigarettes, apparel, printing, and stone, clay and glass products, and 100 each in mining, wholesale trade and chemicals.

Employment levels held firm during September in furniture, primary metals, fabricated metals, machinery, electrical machinery, ordnance and transportation equipment, pulp and paper products, and communications and public utilities. Employment in these groups showed no change from August levels.

Average hourly earnings of the State's 551,200 factory workers advanced two cents to a September average of $1.68, due almost entirely to the influence upon low-wage industries of the 10-cent hike in the Federal Wage and Hour Law. The federal minimum increased from $1.15 an hour to $1.25 an hour on September 3rd.

A September drop of 0.4 hours in the factory workweek brought working hours down to an average of 40.9. Average weekly earnings of factory workers increased 15 cents to $68.71 in spite of the decreased working hours, due to the increased Federal minimum wage.

APPRENTICE BRICKLAYING CHAMP HONORED—Stephen Thomas Alston, Jr. (center), of Route 1, Warrenton, North Carolina's "Champion Apprentice Bricklayer of 1963," displays gold trowel presented him by State Labor Commissioner Frank Crane (left) after Alston took top honors in the 10th annual statewide Apprentice Bricklaying Contest at the State Fair in Raleigh on October 18. Joseph L. Richardson (right), Warrenton masonry contractor, is the bricklaying champ's employer.

Alston, 19, bested 32 other bricklayer apprentices from all over the State in the all-day contest. He has been in training under the State-sponsored Apprenticeship Program for less than one year, and competed in the contest against several apprentices who had been in training for nearly two years.

Second place runner-up in the contest was Tommy Ray Stewart, of Route 1, Catawba, employed by the Group Apprenticeship Committee for the Construction Trades, Catawba County. Third place winner was Charles C. Kerns, of Route 7, Burlington, employed by Richard A. Robertson, Burlington masonry contractor.

Alston will receive a $200 savings bond prize and both he and Richardson will be awarded engraved trophies at a special presentation ceremony in Charlotte on Nov. 5 sponsored by the Piedmont Construction Apprentice Council. Stewart will receive a $100 bond prize and Kerns a $50 bond. Alston also will be awarded a Certificate of Merit from the N. C. Chapter, American Institute of Architects.

In addition to his on-the-job apprenticeship training with Richardson, the 1963 bricklaying champion receives related technical training in classes conducted by W. E. Exum at Hawkins High School in Warrenton.

The contest was judged by a panel of six judges, including E. L. Layton of Charlotte, President of the Carolinas Branch, Associated General Contractors of America; C. C. McGinnis of Charlotte, Vice-President of McDevitt and Street Company; J. D. Green, Sr., of Raleigh, masonry contractor; Carl Moser of Hickory, masonry contractor; Ed Denbo of Durham, of the firm of Crain and Denbo; and Chadwick N. Heath of Columbia, S. C., executive secretary of Clay Products Service, Inc.

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FRANK CRANE
Commissioner of Labor
ALMON BARBOUR
Editor

Vol. XXX October, 1963 No. 10

AWARD OF MERIT—Commissioner Frank Crane (right) recently was honored by presentation of the Secretary of Labor's "Award of Merit". Shown as he accepted the award from Federal Wage-Hour Administrator Clarence T. Lundquist, Commissioner Crane was commended "in recognition of his significant and outstanding contribution toward furthering the work of the Department of Labor, 'to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States.'" The award was signed July 23 by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz.

MORE THAN HALF OF ALL TAR HEEL APPRENTICES IN CONSTRUCTION TRADES

Construction trades are the favorites of 58 per cent of all apprentices in training under North Carolina's State-sponsored apprenticeship training program.

Among the total of 2,766 apprentices in active training on June 30, 1963, 1,598 were training to become skilled workmen in the various construction trades.

The 1,598 apprentices training in 23 construction trades on June 30 were distributed as follows:

Electrician 602, carpenter 213, sheet metal worker 166, plumber 163, bricklayer 123, steamfitter 67, asbestos worker 58, heating and air conditioning mechanic 38, pipe fitter 37, plumber and steamfitter 29, floor layer 27, floor covering and acoustical mechanic 16, plasterer 10, lather 9, construction equipment operator 9, glazier 8, painter and paperhanger 7, structural iron worker 6, painter 3, cement mason 3, stone setter 2, stonemason 1, structural steel worker 1.

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO-HIGH POINT AREAS — SEPTEMBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) [4]	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month [4]	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month [4]	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month [4]	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.9	27.8	28.0	+ 0.4	— 0.4	$ 75.95	$ 76.02	$ 74.94	41.5	42.0	42.1	$1.83	$1.81	$1.78
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.1	.....	.....	76.91	70.47	71.32	44.2	42.2	42.2	1.74	1.67	1.69
Bakery	2.1	2.0	2.1	+ 5.0	.....	80.41	72.00	78.55	43.0	40.0	43.4	1.87	1.80	1.81
Textile Mills Products	6.3	6.3	6.6	.....	— 4.5	65.37	65.89	68.53	40.6	41.7	43.1	1.61	1.58	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.4	2.4	2.4	.....	.....	69.94	73.96	77.88	40.9	43.0	44.0	1.71	1.72	1.77
Knitting Mills	2.2	2.2	2.6	.....	—15.4	61.78	58.56	63.18	39.6	39.3	42.4	1.56	1.49	1.49
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.9	1.0	.....	—10.0	85.68	95.26	86.90	40.8	43.3	42.6	2.10	2.20	2.04
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.3	.....	+ 7.7	82.97	82.59	77.53	43.9	43.7	43.8	1.89	1.89	1.77
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.3	2.1	2.0	+ 9.5	+15.0	93.79	95.11	...7...	40.6	40.3	...7...	2.31	2.36	2.27
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.8	2.8	2.6	.....	+ 7.7	65.11	68.88	70.19	39.7	42.0	42.8	1.64	1.64	1.64
Metal Products	2.3	2.3	2.3	.....	.....	84.02	84.42	79.90	41.8	42.0	41.4	2.01	2.01	1.93
Machinery	3.2	3.3	3.2	— 3.0	.....	81.56	83.33	76.96	42.7	43.4	41.6	1.91	1.92	1.85
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.6	4.6	4.9	.....	— 6.1	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.4	43.9	44.3	— 1.1	— 2.0	$ 71.96	$ 69.20	$ 65.07	40.2	40.0	38.5	$1.79	$1.73	$1.69
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	3.0	2.9	— 3.3	.....	75.57	71.39	70.82	45.8	44.9	45.4	1.65	1.59	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	77.43	75.68	75.10	44.5	44.0	44.7	1.74	1.72	1.68
Textile Mill Products	15.7	15.7	16.7	.....	— 6.0	59.73	61.92	55.74	37.1	38.7	35.5	1.61	1.60	1.57
Knitting Mills	6.1	6.1	6.7	.....	— 9.0	53.05	55.20	48.38	34.9	37.3	33.6	1.52	1.48	1.44
Apparel	3.8	3.9	3.9	— 2.6	— 2.6	64.60	56.82	...7...	42.5	40.3	37.9	1.52	1.41	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.1	1.1	+ 9.1	+ 9.1	65.94	64.38	66.30	43.1	43.5	44.8	1.53	1.48	1.48
Furniture	6.8	6.8	6.8	.....	.....	72.67	71.05	66.70	40.6	40.6	39.7	1.79	1.75	1.68
HH Furniture	5.9	5.9	5.9	.....	.....	72.80	70.27	66.18	40.0	39.7	38.7	1.82	1.77	1.71
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.3	1.5	1.3	—13.3	.....	84.96	83.16	...7...	38.1	39.6	...7...	2.23	2.10	2.14
Chemicals	1.4	1.5	1.4	— 6.7	.....	86.70	83.40	85.00	42.5	41.7	42.5	2.04	2.00	2.00
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	86.80	83.42	76.78	49.6	47.4	45.7	1.75	1.76	1.68
Metal Products	2.2	2.2	2.0	.....	+10.0	80.55	75.18	...7...	44.5	42.0	...7...	1.81	1.79	1.72
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	87.99	87.78	...7...	41.9	42.0	41.9	2.10	2.09	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.3	6.4	6.4	— 1.6	— 1.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — SEPTEMBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT | HOURS AND EARNINGS | AVERAGE | AVERAGE | AVERAGE

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO-HIGH POINT AREAS — SEPTEMBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	27.9	27.8	28.0	+ 0.4	— 0.4	$ 75.95	$ 76.02	$ 74.94	41.5	42.0	42.1	$1.83	$1.81	$1.78
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.1	.....	.....	76.91	70.47	71.32	44.2	42.2	42.2	1.74	1.67	1.69
Bakery	2.1	2.0	2.1	+ 5.0	.....	80.41	72.00	78.55	43.0	40.0	43.4	1.87	1.80	1.81
Textile Mills Products	6.3	6.3	6.6	.....	— 4.5	65.37	65.89	68.53	40.6	41.7	43.1	1.61	1.58	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.4	2.4	2.4	.....	.....	69.94	73.96	77.88	40.9	43.0	44.0	1.71	1.72	1.77
Knitting Mills	2.2	2.2	2.6	.....	—15.4	61.78	58.56	63.18	39.6	39.3	42.4	1.56	1.49	1.49
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.9	1.0	.....	—10.0	85.68	95.26	86.90	40.8	43.3	42.6	2.10	2.20	2.04
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.3	.....	+ 7.7	82.97	82.59	77.53	43.9	43.7	43.8	1.89	1.89	1.77
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.3	2.1	2.0	+ 9.5	+15.0	93.79	95.11	...7...	40.6	40.3	...7...	2.31	2.36	2.27
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.8	2.8	2.6	.....	+ 7.7	65.11	68.88	70.19	39.7	42.0	42.8	1.64	1.64	1.64
Metal Products	2.3	2.3	2.3	.....	.....	84.02	84.42	79.90	41.8	42.0	41.4	2.01	2.01	1.93
Machinery	3.2	3.3	3.2	— 3.0	.....	81.56	83.33	76.96	42.7	43.4	41.6	1.91	1.92	1.85
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.6	4.6	4.9	.....	— 6.1	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.4	43.9	44.3	— 1.1	— 2.0	$ 71.96	$ 69.20	$ 65.07	40.2	40.0	38.5	$1.79	$1.73	$1.69
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	3.0	2.9	— 3.3	.....	75.57	71.39	70.82	45.8	44.9	45.4	1.65	1.59	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	77.43	75.68	75.10	44.5	44.0	44.7	1.74	1.72	1.68
Textile Mill Products	15.7	15.7	16.7	.....	— 6.0	59.73	61.92	55.74	37.1	38.7	35.5	1.61	1.60	1.57
Knitting Mills	6.1	6.1	6.7	.....	— 9.0	53.05	55.20	48.38	34.9	37.3	33.6	1.52	1.48	1.44
Apparel	3.8	3.9	3.9	— 2.6	— 2.6	64.60	56.82	...7...	42.5	40.3	37.9	1.52	1.41	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.1	1.1	+ 9.1	+ 9.1	65.94	64.38	66.30	43.1	43.5	44.8	1.53	1.48	1.48
Furniture	6.8	6.8	6.8	.....	.....	72.67	71.05	66.70	40.6	40.6	39.7	1.79	1.75	1.68
HH Furniture	5.9	5.9	5.9	.....	.....	72.80	70.27	66.18	40.0	39.7	38.7	1.82	1.77	1.71
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.3	1.5	1.3	—13.3	.....	84.96	83.16	...7...	38.1	39.6	...7...	2.23	2.10	2.14
Chemicals	1.4	1.5	1.4	— 6.7	.....	86.70	83.40	85.00	42.5	41.7	42.5	2.04	2.00	2.00
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	86.80	83.42	76.78	49.6	47.4	45.7	1.75	1.76	1.68
Metal Products	2.2	2.2	2.0	.....	+10.0	80.55	75.18	...7...	44.5	42.0	...7...	1.81	1.79	1.72
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	87.99	87.78	...7...	41.9	42.0	41.9	2.10	2.09	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.3	6.4	6.4	— 1.6	— 1.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — SEPTEMBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT	1,302.0	1,283.7	1,286.3	+ 1.4	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Manufacturing	551.2	543.8	553.0	+ 1.4	— 0.3	$ 68.71	$ 68.56	$ 66.67	40.9	41.3	40.9	$1.68	$1.66	$1.63
Durable Goods	148.6	148.4	146.8	+ 0.1	+ 1.2	73.44	71.99	69.01	42.7	42.6	42.6	1.72	1.69	1.62
Lumber & Timber Basic Products	31.6	31.4	30.7	+ 0.6	+ 2.9	64.63	61.20	59.35	42.8	42.5	42.7	1.51	1.44	1.39
Sawmills & Planing Mills	19.1	18.9	18.4	+ 1.1	+ 3.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Millwork, Plywood, etc.	6.3	6.2	6.4	+ 1.6	— 1.6	59.92	58.05	59.09	42.2	43.0	44.1	1.42	1.35	1.34
Furniture & Fin. Lumber Products	48.2	48.2	47.3	.....	+ 1.9	69.86	68.59	65.03	42.6	42.6	42.5	1.64	1.61	1.53
Household Furniture	43.7	43.7	43.1	.....	+ 1.4	69.54	68.26	64.87	42.4	42.4	42.4	1.64	1.61	1.53
Stone, Clay and Glass	10.9	11.1	10.7	— 1.8	+ 1.9	74.82	74.21	70.24	43.5	43.4	43.9	1.72	1.71	1.60
Concrete, Brick, etc.	4.0	4.1	3.9	— 2.4	+ 2.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Primary Metals	2.8	2.8	2.8	.....	.....	87.15	86.11	86.92	41.5	41.8	42.4	2.10	2.06	2.05
Fabricated Metals	9.8	9.8	9.1	.....	+ 7.7	83.69	86.20	80.94	42.7	43.1	42.6	1.96	2.00	1.90
Fab. Structural Metals	4.3	4.4	3.8	— 2.3	+13.2	85.24	94.50	85.34	42.2	45.0	43.1	2.02	2.10	1.98
Machinery (Except Electrical)	13.5	13.5	13.9	.....	— 2.9	80.26	79.82	77.43	44.1	44.1	44.5	1.82	1.81	1.74
Special Industrial Machinery	6.8	6.8	6.9	.....	— 1.4	76.79	78.40	...7...	42.9	43.8	...7...	1.79	1.79	1.74
Electrical Machinery	24.0	24.0	24.9	.....	— 3.6	83.21	83.43	80.36	41.4	41.3	41.0	2.01	2.02	1.96
Ord. and Transportation Equipment	4.0	3.9	4.0	+ 2.6	.....	101.56	92.48	96.41	43.4	41.1	42.1	2.34	2.25	2.29
Other Durable Goods[1]	3.8	3.7	3.4	+ 2.7	+11.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nondurable Goods	402.6	395.4	406.2	+ 1.8	— 0.9	67.30	67.32	65.69	40.3	40.8	40.3	1.67	1.65	1.63
Food & Kindred Products	36.1	36.5	35.1	— 1.1	+ 2.8	65.91	61.72	60.48	42.8	41.7	42.0	1.54	1.48	1.44
Meat Products	8.4	8.4	8.5	.....	— 1.2	58.36	54.21	52.75	39.7	39.0	38.5	1.47	1.39	1.37
Meat Packing	2.5	2.5	2.5	.....	.....	75.24	69.08	70.79	45.6	44.0	43.7	1.65	1.57	1.62
Dairy Products	5.6	5.6	5.6	.....	.....	76.32	75.05	73.94	47.7	47.5	47.4	1.60	1.58	1.56
Grain Mill Products	4.5	4.0	3.7	+12.5	+21.6	69.45	62.34	63.52	46.3	43.9	45.7	1.50	1.42	1.39
Bakery Products	7.6	7.7	7.6	— 1.3	.....	76.48	71.23	73.27	43.7	41.9	43.1	1.75	1.70	1.70
Beverage Industries	5.1	5.2	4.8	— 1.9	+ 6.3	66.31	69.93	62.61	48.4	51.8	49.3	1.37	1.35	1.27
Tobacco	49.0	40.2	54.3	+21.9	— 9.8	70.45	76.59	72.84	39.8	41.4	43.1	1.77	1.85	1.69
Cigarettes	18.3	18.5	19.0	— 1.1	— 3.7	92.19	97.53	93.26	38.9	41.5	40.2	2.37	2.35	2.32
Stemmeries	29.0	19.9	33.6	+45.7	—13.7	57.11	57.27	60.75	40.5	41.5	45.0	1.41	1.38	1.35
Textiles	225.5	226.0	227.6	— 0.2	— 0.9	65.69	65.85	63.12	40.3	40.9	39.7	1.63	1.61	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	91.2	91.1	90.0	+ 0.1	+ 1.3	69.80	71.74	68.88	41.3	42.7	41.0	1.69	1.68	1.68
Broadwoven Cotton	56.4	56.3	55.9	+ 0.2	+ 0.9	66.86	70.56	64.52	39.8	42.0	39.1	1.68	1.68	1.65
Broadwoven Fiber & Silk	31.1	31.0	30.5	+ 0.3	+ 2.0	76.02	74.97	74.99	44.2	44.1	43.6	1.72	1.70	1.72
Knitting Mills	65.7	66.0	70.0	— 0.5	— 6.1	61.60	60.22	57.44	38.5	38.6	37.3	1.60	1.56	1.54
Full Fashioned Hosiery	7.0	7.2	8.4	— 2.8	—16.7	60.68	57.53	56.63	38.9	37.6	37.5	1.56	1.53	1.51
Seamless Hosiery	46.4	46.7	49.7	— 0.6	— 6.6	60.32	59.82	56.73	37.7	38.1	36.6	1.60	1.57	1.55
Dyeing & Finishing Textiles	12.3	12.3	12.4	.....	— 0.8	68.72	67.40	67.89	41.4	40.6	40.9	1.66	1.66	1.66
Yarn Mills	47.6	47.8	46.7	— 0.4	+ 1.9	61.56	61.76	59.35	40.5	40.9	40.1	1.52	1.51	1.48
Apparel	46.6	46.8	44.6	— 0.4	+ 4.5	53.72	52.11	50.81	38.1	38.6	38.2	1.41	1.35	1.33
Men's & Boys' Clothing	17.3	17.8	17.0	— 2.8	+ 1.8	50.23	48.99	47.23	36.4	37.4	36.9	1.38	1.31	1.28
Paper & Allied Products	13.7	13.7	13.9	.....	— 1.4	107.16	107.85	104.11	44.1	44.2	44.3	2.43	2.44	2.35
Pulp & Paperboard Mills	8.7	8.6	8.9	+ 1.2	— 2.2	119.07	118.70	114.92	44.1	43.8	44.2	2.70	2.71	2.60
Paperboard Containers	3.5	3.6	3.7	— 2.8	— 5.4	82.16	88.08	82.62	43.7	45.4	44.9	1.88	1.94	1.84
Printing	10.5	10.7	10.5	— 1.9	.....	89.17	87.94	...7...	38.6	38.4	38.9	2.31	2.29	...7...
Newspapers	5.4	5.5	5.4	— 1.8	.....	96.56	98.69	95.00	36.3	37.1	36.4	2.66	2.66	2.61
Chemicals	16.6	16.7	15.5	— 0.6	+ 7.1	85.28	85.48	83.43	41.6	41.9	41.3	2.05	2.04	2.02
Plastics & Synthetic Materials	10.8	10.7	9.8	+ 0.9	+10.2	92.99	94.33	89.19	41.7	42.3	41.1	2.23	2.23	2.17
Other Nondurable Goods[2]	4.6	4.8	4.7	— 4.2	— 2.1	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nonmanufacturing	750.8	739.9	733.3	+ 1.5	+ 2.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Mining	2.7	2.8	3.4	— 3.6	—20.6	76.92	77.92	78.73	46.9	48.1	48.6	1.64	1.62	1.62
Non-Metallic Mining	2.7	2.8	2.9	— 3.6	— 6.9	76.92	77.92	78.23	46.9	48.1	49.2	1.64	1.62	1.59
Contract Construction	71.7	75.0	70.8	— 4.4	+ 1.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transp., Comm., & Pub. Utilities	68.7	67.7	65.7	+ 1.5	+ 4.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transportation (Except RR)	34.8	33.8	33.2	+ 3.0	+ 4.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Communications & Pub. Utilities	25.0	25.0	23.8	.....	+ 5.0	99.42	97.10	97.70	41.6	40.8	41.4	2.39	2.38	2.36
Trade[3]	231.3	229.9	226.7	+ 0.6	+ 2.0	65.57	66.17	64.24	39.5	40.1	39.9	1.66	1.65	1.61
Wholesale	59.7	59.8	58.1	— 0.2	+ 2.8	85.60	85.40	85.57	42.8	42.7	43.0	2.00	2.00	1.99
Retail[3]	171.6	170.1	168.6	+ 0.9	+ 1.8	57.30	58.50	55.73	38.2	39.0	38.7	1.50	1.50	1.44
Retail General Merchandise	37.0	35.8	36.0	+ 3.4	+ 2.8	44.42	45.49	42.62	32.9	34.2	33.3	1.35	1.33	1.28
Department Stores	16.1	15.7	15.6	+ 2.5	+ 3.2	48.03	48.40	46.37	31.6	32.7	32.2	1.52	1.48	1.44
Limited Price Variety	8.6	8.1	8.7	+ 6.2	— 1.1	30.71	32.87	29.48	28.7	31.3	28.9	1.07	1.05	1.02
Retail Food Stores	25.8	25.3	24.8	+ 2.0	+ 4.0	53.60	53.90	51.41	33.5	35.0	34.5	1.60	1.54	1.49
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate[6]	49.7	49.6	47.7	+ 0.2	+ 4.2	90.01	90.16	87.03	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Service	138.7	140.4	136.1	— 1.2	+ 1.9	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Hotels & Rooming Houses	8.4	9.3	8.0	— 9.7	+ 5.0	33.97	35.62	33.21	39.5	42.4	41.0	.86	.84	.81
Personal Services	25.6	25.6	25.3	.....	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Laundries & Dry Cleaners	15.4	15.4	15.4	.....	.....	37.53	36.77	34.58	38.3	38.7	38.0	.98	.95	.91
Government	188.0	174.5	182.9	+ 7.7	+ 2.8	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Federal	38.0	38.6	37.6	— 1.6	+ 1.1									
State & Local Schools	83.4	68.1	80.3	+22.5	+ 3.9									
State & Local Non-Schools	66.6	67.8	65.0	— 1.8	+ 2.5									

[1] Includes: Transportation Equipment, Instruments, and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Leather and Leather Products, Rubber Products, and Petroleum Products.
[3] Excludes: Earnings in Eating and Drinking Places.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.
[6] Reflects Earnings in Insurance Companies Only.
[7] Not comparable.
[8] Less than 0.1% change.

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

(In Thousands of Employees)

Winston-Salem Area

INDUSTRY	*SEPTEMBER, 1963	SEPTEMBER, 1963	SEPTEMBER, 1962
Total Manufacturing	38.2	37.8	40.3
Food & Kindred Products	1.5	1.5	1.6
Textile Mill Products	9.6	9.5	9.9
Furniture	1.0	1.1	1.0
Metals	1.6	1.6	1.5
All Other Mfg. Inds.[1]	24.5	24.1	26.3

* Preliminary

[1] Includes: Tobacco; Apparel; Lumber; Paper; Printing; Chemicals; Stone, Clay & Glass; Transportation Equipment & Misc. Mfg. Inds.

BOLICK APPOINTED TO APPRENTICESHIP COUNCIL — Lavie L. Bolick (right) of Greensboro was sworn in by Secretary of State Thad Eure (left) on October 15 as a member of the North Carolina Apprenticeship Council. Bolick was appointed by State Labor Commissioner Frank Crane (center), Chairman of the Apprenticeship Council. He will serve as an employee representative on the Council.

Bolick is Eastern North Carolina Director of the Communications Workers of America. He succeeds J. W. Holder of Raleigh, former Secretary-Treasurer of the N. C. State AFL-CIO, who resigned from the Council and moved to Washington, D. C. some time ago.

Bolick's term on the Apprenticeship Council will last until June 30, 1966.

Other members present at the Apprenticeship Council meeting in Raleigh on October 15 were Charles D. Bates, Vice-Chairman of the Council and State Director of Trade and Industrial Education; employer representatives Dwight L. Casey of Charlotte, D. W. Randolph of Canton, and A. J. Fox of Raleigh; employee representatives George J. Bumby of Wilmington and W. L. Causey of Greensboro; and Council Secretary C. L. Beddingfield, director of the Division of Apprenticeship Training, N. C. Department of Labor.

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	September, 1963	September, 1962	1st 9 Mos. 1963	1st 9 Mos. 1962
Albemarle	$ 81,015	$ 71,920	$ 546,369	$ 797,341
Asheboro	84,200	70,547	1,577,159	1,814,117
Asheville	977,236	525,023	9,156,550	5,888,973
Burlington	280,830	213,463	3,330,674	4,026,128
Chapel Hill	434,780	178,550	3,593,764	2,074,395
Charlotte	4,511,590	2,445,074	39,061,430	31,859,761
Concord	78,000	132,300	1,053,434	1,261,363
Durham	585,979	2,446,298	12,993,742	9,153,139
Elizabeth City	1,795,025	39,400	3,037,906	757,900
Fayetteville	808,690	491,317	7,781,434	6,942,773
Gastonia	1,045,750	556,850	5,666,025	4,556,950
Goldsboro	352,225	303,098	2,958,258	3,348,348
Greensboro	2,151,173	1,292,964	21,391,320	24,779,270
Greenville	871,936	172,000	4,234,775	3,070,567
Henderson	155,725	34,450	1,114,996	730,127
Hickory	493,100	414,570	1,919,922	2,274,892
High Point	375,446	472,156	6,493,269	7,421,461
Jacksonville	379,300	318,400	1,220,865	2,687,556
Kinston	170,392	184,159	2,321,096	4,398,734
Lenoir	314,900	113,248	1,059,027	1,066,086
Lexington	400,550	292,702	1,251,483	2,076,443
Lumberton	80,800	79,600	1,226,950	1,038,094
Monroe	281,000	107,000	713,800	980,900
New Bern	342,712	75,808	1,251,997	976,301
Raleigh	1,774,437	3,243,557	18,232,767	20,607,878
Reidsville	191,362	70,932	843,794	1,014,884
Roanoke Rapids	178,958	402,144	1,272,045	1,746,895
Rocky Mount	161,637	279,485	3,373,714	2,330,387
Salisbury	94,625	183,000	2,745,283	2,410,673
Sanford	239,909	156,550	683,359	830,300
Shelby	100,000	51,675	1,561,540	1,243,415
Statesville	156,450	153,508	2,427,108	2,277,068
Thomasville	86,614	179,765	1,794,363	1,759,803
Wilmington	673,491	72,175	3,461,642	1,384,440
Wilson	161,200	1,709,340	2,917,325	10,653,758
Winston-Salem	1,798,286	4,381,982	14,541,538	13,628,802
Grand Total	$22,669,323	$21,915,010	$188,810,723	$183,869,922

SHAW APPOINTED TO SAFETY ADVISORY BOARD — Charles Shaw of Greensboro (right), Director of Industrial Relations for Thompson-Arthur Paving Company, receives his Certificate of Membership as a member of the N. C. Department of Labor's Safety Advisory Board from State Labor Commissioner Frank Crane.

Shaw, a former official of the Carolinas Branch, Associated General Contractors of America, will serve with the Safety Advisory Board which assists the Labor Department in planning industrial accident prevention programs for application throughout North Carolina industries. Commissioner Crane presented him his membership certificate at the Advisory Board's fall meeting in Raleigh on October 4.

HUMAN FACTOR BASIC IN SAFETY, DONNELLY TELLS ADVISORY BOARD

"People—their motives and attitudes—are the all-important ingredients in accident prevention," S. C. Donnelly, assistant North Carolina works manager for Western Electric Company, told the Safety Advisory Board of the N. C. Department of Labor in an address at the Board's fall meeting held in Raleigh on October 4.

"The secret of improving safety performance is to reach inside a man, deep down where his emotions are, and help him find his 'play it safe' switch," Donnelly told the approximately 50 Advisory Board members and Labor Department safety inspectors. "The individual must want to have no accident and want it so badly that he will, himself, take the necessary action."

Stressing the importance of management efforts to promote off-the-job safety, Donnelly said his company's employees have eleven times more disabling accidents off the job than while working.

"It obviously doesn't do very much good to build up a perfect record of safety on the job with every employee completely immune from accidents and then have them kill themselves off by the dozen in traffic accidents and in the home," he stated. "It will pay us to put as much effort into the prevention of off-the-job accidents as we do upon preventing them in our plants."

The official said that efficiency and safety go hand in hand, and that the objective of management is to ingrain into employees a "discerning set of eyes and an evaluation that automatically asks, 'Is the job being done safely?"

Donnelly outlined the thorough-going safety program of Western Electric Company's Greensboro Shops, which recently set a world's safety record for all industry by going for 11 years, or 32,000,000 man-hours, without a disabling injury.

"On April 8, 1952, this plant experienced its first and only disabling injury," he said. "It has the same operations, machines, chemicals and hazards found in most electrical manufacturing plants. The essential difference seems to be in the people, in their attitudes and motives. They have shown sustained, persistent, directed safety activity on a continuing, day-after-day basis. Their performance is substantial proof that supervisors, safety directors and employees are communicating."

In a panel discussion earlier, Superintendent W. O. Conrad of the Greensboro Shops, Safety Supervisor Jennings Helm, and former Safety Supervisor Martin Quincannon, presented a detailed history of the Western Electric program which broke all previous safety records.

Charles H. Shaw, Jr., of Greensboro, industrial relations director for Thompson-Arthur Paving Company, was inducted as a new member of the Safety Advisory Board. State Labor Commissioner Frank Crane, who presided over the meeting, presented Shaw a Certificate of Membership.

Pointing out that North Carolina industry stands to save more than $1,000,000 a year as a result of lower workmen's compensation insurance rates proposed in recent hearings, Labor Department Safety Director William C. Creel attributed the proposed reductions to "the sustained work in accident prevention which is being done by many North Carolina industries."

The safety group heard reports from chairmen of the Board's committees on safety awards, education, membership, and industry accident prevention programs.

The meeting was attended by some 50 people, including 17 members of the 21-man Board and the entire safety inspection staff of the State Department of Labor.

Members of the Safety Advisory Board are: W. G. Alligood of Mount Holly, Kenneth Austin of Charlotte, Jesse D. Brown of Enka, H. B. Gaylord of Plymouth, William S. Fowler of Drexel, George Harper of Rocky Mount, T. B. Ipock, Jr., of Gastonia, Wilford G. Jones of Winston-Salem, W. L. Loy of Laurel Hill, Sidney F. Marsh of Greensboro, G. E. Midyette of Raleigh, Joel F. Moody of Raleigh, Fred F. Murphy of Hickory, H. E. Newbury of Pisgah Forest, J. D. Patterson of Winston-Salem, J. J. Plasky of Hallsboro, Martin Quincannon of Winston-Salem, Hazel W. Ramsey of Canton, Zalph Rochelle of High Point, Charles H. Shaw, Jr. of Greensboro, and H. E. Williams of Spray.

NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT RISES TO RECORD HIGH THROUGHOUT SOUTHEAST

September was a record-shattering month for the Southeast, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southern Regional Director of the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia all reported nonagricultural employment at all-time record high levels. In Tennessee, nonfarm employment passed the million mark. The Florida total was the highest for any September but slightly below levels set during last year's winter season.

The regional nonfarm employment lotal was set at 7,861,300 in September—82,000 more than the seasonal peak reached last December. The regional aggregate increased by 89,500 over the month and 157,100 over the year. Each of the eight states contributed to the gain.

Employment levels in the region's metropolitan areas were also expanding. Only Greenville, South Carolina, where a major defense installation closed, failed to exceed year ago levels. The largest increase, 18,000, was in Atlanta.

The reopening of schools and the expanding school population caused the major part of the 30-day increase. Total government employment, which includes all public education employees at state, county and local levels, rose by 78,600 between August and September and by 35,400 over the year. The region's trade establishments added 37,700 jobs in the last 12 months—8,100 since August marking the annual fall pick-up. The services industries, reflecting the ever-expanding demand for business and personal services, expanded almost as much as government in the past year.

HUMAN FACTOR (Cont'd)

BUILDING PERMITS TOTAL $22,669,323 IN SEPTEMBER

Building permits totaling $22,669,323 were issued in 36 North Carolina cities of more than 10,000 population during September.

The September building total was 3.4% higher than the $21,915,010 reported by the same cities in September, 1962.

The 36 cities reported a total of $188,810,723 in permits during the first nine months of 1963. This was 2.7% above the $183,869,922 reported for the same period last year.

City building totals reported for September, 1963 were: Albemarle $81,015, Asheboro $84,200, Asheville $977,236, Burlington $280,830, Chapel Hill $434,780, Charlotte $4,511,590, Concord $78,000, Durham $585,979, Elizabeth City $1,795,025, Fayetteville $808,690, Gastonia $1,045,750, Goldsboro $352,225, Greensboro $2,151,193, Greenville $871,936, Henderson $155,725, Hickory $493,100, High Point $375,446, Jacksonville $379,300, Kinston $170,392, Lenoir $314, 900, Lexington $400,550, Lumberton $80,800, Monroe $281,000, New Bern $342,712, Raleigh $1,774,437, Reidsville $191,362, Roanoke Rapids $178,958, Rocky Mount $161,637, Salisbury $94,625, Sanford $239,909, Shelby $100,000, Statesville $156,450, Thomasville $86,614, Wilmington $673,491, Wilson $161,200, Winston-Salem $1,798,286.

City permits reported for the nine months of 1963 were: Albemarle $546,369, Asheboro $1,577,159, Asheville $9,156,550, Burlington $3,330,674, Chapel Hill $3,593,764, Charlotte $39,061,430, Concord $1,053,434, Durham $12,993,742, Elizabeth City $3,037,906, Fayetteville $7,781,434, Gastonia $5,666,025, Goldsboro $2,958,258, Greensboro $21,391,320, Greenville $4,234,775, Henderson $1,114,996, Hickory $1,919,922, High Point $6,493,269, Jacksonville $1,220,865, Kinston $2,321,096, Lenoir $1,059,027, Lexington $1,251,483, Lumberton $1,226,950, Monroe $713,800, New Bern $1,251,997, Raleigh $18,232,767, Reidsville $843,794, Roanoke Rapids $1,272,045, Rocky Mount $3,373,714, Salisbury $2,745,283, Sanford $683,359, Shelby $1,561,540, Statesville $2,427,108, Thomasville $1,794,363, Wilmington $3,461,642, Wilson $2,917,325, Winston-Salem $14,541,538.

1,835 FIRMS INSPECTED IN MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

Labor Department inspectors visited 1,835 manufacturing, mercantile and service-industry establishments during September to check for compliance with the Labor Laws and health and safety regulations. The establishments employed 68,656 workers

The inspectors noted 1,126 violations, mostly with regard to health and safety conditions, and made appropriate recommendations for their correction. Compliance with similar recommendations made during previous inspections was noted in 1,097 instances.

Boiler Inspections

A total of 4,829 operating certificates were issued to N. C. boilers owners and users during August and September by the Bureau of Boiler Inspections.

The Bureau also reviewed 5,447 reports of boiler inspections made by insurance company inspectors, ordered repairs made to faulty boilers in 660 instances, and received notification of completed repairs in 538 instances. The Bureau sent out 5,033 bills for inspection fees and collected $12,840.80 in fees during the two months.

DISABLING INJURY FREQUENCY RATES IN NORTH CAROLINA INDUSTRIES

— PRELIMINARY, 1962, COMPARED WITH FINAL, 1961 —

Industry	Plants 1962	Manhours 1962	Disabling Injuries 1962	Disabling Injury Frequency Rates 1962	1961
MANUFACTURING					
CHEMICAL:					
Drugs, Insecticides & Paints	24	1,196,607	5	4.1	10.8
Fertilizer (Manufacturing and Mixing)	62	3,149,467	47	14.9	13.4
Miscellaneous Chemical and Allied Products	95	13,005,721	51	3.9	3.9
CLAY, CEMENT AND STONE:					
Block, Pipe and Cement	132	5,227,569	128	24.4	18.2
Brick, Tile and Pottery	37	3,617,046	94	25.9	24.5
ELECTRICAL:					
General	41	31,678,614	45	1.4	2.0
FURNITURE:					
Wood, Upholstered	141	19,462,989	201	10.3	10.2
Wood, (Except Upholstered)	216	60,391,474	699	11.5	11.5
IRON AND STEEL:					
Foundries	38	4,712,055	167	35.4	27.3
Machine Manufacturing	46	7,881,859	67	8.5	11.9
Machine Shop	248	11,545,549	151	13.0	12.1
Sheet Metal	107	5,303,106	99	18.6	20.9
Not Elsewhere Classified	147	13,278,291	285	21.4	23.3
LEATHER:					
Tanning, Manufacturing Shoes, Belting, and Rolls	13	1,702,867	28	16.4	10.8
LUMBER:					
Logging, Sawing and Planing	305	13,265,506	362	27.2	26.2
Millwork	138	4,959,108	67	13.5	14.1
Plywood and Veneer	68	7,633,262	184	24.1	21.1
Miscellaneous Wood Products	100	5,435,687	114	20.9	20.0
MINING:					
Mines	64	1,587,932	95	59.8	71.2
Pits and Quarries	148	3,539,279	105	29.6	27.3
Processing Plants	38	5,114,065	29	5.6	11.6
PAPER:					
Paper and Pulp	15	14,347,177	49	3.4	4.4
Set Up Boxes and Containers	45	4,695,581	48	10.2	8.6
PRINTING:					
Job, Newspaper and Books	210	9,810,999	50	5.0	5.1
TEXTILES:					
Cotton Yarn & Weaving	377	162,533,444	986	6.0	5.4
Dyeing and Finishing	95	31,074,237	223	7.1	7.0
Knit Goods	465	91,892,648	332	3.6	4.3
Silk and Synthetic	61	29,370,935	96	3.2	4.2
Wearing Apparel	236	59,534,033	295	4.9	4.2
Woolen Worsted	15	8,162,418	73	8.9	5.6
Not Elsewhere Classified	145	23,660,919	190	8.9	8.9
TOBACCO:					
Cigarette, Cigar and Smoking	6	30,384,558	83	2.7	3.8
Leaf Processing	50	18,403,216	135	7.3	8.4
MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING:					
General	323	49,904,273	299	5.9	11.4
ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY	4,251	757,462,491	5,882	7.7	8.0
NON-MANUFACTURING					
FOOD:					
Baking	96	10,607,234	130	12.2	13.2
Bottling Plant	124	7,694,910	141	18.3	19.2
Canning and Preserving	27	2,262,504	49	21.6	15.2
Dairy Products	82	7,442,557	99	13.3	14.0
Ice and Coal	85	1,444,494	15	10.3	9.0
Meat Packing	139	12,582,525	391	31.0	30.8
Milling, Flour and Feed	167	5,613,856	86	15.3	13.3
SERVICE:					
Dry Cleaning	236	2,943,703	4	1.3	0.6
Dry Cleaning and Laundry	298	13,240,433	53	4.0	2.8
Garage	521	19,944,812	159	7.9	8.0
TRADE:					
Petroleum Products	240	4,005,062	22	5.4	4.2
Wholesale and Retail	376	17,689,406	166	9.3	10.3
MISCELLANEOUS NON-MANUFACTURING:					
General	214	9,452,130	124	13.1	16.0
ALL NON-MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY	2,605	114,923,626	1,439	12.5	12.2
ALL INDUSTRY MANUFACTURING & NON-MANUFACTURING	6,856	872,386,117	7,321	8.3	8.7

Technical Notes:

(1) These data were compiled according to the *American Standard Method of Compiling Industrial Injury Rates*, approved 1954 by the American Standards Association.

(2) The disabling injury frequency rate is the number of disabling work injuries for each million manhours of exposure. A disabling injury is one which prevents the injured man's return to work on his next regular day, shift or turn; or which results in some permanent bodily impairment.

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of November 4, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

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Assistant Secretary Weaver Lauds Civil Rights Efforts of Negro Collegians

Quote by President John F. Kennedy

African Dignitaries Among Labor Department Foreign Trainees

Foreign visitors arriving recently for study in the Labor Department under the supervision of the Bureau of International Affairs (Assistant Secretary of Labor George L-P Weaver) include: Congo--Jean-Marie Tumawaku, Chef de Cabinet Adjoint, Labor Ministry, and Alphonse Nguvulu, Minister of Labor, to study labor and social fields; Dahomey--Theophile Bonanzin Paoletti, Secretary-General, Union Generale des Travailleurs de Dahomey, to study labor-management; Rhodesia--Abraham Eliza Abrahamson, Minister of Labour, to study labor-management relations and private and public welfare; and Sierra Leone--Henrison Nicholas Georgestone, Secretary-General, Council of Labor, to study labor-management relations.

* * * * *

(MORE)

Secretary Wirtz Shares Concern Over Military Rejectees

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz speaking to Labor Department employees, said recently, "The President has instructed us--the Department of Labor, the Department of Defense, and the Selective Service Administration--to look at the almost unbelievable fact that 50 percent of the boys who took the Selective Service examination last year for induction into the army were found unfit for military service, half of that group for physical reasons, and half of the group of rejectees--that means a quarter of the whole group--for mental reasons. 'For mental reasons' means in effect, that about 25 percent of the boys who took the pre-induction examination did not have a 7th grade educational attainment level.

"The President has asked us to look at the implications of this situation. If these boys aren't fit for military service today, they aren't fit for making a living tomorrow, and we'd better find out right now what to do about it.

"I know that you feel with me that the largest responsibility is to see that the next generation has an equality of opportunity and a degree of opportunity that not all of us in this generation have had."

* * * * *

Elimination of Employment Discrimination Part of Active Manpower Policy

Among the 13 points listed by Under Secretary of Labor Henning as necessary to an "active manpower policy," is "the elimination of prejudicial discrimination in employment, training, and education." Mr. Henning cites an active manpower policy plus economic growth as the formula likely to ward off mass unemployment.

* * * * *

(MORE)

Assistant Secretary Weaver Speaks Before "Cosmos" at Oxford in England

Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs George L-P Weaver will address the "Cosmos," at Oxford University, London, England on November 1, 1963. "Cosmos" is the debating society numbering among its former members Prime Ministers and other statesmen of Great Britain.

* * * * *

Income of Nonwhite Elderly Relatively Small, HEW Study Indicates

A Fact-Sheet Study on the economic status of the elderly prepared by the Office of Aging of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, indicates that incomes of persons aged 65 and over remain less than half those of younger persons in spite of dollar increases in recent years.

Also, there is a considerable variance between the incomes of nonwhite and white persons over 65, as well as those under 65.

For example: Nonwhite unrelated individuals over 65 had a median income in 1960 of $805 as contrasted with $1,095 for white individuals. Nonwhite individuals under 65 had a median income of $1,307, white $2,884. Some 69.4 percent of the nonwhite individuals over 65 had incomes under $1,000, as did 45.9 percent of the white. Only 1.2 percent of the nonwhite had incomes over $5,000, white 4.2 percent.

Also, nonwhite families with heads over 65 had a median income in 1960 of $1,457 as compared to $3,041 for white. Nonwhite families with heads under 65, median income $3,351, white $6,138.

Interestingly, nonwhite men were 17.5 percent of men over 65 with no income, but nonwhite women were 5.2 percent of women over 65 with no income.

(MORE)

For further information on this study "Facts on Aging, No. 7, Incomes of Older People 1960-61," contact the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Information, Room 4345.

* * * * *

Assistant Secretary Weaver Lauds Negro College Students

Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs George L-P Weaver told Negro college students in an address at South Carolina State College at Orangeburg, that their forthright action in the cause of civil rights in employment and generally, deserved praise and is part of a world-wide movement toward human rights, equal opportunity and the recognition of the dignity of the individual.

"This struggle, I am convinced, will continue, whether we find it in South Africa with its bestial system of apartheid, in Soviet Russia with its discrimination against Jews, or here in our own country where peaceful demonstrators are jailed for protesting the denial of constitutional rights.

"It has taken a long time for the fact to be realized, but the United States is still in the throes of this same revolution that was begun here a century ago with a stroke of the pen by President Lincoln. It is now only approaching realization in America. What the Negro is completing today is the self-emancipation that every great movement requires. The Asians and Africans had to learn this truth before they could win their freedom."

Commenting on the Labor Department's efforts toward eliminating racial discrimination and its effects in employment, the Assistant Secretary said:

"The Department of Labor, as all other government agencies, is committed to implementing these goals. They are being implemented through

(MORE)

all our programs, but especially in the apprenticeship and training areas. In our training program under the Manpower Development and Training Act, more than 20 percent of those being trained or retrained are nonwhite. More than a quarter of these nonwhite trainees are taking courses leading to various white collar jobs. This is about double the proportion of nonwhite employees now holding white collar jobs. Another 27 percent are being trained for a number of skilled occupations--four times the proportion of nonwhite employees now working in these trades."

* * * * *

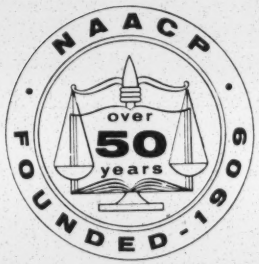
Quote by the President of the United States

"The fewer grades our boys and girls complete, the greater the probability they will not find jobs. Inadequate schooling, inadequate training, inadequate skills--these are major obstacles to employment and a fruitful life. Dropping out of school today may well destroy a person's entire future."

--John F. Kennedy
President of the United States.

# # # # #

Labor



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

November 7, 1963

Dear Sir:

Please find enclosed copy of testimony on the matter of migratory farm labor in the State of Florida presented by Herbert Hill, the Association's labor secretary, before a United States Department of Labor public hearing in Miami, Florida, on November 5, 1963.

Mr. Hill's testimony deals with the very high rate of exploitation of farm labor in the State of Florida and the responsibility of the Federal Government in this matter.

We should appreciate any comment you might wish to make.

Sincerely,

Division of Research
and Information

Testimony of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Before United States Department of Labor Public Hearing, Bay Front Park Auditorium, Miami, Florida, November 5, 1963.

Mr. Chairman:

My name is Herbert Hill and I am National Labor Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People whose national office is located in New York City.

I wish to thank the Department of Labor for this opportunity to present the views of the NAACP on the condition of migratory farm labor in the State of Florida.

For almost a half-century the working and living conditions of agricultural workers in the United States, especially of colored farm workers, has been a matter of great concern to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For the past fifteen years, as a representative of the Association, I have made many on-the-spot investigations of farm labor conditions in California, in several Mid-western farm states and along the Atlantic Seaboard, from Homestead, Florida to the Canadian Border. I am the author of a widely quoted study entitled NO HARVEST FOR THE REAPER: The Story of the Migratory Agricultural Worker in the United States, which in large part is based upon my investigations in Florida. I have frequently presented testimony on this matter before Congressional and state legislative committees.

I have reached the conclusion, based upon years of direct observation, that migratory farm workers in the state of Florida are the victims of the most extreme exploitation to be found anywhere in the United States. As depressed as the condition of migratory agricultural labor may be elsewhere, the status of such workers in Florida is today far worse.

I have been on the loading platforms at Belle Glade at 5 o'clock in the morning to observe the "shape-up"; I have visited the pathetic hovels and shacks of farm workers in the vicinity of Palatka; I have interviewed workers and examined the crew leader's labor contracts as they left the offices of the Florida Farm Placement Bureau in Palm County; I have done extensive interviewing in Zellwood, on the roads near Lake Okeechobee, in Homestead, around the outskirts of Orlando, in Ocala and elsewhere in Florida and it is my opinion that farm labor conditions in the state constitute a national disgrace.

We are now confronted with the incredible fact that the Florida migratory farm worker, already suffering the highest rate of exploitation of any group of workers in the United States, and denied virtually all of the protections of federal labor and welfare laws, is to suffer a further deprivation. For the United States Department of Labor to suspend the requirement that Florida growers provide a

minimum wage of 95 cents an hour and instead be permitted a reversion to the old Florida rate of 65 to 70 cents an hour makes the U.S. Department of Labor a party to the unconscionable exploitation of Florida farm workers.

The New York Times, in an editorial of October 22, 1963, commented that "...The 95-cent rate is itself a full 30 cents below the Federal minimum for industrial workers. It was established after a Labor Department hearing and was accepted by the growers in all Eastern states except Florida. When the department refused to lower the rate, Florida's Senators appealed to President Kennedy." The result was an announcement by the Department of Labor of the reversion to 65 to 70 cents an hour which as the New York Times comments is "a shameful figure for any Federal agency to endorse."

The many thousands of Negro farm workers and their children in the state of Florida will be the victims of this shoddy political arrangement. For the national administration to be a party to such an incredible arrangement compromises in the most fundamental sense the moral integrity of the Federal Government and the social responsibility of the Kennedy administration.

The data provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture clearly indicates that consistently since 1949, the average hourly farm wage rate in Florida has been substantially below not only the average hourly earnings in manufacturing occupations in Florida, not only far below average hourly earnings in retail trade occupations in Florida, but also well below the average hourly farm wage rate for the rest of the United States.

In 1962, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the average hourly wage rate for farm workers throughout the United States was $1.01. (This national figure includes the Florida data.)Average hourly rates in Florida were .85.

Further proof of the consistent deterioration of the status of farm labor in Florida may be seen in the fact that a decade ago the average hourly wage rate for farm workers in the United States was .82 an hour and in Florida, .71. In the intervening years the differential between national average hourly farm wage rates and Florida farm wage rates has increased from .9 to .16, a percentage increase of 66 2/3. Thus, the action of the United States Department of Labor in providing an exemption from the 95 cent rate for Florida is made all the more incredible.

Data from the United States Department of Agriculture (Vegetables - Fresh Market 1962 Annual Summary (Vg. 2-2(62)) U.S.D.A., SRS, December 18, 1962, and Farm Income 1949-62. (FIS 191 Supplement) U.S.D.A., ERS, August 1963) provides the basis for an analysis of the profits and the national market domination of the Florida growers clearly indicates their unusually high rates of profit and their very

advantageous position in the national agricultural market. In the past ten years, Florida's share of the seasonal national market in winter tomatoes was 100 percent and Florida's price percentage of the average yearly national price per hundred weight was 137 percent.

In winter sweet corn, Florida's production percent of the seasonal national market was 100 percent and 159 percent of the yearly national price per hundred weight. Florida's production percent of the seasonal national market in winter snap beans has been 100 percent and Florida's price percentage based upon the average yearly national price per hundred weight was 116 percent. Equally high or higher is Florida's profits and control of the national market in green peppers, watermelon, cucumbers and strawberries. The value of Florida's 1962 crop of fresh market tomatoes during the winter season was well over 26 million dollars.

Can the United States Department of Labor defend the operation of a produce market which is based upon the extreme exploitation of farm workers? One may ask, how can the United States Department of Labor, responsible as it is for the administration of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act which establishes the principle that the Government must not be a party to the unfair exploitation of American workers, approve wage rates that violate the fundamental principle of that Act? But it does so. Here in the State of Florida, the Department of Labor is a party to an arrangement that permits foreign workers to depress the wage standards of American citizens.

Futhermore, if the U.S. Department of Labor permits a reversion to the old Florida rate of 65 to 70 cents an hour then an agency of the Federal Government is directly responsible for maintaining a minimum wage pattern that is fully 40 percent below that which prevails under the Walsh-Healey Act lowest minimum rate of $1.15 or $1.25 an hour. What is more important in this regard is the fact that for most workers, in reality, the minimums are the maximums.

In addition, it must be pointed out that low wage rates give Florida an unfair competitive advantage over other agricultural producing states such as California, Michigan, Indiana, New York and New Jersey. The fat Florida margins above the national price levels are due in part to climate and the proximity of large markets; but they are due, also, in no small measure, to wage rates lower than those in effect in competing states. Thus the Federal government is actively aiding Florida profit takers at the expense of farm operators in other states.

Table I

Value of Florida Vegetable Crops
And National Market Domination

Crop	Season	Value of 1962 Crop $ Millions	Florida Price % of Average Yearly National Price Per Cwt. 1951-60	Florida Production % of Seasonal National Market 1951-60	Chief Competing States
Tomatoes, Fresh Market	Winter	$26.6	137%	100%	—
	Early Spring	16.3	118%	55%	Texas, 26%
	Late Fall	7.1	126%	90%	Texas
Celery	Winter	14.3	93%	53%	California, 44%
	Spring	10.3	96%	44%	California, 56%
Sweet Corn	Winter	3.8	159%	100%	—
	Early Spring	11.2	112%	86%	Texas
	Fall	2.0	139%	53%	California
Snap Beans	Winter	6.6	116%	100%	—
	Early Spring	4.2	145%	95%	Texas
	Late Fall	5.2	101%	97%	Texas
Green Peppers	Winter	6.6	121%	100%	—
	Spring	6.0	153%	94%	Texas
	Fall	1.6	128%	25%	Texas, 56%
Cabbage	Winter	13.7	130%	47%	Texas, 34% California, 15%
Watermelons	Late Spring	11.0	124%	86%	California
Cucumbers, Fresh Market	Winter	.8	193%	100%	—
	Early Spring	6.3	126%	94%	Texas
	Late Fall	3.5	116%	100%	—
Strawberries, Fresh Market	Winter	4.7	152%	100%	—
Escarole	Winter	4.4	107%	100%	—

Sources: Based upon data from (Vegetables - Fresh Market 1962 Annual Summary (Vg. 2-2(62)) U.S.D.A., SRS, December 18, 1962, and Farm Income 1949-62. (FIS 191 Supplement) U.S.D.A., ERS, August 1963.)

The migratory farm labor stream along the Atlantic Seaboard consists almost entirely of Negro workers from Florida, Georgia, Alabama and the Carolinas. The State of Florida is the staging area for the organization of the farm labor streams that reach into Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. It is reliably estimated that there are approximately 50,000 Negroes in the migratory labor stream along the Atlantic coast.

I have interviewed many workers as they proceeded from Florida into the other states along the Atlantic coast and it is very clear that these workers move into northern farming communities for economic reasons. Thousands of Negroes who reside

in Florida are denied employment in Florida because of the importation of foreign workers. At the very same time that thousands of workers are forced to leave Florida to seek employment elsewhere, the Florida Farm Placement Service is importing some 14,000 foreign workers. It is absolutely false to maintain that there is an inadequate supply of domestic farm workers in Florida which justifies the importation of 14,000 foreign workers.

The national rate of unemployment for Negroes in agriculture and in non-agricultural occupations is almost triple the national average. Given this very high rate of unemployment it is immoral for the Federal Government to be a party to the importation of foreign workers who directly displace American Negroes from agricultural employment in Florida and elsewhere. Farm labor is one of the very few remaining areas where there is still a substantial need for the worker who has little industrial skill, but the importation of foreign workers robs American citizens of even these job opportunities.

Negro workers suffer a special hardship in this regard because as a result of racial discrimination and other factors they are denied employment opportunities in other sectors of the economy. It is difficult to understand how the United States Government which has a clear responsibility to protect the welfare of its citizens can be a party to an arrangement which adversely affects in the sharpest possible manner the economic and social welfare of the most deprived groups of citizens in the nation.

It is significant that during the 1953-1961 period in every season but 1956-1957 the period of the greatest employment of foreign workers preceeded the period of peak domestic employment by one to four months. This indicates that on a statewide basis a large number of agricultural jobs are committed to, and filled by, foreign workers before domestic worker employment has reached its peak. It would be reasonable to expect that a supplemental work force would maximize only after there has been full utilization of the domestic work force, rather than prior to that point. The pattern of foreign worker employment suggests that such workers are no longer regarded as merely supplemental, but are now the basic core group in the Florida agricultural labor force. The prompt action of Florida Senators of the highest level of government further suggests that the foreign labor force plus an unconscionable differential in domestic wage rates have become vital to Florida agriculture, or, perhaps, to the maintenance of the unusually high profit levels to which Florida operators have become accustomed.

In Florida, as well as in other states, the United States Department of

Labor has permitted and is indeed a party to the perversion and distortion of the intent of Public Law 78. By certifying that there are labor shortages where clearly no labor shortages exist, the Federal Government has permitted a supplemental labor force to displace the basic domestic labor force and to steadily depress the economic standards of American agricultural workers.

Section 503(2) of Public Law 78 declares in reference to foreign workers, "the employment of such workers will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of domestic agricultural workers similarly employed." In the official manuals of the Department of Labor this is stated as the basic federal policy, a solemn assurance that is reaffirmed each time the Secretary of Labor approves a certification that a domestic labor shortage exists in a given area.

It was the documented conclusion of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor in 1951, and of the expert consultants appointed by the Secretary of Labor in 1959, that adverse effects upon domestic labor had not been prevented as a result of the foreign labor importation program. We are forced to ask how many more years must go by; how many more documented studies be made; how much more proof assembled regarding the adverse effects upon American workers of the foreign farm labor program before the Federal Government acts? Is the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association so powerful; is the United States Sugar Producers Association so mighty, that it can bend the Government of the United States of America to its will?

The State of Florida has enjoyed a remarkable growth during the past decade, surpassing that of the nation as a whole. At the present time Florida is enjoying a rapidly expanding and booming economy, both in its industrial and agriculture sectors, and yet it is necessary for tens of thousands of farm workers from Florida and other southeastern states to migrate to the northeast and midwest in order to find agricultural work that is denied them in Florida.

A specific example is to be found in the sugar cane industry. Foreign workers have now become the basic work force in the Florida sugar cane industry although for many years in the past the sugar cane crop was harvested by domestic workers. The sugar cane industry is protected by the Federal Sugar Act where a minimum wage is required. Increasing mechanization in this industry and in agriculture generally has made available many additional workers for employment in Florida but they are totally displaced by foreign workers.

The 14,000 workers from the British West Indies, brought into Florida, have displaced 14,000 American workers. The argument that domestic workers will not do the type of work done by these foreign workers no matter what the rate of wages paid is

simply not true. In the many other states into which Florida workers are forced to migrate, they do all the kinds of jobs which Florida growers say they will not do.

The displacement of domestic workers is obviously a drain on the local economy. Farm workers are on the lowest scale of the economic ladder and are 100 percent consumers. All of the money earned is spent in the local community. Foreign workers send their money back to their home, and this is a drain on our economy, as the general community does not benefit from their earnings although the growers reap vast benefits as a result of the high rate of exploitation.

Considering the Federal Government's great concern with the international balance of payments problem, it is highly ironic that the United States Government actively supports an agricultural labor policy that directly contributes to our country's serious difficulty in this matter. It makes no sense for the Secretary of the Treasury and the President of the United States to periodically bemoan America's undesirable balance of payments situation and for the same Administration to contribute directly to an intensification of this problem.

The living and working conditions of the Negro farm worker in the State of Florida have already deteriorated far beyond the minimal standards of decency that are normally accepted in American society. These people who are vital to the nation's agricultural economy are the most exploited, the most abused, the most ignored in the United States today. The permanently depressed and abject condition of poverty that is the lot of the Negro farm worker in Florida dooms tens of thousands of families to a tragic hopelessness.

The United States Department of Labor must insist upon the re-establishment of the 95 cents minimum wage rate in Florida. Failure to do so will produce pressure for similar exemptions from other states. It will provide the basis for the most intensified exploitation of what is already the most oppressed group in our country. The basic interest of all American farm workers require the immediate cessation of the foreign labor import program. It is inconceivable that in 1963 the Government of the people of the United States will not heed the cry of the most abused group in the American social order.

In the Fifth Chapter, Fourth Verse of James (Revised Standard Version) it is written: "... Behold, the wage of the laborers who mowed your fields, which you kept back by fraud, cry out; and the cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord of Hosts..."

LWD ✓
SB ✓
Labor

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Enclosed are four copies each of the compliance procedures, dated July 26 and October 20, as you requested in your November 1 letter.

We regret that our supply is exhausted, and we do hope these four copies will be of some service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur A. Chapin

Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the
Secretary of Labor

Enclosures

NEWS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

USDL--5995

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions
November 10, 1963

Excerpts from Remarks
by
Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor
before the
Greater New Orleans Urban League Motivation Conference
Xavier University
November 9, 1963

Your chosen theme: "Education--The Negro's Tool for Economic Advancement During the Critical 60's," is very timely, and of great importance to all of us.

Like all great battle, we have to fight on many fronts and the one you selected for this program is of primary importance--to get the education we need, despite all obstacles, so that we are ready. Let us send our children into the employment arena with a chance for survival.

What a shame, what a wasted opportunity it is, when the employer finally says "Yes, I won't discriminate, I'll look for Negroes for these jobs," and none is available.

For example, only one out of 100 engineers in the United States is a Negro--we have lost a golden opportunity.

What are the basic facts that demonstrate the need for more education and better education? As we in the Department of Labor see the picture, education for today's youth cannot be overly stated, particularly for Negro boys and girls. For the man who has not completed grade school will earn

$100,000 less in his lifetime than the high school graduate: the high school graduate will earn $140,000 less than the college graduate. The youth who completes one of our retraining projects will earn as a result, $50,000 more in his lifetime.

The Negro with an elementary school education is likely to have an income of $3,400 while the high school graduate is likely to have an income of $4,600 and those with a college degree will probably earn $7,900. Education does pay off. It is worth struggling for, sacrificing for.

Let me make this same point in other terms. The unemployment rate for workers between 25 and 54 who have less than a grade school education is twice as high as the rate for high school graduates and four times as high as the rate for workers with some college education.

Let me give you the same figures but for young Negroes only. One out of every 3 Negro youths with only an eighth grade education is unemployed compared with one out of 6 for the high school graduate and one out of 8 for those with one or more years of college. And note that less than one out of 22 Negroes over 24 years of age with one or more years of college is unemployed.

The more education a Negro gets, the nearer his income approaches that of the white. The Negro elementary school graduate gets only 68 percent of the income of the white with the same education; this increases to 71 percent for the Negro high school graduate and to 85 percent for the Negro college graduate.

Keep in mind that these figures are based on the situation today. As automation increases, as jobs become even more complex, the relative income of the uneducated will become lower and their unemployment rate will become

higher. There is no future for the unskilled, unskilled, unschooled worker. Blue collar jobs are expected to increase by only 14 percent in the 60's, and these will be mainly skilled jobs requiring an education, but white-collar jobs will increase by 30 percent.

About one-quarter of a million Negroes are today, attending colleges and universities, of whom 100,000 are in the South or the District of Columbia. Negro enrollment in higher education is higher than total enrollment in Great Britain or Italy, and nearly as high as in West Germany or France even though the Negro population in America is less than half the population of any of these nations.

But the high financial cost of certain types of professional education, such as medicine, is a serious obstacle to Negro youth--34 percent of the Negro youth compared with the 13 percent of white youth report financial handicaps as barring the way for graduate and professional school. Part of our efforts must therefore be to get special funds provided for the post-graduate education of Negro youths; they must study harder so that they can get more scholarships.

An interesting and significantly development is the interest of the white student in attending colleges which were formerly all Negro; Lincoln University in Missouri reports more than 500 white students and West Virginia State College is now evenly split between Negroes and whites.

More barriers are breaking down. For the first time in history, three outstanding medical schools with southern traditions--Johns Hopkins, Duke, and Emory, have admitted Negroes on a competitive basis. Each of them had won a National Medical Fellowship.

What has the Government done? Many things.

For the first time in American history, we have a positive program to get more qualified Negroes into the Federal Government, and to get them into better jobs.

By a positive program we mean recruiting at Negro schools, looking over personnel records to find cases of under-utilization, making clear to all levels of management that equal opportunity means equal opportunity, and providing counseling and training to employees to help them get ahead.

The percentage of Negroes in responsible positions in the U.S. Department of Labor has doubled--a 100 percent increase in less than three years. In many places in the Government, for the first time in history, there are Negroes in supervisory jobs and in management jobs.

One of the most important activities of the Department of Labor related to the theme of this meeting is in advising schools and colleges which Negroes attend on the educational requirements to increase their employability. As part of this effort, under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. W. Willard Wirtz, we conducted conferences at four locations this winter and spring where the top officials of Negro colleges and the Federal Government met so that college officials could discuss their curriculum, counseling, and placement needs in order to increase the utilization of their students.

The same Federal leadership applies to Federal Government contractors. They are no longer allowed to say that they have no Negroes because no Negroes applied; they are no longer allowed to say that they have Negroes only in menial jobs because no trained Negroes are available. They are told that they can't expect Negroes, trained or untrained, to apply to an employer who has practices discrimination. It's the employers's job to find the Negro and

and to train him. Employers spend millions in recruiting on colleges campuses and in advertising for employees; and then training these young graduates. They spend millions to test and to train the people of foreign countries in which they operate. Equal opportunity means that they will use positive efforts to find Negroes, adapt their selection methods, as they have done overseas, in evaluating them, and then train them for their first jobs and for upgrading. This is the program of the Federal Government--the leadership for this program goes right to the top.

We have another special training program that can mean a lot to the Negro--training done under the Manpower Development and Training Act. More than 20 percent of all trainees in this program are Negroes.

This program is important because it places special emphasis on those people who are now qualified only for jobs that don't exist anymore. It upgrades them, helps to make them employable and at a higher level, and it gives them an allowance while they are being trained. We have, for example, recently completed work with the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation in Mississippi to provide training under this Act for people in low-level jobs to qualify them for skilled jobs.

It is now the firm policy of the U.S. Department of Labor to insure that the employment services of the States operate on a nondiscriminatory basis; that they will not accept orders from employers which prescribe race or color and that they will not refer applicants on this basis.

We have recently established procedures to insure that we do not certify apprenticeship programs that discrimination; more important, our field representatives have a mandate from the Secretary of Labor to promote equal opportunity on a positive basis.

(S64-1150)

LABOR WEEK® Labor

HIRING, FIRING, PROMOTING, UNIONS—POLICING AHEAD?

The old "FEPC" idea for banning racial discrimination in jobs—now under a new name—has been revived in Congress.

Employers will find life different, and more complicated, if the measure passes.

Government agents will police employers' hiring, firing and promotion practices. Stiff penalties are provided for violators. Labor unions are covered, too.

Drastic changes lie ahead for employers if an old proposal, now suddenly renewed, is enacted by Congress.

The proposal: Government policing of hiring, firing, and promotion practices, to avoid discrimination because of race, color, religion, or nationality.

It's the old FEPC, or Fair Employment Practices Commission, idea, now changed to EEOC, for Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

If the measure becomes law—

- Employers will be forced to hire Negroes and members of other minorities on an equal basis with whites. Discrimination will be illegal.
- Firing of Negroes because of their race will be unlawful.
- It will be unlawful to fail to promote Negroes, or fail to give them raises, because of their race.
- Employers must keep detailed records to show they do not discriminate against racial or religious minorities.
- Investigators from a new Government agency will be free to inspect employers' personnel records, and to question employers and their workers when any suspicion arises.
- Prohibitions against discrimination apply, also, to labor unions and to employment agencies which refer workers to prospective jobs.

Civil suits, injunctions, fines, even jail terms are provided for violators of the proposed new policing of employers, unions, and job agencies.

The antidiscrimination proposal is a little-noticed part of the civil-rights bill approved on October 29 by the House Judiciary Committee. The idea has the backing of President Kennedy and of many in Congress of both parties.

The measure envisions a big, new Government agency to oversee the practices of employers, unions and employment agencies.

Millions for operations. The authorized appropriation of 10 million for a year of operations gives an idea of what Congress has in mind for the EEOC.

By comparison, the National Labor Relations Board did not reach a 10-million-dollar budget until five years ago. Like the NLRB, the EEOC would have regional offices and a large staff of lawyers and investigators.

Final enforcement of EEOC recom-

(continued on next page)

TRENDS IN LABOR

▶ **Union fined.** A Chicago labor union was fined $26,500 for refusal to load a Canadian freighter with grain. Additional fines of $500 a day were threatened until the order is obeyed. A federal judge said that Local 418 of the Grain Workers Union had "done nothing" to obey the court's order. For more than six months, union members have declined to load grain on ships of a Canadian shipping firm that was struck by the Canadian Seafarers Union.

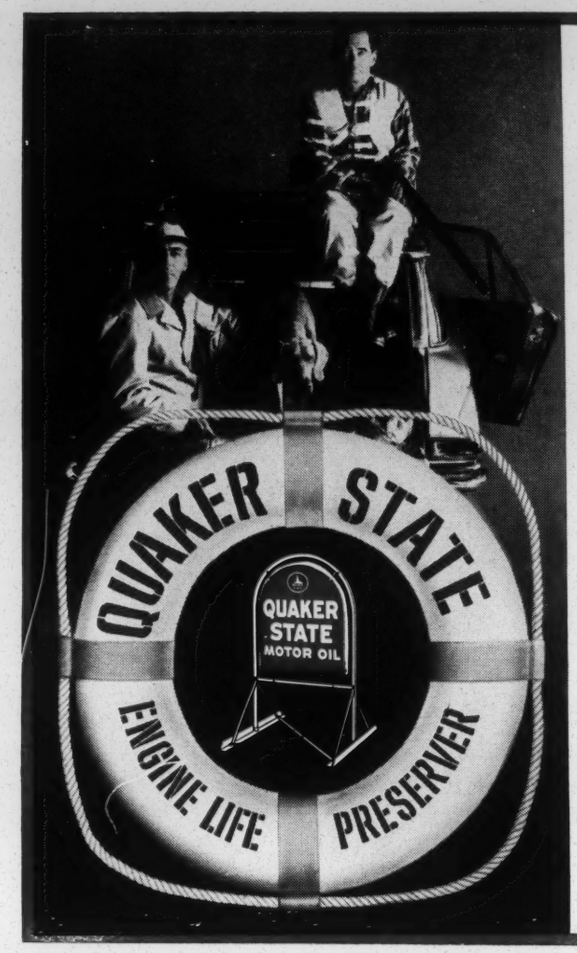
▶ **Textile wages.** A wave of wage increases recently has spread through Southern textile mills. The raises usually have run about 5 per cent, or around $3.50 a week. Most of the mills involved are not unionized.

▶ **Electrical settlement.** Westinghouse Electric Corporation and the International Union of Electrical Workers agreed on a new contract giving an average raise of 6.5 cents an hour now and 7 cents an hour on April 19, 1965, plus "fringes." The contract was similar to one negotiated earlier by General Electric and IUE.

▶ **Cost-savings payment.** Kaiser Steel and the Steelworkers Union announced that their plan for sharing of cost savings cut costs by $908,000 in September. Workers' share averaged 46 cents an hour. For August, it was 24 cents.

▶ **Professional unit.** An employer lost an attempt to obtain an employe vote that might have broken up a combined unit of professional and nonprofessional employes. The two groups had been represented by one union for years. National Labor Relations Board held that professional employes may seek an election on a separate unit, but that, without such a request, NLRB is not required to invalidate the combined bargaining unit.

▶ **Union in contempt.** A U. S. court of appeals found United Mine Workers Local 5881 in civil contempt of court for failing to obey an injunction against violence. The NLRB in 1961 ruled that the union was responsible for conduct of its members in a dispute in Tennessee. NLRB now has been told by the appeals court to suggest costs to be assessed against the union.



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Price 99½% and Accrued Interest

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October 31, 1963.

[continued from preceding page]

. . . Equal-opportunity plan means more paper work

mendations will be placed in the federal courts if the proposal passes.

In what follows, you see how the proposed plan will work:

Most of the burden will fall on the employers, those whose business "affects" interstate commerce and who have more than 25 employes.

Employers will be required to keep the kind of records that investigators of the new Commission will want to examine. Agents of the Commission are given the right to enter a company's offices to look for discrimination.

If a company has an apprenticeship program, it must keep complete lists of applicants for training. This is to help agents determine whether applicants have been denied training because of race, color, religion, or nationality.

When an employer has a job opening, he must be careful about how he goes about filling the job.

It will be illegal, for example, for an employer to advertise for new workers in any way that indicates preference for whites—or hints at discrimination against any minority group.

If the employer decides a Negro applicant does not have the necessary qualifications, he will need records to show why he rejected the applicant.

If the Commission then gets a complaint, the employer will need evidence that the turndown resulted from lack of skill, and not from prejudice.

Some exceptions. There are exceptions to the no-discrimination rule, however. It will be legal, for example, for a Chinese restaurant to hire only Chinese workers. This exception applies to certain types of business in which jobs must be filled by workers "of a particular religion or national origin."

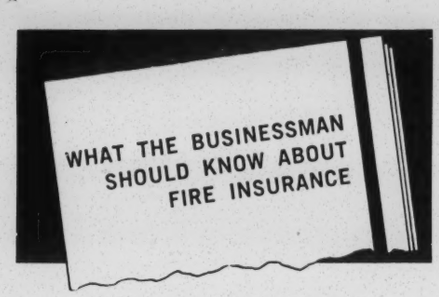
As a general rule, however, the employer will have to watch his hiring practices closely.

The employer can get into trouble by discharging a worker if the worker can show any evidence of discrimination because of his color.

When promotions are handed out, care will need to be taken. Some worker who thinks he should have gotten the better job might complain to the Commission. Then it will be up to the employer to show that he had another reason for his action rather than the race or creed of the worker.

The amount of wages or salary paid to a particular worker also could bring an investigation, in case a complaint is

(continued on next page)



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BETTER IDEA: SEE PAGE 38

Labor Week

[*continued from preceding page*]

. . . Employment agencies, unions face new control

filed accusing the firm of unfair treatment of a minority-group member.

Paying a Negro less than a white worker for the same type of job might result in a charge against a company.

The proposal, if enacted, will make it a violation for an employer to discriminate with respect to "compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment."

Segregating Negroes in one department of a factory could lead to trouble.

When a worker goes to the Commission with a complaint, the employer is to be sent a notice of the charge filed by the worker. The Commission's staff will investigate.

If there seems to be a violation, the Commission will try to work out a voluntary settlement.

If that is impossible, the Commission may file a civil suit in federal court. This may be filed in the area where the alleged violation occurs, or in the district where the firm's home office is located. Under this provision, an alleged violation in Alabama or Mississippi, for example, might be tried in New York, Pittsburgh or Detroit.

A court trial. The federal district court will decide whether a violation has taken place. It will be up to the Commission to prove discrimination.

Where an employer is found guilty, the court can order him to revise his policies, hire an applicant or reinstate someone found to have been fired unfairly. Back wages can be assessed.

There would be changes, too, for labor-union officials and heads of employment agencies—private and public.

A union could get in trouble if it excluded someone from membership—or expelled him—because of his race, color, religion or national background. A union also could be haled into court if it put Negroes in separate locals.

Assessment for wages. If a union forced an employer to discriminate against a Negro, the union might be assessed part of the back wages ordered by a court.

Employment agencies also would be subject to penalties if they failed to send Negro applicants, for example, when job openings were reported.

Those are some of the things that can happen if the Committee's bill becomes law. It is too early to say whether the proposal will become law, but it now appears to be nearer passage than in many years.

(Another Labor Week article, p. 110)

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White-Collar Raises: How Big

An official report just issued on salaries of white-collar employes in the U. S. shows this:

- Pay raises generally ranged from about 2 to 5 per cent in the past year.
- Salary levels for 75 occupations vary from $3,000 to nearly $24,000. Average pay for top-grade positions ran above $15,000 for attorneys, engineers, chemists, personnel directors and chief accountants.
- Clerical employes won pay raises of 2.6 per cent, on the average, compared with 2.9 per cent a year ago. This follows a trend in raises for factory workers in recent years.
- The 1963 raises for some other groups were larger than those of 1962.

The new report, issued October 30 by the Labor Department, did not attempt to predict the trend in white-collar raises for next year. Unofficially, it was estimated that increases in 1964 probably will average somewhere between 3 and 3.5 per cent.

Survey of payrolls. A mass of detail on white-collar pay is contained in the report. It is based on surveys by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Examples of the average annual salaries for top and bottom grades of key occupations are listed in the chart on this page. The figures cover professional, administrative and clerical employes of private industry.

Attorneys employed on the staffs of corporations are included, but those in private law firms are not. The same holds for other professional workers: Only those on company staffs are covered by the averages.

Among the key jobs, attorneys received the largest percentage increase during the past year, with raises of 4.6 per cent, compared with 3.2 in 1962.

For attorneys in the lowest job group, grade 1, the average increase in 1963 was 13.7 per cent. Those in the top category, or grade 7, got pay raises averaging 5.9 per cent.

Salary averages for the seven classifications of attorneys ranged from $7,452 to $23,724.

Largest group: engineers. The number of engineers covered by the survey totaled nearly 270,000—largest group involved. Here there are eight grades of jobs, ranging in pay from $7,056 to $19,992, on the average.

More than 80,000 of the engineers were found in job-class 4, with salaries averaging $10,728.

Engineers, too, continued to make gains in the past year, averaging 4.4 per cent, against 2.6 per cent reported in the 1962 survey.

Among engineers, raises this year ranged from 2.1 per cent for the top grade to 5.6 per cent for grade 5.

Engineers and lawyers were not the only ones to score larger increases.

Accountants, for example, came up with average raises of 3.3 per cent, against 2.8 a year ago. Auditors showed 3.6 per cent, against 2.9 per cent.

Chief accountants averaged 2.8 per cent in raises this year, compared with 2.6 for 1962. Job analysts showed a gain, too, getting 2.6 per cent this year against 1.4 per cent last year.

Smaller raises than last year's went to managers of office services—down from 3.3 per cent to 2.2; personnel directors, from 3.7 per cent to 3; and chemists, from 3.9 per cent to 3.8 per cent.

In the large group of clerical workers, pay raises this year ranged widely above and below the general average of 2.6 per cent.

Smallest raises, on the average, went to tabulating-machine operators, grade 2, with a 1.7 per cent increase. General stenographers won average raises of 2.5 per cent, while typists, grade 1, got increases averaging 2.4 per cent.

Official Survey—

WHITE-COLLAR PAY IN INDUSTRY

	Average Yearly Salaries	
	Lowest Grade	Top Grade
Attorneys	$ 7,452	$23,724
Engineers	$ 7,056	$19,992
Engineering technicians	$ 4,764	$ 8,256
Draftsmen	$ 5,243	$ 6,870
Chemists	$ 6,384	$19,824
Directors of personnel	$ 8,952	$15,744
Job analysts	$ 6,408	$ 9,852
Chief accountants	$10,236	$15,516
Accountants	$ 6,156	$11,232
Auditors	$ 5,544	$10,092
Managers, office services	$ 7,404	$12,960
Bookkeeping-machine operators	$ 3,500	$ 4,349
Accounting clerks	$ 4,063	$ 5,374
File clerks	$ 3,039	$ 4,286
Key-punch operators	$ 3,827	$ 4,375
Stenographers	$ 4,165	$ 4,739
Tabulating-machine operators	$ 3,948	$ 5,799
Typists	$ 3,485	$ 4,125

Source: U. S. Dept. of Labor

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

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EMPLOYMENT- GEN.

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of November 11, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

Foreign Agricultural Worker Hearings in Florida Continued in Washington

Training Projects for Underprivileged Described in Labor Department Booklet

Nonwhite Girls Have Nation's Highest Unemployment Rate

Nonwhite Youngsters Leaving Rural Areas Faster Than White Youths

The Negro Farmer Not a "Vanishing American" (Related Agency)

Secretary and Under Secretary to Speak on Equal Employment Opportunity

Foreign Agricultural Worker Hearings in Florida Continued in Washington

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has announced that the public hearing of November 5 in Miami, Fla., to consider the possible "adverse effect" of the employment of foreign agricultural workers on wages and working conditions of domestic workers, will be continued in Washington, D.C., November 19, in the Departmental Auditorium. The continuation will allow interested parties who have indicated intentions of presenting views and evidence, to appear.

* * * * *

Training Projects for Underprivileged Described in Labor Department Booklet

Demonstration manpower training programs for the big-city disadvantaged jobless--minority groups, the older worker, the emotionally handicapped, the educationally deficient, the school dropout--are described in an illustrated Labor Department booklet, "Bridge to Employment." Included are examples of youth programs in New York City and New Haven, Conn., and a

(MORE)

program for hard-core unemployed in Norfolk, Va., all involving participation of private and voluntary agencies as well as the government. Copies of the booklet are available from the Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, Washington 25, D.C.

* * * * *

Nonwhite Girls Have Nation's Highest Unemployment Rate

Nonwhite girls have a much higher unemployment rate than any other group in the entire labor force, it is pointed out in the Department of Labor's Manpower Research Bulletin No. 3, "Young Workers: Their Special Training Needs." The study, which may be secured from the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, Labor Department, Washington 25, D.C., states:

"Nonwhite youths face greater employment problems than other young workers. In 1962, about one out of every four nonwhite teenagers in the labor force was unemployed, compared with about one out of every eight white teenagers. Since 1955, the jobless rate among nonwhite teenagers (both boys and girls) has risen faster than for white teenagers--up about 60 percent among nonwhites compared with a 30 percent rise for white teenagers.

"Nonwhite youths, both graduates of high school and dropouts, are primarily employed in low-paying service occupations and in farm labor jobs. Even when nonwhite youths have high school diplomas, their unemployment rate is about double that for white graduates."

* * * * *

Nonwhite Youngsters Leaving Rural Areas Faster Than White Youths

A much larger proportion of nonwhite youngsters are leaving rural areas than white youths. In 1950, about 1.3 million nonwhite young persons aged 10 through 19 were living in rural areas. By 1960, when this age group

(MORE)

was 20-29 years old, there were only 642,000 in rural areas, a drop of 52 percent. The corresponding decline for white youths in rural areas was only 33 percent. Many of the 700,000 nonwhite youths who moved to urban areas were poorly equipped to meet the changing and more complex job requirements in urban centers. Their lack of training coupled with discrimination resulted in high unemployment rates for these youths. Community resources in urban centers for training these disadvantaged young persons are often inadequate and do not prepare them for the new types of jobs found in large cities.

The above is pointed out in the Department of Labor's Manpower Research Bulletin No. 3, "Young Workers: Their Special Training Needs."

* * * * *

The Negro Farmer Not a "Vanishing American"

The Negro farmer is apparently holding his own as part of the hard-core of southern American agriculture. Farm automation, rural unemployment, rural youth and worker migration to urban centers,and other conditions notwithstanding, he is one of the known and constant factors of our national economy.

Of the 271,599 Negro farmers in the South, for example, 127,283 are farm owners with more than 7 million acres and with land and buildings valued at $915,551,000. Negro farmers own 71,000 tractors, 76,000 trucks, 5,000 grain combines, and 3,000 corn pickers. In 1959, these famers produced $546 million worth of products.

"The modern young Negro farmer is progressive and trained, and will undoubtedly make his mark in American agriculture," reports Sherman Briscoe of the Office of Information, U.S. Department of agriculture, who makes

(MORE)

periodic trips through the South, talking to and visiting with Negro farmers.

Commenting on his October trip through Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, Mr. Briscoe says: "Almost every farm had a tractor or two, grain combines were not uncommon, and some farmers either owned a mechanical cotton picker or hired one to harvest their crop. It seems to be hustle from the word go for the farmers I visited. They all want attractive homes, and many of them already have them. And they want an adequate income to assure a good education for their children. One young farmer told me he had $4,000 saved up toward his children's education, and another showed me a $7,000 bankbook earmarked for education.

"None of the farmers I visited was satisfied with one or two crops. Most of them grew a variety of crops and also raised livestock for market. And some either held off-farm jobs or were developing promising sideline enterprises."

Outstanding examples cited, include:

Pageland, S.C.--"I saw an unused school building being converted into a garment factory by a group of farmers. Eighty young women were in training for jobs in the farmers' enterprise which will specialize in children's clothing."

Georgia--"Thirty-eight-year-old Plezy Nelson of the Americus area has a $13,000 mechanical cotton picker that can harvest a bale or 1,500 pounds of seed cotton, an hour. After gathering his own crop, he had begun harvesting for neighbors at $2 a hundred, or about $240 a day."

Alabama--"Mrs. and Mrs. Ulysses Stanford of Abbeville, Alabama's merit farm family of the year, showed me $45,000 worth of modern equipment

(MORE)

they own, including two peanut combines, to handle their 300 acres of peanuts, 100 acres of cotton, and 140 acres of corn."

Darlington, S.C.--"Thirty-seven-year-old Lawton Lynn, was building a small abattoir to supplement his income from cotton, tobacco, and truck crops. He expects to kill and dress 1,500 hogs for farmers in his county during the next 12 months. This would bring him about $10 a hog, or a total of $15,000 for the year."

Mississippi--"Thirty-four-year-old Edward Owens of Terry already has 100 brood cows in addition to his cotton crop, and buys and sells more than that number of cattle every year. He said he plans to level off with a herd of 200 head.

"His neighbor down the road, Samuel Smith, is shooting for a like number of cattle, while Mrs. Smith adds to the family income by driving the school bus."

Valdosta, Ga.--"Tuskegee-trained Joseph Register of Valdosta, Ga., builds homes throughout the county in addition to raising tobacco and cattle on his 165-acre farm."

Advancement of the Negro farmer toward economic stability may be credited in varying degree to factors including the Agriculture Department's Cooperative Extension Service with its on-the-farm and in-the-home educational program; the Farmer's Home Administration which has loaned Negro farmers more than $300 million in the past 26 years to buy land, build modern homes and purchase livestock and equipment; and the Soil Conservation Service which has helped them halt erosion and maintain land fertility. Added, must be such factors as the selfless devotion to duty of Negro farm demonstration

(MORE)

agents, encouragement toward agricultural training given by such institutions as Tuskegee Institute, and the enthusiasm of some Negro farm youth for the 4-H program.

However, all is not perfection for the Negro farmer. There are those who feel that the successful Negro farmer is an exception to the rule and that Negro farmers are subject to any and all factors militating against farmers in general plus some peculiar ones based on racial prejudices.

Mr. Briscoe observes: "Unfortunately, all Negro farmers are not young and all do not have a head start. Many have moved too slowly and now are without the necessary land and equipment to farm efficiently and earn a satisfactory income."

In a recent study made by the Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service ("Improving Economic Opportunities in Low Income Areas," prepared by Elmer J. Moore, Agricultural Economist, Underemployment and Low Income Investigations), it is observed in conclusion: "The real challenge is: How do we help the farmer and his family who finds himself 'boxed-in' and feels lost and helpless in rapidly changing times? How does the low income situation affect the educational attainments and aspirations of rural farm youth?"

For further information on the Negro farmer address inquiries to Sherman Briscoe, Office of Information, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

* * * * *

Secretary and Under Secretary to Speak on Equal Employment Opportunity

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz will address the Washington Urban League's Equal Opportunity Day Committee's 1963 Observance,

(MORE)

Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., on Monday, November 18.

Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning will address the Los Angeles Regional Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity, in Los Angeles, Calif., November 14.

# # # # #

STATUS REPORT

November 12, 1963

Subcommittee on Migratory Labor

ENACTED INTO LAW

Public Law 87-692, Migrant Health Act. Signed into law September 25, 1962.
Appropriations to implement this law are as follows:
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1963 - $ 750,000 (Public Law 88-25, approved May 17, 1963)
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1964 - $2,000,000 (Public Law 88-136, approved October 11, 1963)

PASSED SENATE

		SENATE ACTION			STATUS IN HOUSE
		Hearings	Committee Action	Floor Action	
S. 521	Education	April 10, 23 and 24	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, May 27, 1963	Passed Senate June 10, 1963	Pending before Committee on Education and Labor
S. 522	Day-care	April 10, 23, and 24	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, May 27, 1963	Passed Senate June 10, 1963	Pending before Committee on Education and Labor
S. 523	Child Labor	April 10, 23, and 24	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, without amendment, May 27, 1963	Passed Senate June 11, 1963	Pending before Committee on Education and Labor
S. 524	Crew leader registration	April 10, 23, and 24	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, May 27, 1963	Passed Senate June 11, 1963	Pending before Committee on Education and Labor. A similar bill, H.R. 6242, was favorably reported by the House Education and Labor Committee on June 4, 1963, and is now pending before the Committee on Rules.
S. 525	National Advisory Council	April 10, 23, and 24	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, May 27, 1963	Passed Senate June 10, 1963	Pending before Committee on Education and Labor

PASSED SENATE (continued)

		SENATE ACTION			STATUS IN HOUSE
		Hearings	Committee Action	Floor Action	
S. 526	Sanitation facilities	April 10, 23, and 24	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, May 27, 1963	Passed Senate June 10, 1963	Pending before Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety of Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce
S. 1703	Mexican farm labor program (P.L. 78) one-year extension	No hearings by Agriculture Committee Hearing by Migratory Labor Subcommittee, July 30, 1963	Reported from Committee on Agriculture, with amendment, August 6, 1963.	Passed Senate August 15, 1963, after adoption of amendment to protect U.S. farm workers.	Passed House October 31, 1963, without Senate amendment. The bill is now awaiting Senate action on the question of whether the Senate will agree to the House version or will insist on its amendment to protect U.S. workers. Previously, the House defeated a simple two-year extension, H.R. 5497, by a vote of 158 to 174, on May 29, 1963
S. 1321	National Service Corps	May 28 to June 19	Reported from Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, July 31, 1963	Passed Senate August 14, 1963, with amendments	Pending before Committee on Education and Labor. Hearings on a companion bill, H.R. 5625, were concluded on September 12, 1963.

PENDING IN SENATE

		SENATE ACTION				Status of Companion House Bills
		Referred to	Hearings	Committee Action	Floor Action	
S. 527	Voluntary Farm Employment Service	Migratory Labor Subcommittee	Concluded September 26, 1963	To be scheduled		Pending before Committee on Education and Labor
S. 528	Minimum Wage	Migratory Labor Subcommittee	To be scheduled			Pending before Committee on Education and Labor
S. 529	Collective Bargaining	Migratory Labor Subcommittee	To be scheduled			Pending before Committee on Education and Labor

PENDING IN SENATE (continued)

		SENATE ACTION				
		Referred to	Hearings	Committee Action	Floor Action	Status of Companion House Bills
S. 981	Housing	Housing Subcommittee of Committee on Banking and Currency	October 15, 1963	To be scheduled		
S. J. Res. 82	Residence requirements for voting	Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of Committee on Judiciary				
S. 2260	Rapid tax amortization for farm labor housing	Committee on Finance				

Labor

The New York Times Magazine

Do Corporations Have a Social Duty?

A corollary of the civil-rights controversy is renewed concern over the question whether corporate power should be exerted on one side of this—or any—public issue.

By ANDREW HACKER

ANSWERING charges that his company was not doing as much as it might to alleviate racial tensions in Birmingham, Ala., Roger M. Blough of United States Steel recently asserted that "for a corporation to attempt to exert any kind of economic compulsion to achieve a particular end in the social area seems to me to be quite beyond what a corporation should do." Moreover, he added, it was doubtful whether his company possessed sufficient power to influence attitudes on so controversial a subject as segregation in a Deep South community.

There has always been a running debate over whether corporations have "social responsibilities." But until now the dialogue has tended to be casual, even academic. Today, large companies are caught on the firing line amid the civil-rights controversy, and it is apparent that the easy answers of the past will have to be re-examined.

Traditionally the question has been whether a firm's sole obligation is to maximize its profits or whether it should expend some of its resources on improving the general quality of life in society. In recent years the notion that corporations should promote community welfare has become increasingly fashionable. The emphasis in business schools, management magazines and numberless conferences has been that a successful balance sheet is not enough.

"The modern large industrial corporation," a Ford vice president recently remarked, "holds power in trust for the whole community." Few are the executives who have not made at least one speech voicing similar sentiments. Yet the question remains: What social responsibilities are our corporations prepared to assume, and what are the consequences of such an interpretation of the corporate role likely to be?

THERE is, to be sure, a certain hardheadedness behind the "good citizen" concept. The donation of corporation facilities, money and personnel to community endeavors is often looked upon as a prudent investment. If companies work at building up a reservoir of public goodwill, the theory goes, there is less likely to be popular support for candidates and policies favoring government regulation of business. The image of a corporation that is selflessly dedicated to public service will, it is hoped, persuade voters and politicians that the nation's enterprise is best controlled by private hands.

Moreover, the current generation of managers seems anxious to bestow a mantle of legitimacy on both themselves and the companies over which they preside. In earlier days such legitimacy was secured simply by being an economic success, by outlasting one's competitors. With the transition from entrepreneurial to managerial control, however, burgeoning profits are not enough and hence the search for alternative means of imparting a moral justification to corporate power.

UNTIL now, most corporations have been content to define their social responsibilities in rather conventional ways. They make the expected gifts to universities, hospitals and recognized charities; executives are given time off to assist in community-chest drives, and company premises are made available for civic activities. On occasion some imagination is shown. One company undertakes to promote the fine arts, another has sponsored serious television dramas that are directed to a limited audience. But the point about all these exercises in civic and cultural virtue is that they are eminently uncontroversial. Everyone is in favor of helping liberal-arts colleges, cancer research and the Boy Scouts.

But now the nation's corporations are being confronted with some issues that cannot be handled on neutral ground. It is one thing to have the company treasurer write out a check for Cornell's centennial drive; it is quite another to line up behind Martin Luther King in Birmingham. Before asking whether a company like U. S. Steel is evading its social responsibilities, it would be well to consider whether corporations ought to be shouldering noneconomic obligations at all.

TO begin with, "corporation" is a shorthand way of referring to the handful of top executives who make company policy. When General Electric or General Motors takes a position it does not imply that either the employes or the stockholders have been consulted or would even necessarily approve. Top management is accountable chiefly to itself, for if the firm continues to be profitable there will be little or no outcry at the annual meetings. What is really being said is that corporations are far removed from being democratic institutions. Therefore, if companies are to exert an influence in the social or political arena they must be judged by aristocratic, not democratic, standards.

This was understood by Alexis de Tocqueville who, over 100 years ago, entitled one of the chapters of his "Democracy in America," "How an Aristocracy May Be Created by Manufacturers." *(Continued on Page 116)*

OUT OF REACH?—Homeward-bound steel workers. The attitudes they maintain beyond the plant gate, says the author, are not the corporation's business.

ANDREW HACKER is an associate professor of government at Cornell. He wrote "Political Theory: Philosophy, Ideology, Science."

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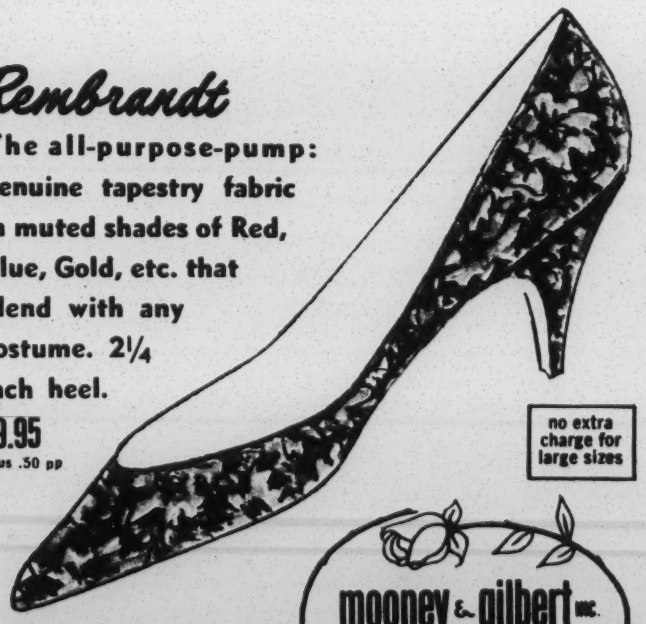

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STEEL TOWN—A street in Gary, Ind., with the stacks of a steel works looming in the background.

Do Corporations Have a Social Duty?

(Continued from Page 21)

The United States, he pointed out, did not have a hereditary ruling class, but he held out the possibility that businessmen would have the freedom of action and the presence of mind to promote the nation's welfare.

Furthermore, de Tocqueville saw that on many occasions such a business aristocracy would find itself running counter to majority opinion. For the general public does not always recognize its own best interest, and those who are able to detect society's higher good have the duty to use their power even against the democratic tide.

YET in applying de Tocqueville's prescription to the modern corporation one central fact emerges: In all cases corporate management will necessarily decide for itself which policies promote the best interests of society. For if company executives succumbed to popular pressure and majority opinion, they would cease to be aristocrats. If an aristocracy has any value it lies in its being impervious to public demands of the moment; the corollary is that those with power will know how it should best be used. In this light it may be asked how corporations have interpreted some of their responsibilities in recent years.

One company not only has taken an official stand favoring "right to work" laws but has worked openly for their adoption in various states. In 1958, $30,000 of company money was spent on a California referendum campaign against compulsory unionism. While it is true that a weakening of unions might bring economic gains for the corporation, it took the philosophical position that it was fighting for the rights of the minority who did not wish to be forced to bargain collectively. The company executives who took this position probably felt that they were promoting the moral interests of society, not just their own.

Several other corporations have devoted a good deal of energy to sponsoring programs aimed at awakening both their own employes and the general public to the danger of Communist subversion in this country. They have shown films, distributed pamphlets and conducted lectures stressing the extent of Soviet infiltration at home no less than abroad. Again, there is no doubting the sincerity of the executives who saw it as their social responsibility to dispel apathy and encourage vigilance.

Not a few corporations took it on themselves, without outside prompting, to discharge any employe who refused to cooperate with a legislative investigating committee. There were others that cancelled the contracts of television performers who had been "listed" as belonging to subversive organizations. The evidence is that those who made these decisions judged that they were performing a public service in removing from their payrolls individuals of doubtful loyalty.

THE civil-rights field itself provides an example of a corporation making social policy. For almost a decade now, since well before the current protests began, one large firm has been hiring and promoting Negroes to supervisory positions in its Memphis and Louisville plants. While these plants are not in the Deep South, there was nevertheless strong opposition from white employes, who threatened serious trouble if Negroes were upgraded.

However, management made it plain that its policy would be adhered to no matter whose sensibilities were shaken. Any wildcat strikes over Negro promotions would result in suspension and subsequent dismissals. The company had decided what was right, regardless of employe or community opinion, and proceeded to use its power to enforce those ideas.

THE obvious conclusion is that the men who manage our corporations have differing and highly personal conceptions of what constitutes social responsibility. Most seek to avoid controversial issues altogether, settling for the safe path of civic endeavor. Those who define their companies' responsibilities in broader terms are as likely as not to see no conflict between their personal preferences and the best interests of society. It is fruitless to protest that the policies of some corporations promote freedom and justice while those of others fail to safeguard basic values. If one company is to have the freedom to promote its racial ideas in Louisville and Memphis, then another must be allowed to pursue its economic theories in California and yet another its notions of civil liberties in Chicago.

What is ironic today is that the Americans who are calling on large corporations to exert their influence in Southern cities in the cause of civil rights are the very people who are uneasy about the presence of corporate power in our society.

The chief characteristic of such power, as the critics point out, is its degree of independence from public control. This being the case, there is no reason to expect that U. S. Steel or similarly located companies will take their opinions from outsiders when it comes to a highly charged question like civil rights. If corporations have power to exert in such areas they will exercise it as they see fit. The logical alterna-

(Continued on Page 118)

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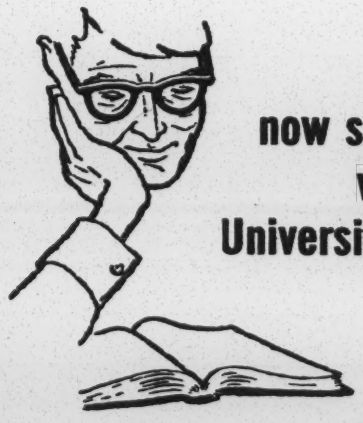

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(Continued from Page 116)

tive is to suggest that any political intervention on the part of corporations has no place in a democracy. This position, at least, has the virtue of consistency.

The tendency is for corporation executives to assume a pose of modesty when estimating the influence of their companies in local affairs. Nevertheless, it is common practice for the dominant employer in any industrial community to be consulted, often deferred to, when important decisions are being made. There is a close liaison between branch plant managers, the state capitol and city hall, the latter two checking with the former before going ahead on key policies.

MORE important are the unstated assumptions surrounding a corporation's decision to locate its plants in a particular locality. The chief determinant is, of course, economic; and this is as it should be. A company will select a location because of cheap or nonunion labor, proximity to market and related factors. At the same time, however, there is a tacit agreement on the part of management to accept the prevailing customs of the community. In the case of U. S. Steel in Birmingham this meant abiding by the principle of segregation. To be sure, the corporation was adjusting to a way of life that existed before it arrived on the scene. Nevertheless, it is clear that U. S. Steel's willingness to cooperate with the folkways of Birmingham actually served to strengthen those social patterns.

For this reason the company's officials cannot protest that they have been mere bystanders amid the racial controversy. It is not the only company that has found itself committed, at least by implication, to one of the two contending sides in the civil-rights struggle. If a corporation decides to go along with the dominant ideology of a region, that does not mean it must defend that ideology. It can and should justify its position solely on economic grounds. Moreover, if corporation executives find themselves involved in politics, on however informal a basis, they ought at least to explain their involvement by pointing out that this promotes the best interests of the company that has hired them.

AT all events, such informal arrangements are not uncommon. These are facts of industrial life, whether one is speaking of Birmingham, or Winston-Salem, N. C., or Youngstown, Ohio. Corporate management in such communities inevitably becomes part of the local power structure, and politics and economics cease being separate categories.

Yet there are limits to management's influence: Corporations can play a role in spurring urban renewal and school construction. But there are questions the public wants to decide for itself, and in these touchy areas elected politicians are forced to defer to popular opinion.

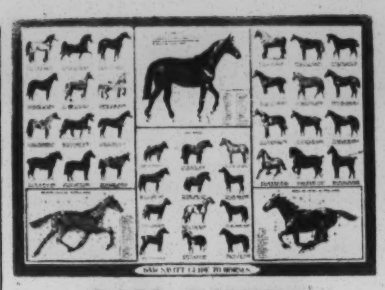
IN the Deep South, the white community has strong feelings that the races should be kept separate, and there is little room for maneuvering by a "power structure" on this issue. Even the plea that race tensions will harm the region economically can have little impact when emotions transcend interests. Therefore, U.S. Steel's protest that its power in Birmingham did not extend beyond the plant gates has some validity to it, at least on a question as inflamed as race relations.

Even on those occasions when corporations are able to bring influence to bear in local politics there remains the question of whether they ought to do so. The phrase "corporate citizen" has a certain appeal but it assumes that the voice of a corporation and that of ordinary voters may be listened to with equal deference by those who make policy. Democracy takes on a curious form when both corporations and citizens are regarded as equal participants in the political process. And once again it must be pointed out that if corporate intervention is sought and permitted on certain issues then this opens the door for further intrusions on questions where corporate executives hold less palatable views.

It may well be that corporations should drop all ideas about their supposed "social responsibilities," or at least confine their good works to community-chest drives, gifts to universities and playing fields for the Little League. Once companies begin to assume more grandiose and controversial obligations they will inevitably be judged by standards they are ill-equipped to meet.

PRESERVING civil rights and civil liberties, and promoting internal security and the general welfare, are the tasks of judges, politicians and the American people themselves. If corporations ought to be doing things they are not now doing—such as hiring Negroes on an equal basis with whites—then it is up to government to tell them so. The only responsibility of corporations is to make profits, thus contributing to a prosperous economic system.

While society is too complex for a rigid boundary to be drawn between the economic and the political spheres in everyday life, some line of demarcation ought to be acknowledged. Certainly the political rights of Americans ought not to depend on the occasional helping hand of our corporations. Such liberties are ends in themselves and not by-products of the productive process.



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NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of November 18, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

Secretary of Labor Wirtz Urges Building and Construction Trades to Face their Civil Rights Responsibilities

Secretary of Labor Wirtz Says Nonwhite Child Does Not Lack Ability, Only Opportunity

Special Assistant to the Secretary, Arthur Chapin, Addresses the New Orleans Urban League Motivation Conference

Secretary Wirtz Urges Building & Construction Trades to Face Their Civil Rights Responsibilities

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, speaking to the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department convention held in New York City said:

"It is important and meaningful that the American labor movement, no less than the civil rights groups, and along with the Administration support vigorously and without reservation a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act.

"It is also essential that it be recognized that many of the criticisms of the building and construction trades' membership policies have been grievously unfair, in their generalization, to those unions which have either traditionally or more recently eliminated every vestige of racial discrimination.

"I respectfully urge your recognition of what I think are fair protests against the slow rate of progress in implementing the policies which have been adopted, and fair objections to some of the positions which have been taken in defense of the present situation.

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"There are two large building trades locals here in New York City, with a total membership of about 4,500, and with no Negro members. A question exists as to whether another local with a membership of 3,300 has any Negro members. There are comparable situations in most other cities. The very different kind of record in other building trades locals does not answer the fair charge that in too many locals the announced policy of this Department and of the International Unions is not a reality in fact.

"A survey conducted earlier this year of Federal construction projects in some 50 cities showed that on most of these projects there were no Negroes employed, either as journeymen or as apprentices, in a majority of the skilled trades.

"It is no answer to this that a comparable situation exists in skilled occupations in other industries. We face, as a nation, the obligation to correct an acknowledged wrong; and a clear consensus has been reached that we are going to do it.

"The important questions are of ways and means.

"Some proposed short cuts are, as most of us view it, wrong.

"It is clear that quotas are wrong. No one in Government has proposed them.

"It is clear that the opening of trades and apprenticeship programs to all alike, without regard to their race, in no way implies or warrants reducing the skill levels of the crafts.

"There is argument about whether preferential hiring of Negroes, to counter-act the effect of previous discrimination against them, is now in order. I think it is not--if for no other reason than that such a policy

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will, as a practical matter, create opposition which will retard the overall process.

"But I am equally clear that where there are apprenticeship lists that contain no Negro names because they knew they didn't have a chance, those lists should be opened up on a fair basis. The argument that it is "just too bad" if Negroes didn't apply, is not a fair argument. And the claim that this will prevent the following of father-and-son practices that have a justification we all recognize is a false argument, for there are few if any situations in which the necessary adjustments cannot be made to serve all interests involved if there is the sincere purpose to do so.

"There has been the suggestion that the Government's program for promoting sound apprenticeship systems cannot properly be used to foster nondiscriminatory programs, and there is criticism of the insistence that Federal construction projects be carried out on an equal opportunity basis. Yet it must be recognized--not only as a matter of law but of fundamental principle--that the Government is the agent of all Americans and cannot properly favor any above any others.

"I want to return, finally, to the earlier suggestion that there is a close relationship between "fair employment" and "full employment." I think there would be in this country today almost complete acceptance in practice of the fair employment principle if there were in fact full employment.

"It may very well be that the present problem is substantially misstated when we put it in terms of racial discrimination. I have the strong impression that there are today very few Americans--some, but very few--

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who object to working with someone of a different race. It is not that an American worker says today 'I don't want a Negro to get a job working with me.' What he says is 'I don't want anybody to get my job.'"

* * * * *

Secretary Wirtz Says Nonwhite Child Does Not Lack Ability, Only Opportunity

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, speaking before the National Committee on Employment of Youth and calling for "emergency measures" in combatting youth unemployment, said of minority group youth:

"We are approaching the point where the key element in what we call racial discrimination is the denial of motivation to the nonwhite child. It isn't lack of ability. If there was inequality of opportunity before--and there was--this inequality is being rapidly reduced. What remains is primarily that form of discrimination, or disadvantage, which puts him at his desk in the first grade with no more motivation than what he brings from a home which was blighted by discrimination.

"Rather than a race problem it is more a poverty problem. There are about 11 million youngsters in this country today who are members of families whose annual family incomes are less than $3,000. We must some way break the cycle of their disillusionment, and get through to them the fact that they can push open doors in what they know only as walls.

"A distressingly large number of boys and girls are isolated, more dangerously than we realize, from the healthy society we know. Many of them have in a very real sense inherited their present condition--not through human genes, but through the social and economic genes of slums, broken homes, discrimination, and a poverty that snuffs out the essential spark of

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motivation. A boy whose father has not been able to support his family thinks of welfare payments and unemployment compensation as a way of life. He actually knows nothing of what work really is, or nothing at least of the dignity and satisfaction of it.

"It is not only the absence of the roots of family life that causes these young reeds to be shaken in the winds. It is often also the absence of any other effective social organizations; no union, for they have no jobs, no church, for poverty inhibits the building of churches as it does living by our moral code. A boy finds that only gangs made up of others like himself will welcome him. He may face, ironically, the alternative of a disciplined life in crime or an aimless existence of marginal employment.

"We don't know how to speak to these youth. As our experience in life has not been theirs, so neither are our language nor our customs, nor our dress, nor our goals theirs.

"The person who is best able to stop the minority-group inheritance of poverty and ignorance is the teacher. She can take the boy or girl who comes into her classroom knowing no reason to try--because life at home offers no reason--and give that handicapped child the motivation which the American majority has as its birthright. But this won't happen in classrooms in which one teacher faces 40 children, and works through a course of study based on the fallacious assumption that they are all going on to college. Today's educational system is designed for winners, and it ignores losers--perhaps because we don't like to admit there are losers in our society.

"Think what would happen in this country if we declared war on ignorance--by elevating the standards of teachers to the levels the importance of their job demands, by paying them the salaries which the required skills

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would warrant, by cutting the students-to-teachers ratio to the point good sense would require, by building the schoolrooms which are needed, and by giving every child in the country the educational opportunity--from first grade through college--which a few have today. Education would become our largest economic enterprise, as it ought to be. This would, in itself, create full employment. It would wipe out ignorance. It would virtually end the intolerance and bigotry of racial and religious discrimination. It would give young Americans the skills they need in an automated work force, and the broader knowledge a working majority of people must have if a government by the people is to make sense in a world where most of nature's forces are now being brought within human control."

* * * * *

Arthur Chapin Addresses the Greater New Orleans Urban League Conference

Excerpts from an address by Arthur A. Chapin, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor before a Motivation Workshop and Conference by the Greater New Orleans Urban League at Xavier University in New Orleans:

"Your chosen them: 'Education--The Negro's Tool for Economic Advancement During the Critical 60's,' is very timely, and of great importance to all of us.

"Let us send our children into the employment arena with a chance for survival.

"What a shame, what a wasted opportunity it is, when the employer finally says 'Yes, I won't discriminate, I'll look for Negroes for these jobs,' and none is available.

"For example, only one out of 100 engineers in the United States is a Negro--we have lost a golden opportunity.

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"As we in the Department of Labor see the picture, education for today's youth cannot be overly stated, particularly for Negro boys and girls. For the man who has not completed grade school will earn $100,000 less in his lifetime than the high school graduate; the high school grade will earn $140,000 less than the college graduate. The youth who completes one of our retraining projects will earn as a result, $50,000 more in his lifetime.

"The Negro with an elementary school education is likely to have an income of $3,400 while the high school graduate is likely to have an income of $4,600 and those with a college degree will probably earn $7,900. Education does pay off. It is worth struggling for, sacrificing for.

"Let me make this same point in other terms. The unemployment rate for workers between 25 and 54 who have less than a grade school education is twice as high as the rate for high school graduates and four times as high as the rate for workers with some college education.

"Let me give you the same figures but for young Negroes only. One out of every 3 Negro youths with only an eighth grade education is unemployed compared with one out of 6 for the high school graduate and one out of 8 for those with one or more years of college. And note that less than one out of 22 Negroes over 24 years of age with one or more years of college is unemployed.

"The more education a Negro gets, the nearer his income approaches that of the white. The Negro elementary school graduate gets only 68 percent of the income of the white with the same education; this increases to 71 percent for the Negro high school graduate and to 85 percent for the Negro college graduate.

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"Keep in mind that these fitures are based on the situation today. As automation increases, as jobs become even more complex, the relative income of the uneducated will become lower and their unemployment rate will become higher. There is no future for the unskilled, unschooled worker. Blue collar jobs are expected to increase by only 14 percent in the 60's, and these will be mainly skilled jobs requiring an education, but white collar jobs will increase by 30 percent.

"An interesting and significant development is the interest of the white student in attending colleges which were formerly all Negro; Lincoln University in Missouri reports more than 500 white students and West Virginia State College is now evenly split between Negroes and whites.

"More barriers are breaking down. For the first time in history, three outstanding medical schools with southern traditions--Johns Hopkins, Duke, and Emory, have admitted Negroes on a competitive basis. Each of them had won a National Medical Fellowshop.

"What has the Government done? Many things.

"For the first time in American history, we have a positive program to get more qualified Negroes into the Federal Government, and to get them into better jobs.

"The percentage of Negroes in responsible positions in the U.S. Department of Labor has doubled--a 100 percent increase in less than three years. In many places in the Government, for the first time in history, there are Negroes in supervisory jobs and in management jobs.

"One of the most important activities of the Department of Labor related to the theme of this meeting is in advising schools and colleges which Negroes

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attend on the educational requirements to increase their employability. Under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor, we conducted conferences at four locations this winter and spring where the top officials of Negro colleges and the Federal Government met so that college officials could discuss their curriculum, counseling, and placement needs in order to increase the utilization of their students.

"The same Federal leadership applies to Federal Government contractors. They are no longer allowed to say that they have no Negroes because no Negroes applied; they are no longer allowed to say that they have Negroes only in menial jobs because no trained Negroes are available.

"We have another special training program that can mean a lot to the Negro--training done under the Manpower Development and Training Act. More than 20 percent of all trainees in this program are Negroes. We have, for example, recently completed work with the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation in Mississippi to provide training under this Act for people in low-level jobs to qualify them for skilled jobs.

"It is now the firm policy of the U.S. Department of Labor to insure that the employment services of the States operate on a nondiscriminatory basis; that they will not accept orders from employers which prescribe race or color and that they will not refer applicants on this basis.

"We have recently established procedures to insure that we do not certify apprenticeship programs that discrimination; more important, our field representatives have a mandate from the Secretary of Labor to promote equal opportunity on a positive basis."

# # # # #

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of November 25, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

President Kennedy Says Economic Security -- Jobs -- Paramount Issue

Secretary Wirtz Says Unemployment a Cause of "Negro Revolt" in North

Training Program for 100 Underqualified Washington Negro Youth Announced

Secretary Wirtz Deplores "Preferential Treatment" and "Quotas"

Next Federal Service Entrance Examinations Scheduled

President Kennedy Says Economic Security -- Jobs -- Paramount Issue

President John F. Kennedy, speaking before the 5th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in New York City emphasized the importance of education and civil rights but concluded that the most important current issue is jobs.

"I say that economic security is the number one issue today. It is not so recognized by everyone. There are those who oppose the tax cut, the youth employment bill, who oppose more money for depressed areas and job retraining, and other public needs. And they are powerful and articulate. They are campaigning on a platform of so-called individual initiative. They talk loudly of deficits and socialism, but they do not have a single constructive job-creating program of their own, and they oppose the efforts that we are making. And I do not believe that selling the TVA is a program to put people to work. There are those who support our effort for jobs but say it isn't the number one issue. Some may say that civil rights is the number one issue. This nation needs the passage of our bill, if we are to

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fulfill our constitutional obligations, but no one gains from a fair employment program bill if there is no employment to be had; no one gains by being admitted to a lunch counter if he has no money to spend; no one gains from attending a better school if he doesn't have a job after graduation. No one thinks much of the right to own a good home and to sleep in a good hotel or go to the theater if he has no work and no money. The civil rights legislation is important. But to make that legislation effective we need jobs in the United States."

* * * * * * * *

Secretary Wirtz Says Unemployment a Cause of "Negro Revolt" in North

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz told the AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention in New York that "it is clear that unemployment is an important precipitating cause of the Negro revolt, especially in the North." The protest against "discrimination", he said, "is in many places a protest most directly against the fact that Negroes, especially in the younger age groups, are bearing more and more of the brunt of unemployment. On the other side, it is the fear of unemployment that makes too many people oppose in practice what they accept in principle about equality of opportunity: not because they don't want to work with Negroes; they would be glad to; but they are afraid that equal employment rights will mean more competition for their own jobs."

* * * * * * * *

Training Program for 100 Underqualified Washington Negro Youth Announced

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced at the Washington Urban League's Equal Opportunity Day Observance that "100 Washington youngsters will have a chance to upgrade their skills so that they may become apprentice carpenters" under an MDTA experimental and demonstration

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project "initiated by the labor movement."

The program will train 100 underqualified youth for the purpose of upgrading them to the apprenticeship job entry level. The majority of the trainees will be out-of-school out-of-work Negro youth ranging in age from 17 to 21, who would not be able to qualify for apprenticeship without the type of training they will receive in the "TFA" program.

"The value of the project," the Secretary said, "is that it will preserve the standards of apprenticeship training, while opening doors to new opportunities for youngsters who otherwise would be facing the blind alley of the unskilled."

Trainees will be selected by the Joint Carpentry and Apprenticeship Council on the basis of aptitude for carpentry. Academic preparation will not be considered in making selections. Those selected will be given union cards and will begin work immediately. While receiving work training, they will also be given related classroom instruction in the D. C. public schools. The educational courses taken by trainees may lead to the granting of high school diplomas for some. Those who complete the TFA program are guaranteed apprenticeship status.

This program, "Training for Apprenticeship," was developed as the first of a series of pilot projects by the National Institute for Labor Education in cooperation with the Labor Department. The Institute, working through labor unions will assist in preparing untrained and inexperienced youth for skilled jobs by providing useful work experience, training opportunities and special counseling programs.

* * * * * * * *

Secretary Wirtz Deplores "Preferential Treatment" and "Quotas"

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, addressing the Washington Urban League's Equal Opportunity Day Observance, said in part:

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"My thinking today is particularly of equal opportunity in the field of employment. This is partly because of the nature of my own responsibilities, and partly because I think the equal right to work is perhaps closest to the surface -- if not the heart -- of a great many of today's long overdue current demands. Perhaps this is becuase equality in employment presents some of the hardest problems which lie ahead.

"I mention only a few of the key factors here.

"There will be loss, not gain, from any person's demanding or receiving a job for which he is not qualified.

"Honest and sincere men reach different conclusions about whether previous discrimination warrants preference now -- to 'even things up.' My own strongly held view is that such preference could be justified only on an assumption that this is a matter of competition between two sides. It isn't, and there is great importance in avoiding and eliminating any mistaken grouping along color lines. The victims of preference would be individual human beings, and more likely than not today, persons who are themselves opposed to discrimination.

"To think in terms of 'quotas' is again to think in terms of two groups, which is the thing to be avoided. I believe strongly in the necessity of a Federal fair employment practices act, but surely such a law must be written in terms of the absolute of equality, with no exceptions of any kind.

"To believe in equality of opportunity except as it increases competition for one's own job is selfish hypocrisy. Discrimination is no less ugly for its being inspired by self-interest, entirely unrelated to racial prejudice.

Nor can it be questioned that 'more than equality' is not only justified but is required so far as preparation for opportunity is concerned.

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There is no unfair hurting of someone else if preference in education is accorded those who have been previously disadvantaged. Here there is only the necessary compensation for the ravages of a century of unfairness."

* * * * * * * *

Next Federal Service Entrance Exams Scheduled

Entrance examinations intended primarily for young persons looking forward to government service career in one of 60 fields are now being held. Applications for the next examination must be received by December 19 at the nearest Civil Service Regional Office. Application forms may be obtained from post offices, college placement offices, and U.S. Civil Service Commission Regional Offices. Further information is also available from the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C. 20415.

# # # # # # # #

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Labor

* Mergers of Negro and white union locals in the same communities have been successfully accomplished by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers in Atlanta, Ga. and Jacksonville, Fla.; by the Aluminum Workers in Sheffield, Ala.; the Machinists in Norfolk, Va.; the Iron Workers and Painters in Charleston, S.C.; and the United Textile Workers in Danville, Va.

* As a result of union pressure for desegregated conventions, hotels in Little Rock, Ark.; Norfolk, Richmond and Roanoke, Va.; Sarasota, Fla.; Gatlinburg, Tenn. and Houston, Texas have opened their facilities to Negro and white union delegates.

* The Glass Bottle Blowers Association in Jacksonville, Fla., unable to find integrated facilities in the city, is building its own union hall.

* A study of 75 firms backing the President's Plans for Progress revealed that Negroes had gained 11,274 new positions instead of only the 1,784 new jobs normally anticipated. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson said this "dramatic progress" represented 25 per cent of all new positions in the 75 firms from June to December. In the past, non-whites would have accounted for less than three per cent of the jobs.

* A four-hour strike at the Coca Cola Bottling Company in Indianapolis, Indiana won integration of the locker rooms. The 117 plant employees are members of Local 1096 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union. About half are Negro and half white.

* The American Tobacco Company plant, organized by Local 15 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union, in Charleston, S. C., has desegregated all plant facilities. A new contract wipes out all wage differentials and departmental segregation of workers in the plant based on race and provides for plant-wide integration by eliminating racially separate lines of promotion and senority.

* The Manhattan Shirt Company plant in Charleston, S. C., organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is also desegregated.

* Madison Avenue has discovered the Negro. A major breakthrough has been made in the use of Negro models in newspaper and television ads and commercials. Among the companies employing Negroes in their ads are Macy's, Colgate-Palmolive Company, Trans-World Airlines, Equitable Life Assurance Society, New York Telephone Company, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, Lever Bros. and various breweries.

* The Tobacco Workers International Union has merged ten separate locals into five integrated locals in Richmond, Va.; Reidsville, N. C. and Louisville, Kentucky.

LIR, LPK, LNP, CCD, MMCCD, ILG, LPKE, LBH

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Monthly Bulletin of the DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, *Frank Crane, Commissioner*

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PRESSURE RELIEF VALVES WILL PREVENT EXPLOSION OF HOT WATER VESSELS

By S. F. Harrison,
Chief Boiler Inspector

The average person thinks of a hot water tank as a harmless object which, once installed for convenience, may be forgotten for a lifetime.

As for hot water boilers, they are usually considered as a necessary evil if hand fired. The automatically fired type is regarded as a very convenient piece of equipment which, it is hoped, will never break down and — since the word "automatic" appears in the classification—will require no attention or maintenance.

If we could rely completely on the word "automatic" to mean just that, this optimistic hope might be justified; once installed, the so-called automatic unit would never require any further attention on our part. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The lifetime of many of these units —and of persons in their vicinity—has been considerably shortened by such thinking.

If the source of heat gets out of control, and "runs away", the hot water tank or boiler can, and all too frequently does, explode with a blast of steam which will demolish a good-sized and well built building. The consequences to any persons in the building may be disastrous.

Few people realize the tremendous potential energy stored in high temperature water when the pressure is suddenly released. Water in an open container boils at 212 degrees Fahrenheit at sea level. If, however, we make the container tight and the water is under pressure, the boiling point increases as the pressure increases until, at 100 pounds per square inch, the boiling point becomes slightly over 338 degrees Fahrenheit. Sudden release of the pressure to atmospheric pressure releases the excess heat in the water.

For example, a 125-gallon tank containing water heated to 300 degrees Fahrenheit would release about the same amount of energy as that in five pounds of nitroglycerine.

A further example to illustrate the potential hazard is that water heated to temperatures much above the boiling point at atmospheric pressure (212 degrees Fahrenheit) will expand in a tremendous blast of flash steam if the pressure is suddenly released by failure of the tank or boiler. A portion of each cubic foot of water will flash almost instantly into steam with an extremely large volume increase: about 1,700 to 1. No house, building, basement, mill room, or factory is built with walls and roof designed to withstand this pressure.

The *North Carolina Boiler Law* (Rules and Regulations, Sections 5 through 8) requires that every hot water heating boiler or tank shall have at least one officially rated pressure relief valve set to relieve at or below the maximum allowable working pressure of the boiler.

Each hot water supply boiler or tank must have at least one officially rated pressure relief valve or pressure-temperature relief valve of the automatic-reseating type set to relieve at or below the maximum allowable working pressure of the boiler or tank.

Every self-contained, direct-fired service water heater and unfired hot water supply tank also must be equipped with an officially rated pressure relief valve and/or pressure-temperature relief valve of the automatic-reseating type set to relieve at or below the maximum allowable working pressure of the vessel.

Whatever type of officially rated A.S.M.E. and N. B. relief valve is used, it should have sufficient capacity to relieve the maximum heat input of the unit. These rules specify that a relief valve shall not be smaller than ¾-inch, nor larger than 4 and ½-inches standard pipe size. The rules further specify that such valves shall be located on the top of the unit with the spindle vertical and with no shutoff valves between the relief valve and the unit.

(Continued on page 2)

EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS REACH ALL-TIME HIGH IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING OCTOBER

Both non-farm employment and average weekly earnings of factory workers climbed to an all-time high in North Carolina during October.

1,321,200 Tar Heels were at work in nonagricultural jobs during October — a gain of 900 over the previous record high set in September and 26,000 higher than in October, 1962.

Average weekly earnings in all manufacturing rose to $70.30. This was the first time earnings of Tar Heel factory workers had ever reached the $70.00 mark.

Factory employment totaling 557,500 in October, although down 1,100 from the September high, was up 6,200 above the October, 1962 level.

Nonmanufacturing jobs, totaling 763,700 in October, were up 2,000 from September and were 19,800 higher than in October, 1962.

The State's non-farm employment usually reaches its peak during September, due to large seasonal job increases in tobacco stemmeries and public school openings.

That employment reached an even higher level in October this year was due mainly to two factors:

(1) Tobacco stemmery employment usually drops at least 5,000 from September to October. However, the stemmery jobs dropped only 2,000 in the same period this year.

(2) Steady advances have been made in employment in several durable goods industries during the past year, and these advances continued during October.

Industries reporting October job increases included retail trade 2,000, public schools 1,800, and apparel manufacturing 500. Other increases of 200 each were reported by the lumber, furniture, textile and chemical industries, and by finance, insurance and real estate firms. Job gains of about 100 each were reported by fabricated metals, electrical machinery, and two groups of smaller durable and nondurable goods industries.

Partly offsetting these job gains were decreases of 2,000 in tobacco stemmeries, 1,300 in construction, 500 in cigarette manufacturing, 200 in machinery firms, and 100 each in printing, wholesale trade, service industries, and transportation, communications and public utilities.

Average hourly earnings of the State's 557,500 factory workers climbed a penny to an October average of $1.69. The all-time high average weekly earnings of $70.30 were due mostly to a 0.8-hour increase in the factory workweek to a 41.6-hour average for October. The previous high for weekly earnings was the $68.71 average reported for September this year.

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Commissioner of Labor
ALMON BARBOUR *Editor*

Vol. XXX November, 1963 No. 11

OCTOBER BUILDING UP 10 PER CENT IN 36 TAR HEEL CITIES

Building permits totaling $25,065,947 were issued in 36 North Carolina cities of more than 10,000 population during October.

The October building total was nearly 10 per cent higher than the $22,814,944 reported by the same cities in October, 1962.

Permits totaling $213,876,670 were issued by the cities during the first ten months of 1963. This represented a 3.5 per cent gain over the $206,684,866 reported during the same period last year.

City building totals for October were: Albemarle $28,770, Asheboro $68,975, Asheville $892,937, Burlington $646,620, Chapel Hill $567,675, Charlotte $7,126,193, Concord $65,985, Durham $980,982, Elizabeth City $51,700, Fayetteville $1,157,078, Gastonia $1,156,950, Goldsboro $496,310, Greensboro, $2,652,173, Greenville $310,804, Henderson $98,311, Hickory $257,963, High Point $860,343, Jacksonville $76,300, Kinston $163,337, Lenoir $654,024, Lexington $200,165, Lumberton $193,200, Monroe $526,000, New Bern $127,294, Raleigh $2,965,259, Reidsville $24,850, Roanoke Rapids $153,972, Rocky Mount $334,643, Salisbury $211,300, Sanford $61,015, Shelby $87,200, Statesville $332,771, Thomasville $139,995, Wilmington $204,055, Wilson $148,500, Winston-Salem $1,042,298.

City totals for the first ten months of this year were: Albemarle $575,139, Asheboro $1,646,134, Asheville $10,049,487, Burlington $3,977,294, Chapel Hill $4,161,439, Charlotte $46,187,623, Concord $1,119,419, Durham $13,974,724, Elizabeth City $3,089,606, Fayetteville $8,938,512, Gastonia $6,822,975, Goldsboro $3,454,568, Greensboro $24,043,493, Greenville $4,545,579, Henderson $1,213,307, Hickory $2,177,885, High Point $7,353,612, Jacksonville $1,297,165, Kinston $2,484,433, Lenoir $1,713,051, Lexington $1,451,648, Lumberton $1,420,150, Monroe $1,239,800 New Bern $1,379,291, Raleigh $21,198,026, Reidsville $868,644, Roanoke Rapids $1,426,017, Rocky Mount $3,708,357, Salisbury $2,956,583, Sanford $744,374, Shelby $1,648,740, Statesville $2,759,879, Thomasville $1,934,358, Wilmington $3,665,697, Wilson $3,065,825, Winston-Salem $15,583,836.

PRESSURE RELIEF VALVE

(Continued from page 1)

From the foregoing, it should be obvious that it is not only wise but essential to provide such installations with relief devices of adequate capacity to prevent overpressure. Relief valves and safety valves should be tested by hand, under pressure, at least every seven days.

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO-HIGH POINT AREAS — OCTOBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS					
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS		AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA													
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	28.0	27.9	28.2	+ 0.4	— 0.7	$ 76.31	$ 75.76	$ 75.12	41.7	41.4	42.2	$1.83	$1.83	$1.78
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.1	...	...	75.60	76.48	70.73	43.7	43.7	42.1	1.73	1.75	1.68
Bakery	2.1	2.1	2.1	...	...	79.55	80.41	77.83	43.0	43.0	43.0	1.85	1.87	1.81
Textile Mills Products	6.2	6.3	6.6	— 1.6	— 6.1	67.30	65.21	69.32	41.8	40.5	43.6	1.61	1.61	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.4	2.4	2.4	...	...	71.45	69.83	78.85	41.3	40.6	44.8	1.73	1.72	1.76
Knitting Mills	2.2	2.2	2.6	...	...	66.30	61.78	63.47	42.5	39.6	42.6	1.56	1.56	1.49
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.9	1.0	...	—15.4	85.70	85.68	89.38	41.4	40.8	43.6	2.07	2.10	2.05
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	...	—10.0	84.29	82.97	75.83	43.9	43.9	42.6	1.92	1.89	1.78
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.3	2.3	2.1	...	...	97.29	93.79	...7...	41.4	40.6	...7...	2.35	2.31	2.25
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.9	2.8	2.6	+ 3.6	+ 9.5	65.77	63.80	68.20	40.6	38.9	42.1	1.62	1.64	1.62
Metal Products	2.3	2.3	2.3	...	+11.5	81.59	83.80	80.56	41.0	41.9	41.1	1.99	2.00	1.96
Machinery	3.2	3.2	3.1	...	...	79.46	81.56	78.20	41.6	42.7	42.5	1.91	1.91	1.84
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.7	4.6	5.0	+ 2.2	+ 3.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
— 6.0														
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.5	43.5	44.1	— 1.4		$ 68.78	$ 71.42	$ 66.08	39.3	39.9	39.1	$1.75	$1.79	$1.69
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	3.0	2.9	— 3.3	...	72.60	75.28	70.36	44.0	45.9	45.1	1.65	1.64	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	...	...	78.72	76.78	76.65	45.5	44.9	45.9	1.73	1.71	1.67
Textile Mill Products	15.8	15.7	16.5	+ 0.6	— 4.2	61.45	60.59	58.30	37.7	37.4	36.9	1.63	1.62	1.58
Knitting Mills	6.1	6.1	6.6	...	— 7.6	52.90	53.05	52.27	34.8	34.9	35.8	1.52	1.52	1.46
Apparel	3.8	3.8	3.9	...	— 2.6	58.74	60.80	...7...	38.9	40.0	37.6	1.51	1.52	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.2	1.1	...	+ 9.1	67.30	65.94	63.05	43.7	43.1	42.6	1.54	1.53	1.48
Furniture	6.8	6.8	6.8	...	...	71.28	72.09	69.12	40.5	40.5	40.9	1.76	1.78	1.69
HH Furniture	5.9	5.9	5.9	...	...	71.24	72.22	68.80	39.8	39.9	40.0	1.79	1.81	1.72
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.3	1.3	1.3	...	...	86.55	84.96	...7...	39.7	38.1	...7...	2.18	2.23	2.15
Chemicals	1.4	1.4	1.4	...	...	84.23	87.55	89.89	40.3	42.5	44.5	2.09	2.06	2.02
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	...	...	83.04	86.80	75.37	48.0	49.6	44.6	1.73	1.75	1.69
Metal Products	2.2	2.2	2.1	...	+ 4.8	72.39	77.04	...7...	40.9	42.8	...7...	1.77	1.80	1.72
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	...	...	92.00	87.99	...7...	43.6	41.9	41.3	2.11	2.10	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.3	6.3	6.3	...	...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[3] Preliminary.
[4] Data Not Available.

EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN NONAGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA — OCTOBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS					
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS		AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS IN CHARLOTTE AND GREENSBORO-HIGH POINT AREAS — OCTOBER, 1963

(Prepared by Division of Statistics in Cooperation with Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month (thous) 4	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month 4	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
CHARLOTTE AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	28.0	27.9	28.2	+ 0.4	— 0.7	$ 76.31	$ 75.76	$ 75.12	41.7	41.4	42.2	$1.83	$1.83	$1.78
Food & Kindred Products	4.1	4.1	4.1	.....	.....	75.60	76.48	70.73	43.7	43.7	42.1	1.73	1.75	1.68
Bakery	2.1	2.1	2.1	.....	.....	79.55	80.41	77.83	43.0	43.0	43.0	1.85	1.87	1.81
Textile Mills Products	6.2	6.3	6.6	— 1.6	— 6.1	67.30	65.21	69.32	41.8	40.5	43.6	1.61	1.61	1.59
Broadwoven Fabrics	2.4	2.4	2.4	.....	.....	71.45	69.83	78.85	41.3	40.6	44.8	1.73	1.72	1.76
Knitting Mills	2.2	2.2	2.6	.....	—15.4	66.30	61.78	63.47	42.5	39.6	42.6	1.56	1.56	1.49
Furniture & Fixtures	.9	.9	1.0	.....	—10.0	85.70	85.68	89.38	41.4	40.8	43.6	2.07	2.10	2.05
Paper & Allied Products	1.4	1.4	1.4	.....	.....	84.29	82.97	75.83	43.9	43.9	42.6	1.92	1.89	1.78
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	2.3	2.3	2.1	.....	+ 9.5	97.29	93.79	...7...	41.4	40.6	...7...	2.35	2.31	2.25
Chemicals & Allied Products	2.9	2.8	2.6	+ 3.6	+11.5	65.77	63.80	68.20	40.6	38.9	42.1	1.62	1.64	1.62
Metal Products	2.3	2.3	2.3	.....	.....	81.59	83.80	80.56	41.0	41.9	41.1	1.99	2.00	1.96
Machinery	3.2	3.2	3.1	.....	+ 3.2	79.46	81.56	78.20	41.6	42.7	42.5	1.91	1.91	1.84
Other Manufacturing Industries[1]	4.7	4.6	5.0	+ 2.2	— 6.0	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
GREENSBORO - HIGH POINT AREA														
TOTAL MANUFACTURING	43.5	43.5	44.1	.....	— 1.4	$ 68.78	$ 71.42	$ 66.08	39.3	39.9	39.1	$1.75	$1.79	$1.69
Food & Kindred Products	2.9	3.0	2.9	— 3.3	.....	72.60	75.28	70.36	44.0	45.9	45.1	1.65	1.64	1.56
Bakery Products	.8	.8	.8	.....	.....	78.72	76.78	76.65	45.5	44.9	45.9	1.73	1.71	1.67
Textile Mill Products	15.8	15.7	16.5	+ 0.6	— 4.2	61.45	60.59	58.30	37.7	37.4	36.9	1.63	1.62	1.58
Knitting Mills	6.1	6.1	6.6	.....	— 7.6	52.90	53.05	52.27	34.8	34.9	35.8	1.52	1.52	1.46
Apparel	3.8	3.8	3.9	.....	— 2.6	58.74	60.80	...7...	38.9	40.0	37.6	1.51	1.52	...7...
Lumber & Wood Products (Except Furn.)	1.2	1.2	1.1	.....	+ 9.1	67.30	65.94	63.05	43.7	43.1	42.6	1.54	1.53	1.48
Furniture	6.8	6.8	6.8	.....	.....	71.28	72.09	69.12	40.5	40.5	40.9	1.76	1.78	1.69
HH Furniture	5.9	5.9	5.9	.....	.....	71.24	72.22	68.80	39.8	39.9	40.0	1.79	1.81	1.72
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1.3	1.3	1.3	.....	.....	86.55	84.96	...7...	39.7	38.1	...7...	2.18	2.23	2.15
Chemicals	1.4	1.4	1.4	.....	.....	84.23	87.55	89.89	40.3	42.5	44.5	2.09	2.06	2.02
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	83.04	86.80	75.37	48.0	49.6	44.6	1.73	1.75	1.69
Metal Products	2.2	2.2	2.1	.....	+ 4.8	72.39	77.04	...7...	40.9	42.8	...7...	1.77	1.80	1.72
Machinery (Except Electrical)	.9	.9	.9	.....	.....	92.00	87.99	...7...	43.6	41.9	41.3	2.11	2.10	...7...
Other Manufacturing Industries[2]	6.3	6.3	6.3	.....	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...

[1] Includes: Apparel; Lumber; Rubber; Leather; Stone, Clay and Glass; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Tobacco; Paper; Rubber; Leather; Electrical Machinery; Transportation Equipment; Instruments; and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
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INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT					HOURS AND EARNINGS								
				PER CENT OF CHANGE FROM		AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS			AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS		
	Current Month[4] (thous)	One Month Ago (thous)	One Year Ago (thous)	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago	Current Month	One Month Ago	One Year Ago
ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT	1,321.2	1,320.3	1,295.2	+ 0.1	+ 2.0	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Manufacturing	557.5	558.6	551.3	— 0.2	+ 1.1	$ 70.30	$ 68.54	$ 66.99	41.6	40.8	41.1	$1.69	$1.68	$1.63
Durable Goods	152.7	152.2	149.9	+ 0.3	+ 1.9	73.70	73.10	69.60	42.6	42.5	42.7	1.73	1.72	1.63
Lumber & Timber Basic Products	30.9	30.7	30.4	+ 0.7	+ 1.6	64.30	64.18	60.05	42.3	42.5	43.2	1.52	1.51	1.39
Sawmills & Planing Mills	18.2	18.1	17.9	+ 0.6	+ 1.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Millwork, Plywood, etc.	6.5	6.5	6.5	.....	.....	60.63	59.78	58.42	42.4	42.1	43.6	1.43	1.42	1.34
Furniture & Fin. Lumber Products	49.9	49.7	48.6	+ 0.4	+ 2.7	70.42	69.11	66.07	43.2	42.4	42.9	1.63	1.63	1.54
Household Furniture	45.6	45.3	44.4	+ 0.7	+ 2.7	70.85	68.79	65.91	43.2	42.2	42.8	1.64	1.63	1.54
Stone, Clay and Glass	11.0	11.0	10.9	.....	+ 0.9	74.65	74.39	70.91	43.4	43.5	43.5	1.72	1.71	1.63
Concrete, Brick, etc.	4.0	4.0	3.9	.....	+ 2.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Primary Metals	2.9	2.9	2.8	.....	+ 3.6	91.59	87.36	86.50	42.6	41.6	42.4	2.15	2.10	2.04
Fabricated Metals	10.2	10.1	9.8	+ 1.0	+ 4.1	85.20	83.30	80.03	42.6	42.5	41.9	2.00	1.96	1.91
Fab. Structural Metals	4.5	4.4	4.1	+ 2.3	+ 9.8	92.40	86.29	86.05	44.0	42.3	42.6	2.10	2.04	2.02
Machinery (Except Electrical)	13.6	13.8	13.7	— 1.4	— 0.7	78.26	80.26	75.68	43.0	44.1	44.0	1.82	1.82	1.72
Special Industrial Machinery	6.9	7.1	7.1	— 2.8	— 2.8	77.94	76.97	...7...	43.3	43.0	...7...	1.80	1.79	1.71
Electrical Machinery	25.0	24.9	25.3	+ 0.4	— 1.2	84.05	84.04	79.77	41.2	41.4	40.7	2.04	2.03	1.96
Ord. and Transportation Equipment	5.3	5.3	5.0	.....	+ 6.0	93.89	98.41	89.91	41.0	42.6	40.5	2.29	2.31	2.22
Other Durable Goods[1]	3.9	3.8	3.4	+ 2.6	+14.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nondurable Goods	404.8	406.4	401.4	— 0.4	+ 0.8	68.80	67.13	66.02	41.2	40.2	40.5	1.67	1.67	1.63
Food & Kindred Products	37.0	37.0	36.0	.....	+ 2.8	63.65	64.41	60.62	41.6	42.1	42.1	1.53	1.53	1.44
Meat Products	8.4	8.4	8.5	.....	— 1.2	55.42	56.36	51.84	37.7	38.6	38.4	1.47	1.46	1.35
Meat Packing	2.5	2.5	2.4	.....	+ 4.2	76.40	75.24	67.39	46.3	45.6	43.2	1.65	1.65	1.56
Dairy Products	5.5	5.6	5.5	— 1.8	.....	72.84	76.32	70.84	46.1	47.7	45.7	1.58	1.60	1.55
Grain Mill Products	4.1	4.5	3.8	— 8.9	+ 7.9	69.30	69.43	62.13	46.2	46.6	44.7	1.50	1.49	1.39
Bakery Products	7.7	7.6	7.6	+ 1.3	+ 1.3	74.04	76.30	73.18	42.8	43.6	43.3	1.73	1.75	1.69
Beverage Industries	5.0	5.1	4.7	— 2.0	+ 6.4	63.51	65.69	60.33	46.7	48.3	47.5	1.36	1.36	1.27
Tobacco	44.6	47.1	47.2	— 5.3	— 5.5	70.80	71.15	68.21	40.0	40.2	40.6	1.77	1.77	1.68
Cigarettes	17.8	18.3	18.3	— 2.7	— 2.7	87.23	92.19	82.72	37.6	38.9	36.6	2.32	2.37	2.26
Stemmeries	25.2	27.2	27.2	— 7.4	— 7.4	59.36	57.41	58.46	41.8	41.3	43.3	1.42	1.39	1.35
Textiles	228.2	228.0	228.8	+ 0.1	— 0.3	68.46	65.53	65.12	42.0	40.2	40.7	1.63	1.63	1.60
Broadwoven Fabrics	91.5	91.3	90.3	+ 0.2	+ 1.3	75.24	69.80	71.23	44.0	41.3	42.4	1.71	1.69	1.68
Broadwoven Cotton	58.3	58.3	57.4	.....	+ 1.6	74.90	67.20	69.14	43.8	40.0	41.4	1.71	1.68	1.67
Broadwoven Fiber & Silk	29.3	29.1	28.9	+ 0.7	+ 1.4	76.54	76.02	75.51	44.5	44.2	43.9	1.72	1.72	1.72
Knitting Mills	67.3	67.3	70.6	.....	— 4.7	62.73	61.12	59.37	39.7	38.2	38.3	1.58	1.60	1.55
Full Fashioned Hosiery	1.9	2.0	3.8	—5.0	—50.0	58.76	58.27	...7...	35.4	35.1	...7...	1.66	1.66	...7...
Seamless Hosiery	51.9	51.8	54.0	+ 0.2	— 3.9	62.88	60.00	58.81	39.8	37.5	37.7	1.58	1.60	1.56
Dyeing & Finishing Textiles	12.7	12.7	12.6	.....	+ 0.8	69.89	69.38	69.81	41.6	41.3	41.8	1.68	1.68	1.67
Yarn Mills	46.8	46.9	46.0	— 0.2	+ 1.7	63.34	61.56	60.35	41.4	40.5	40.5	1.53	1.52	1.49
Apparel	49.3	48.8	45.1	+ 1.0	+ 9.3	53.72	53.96	50.67	38.1	38.0	38.1	1.41	1.42	1.33
Men's & Boys' Clothing	18.8	18.7	17.3	+ 0.5	+ 8.7	49.40	49.82	47.49	35.8	36.1	37.1	1.38	1.38	1.28
Women's and Children's Garments	22.3	22.0	20.5	+ 1.4	+ 8.8	56.45	56.02	...5...	39.2	38.9	...5...	1.44	1.44	...5...
Paper & Allied Products	13.7	13.7	13.8	.....	— 0.7	107.41	106.04	101.52	44.2	44.0	43.2	2.43	2.41	2.35
Pulp & Paperboard Mills	8.4	8.4	8.7	.....	— 3.4	120.50	119.07	113.78	44.3	44.1	43.1	2.72	2.70	2.64
Paperboard Containers	3.7	3.7	3.7	.....	.....	83.92	82.16	79.46	44.4	43.7	43.9	1.89	1.88	1.81
Printing	10.4	10.5	10.3	— 1.0	+ 1.0	90.09	89.47	...7...	39.0	38.9	39.2	2.31	2.30	...7...
Newspapers	5.5	5.4	5.4	+ 1.9	+ 1.9	97.55	97.26	96.83	36.4	36.7	37.1	2.68	2.65	2.61
Chemicals	16.9	16.7	15.5	+ 1.2	+ 9.0	86.31	85.70	83.80	42.1	41.6	41.9	2.05	2.06	2.00
Plastics & Synthetic Materials	11.1	11.0	9.8	+ 0.9	+13.3	94.11	92.99	90.49	42.2	41.7	41.7	2.23	2.23	2.17
Other Nondurable Goods[2]	4.7	4.6	4.7	+ 2.2	.....	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Nonmanufacturing	763.7	761.7	743.9	+ 0.3	+ 2.7	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Mining	2.6	2.6	3.3	—	—21.2	75.70	77.24	79.54	45.6	47.1	49.1	1.66	1.64	1.62
Non-Metallic Mining	2.6	2.6	2.8	.....	— 7.1	75.70	77.24	79.50	45.6	47.1	50.0	1.66	1.64	1.59
Contract Construction	72.5	73.8	71.8	— 1.8	+ 1.0	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transp., Comm., & Pub. Utilities	68.7	68.8	66.3	— 0.1	+ 3.6	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Transportation (Except RR)	35.5	35.3	34.0	+ 0.6	+ 4.4	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Communications & Pub. Utilities	24.7	24.9	23.7	— 0.8	+ 4.2	99.22	99.05	97.06	41.0	41.1	41.3	2.42	2.41	2.35
Trade[3]	239.5	237.6	233.7	+ 0.8	+ 2.5	65.40	65.40	63.52	39.4	39.4	39.7	1.66	1.66	1.60
Wholesale	61.0	61.1	59.4	— 0.2	+ 2.7	86.68	86.25	83.46	42.7	42.7	42.8	2.03	2.02	1.95
Retail[3]	178.5	176.5	174.3	+ 1.1	+ 2.4	57.30	57.15	55.68	38.2	38.1	38.4	1.50	1.50	1.45
Retail General Merchandise	39.6	38.8	37.3	+ 2.1	+ 6.2	43.89	44.47	41.86	33.0	32.7	32.7	1.33	1.36	1.28
Department Stores	17.5	17.3	16.4	+ 1.2	+ 6.7	46.77	47.72	45.05	31.6	31.6	31.5	1.48	1.51	1.43
Limited Price Variety	9.1	9.0	8.9	+ 1.1	+ 2.2	30.39	30.60	29.27	28.4	28.6	28.7	1.07	1.07	1.02
Retail Food Stores	26.4	26.0	25.3	+ 1.5	+ 4.3	52.77	53.25	50.27	33.4	33.7	34.2	1.58	1.58	1.47
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate[6]	50.2	50.0	47.6	+ 0.4	+ 5.5	90.11	89.52	87.97	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Service	140.9	141.0	137.7	— 0.1	+ 2.3	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Hotels & Rooming Houses	8.1	8.6	8.1	— 5.8	.....	32.97	33.54	30.80	34.7	39.0	35.4	.95	.86	.87
Personal Services	25.9	25.7	25.6	+ 0.8	+ 1.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Laundries & Dry Cleaners	15.6	15.5	15.6	+ 0.6	.....	38.40	37.92	35.05	38.4	38.3	38.1	1.00	.99	.92
Government	189.3	187.9	183.5	+ 0.7	+ 3.2	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...	...5...
Federal	37.8	38.0	36.4	— 0.5	+ 3.8									
State & Local Schools	85.1	83.3	82.3	+ 2.2	+ 3.4									
State & Local Non-Schools	66.4	66.6	64.8	— 0.3	+ 2.5									

[1] Includes: Transportation Equipment, Instruments, and Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.
[2] Includes: Leather and Leather Products, Rubber Products, and Petroleum Products.
[3] Excludes: Earnings in Eating and Drinking Places.
[4] Preliminary.
[5] Data Not Available.
[6] Reflects Earnings in Insurance Companies Only.
[7] Not comparable.
[8] Less than 0.1% change.

2,130 FIRMS INSPECTED IN MONTH OF OCTOBER

Labor Department inspectors visited 2,130 manufacturing, mercantile and service-industry establishments during October to check for compliance with the Labor Laws and the health and safety regulations. The establishments employed 91,726 workers.

The inspectors noted 1,233 violations, mostly concerning health and safety, and made appropriate recommendations for their correction. Compliance with similar recommendations made during previous inspections was noted in 1,125 instances.

The month's inspection activity also included investigation of 21 complaints, reinspection of 63 establishments to insure compliance, 676 conferences with employers and employees, and investigation of the causes of eleven serious industrial accidents.

DISABLING INJURIES DROP 3.7 PER CENT DURING 1962

The rate of disabling injuries in North Carolina manufacturing plants dropped 3.7 per cent during 1962, according to the preliminary report published in this bulletin last month.

The report, compiled by Labor Department Safety Improvement Officer William C. Creel, shows that workers in Tar Heel manufacturing plants experienced 7.7 disabling injuries per million manhours of exposure during 1962, compared with eight in the year 1961.

The report is based upon accident data gathered by Labor Department inspectors from 4,251 manufacturing plants. The plants reported a total of 5,882 disabling injuries experienced in the course of 757,462,491 manhours during the year 1962. The report is subject to correction when complete data for the year are received.

MOCK MEDIATION SESSION STAGED AT CHAPEL HILL

FMCS Director Is Speaker

"Mediation in Action"—a mock labor-management bargaining session—was the featured attraction at a meeting of the North Carolina Arbitration Panel on December 7th at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

William E. Simkin of Washington, D. C., Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, delivered the principal address prior to the mock mediation. Simkin spoke on "The Role of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service." He was introduced by North Carolina Commissioner of Labor Frank Crane. Frank T. deVyver, Vice-Provost of Duke University and a member of the Arbitration Panel, presided.

The Honorable William Fred Ponder, South Carolina Commissioner of Labor, was a special guest and participant in the meeting.

Participants in the mock mediation included FMCS Region 3 Director William S. Pierce of Atlanta, Ga., and five of his staff members: D. Yates Heafner of Charlotte, N. C.; J. C. Pierce of New Orleans, La.; and James E. Kelly, Robert P. Baker and Leland Dean, all of Atlanta, Ga.

The session was attended by N. C. Arbitration Panel members; representatives of the Division of Conciliation and Arbitration, N. C. Department of Labor; UNC law students and faculty members; and other interested individuals.

The public meeting was held to demonstrate the usefulness of mediation procedures as a practical means of settling differences between labor and management.

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

(In Thousands of Employees) Winston-Salem Area

INDUSTRY	*OCTOBER, 1963	SEPTEMBER, 1963	OCTOBER, 1962
Total Manufacturing	38.5	38.1	40.3
Food & Kindred Products	1.5	1.5	1.5
Textile Mill Products	9.6	9.6	10.1
Furniture	1.0	1.0	1.0
Metals	1.6	1.6	1.5
All Other Mfg. Inds.[1]	24.8	24.4	26.2

* Preliminary

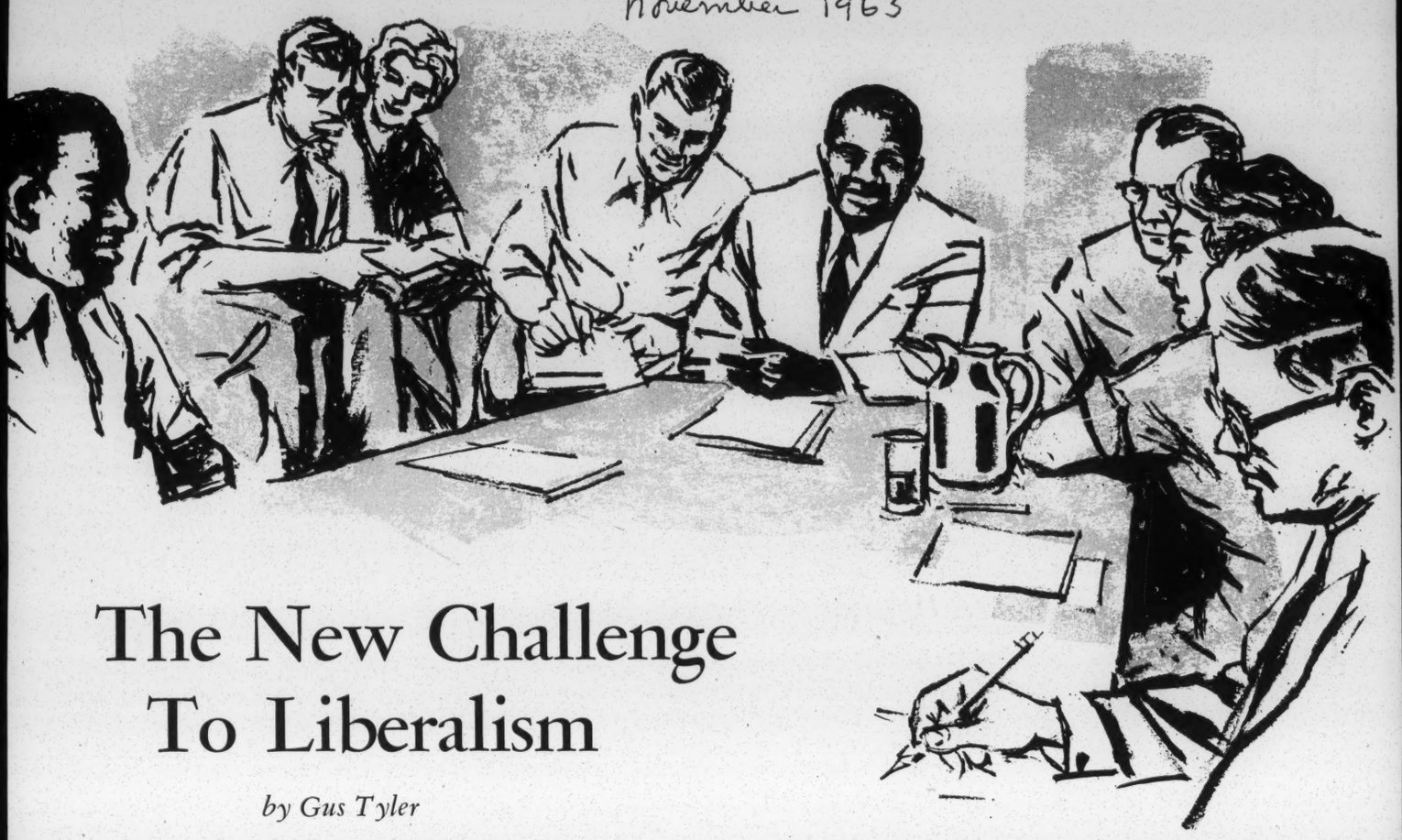
[1] Includes: Tobacco; Apparel; Lumber; Paper; Printing; Chemicals; Stone, Clay & Glass; Transportation Equipment & Misc. Mfg. Inds.

ESTIMATED COST OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZED IN THIRTY-SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

City	October, 1963	October, 1962	1st 10 Mos. 1963	1st 10 Mos. 1962
Albemarle	$ 28,770	$ 171,409	$ 575,139	$ 968,750
Asheboro	68,975	108,275	1,646,134	1,922,392
Asheville	892,937	1,284,051	10,049,487	7,173,024
Burlington	646,620	478,164	3,977,294	4,504,292
Chapel Hill	567,675	438,100	4,161,439	2,512,495
Charlotte	7,126,193	3,166,517	46,187,623	35,026,278
Concord	65,985	100,660	1,119,419	1,362,023
Durham	980,982	1,406,743	13,974,724	10,559,882
Elizabeth City	51,700	121,340	3,089,606	879,240
Fayetteville	1,157,078	686,900	8,938,512	7,629,673
Gastonia	1,156,950	576,550	6,822,975	5,133,500
Goldsboro	496,310	336,392	3,454,568	3,684,740
Greensboro	2,652,173	2,534,342	24,043,493	27,313,612
Greenville	310,804	538,950	4,545,579	3,609,517
Henderson	98,311	65,910	1,213,307	796,037
Hickory	257,963	323,300	2,177,885	2,598,192
High Point	860,343	1,289,329	7,353,612	8,710,790
Jacksonville	76,300	203,000	1,297,165	2,890,556
Kinston	163,337	229,479	2,484,433	4,628,213
Lenoir	654,024	75,134	1,713,051	1,141,220
Lexington	200,165	66,768	1,451,648	2,143,211
Lumberton	193,200	323,500	1,420,150	1,361,594
Monroe	526,000	27,300	1,239,800	1,008,200
New Bern	127,294	68,950	1,379,291	1,045,251
Raleigh	2,965,259	2,851,861	21,198,026	23,459,739
Reidsville	24,850	78,550	868,644	1,093,434
Roanoke Rapids	153,972	158,978	1,426,017	1,905,873
Rocky Mount	334,643	266,243	3,708,357	2,596,630
Salisbury	211,300	145,725	2,956,583	2,556,398
Sanford	61,015	180,000	744,374	1,010,300
Shelby	87,200	97,312	1,648,740	1,340,727
Statesville	332,771	168,203	2,759,879	2,445,271
Thomasville	139,995	116,450	1,934,358	1,876,253
Wilmington	204,055	162,156	3,665,697	1,546,596
Wilson	148,500	612,775	3,065,825	11,266,533
Winston-Salem	1,042,298	3,355,628	15,583,836	16,984,430
Grand Total	$25,065,947	$22,814,944	$213,876,670	$206,684,866

The American Federationist November 1963

Labor



The New Challenge To Liberalism

by Gus Tyler

American liberalism faces a dual challenge: the first, and most serious, from a newly invigorated conservative coalition; the second, from a "new" leftist critique that damns labor's existence in order to save its soul. To counter both requires a liberal coalition that will effectively unite the unions, the civil rights movement and the progressive-minded intellectual community.

In conservative circles, a well-designed move is under way to reverse the fundamentally liberal trend that has characterized America since the first Hundred Days of the New Deal. The rightwing strategy comes in two phases: the first, to elect its "conservative of conscience" to the presidency; the second, to rewrite the Constitution to make liberal government in America almost impossible.

The unifying theme of the conservative coalition is state's rights: the right of conservative Republican states and of segregationist Democratic states to escape the economic and social liberalism of the modern presidency. This movement would be the conservative counter-revolution to America's "second revolution" now in the making. By forcing a referendum on race, conservatives hope to pick up "white" votes on which they had not counted in the past, in the North as well as in the South, to elect a rightwing president. The long-run aim of the conservatives is the passage of its "disunity" amendments to the Constitution—to shift the center of decisionmaking from Washington, D. C., where liberalism enjoys an active voice in the Presidency, the Supreme Court and, occasionally, the Congress, to the separate state legislatures synthetically controlled by conservative minorities.

The liberal strategy also falls into two phases: win the next presidential election and move ahead to win majorities in state and federal legislatures. To do the latter—win legislative majorities—will require more than votes. Court action—probably Supreme Court action—will be required to democratize the legislative bodies so the voice of the voting majority may be properly heard. But to win elections—whether for the presidency or the legislatures—requires a third and basic element: an effective liberal coalition. Only such a coalition can provide the nose count necessary for electoral victory.

The dominant leadership in the various groups that compose this coalition recognize the need for a political alliance. Yet there is a real danger that this coalition will be disrupted, even impaired, by a small though highly publicized coterie of liberal intellectuals who are making a career out of fostering friction and schism among the great liberal movements. They propose a split in labor as a means of invigorating the unions; they see a Negro assault on organized labor as a prime means to invigorate the civil rights movement; they see in a return to the radical formulas of the 1930s a pattern for behavior in the 1960s. This new "leftism," with its accent on the negative, is the "enemy within" the liberal coalition.

Some of this "new" critique reflects a general malaise among certain intellectuals who become angry

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with mass movements if the latter do not, in schoolchild fashion, follow the teacher. Some of it reflects a sense of guilt on the part of brief sojourners in the labor movement who justify their AWOL by denouncing either the old general or the old cause. Some of it is a kind of reactionary radicalism that tries to rediscover the kicks of youth by reciting old cliches in new jargonese. But most of it derives from plain ignorance—a state to which most intellectuals, especially those least informed, will rarely own up.

The depth of their ignorance can best be plumbed by measuring their views against the real state of American liberalism today, especially the labor sector.

The labor movement is the single greatest force for economic well-being in the nation. Its basic dedication to job security, higher earnings, a shorter workweek and a variety of collective though privately-financed social benefits is at the base of that pillar called the American standard of living.

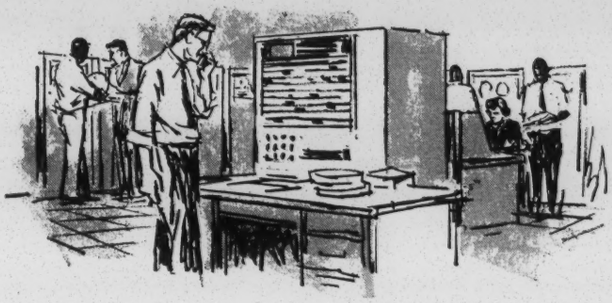
Since 1947, this basic force for progress has moved to a new level: the political. That was the year that the former AFL Labor's League for Political Education was organized, primarily as a response to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law. After 1947, the older unions of the AFL moved into national politics for "keeps." They supported a permanent organization not only to ward off restrictive labor-management laws but, in keeping with the mood of the New Deal, to advance a vast body of sweeping social legislation, at the very center of which was the repetitive cry for a full employment economy.

From 1947 to the present, labor has developed a respectable political punch, not quite as powerful as charged by its business critics who insist the unions are taking over the country politically nor quite as puny as alleged by some of the liberal intellectual critics who see the unions as political nonentities. Measured mathematically, labor can count on about 160 to 180 members of the House of Representatives to stand with it today as contrasted with the bare fourscore who were ready to back Truman's veto of Taft-Hartley in 1947.

One of the most prolific authors on the current labor movement stated at an off-the-record egghead conference recently: "The labor movement is today a more powerful factor for social justice . . . than it has ever been. . . . It is the main bulwark of the liberal-progressive program on legislation."

The "new" critique, however, holds a contrary view: this group insists labor has lost its collective bargaining function, it is declining politically and it is without prospect of future growth.

What are the facts here? In the last two decades, organized labor has displayed a staying power hitherto unproved in the history of trade unionism. Up to the 1930s, the story of the American worker was the story of rapid rise and rapid decline, a rapid growth with a business boom and a sharp drop with a business bust. Labor was as cyclical as the economy. Since the 1930s, there has been dramatic growth with-



out any accompanying dramatic decline. (A rise from about 3 million to about 19 million, with a decline to about 18 million.)

This fundamental stability of organized labor is underscored by the fact that labor has held its numerical strength in spite of the Taft-Hartley Act, the state "right-to-work" laws, an eight-year Republican Administration, the Landrum-Griffin Act and—perhaps most important—a relative fall in the number of blue collar workers and a rapid proportional rise in the number of white collar workers.

In the three decades since 1934, the unions have converted the process of collective bargaining from primitive warfare into sophisticated struggle. Some of the most remarkable advances in both content and method have been made in the last ten years.

The contracts of the 1930s were rather simple documents: wages, hours, jobs and union security clauses. Today, unions have evolved novel and complex concepts: guaranteed annual wage; the Kaiser and Armour formulae; health, welfare, retirement, vacation, optical, dental, sabbatical plans; in-training, upgrading, anti-discrimination clauses. Whole new areas of collective bargaining have opened up—not with employers, but with Blue Shield and Blue Cross, with the Hospital Insurance Plan and hospitals, with insurance firms, with bankers and builders, with governmental and semi-governmental agencies.

The method of bargaining has changed from the elementary sporadic clashes of 30 years ago to continuous bargaining, backed by expertese, in the presence of third parties. This development, one union official notes, implicates labor in "concerns, activities and decisions which nowhere have been described adequately, certainly not in the texts and treatises dealing with collective bargaining. What actually happens is complex and varied to a degree that falsifies the conception most people hold of union negotiations."

No one is more aware of the fact that the United States in the present decade has moved into its most inventive era of collective bargaining than those liberal intellectuals who are personally involved in the process. These men serve as mediators, arbitrators, impartial chairmen, teachers of industrial relations, governmental agency heads.

Another group of liberal intellectuals is in direct service with unions in greater number than at any time in our national history—as researchers, as lawyers, as engineers, as bargaining experts, elaborating new formulas and new methods of negotiating. These creative intellectuals serve as a link between the trade

unions and the liberal intellectual community, an effective tie in the progressive coalition.

The spokesmen of the "new" critique, however, devote their talent to penning obituary notices for collective bargaining. They feel that automation has given labor its coup de grace. They argue that "the system of collective bargaining, which has operated successfully since the passage of the Wagner Act 28 years ago in 1935, has proved less and less adequate for the solution of some basic problems now faced by unions and management." Projecting this trend, they argue that with more and more automation, collective bargaining will mean less and less.

This is a moth-eaten line of reasoning dated circa 1930s and was just as inaccurate then as it is now. In the depth of the great depression, a few radical sectarians insisted the union no longer had a function as a collective bargaining agency since unemployed workers cannot bargain against a non-existent employer. Hence the unions had better forget about the piddling business of dollars and cents and contracts and turn to the more meaningful business of seizing power for a social revolution. This is basically the line of reasoning of the "new" critique, with the word "automation" replacing "unemployment" and with a vague "call for action" replacing the now unfashionable "revolution."

What actually happened in the 1930s is a valuable lesson for today. The unions, in a great liberal coalition, used their votes to elect Roosevelt and enact a New Deal. As the economy revived, unions turned more vigorously than ever to collective bargaining. The gains on the industrial front were made possible by the climate of legislation and economic growth spurred by political action.

Today, history repeats itself. Automation produces a creeping and continuous unemployment. This problem of "unemployment" cannot be handled either exclusively or primarily at the bargaining table, although something can be done through contract. Unions can evolve formulas such as in Kaiser and Armour. Unions can push for the shorter workweek; they can also stimulate economic growth by expanding consumer power. But there are recognized limits to changing the course of the total economy by bargaining alone. The major contours of the economic system—distribution of manpower, tax policy, foreign trade, education of the labor force, allocation of investment, early retirement, public control—can only be consciously directed and determined by government. Hence the labor movement is ideologically pledged to unceasing political action for a full employment economy, not because such politicking is a substitute for but a precondition of effective collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, the "new" critique is as badly informed about labor's political activity as it is about labor's industrial creativity. Thus one commentator insists that "as the economic strength and power of unions grew during the first fifty years of the Twentieth Century, their commitment to political goals grew progressively weaker." This last sentence would be quite correct if the last word were changed from "weaker" to "stronger." In 1900, the American Federation of Labor eschewed any and all social legislation—minimum wage laws, maximum hour laws, social security laws—as delusory goals that would weaken the unions as bargaining agents. It was this rejection of political solutions to economic matters that Gompers defined as "pure and simple" trade unionism.

It was not until the New Deal days that the trade unions began to accept in a real sense the concept of social legislation. It was not until the 1940s that the CIO founded its Political Action Committee; not until 1947 that the AFL founded its LLPE and not until the 1950s that the labor movement united politically in its Committee on Political Education to endorse formally a candidate for President of the United States.

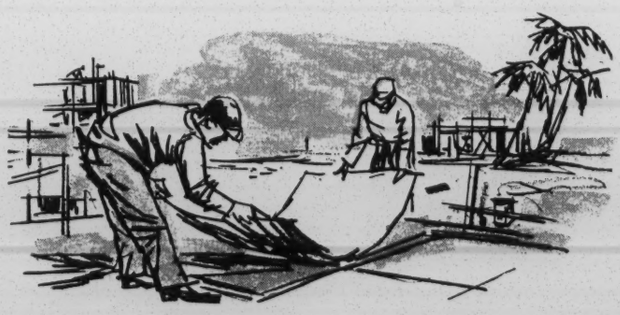
In short, the story of labor in the first half of the Twentieth Century is the story of labor's politicalization. Reactionaries know it and demand that labor's political mouth be gagged. But the "new" critique, written without restraint or research, manages to rewrite history backwards to describe the political decline of labor.

The final point of the "new" critique is its belief that "an increasing number of workers remain outside the system (collective bargaining) with very little possibility that they will ever come into it." Reference is repeatedly made to the white collar worker and to the workers in the non-union South.

Here, too, the "new" critique sounds old and tired. For generations, there has been talk of the group of "unorganizables." For years, "foreigners" were considered unorganizable until men like Gompers, Strasser, Maguire, Debs and the Irish, Jews and Italians proved otherwise. Women were considered unorganizable until 1909 when 20,000 young girls shocked America with one strike. Unskilled workers in basic industry were considered unorganizable until the CIO proved otherwise. Negroes and Puerto Ricans, in their time, were viewed as unorganizable. And now it is the fad to talk about the new unorganizables: the white collar workers or the southern worker or—in some more refined prophecies—the workers in small towns or in small-unit firms.

The irony is that such predictions, traditionally issuing from conservative trade unionists of little faith and less energy, now issue from a leftist intelligentsia. It is doubly ironic that these alleged students of human behavior hold such a non-behavioral point of view.

Two new classes are arising in the United States: the white-collared managers and handlers of the auto-



mated machines and the new industrial worker in the South. They are both beginning to feel their oats. And eventually, like other social groupings in America, they will organize to advance their interests.

If the AFL-CIO unions now in existence do not have or do not develop the proper techniques to reach these new classes, then the latter will find their own leaders and their own methods. The organization of workers into unions does not, in the long run, depend upon the arrival of an organizer from outside. Organization of a given social stratum into a self-protective community is instinctive to man and inevitable in a free society.

The white collar workers are already giving proof of this. According to the report of the National Labor Relations Board (fiscal year 1962), a majority of the elections held among white collar workers were won by unions, overwhelmingly by AFL-CIO affiliates.

White collar workers in government employment have been warming up to unionism continuously as the rosters of the civil service unions show. Schoolteachers have been among the most energetic. And, spurred on by the American Federation of Teachers, the conservative National Education Association has been talking wages and working conditions and advising its members to boycott school systems that do not live up to professional standards.

Among the last of the white collar groups to move will be the technicians handling automated and cybernated equipment. But what reason is there to believe that these latest aristocrats of labor will be more resistant to self-organization than doctors or political scientists or movie actors?

These technicians are under the same stresses and hopes as others. A chief draftsman was recently quoted as saying: "I don't know what to do. I have some hundred engineers and I have to treat them in the same bureaucratic way we treat blue collar workers. I have no other way of control. Well, there's a restiveness among that group." And out of that restiveness will come organization—organization as employes resisting bureaucratic controls.

These "new" aristocrats can enrich the whole labor movement. They are educated, articulate, community-minded and politically active. They will bring quality as well as quantity.

The industrial worker of the South is also an emerging new class. He is part of a society living in the Twentieth Century with an economy that is Nineteenth Century and a politics that is Eighteenth Century.

The southern worker is caught up in the industrial urban movement of the Twentieth Century. But his economic background is still predominantly rural since the southland is America's last great rural region. And the political structure within which he must move is still based on the rule of a landed aristocracy—in alliance with financial and corporate elements both in and outside the South. Hence, the southern worker finds himself in transition in a conflicted civilization itself in the throes of transition.

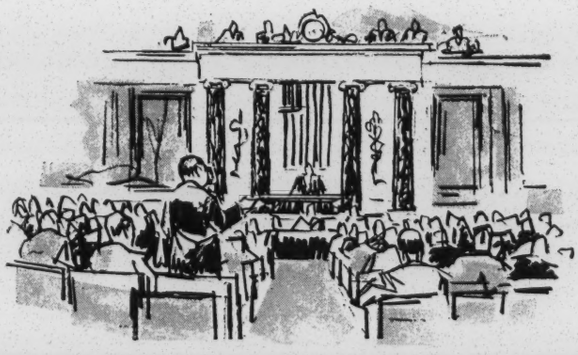
In this respect, the southern worker repeats the history of the midwest worker in the 1930s, also held back by a predominantly rural background and a political structure ruled by coal, iron, lumber and oil barons. But just as the workers in these industries rose to create the great industrial unions of America in the 1930s, so is it reasonable to expect that the industrial workers of the South will do likewise.

In the past, the great labor organizing advances came simultaneously with or after liberal political victories. This is true both nationally and regionally. Consequently, it may be expected that labor's great breakthrough in the South will accompany or follow the political liberalization of the South.

Viewed historically, the prospect for the labor movement in America is growth: numerically, economically and politically. That is, provided labor does not take the advice of one of its "new" leftist advisers who suggests in a widely distributed booklet that "an authentic split (in the AFL-CIO) might be the impetus for a surge of new activity." But because labor does not and will not, in and of itself, constitute a majority of the nation, unions need liberal allies to realize their hopes for a society of fuller freedom.

The civil rights movement is a natural ally for labor in a liberal coalition. To begin with, both have a common enemy: the conservative coalition in Congress. This coalition rests on its opposition to labor and the Negro, to the economic rights of the former and the civil rights of the latter. If labor and the Negro had no other reason to unite than their common oppressors that would be reason enough.

But there is a deeper reason: jobs and freedom are indivisible. A labor movement that denies freedom to all will first find itself split and weak and will ultimately be denied the freedom it denied to others. Germany under Hitler and Russia under Stalin taught the lesson. Likewise, a freedom movement that does



not fight for full employment will create inner tensions and frustrations that will imperil and ultimately destroy freedom itself.

Labor's priority is for jobs; the Negro's priority is for freedom. Liberalism's priority must be for a simultaneous expansion of jobs and freedom. There is no hope for either jobs or freedom if the great struggle in America revolves around whether the job shall

go to a white man or a black man, to a Jew or a gentile, to the North or the South. The only hope is a full employment economy where every man can find a job suitable to his taste and his talents—regardless of origin.

It is at this point that labor and the Negro are closest: jobs for all. This is also the most realistic way to bring new ethnic groups, whether Jewish, Italian, Irish, Negro or Puerto Rican, into closed industries where the doors have been shut against overcrowding. When jobs are more plentiful, closed doors can be opened. When jobs are lacking, nobody—whether of new or old ethnic origin—will be welcome.

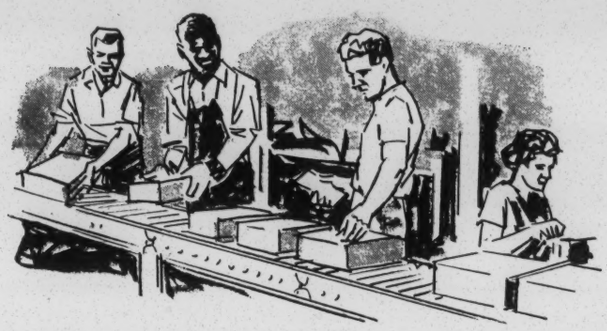
Labor and the Negro have a second major point of contact: the legislative struggle for civil rights. The trade unions have been at this for decades. The unions have paid a heavy price for this dedication: the Landrum-Griffin Act might not be on the statute books if the unions had been ready to trade in civil rights for a defeat of Landrum-Griffin. And much more of the South might be unionized today if major unions had not insisted on integration of their members. The basic adherence of American labor to civil rights, combined with its mounting political effectiveness, has sent to the Congress of the United States and to the Presidency the men who, at this moment, represent the nation's first best hope for civil rights legislation.

The civil rights movement, on its part, can make dramatic contributions not only to the status of the Negro in America but to the entire liberal movement. In the South, the registration of Negro voters can mean gradual liberalization of Dixie politics. In the North, the recent demonstration of Negro awakening, as proven in the voter registration figures in New York City, can give liberalism fresh new battalions of voters. And in both, the new self-image of the Negro can move one-tenth of our population from economic and political apathy to creative citizenship.

Responsible Negro leadership recognizes the proximity and interdependence of the struggle for jobs and for freedom. "This unity of purpose is not an historical coincidence," said Dr. Martin Luther King at the 1961 AFL-CIO convention. He observed:

"Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth."

While the responsible leadership in the civil rights movement recognizes the need of a liberal coalition, there is a militant minority that counsels and practices a contrary course. They believe the labor movement should be a prime, if not the prime, target of the



Negro freedom fight; they prefer not to limit this fight to those unions that do practice discrimination but to widen the assault to include the entire labor movement—and especially the more progressive trade unions. They make a theory and practice out of the advisability of concentrating the main fire on American liberalism in general, on the assumption this is the soft underbelly of white supremacy. They even advocate a new political party in America, either a Negro or Civil Rights Party—the kind of separatist party that is always the logical and ultimate resort of the self-righteous sectarian.

In the long run, these extremists help produce precisely the opposite of what they want. They use the better to kill the good. They divide the forces of progress to give rulership to the forces of reaction. They are the "dear friends" who are the true "enemy within."

In forming a liberal coalition, the intellectuals can play a pivotal role. As economists, they can shape broad programs. As students of inter-group relations, they can counsel towards the end of prejudice. As educators, they can raise up new generations of inspired and instructed young people to play their energetic part in progressive social movements. As researchers and propagandists, they can enlighten the nation politically. As viewers of the total society they can interpret labor to the civil rights movement and interpret the civil rights movement to labor. They can and should voice the needed criticisms of the many special interest groups that make up the liberal coalition, a function they are able to perform from the vantage point of the disinterested yet dedicated scholar. They can serve as constructive critic—a sorely needed friend for both labor and the civil rights movement. They can help put things in place and perspective.

The bulk of the liberal intellectual community plays precisely this role. To the "new" leftists, however, such responsible thinkers are servants of the Establishments, Uncle Toms, the kept brains of the unions, to be read out of the intellectual community while the negativists take over and proclaim themselves the voice of intelligence.

For all these forces—labor, civil rights and liberal intellectual—the time for decision is close, as close as the next national election. Conservatism is moving in for the kill. Its one best hope is a divided liberalism. For the liberal, the one best hope now—as always—lies in unity, unity in the immediate future around "jobs and freedom."

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Labor

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of December 9, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

President Pledges Continuation of Efforts Toward Equal Opportunity

Secretary Orders Hiring of More Qualified Negroes in the Department, Especially in Regions

Nonwhite Females Show High Unemployment Rate in Latest Sampling

Assistant Secretary Weaver Represents U.S. at Mexican Housing Project Groundbreaking

Quotes on Racial Relations in Employment

President Johnson Pledges Continuation of Efforts Toward Equal Opportunity

President Lyndon Baines Johnson in his address to Congress on November 27, pledged continuation of the forward thrust of America toward goals which include "equal rights for all Americans, whatever their race or color." He called for passage of the Civil Rights Bill as a "memorial" for the late President John F. Kennedy: "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter--and to write it in books of law."

* * * * *

Secretary Orders Hiring of More Qualified Negroes, Especially in Field Offices

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has ordered Labor Department administrators, bureau and office directors, and regional directors to intensify efforts to identify and hire more qualified Negro personnel. He

(MORE)

praised the Department's record in this area but said, "I know we can do better."

He continued, "In Executive Order 10925, the President set the attainment of full equality of employment opportunity in the Federal Government as a national goal. On the whole, within the Department we have made progress in our efforts to achieve this goal. However, there is still much to be done. Particularly, I am distressed by our failure to achieve employment of qualified Negroes in more of our regional and field offices.

"I know that there are a number of problems--the scarcity of candidates with the special skills needed for our work, the time required by the civil service examining process, and lack of turnover in many of our field offices. However, I know we can do better. I am, therefore, calling on each of you to assume a personal responsibility for the achievement of equality of opportunity and to undertake the constructive and positive efforts necessary to identify and employ equalified members of minority groups. To the extent of its resources, the Department personnel office will aid you in your efforts. However, the responsibility is yours.

"If each of us does his part, we can, I think, make the Department a place of truly equal employment opportunity and better because of it."

* * * * *

Nonwhite Females Show High Unemployment Rate in Latest Sampling

A Labor Department October 1963 sampling shows that 78.0 percent of unemployed persons are white; 22.0 percent nonwhite. Comparable figures for October 1962 indicated 80.2 percent white and 19.8 percent nonwhite. Of the current white 78.0 percent, white females are 31.1 percent and white males 42.9 percent. Of the 22.0 percent nonwhite, females are 10.6 percent,

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males 11.4 percent. The unemployment rate for nonwhites is 9.2 percent as compared to 4.1 percent for whites. The unemployment rate for nonwhite females is 10.6 percent as compared to 5.5 for white females.

* * * * *

Assistant Secretary Weaver Represents U.S. at Mexican Housing Project Groundbreaking

Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs represented the United States at the December 4 groundbreaking ceremonies in Mexico City, of the first international housing project for workers financed from AFL-CIO pension funds.

The $10 million loan by the AFL-CIO will provide 3,000 modern apartments for organized workers in the Mexican graphic arts industry. By a unanimous vote of the participating Mexican union, the project will be named the John F. Kennedy Housing Project in honor of the late President.

The AFL-CIO loan sets an historical precedent for the Alliance for Progress and the role of the U.S. labor movement in its voluntary participation in the alliance program.

The loan was provided by the affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO and is guaranteed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

The project was developed in conjunction with the American Institute for Free Labor Development headed by the AFL-CIO President George Meany.

More than 50 acres of land, valued at $3,397,000, was made available for the project by the Mexican Government. When completed in August 1964, the housing project will accommodate more than 18,000 inhabitants.

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Quotes on Racial Relations in Employment

"Happily, the period during which national policy permitted Federally-subsidized racial discrimination is coming to an end. During the past decade the courts have made it abundantly clear that racial segregation or any other form of discrimination, when enforced, supported or assisted by government, violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. This command of the equal protection clause applies to public employment, public schools, Federally-assisted housing and every other kind of governmentally supported activity. Once we begin to focus clearly on the constitutional and moral issues involved, the legal barriers and the philosophical and political objections to establishing a policy of equal opportunity are revealed as insubstantial."

--William L. Taylor
Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights

"The law will be only the beginning. In the final analysis, only better education, better employment opportunities, better housing and more enlightened social attitudes will enable the Negroes to attain the full citizenship they have deserved for so long. And only those things will put a stop to the bitter unrest that poses a constant threat of disorder within our society."

--Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney General

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Labor

SB

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

FOR RELEASE DECEMBER 15, 1963

LABOR HELPS MAKE '63 BANNER CIVIL RIGHTS YEAR, AJC STUDY FINDS

Despite the "shameful events" which resulted in at least six deaths during the national race-relations crisis, the country in 1963 made outstanding and significant civil-rights advances in legislation and integration, according to a year-long survey released by the National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee. A. M. Sonnabend, the Committee's president, revealed American labor's significant work for equality when he made public here today the findings of the 15th edition of The People Take The Lead -- the American Jewish Committee's annual round up which focuses on the civil rights advances in the United States.

The publication reviews civil-rights progress through legislative, administrative, judicial and voluntary actions. It is issued annually in connection with Bill of Rights Day, Dec. 15, which marks the 172nd anniversary of the Constitution's first ten amendments. The People Take The Lead cites the following major advances in civil rights during the past twelve months:

* Scores of formerly segregated white and Negro union locals were merged, and the last color bar in the constitution of an AFL-CIO international union was wiped from the books.

* The AFL-CIO organized a special "task force" in key major cities, to "wipe out discrimination wherever it exists - on the job, in the schools, in the voting booth, in housing developments, stores, theaters or recreation areas."

* The AFL-CIO urged member unions to establish apprenticeship information centers to encourage minority-group youth to enter skilled trades.

* Actors' Equity barred performances in any theater permitting racial segregation "in front or behind the footlights." Six legitimate theaters in the South ended segregation.

* Thirty-six states ratified a Constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax as a voting requirement in Federal elections.

* One hundred and sixty-one new public-school districts in the South were desegregated; bringing the total to 1,141; leaving only one state with total segregation of public elementary and high schools.

-more-

* The Federal Government, as well as dozens of state and city administrations, pressed drives to bar discrimination in employment, and to open apprenticeship training to young people of minority groups.

* Two new states -- Indiana and Hawaii -- adopted full enforceable fair employment laws, bringing the total to 22; and two more -- Iowa and Vermont -- joined Idaho in making employment discrimination subject to criminal penalties.

* California became the 11th state to bar discrimination in private housing; and Connecticut and Massachusetts, as well as several municipalities, strengthened existing statutes toward this end.

* Maryland and South Dakota increased to 30 the states with laws against discrimination in public accommodations.

* The U. S. Supreme Court ruled repeatedly that all public facilities must be desegregated, and that sit-in demonstrations to bring about such desegregation did not constitute breaches of the peace.

While the current struggle has engaged millions of Americans of every race and creed, Mr. Sonnabend emphasized that "not all Americans have been on the right side." He added:

"The wanton murders of Medgar Evers in Mississippi and William Moore in Alabama, and the killing of four children by a hate bomb in Birmingham are an inescapable part of the record. So is the vandal-wrecked home of the Philadelphia couple who exercised their right to live where they pleased, and the bomb-closed parochial school in Louisiana which opened its classrooms to all God's children. So are the fire hoses, the police dogs, the electric cattle prods and the jail terms that countered many demonstrations for the right to vote, to attend desegregated schools, to be served in public restaurants, to be considered for non-menial jobs, and all the other essential freedoms guaranteed, in the abstract, to every citizen."

Mr. Sonnabend quoted the Rev. Martin Luther King, who told an audience of 200,000 at the March on Washington in August 1963, "When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American would fall heir."

"Nineteen sixty-three," concluded Mr. Sonnabend, "was the year in which the American people decided, in overwhelming numbers, that the promissory note had come due."

Nov. 22, 1963
LIR, LPK, LNP, CCD, MMCCD, PA, ILG, LPKE, LBH

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Labor

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of December 16, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

Employment Situation Improves Generally in Puerto Rico

Comments by A. Philip Randolph on Race and Employment

Text of Remarks by Assistant Secretary L-P Weaver at Groundbreaking of John F. Kennedy Housing Project in Mexico City

Employment Situation Improves in Puerto Rico in September

A survey of the civilian labor force of Puerto Rico by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics discloses that from August to September 1963, the civilian labor force increased from 702,000 to 713,000. Total employment increased from 611,000 to 639,000.

Unemployment in September was estimated at 74,000 persons, 17,000 less than in August (91,000). The corresponding unemployment rates were 10.4 and 13.0. The average duration of unemployment in September was 6.1 weeks.

Median educational level of the unemployed persons was 6.0 years. About 24 percent reported 10 years or more of schooling completed. Only 4 percent had completed 13 years or more of schooling. Forty-seven percent reported 1 to 6 years of schooling and 8 percent no schooling. Unemployment rates for the various educational levels are no schooling, 9.1 percent; 1 to 3 years, 11.6; 4 to 6 years, 11.8; 7 to 9 years, 13.0; 10 to 11 years, 11.7; 12 years, 8.6; and 13 or more years, 3.9.

About 49 percent of the unemployed were single persons; 47 percent married and 4 percent widowed or divorced. Forty-three percent were household heads.

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The civilian noninstitutional population 14 years old and over was estimated at 1,550,000 persons in September (1,544,000 in August).

* * * * *

Quotes from A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO Vice President and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in a recent radio network interview commented on race relations in employment.

Relation of Civil Rights and Employment--"I would not set up a formula of priority with respect to the questions of civil rights or the question of employment....They must be dealt with at the same time because they supplement and compliment each other. It would not be well to say that job rights should be placed first on the agenda, or that civil rights should be placed first on the agenda. Both must be placed on the agenda....Even after Negroes get the attributes of citizenship they have got to fight for jobs and employment opportunities. You are not going to solve the problems of unemployment with civil rights. And consequently, Negroes have got to get this problem of civil rights over--and quickly--in order that we might deal with the problem of job rights."

Equal Opportunity and Job Competition--"There is some fear lingering in the minds and hearts of the workers that equal opportunity for employment to Negro workers may endanger the security of jobs for white workers. This, of course, is entirely erroneous; it's unsound. Nevertheless this fear exists and consequently a broad educational program must be carried on in the interest of eliminating this fear."

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AFL-CIO and NAACP--"The NAACP has very successfully conducted campaigns, both outside the courts and within the courts, in the interest of declaring discrimination and segregation illegal. It has, in my opinion, achieved a splendid success, but I think that the NAACP would welcome the movement of the AFL-CIO into the civil rights struggle because in the final analysis of the basic problems the people of color face is the problem of jobs. And civil rights organizations are not set up to deal with the problem of jobs."

* * * * *

Text of Remarks of Assistant Secretary George L-P Weaver at Groundbreaking Ceremonies at the John F. Kennedy Housing Project in Mexico City

George L-P Weaver, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs represented the U.S at the groundbreaking ceremonies of the John F. Kennedy housing project in Mexico City, the first international housing project for workers financed from AFL-CIO pension funds.

The text of Mr. Weaver's remarks, reproduced here by request, follows:

"The Honorable Minster of Finance, Antonio Ortiz Mena, Mr. Ambassador, Senator Fidel Velasquez, distinguished guests and friends. This is indeed a proud moment for me. I have come at the request of the U.S. Goverment to participate in this precedent-setting ceremony.

"President Johnson and Secretary of Labor of the United States of America, W. Willard Wirtz and the Government of the United States extend their greetings and congratulations to the workers of Mexico who today join hands in a common effort with their brothers in the United States. President Johnson has pledged 'all the energies' of his Administration to the achievement of the objectives of the alliance for progress.

(MORE)

"We know what those objectives are. President Kennedy called on all the people of the hemisphere to join in a new alliance for progress, a vast cooperative effort unparalleled in magnitude and responsibility of purpose to satisfy the basic needs of the American peoples for homes, work and land, health and schools. And he said 'if we are going to meet a problem so staggering in its dimensions, our approach must itself be equally bold, an approach consistent with the majestic concept of Operation Pan America.'

"Just a few days before the tragic death of President Kennedy he attended the Convention of the AFL-CIO in New York City. AFL-CIO President Meany showed him a model of your housing project. When President Kennedy then addressed the Convention he quoted Abraham Lincoln: 'All that serves labor serves the Nation' and in a direct reference to the housing project of the graphic arts workers of Mexico President Kennedy said to the Convention 'I want to express my appreciation for the actions which this organization has taken under the leadership of President Meany....I saw coming in here a housing project of $10 million....in Mexico.'

"When President Kennedy voiced for the last time his hope for a hemisphere of Nations 'each confident in the strength of its own independence, devoted to the liberty of its citizens and joined with all nations of the West in an association based on national strength and a common dedication to freedom.' He also said....'goals and methods of the alliance for progress represent the only route whereby men of goodwill can obtain progress without despotism, social justice without social terror. And, it is on the alliance for progress that we base our common hope for the future.'

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"That hope is for a hemisphere where every man has enough to eat and a chance to work; where every child can learn and every family can find decent shelter. It is for a hemisphere where every man from the American Negro to the Indian of the Altiplano can be liberated from the bonds of social injustice, free to pursue his own talents as far as they will take him, allowed to participate in the fruits of progress.

"The last two and a half years have been a time of trial and experiment. We have labored to build a structure of cooperation and common efforts for years to come. No nation in the Americas can deny that much more must be done to strengthen and speed our efforts; there have been setbacks and disappointments. That is why we intend to support strongly the leadership of the new 'Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress'; and why we are working to clear away unnecessary obstacles to the swift and imaginative administration of United States contributions....and ultimately we will mold a continent where more than twenty strong nations live in peace, and people in hope, in liberty and in the realization that every tomorrow brings increase to the welfare and dignity of man."

# # # # #

Look Mag. 12/17/63
Labor

THE NEGRO FACES NORTH

BLACK MEN WHITE UNIONS

A "closed shop" based on color keeps Negroes unskilled and unemployed

BY
ERNEST DUNBAR
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

AT THE CORE of the Northern civil-rights storm is the issue of jobs. To buy a home, in the ghetto or out of it, a buyer must have money. To eat a meal at a newly desegregated restaurant, all diners regardless of color must have some of the long green. To clothe and feed their children before they go to integrated or segregated schools, parents must be able to make a decent living. But survey after survey shows that growing numbers of Northern Negroes are no longer able to do so. Earlier this year, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz declared that a 6 percent unemployment rate is "intolerable." Yet the rate for Negroes recently has been as high as 12.5 percent.

The Negro in the North is fighting —but losing—a desperate battle for a chance at gainful employment and job training, and among the most vigorous forces opposing him are the wearers of the union label.

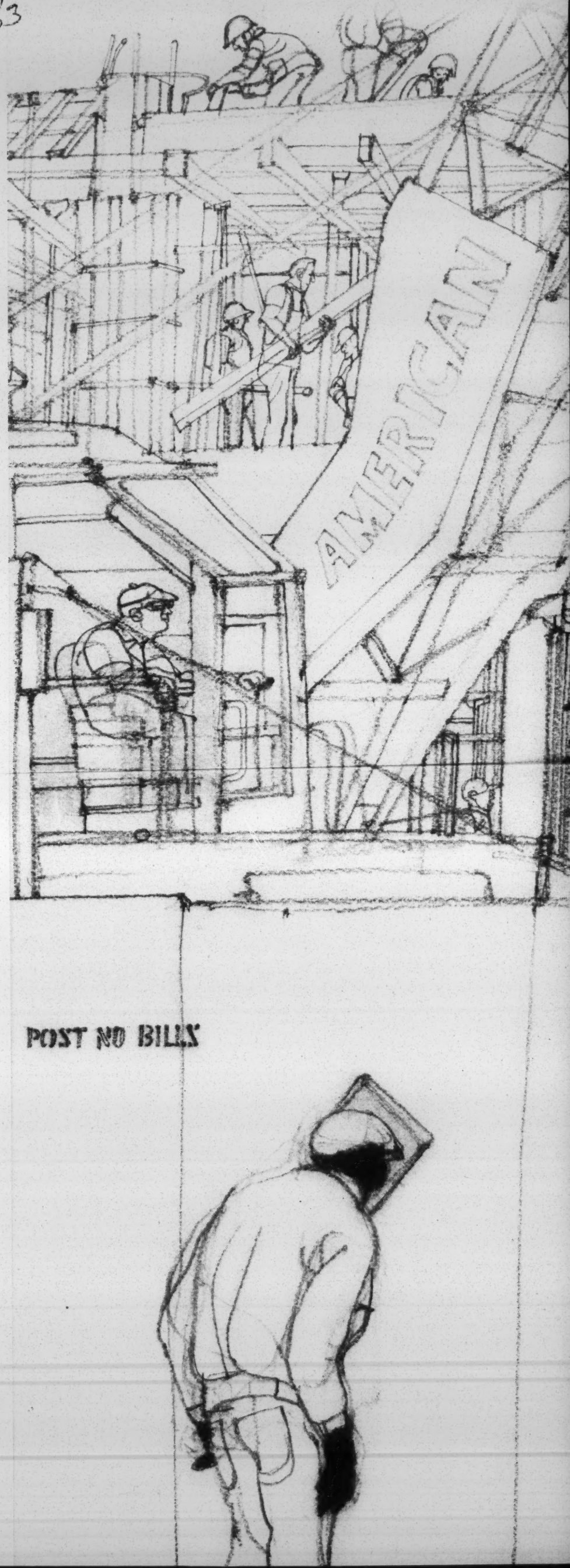
Across the country, outside of the South, the story of union resistance to the employment, training and upgrading of Negroes is a dreary one, freighted with hypocrisy, arrogance and indifference. Though unions like the United Automobile Workers, the United Packinghouse Workers and individual locals of many other internationals are helping the Negro to get a fair shake, they are bright spots in a generally grim picture. The hard fact is that organized labor, once seen as an agent of advancement for Negro workers, has now emerged as the unyielding bastion of white supremacy in employment. Moreover, labor bias is being abetted by government—state, city and Federal—and with public funds.

One of the most blatant areas of racial discrimination is the building trades. In this industry, unions do the hiring—and they hire only their members. Since they admit few Negroes to membership, Negroes are thereby blocked from getting skilled jobs in construction.

Through a variety of devices and subterfuges, building-trades unions have kept Negroes off construction jobs and out of the apprenticeship programs that are the major avenue to union membership. In some unions, Negroes are barred outright. In others, they are assigned to separate locals or admitted in token numbers.

New York City's Local 2 of the United Association of Journeyman Plumbers and Steamfitters furnishes a picture that reflects the makeup of too many unions in the North. (Local 2's most prominent alumnus is AFL-CIO chief George Meany, a former

continued



DRAWINGS BY FRANKLIN MCMAHON

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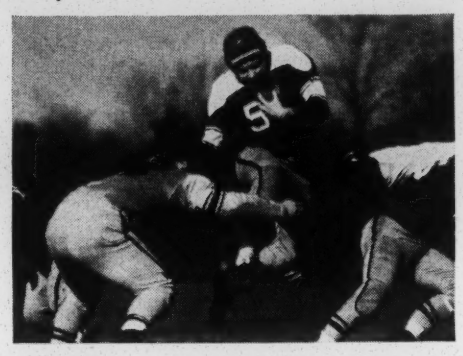

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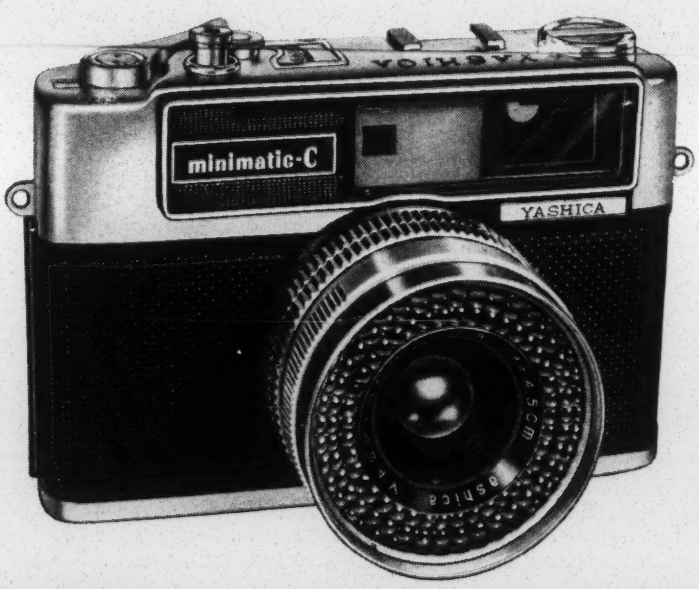

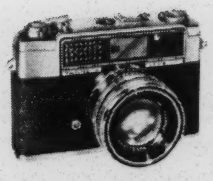

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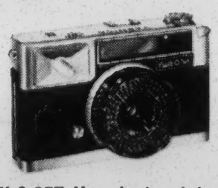

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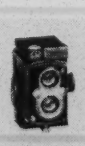

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In construction, Negroes' chances are better in the South than North

plumber.) Local 2 hasn't a single Negro among its 3,300 members, though there are 1,000 white plumbers from outside the city now working in New York. Local 28 of the International Sheet Metal Workers Union (AFL-CIO) has no Negroes in its 3,300 membership, nor are there any among its 75 apprentices.

In the building trades, the union's role is all-decisive. Builders who contract to erect a structure apply to the various unions for men to do the job. The union sends its members to the contractor. Since members are graduates of the union's apprenticeship program (which restricts Negroes), there aren't going to be any Negroes referred to the builder.

Under a system that favors relatives or friends of current members, the building unions have also barred many qualified white applicants from their apprenticeship programs. At the current rate of admission, too few apprentices are being taken on even to replace those journeymen who die or retire.

The construction unions refuse to enlarge their apprenticeship ranks, even though the Department of Commerce predicted that building growth will require 122 skilled men in 1965 for every 100 employed in 1955.

If union exclusion has been tough on some whites, it has been murder on Negroes. In 1950, Negroes made up 13 percent of the population of New York City, but they constituted only 1.5 percent of the city's apprentices. Ten years later, Negroes had risen to 22 percent of New York's population, but they were still only 2 percent of the apprentice force.

New York's building-trades picture is not appreciably different from that of other Northern cities.

Interestingly, although the Negro is usually confined to a segregated local in the South, he has a better chance of getting work on a construction project than do his brethren in the North. At a White House conference last summer, Vice-President Lyndon Johnson told labor leaders that the lowest number of skilled Negroes to be found on the job anywhere in the nation occurs in Brooklyn—where it is 3 percent. By contrast, in some Southern cities, Negro employment in the building trades runs as high as 40 percent.

Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and perhaps the man most active in pressing for an end to union bias, says, "The pattern of Negro exclusion from the major AFL-CIO building-trades unions continues unabated even in cities and states where there has long been a fair-employment-practices enactment." While many of the building-trades unions have succeeded in barring Negroes from their ranks, they have often done so with the help of public agencies — and with the taxpayers' funds.

Washburne Trade School in Chicago is one example. Though supported by public funds, the school itself does not select the students who come to it to serve an apprenticeship. Apprentices enter Washburne usually through joint union-industry apprenticeship committees. There are only a handful of Negroes at Washburne. The highest percentage of Negro trade students go to Chicago's Dunbar Vocational School, a predominantly Negro institution whose programs lack union backing.

Union officials react angrily to the accusations of bias. Some have presented bizarre explanations for the absence of Negroes in their unions and apprenticeship programs. An official of a New York elevator constructors' union told an investigating commission that there were three Negroes among his 1,400 members because Negroes were afraid of heights. Another union official claimed the lack of Negroes in his organization could be traced to Negro fear of welding flashes.

Others have flatly defended the right of a union to restrict its membership to certain ethnic groups. "Look," says William Zach, public relations director of the AFL-CIO, "I couldn't get a job in some of the unions that are traditionally Irish or Italian because I'm a Jew. It has nothing to do with color."

While the building-trades unions are notorious examples of blue-collar bigotry in the North, they are by no means exceptions. Union restrictions on Negroes range over a wide spectrum of occupations. In

continued

Meany confesses labor cannot eliminate bias without government help

many railroad, maritime and printing unions, for example, the picture is almost equally bleak.

On railroads, the job of baggage clerk is one from which Negroes are generally excluded. Instead, they are employed as freight handlers. But the baggage-clerk category is more desirable and leads to the job of ticket seller. Both positions are represented by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, AFL-CIO. In practical terms, since Negroes cannot get baggage-clerk jobs, they cannot become ticket sellers, and union-negotiated separate seniority lists have frozen them into this unfavorable status.

The railroads are not the only industry in which Negroes are permanently boxed into low-job categories. In the West Coast Division of the Seafarers' International Union, Negro members can only obtain jobs as galley stewards or messboys, no matter what their qualifications.

Though the Negro drive has been concentrated on eliminating discrimination in large "bread and butter" unions, civil-rights groups have begun to try to open small but important technical unions that have never had Negro members. The NAACP and other organizations are now negotiating with numerous Hollywood craft unions to try to get more Negroes into the production end of the motion-picture and television industries, where they are now rare.

The plight of the Negro worker, denied the opportunity to learn or practice a skill, is now critical. "As a result of automation . . ." says the NAACP's Herbert Hill, "unskilled and semiskilled job occupations are disappearing at the rate of 35,000 a week, or nearly two million a year. What for the white worker has been a mild or temporary recession is for the Negro worker a major depression."

Since the bulk of Negro labor is unskilled, the combined effect of labor bias and automation has been devastating to the black worker. Says Hill, "More than 50 percent of all the unskilled Negro workers in the country were unemployed for substantial periods since 1958, and it is evident that the unskilled Negro, 45 years of age and over, who has lost his job will never again work at productive, gainful employment. These are discouraging figures."

Labor spokesmen have bitterly assailed Hill and Negroes who criticize union racial practices. AFL-CIO President Meany told a convention of Negro union men, "The strongest single force behind every civil-rights proposal is the AFL-CIO. In education, in housing, in public accommodations, on voting rights—all the way down the line, on every front—we spearhead the fight for equal justice for all." Though he admits discrimination is still a problem in some unions, Meany says, "When anyone tries to say that the trade unions are the chief barrier to the economic opportunities of Negroes in this country, I resent it and I reject it, for it is simply not true."

But the Negro American Labor Council, before which Meany spoke, was itself organized by Negroes within the AFL-CIO who believed that body was unable—or unwilling—to eliminate bias within its ranks. The NALC's head, A. Philip Randolph, the only Negro vice-president of the AFL-CIO, had wrangled many times with Meany over the issue and formed the NALC to force the pace against union discrimination.

Meany and other union leaders say part of labor's problem is connected with the structure of the AFL-CIO itself. The AFL-CIO is an association of international unions that, in turn, have local affiliates. Most often, it is the local that discriminates, and the AFL-CIO has no control over the local. It can either persuade the international union to try to bring the local into line, or it can vote to expel the international union —a sanction that it considers inappropriate in bias cases.

Meany has testified in favor of a Federal fair-employment-practices law with sanctions against offending employers as well as unions, "because the trade-union movement is not strong enough, in itself, to bring about the necessary changes." But trade-union discrimination continues strong even in cities like New York and Philadelphia, where such laws have been on the books for years.

Two recent incidents help explain why. To protest alleged discrimination in the building trades in New York last summer, Negroes there picketed, marched at public-building construction sites, threw themselves in front of trucks, climbed cranes and chained themselves to gates. On one day, 3,000 pickets marched.

Shaken, city and state officials conferred with Negro leaders and union officials; Mayor Robert Wagner appointed a special three-man "action panel" to look into the dispute, and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller persuaded the militants to call off their demonstrations with the promise that the state would use its offices to persuade construction unions to take in more Negroes. Union leaders vehemently denied they were discriminating, charged "blackmail" by pressure groups. After numerous conferences, "deadlines," recrimination and work stoppages at the sites, a handful of Negroes were taken into the unions. But the situation remained much as it had been before the furor, and Negroes charged that the Mayor and the Governor had yielded to union political pressures.

In Washington, last July, the Labor Department issued strict new standards designed to eliminate racial discrimination in apprenticeship programs registered with the Federal Government. After protest by both unions and management in the construction industry, however, the Department softened its proposal to make it conform to a voluntary plan that the industry itself had advocated. Perhaps the most revealing part of the Department's revamped proposal was a recommendation that the program's standards be enforced by its Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, an agency that many investigators believe lacks either the power or inclination to enforce nondiscrimination in apprenticeship programs. According to the NAACP's Hill, "This retreat by the Department of Labor illustrates the vast political pressure which the construction unions can bring to bear, federally or locally, to prevent a change in the status quo."

In a few cities, such as Cleveland and Detroit, where Negroes have made limited breakthroughs beyond the labor curtain, their gains have been in direct proportion to the amount of political muscle they could show. Detroit's 8,000-member Trade Union Labor Council, an affiliate of Randolph's NALC, helped elect that city's mayor, has hammered out agreements with 18 out of 19 construction unions calling for admission of Negroes, and runs its own program to train Negro youth for skilled employment.

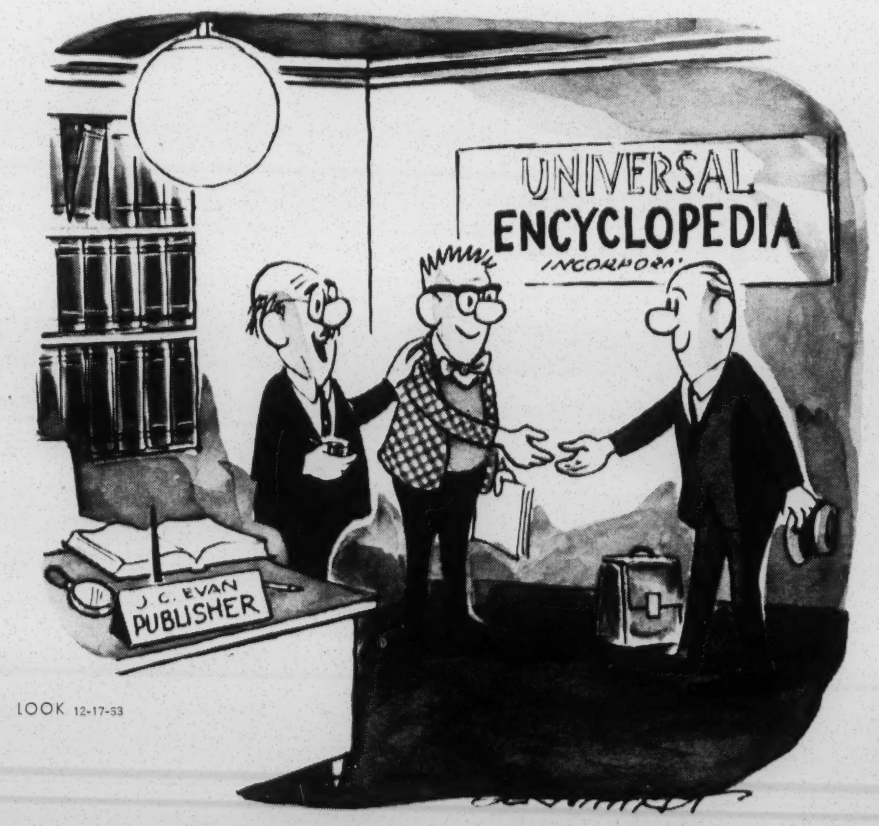
Because of decades of labor discrimination, Negroes would still be low men on the employment pole even if all bars were dropped. Some Negro leaders have demanded that Negro applicants be given priority in getting into apprenticeship programs, into unions and into jobs.

This proposal for compensation has been vigorously opposed by union leaders, from George Meany on down, and disapproved by President Kennedy, who said, "I don't think we can undo the past."

Three days after the President declared it was unrealistic for Negroes to expect compensation for past injustices, a newspaper revealed that the Federal Government had offered California Indians $29 million for millions of acres that whites took from their forefathers during the California gold rush over 100 years ago!

The harsh truth is that with "equal treatment" and "nondiscriminatory" processing of Negro applicants for apprenticeships in unions that have barred Negroes for years, a nonwhite applicant would be too old to qualify by the time his number came up. A similar dilemma exists with actual jobs. Long-standing discrimination against Negro workers has kept them at the bottom of the union referral pile. Since many white workers are among the unemployed, Negro workers with lower seniority would only be recalled if there were full employment. Not only is this condition unlikely, but why should the Negro worker have to wait for it? Thus, some Negro leaders argue that the previous quota—zero—should be changed, for an unspecified time, to a positive quota that would help redress the years of discrimination.

While neither the Federal Government nor the unions can be expected to come up with as ready a solution as that offered the Indians, the plight of the Negro worker will require a lot more serious concern than Government or labor has yet been willing to show. It's time to stop ducking the issue. It has shown it won't go away.



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NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Labor

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of December 30, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE:

Secretary of Labor Wirtz Comments on Race and Economics in Television Interview

Quote by the Late President John F. Kennedy on Race and Labor

Secretary Wirtz Comments on Racial and Economic Discrimination

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in a recent CBS Television appearance with other members of the Cabinet had the following answers to questions put by the announcer-interviewer:

QUESTION: "What are the big problems in your field as we go into a new administration and a new year?"

ANSWER: "I'm talking about the fact that increasingly, lack of education, poverty, unemployment, are inherited characteristics--- not inherited through the personal genes, inherited through the economic genes in this country, of slums, of inadequate education and that kind of thing. I'm talking about the fact that as more of us do better and better, there are a few of us who are doing worse and worse and in answer to your question, I think the most serious challenge we face is the challenge of the development of a group who are left out. Now, it's been the group who have been discriminated against racially. We're getting that problem licked. Discrimination may be the easiest part of that problem. Now, we've got to take care of the problem of the disadvantaged that built up over a hundred years. These people have got to be trained

(MORE)

to take advantage of the new opportunity which they have. They have a right to be ready and a good many of them are not ready today. There's a whole group of things that lie in this human economic rights area which I think constitute the most serious challenge we face."

QUESTION: "What is the civil rights bill going to do for Negroes if they cannot get jobs?"

ANSWER: "Well, it won't do enough for them if they cannot get jobs. The march on Washington was a march for freedom and for jobs. Especially in the north, the discontent of the Negro is very much a consequence of this unemployment. The Negro unemployment rate is over twice what the white unemployment rate is. The Negro boy and girl under the age of twenty-two or thereabouts, has only one chance out of five--has one chance out of five of not getting a job. Twenty percent of them are unemployed today. It won't be enough in answer to your question, to get rid of discrimination unless we get rid of disadvantage too, and that's going to be as hard a job as the other was."

QUESTION: "Mr. Wirtz, for a short time now we've had a new President. What is your own horseback interpretation of his basic philosophy about labor?"

ANSWER: "It would be presumptious to answer except in the more personal terms, but I feel no hesitation at all about that from the--from the work with President Johnson in connection with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, from working with him in other connections. There is a complete awareness of the necessity of the system working. There is an also a complete awareness of a necessity of people achieving individual human dignity. Now, with this

(MORE)

combination, you get most of the answers that follow. In every problem that's come up, I find a complete understanding, a complete awareness, a deep principle which is built around the importance of the individual. The rest of the labor problems stem, or answers stem from that."

* * * *

Quote on Race and Labor by the Late President John F. Kennedy

"This year, I believe, will go down as one of the turning points in the history of American labor. Foremost among the rights of labor is the right to equality of opportunity; and these recent months, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, have seen the decisive recognition by the major part of our society that all our citizens are entitled to full membership in the national community. The gains of 1963 will never be reversed. They lay a solid foundation for the progress we must continue to make in the months and years to come. We can take satisfaction that 1963 marks a long step forward toward assuring all Americans the opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness pledged by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence."

John F. Kennedy
(From his Labor Day Message)

# # # # #

21- Labor

Note: After five years of sending news letter to southern editors, I discontinued the practice early in the war. Labor news gets more space in recent years than in pre-war days. However, I am sending you the story in this letter because it has not been in the papers.

Pardon my editors' list being badly out of date - names on it that perhaps should be off, and many new ones acquired more recently.

L. R. M.

highlights from . . .

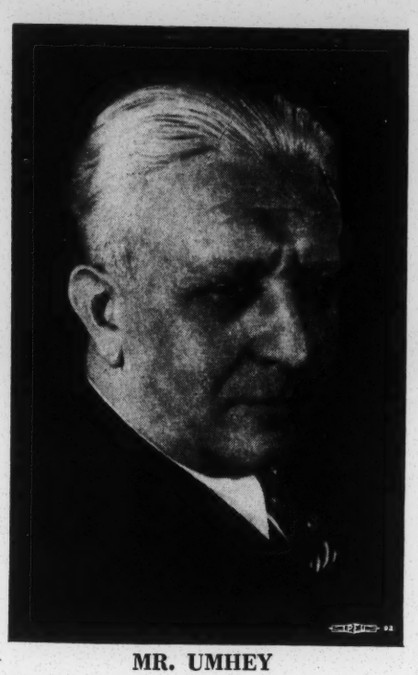
MANPOWER

Labor

challenge of the 1960s

U. S. Department of Labor. James P. Mitchell, Secretary

21- Labor



MR. UMHEY

RADIO STATIONS Run by Labor

By FREDERICK F. UMHEY

Executive Secretary, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

THE application filed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union for permission to establish four frequency modulation (FM) radio stations marks the initial step for the entrance of this union into the radio field for the purposes of adult education and community cultural work. The I.L.G.W.U.'s petition is now before the Federal Communications Commission.

In recent years the general trend of adult cultural and educational activity, a trade union activity in which the I.L.G.W.U. has been a trail-blazer for several decades, has been undergoing a change. The old pattern of classroom work and study groups, which reached its peak in the last prewar year, has given way to other forms of mass education, with the accent largely on community interests and general civic endeavors.

The strains and stresses of the war have, in part, been responsible for this change, and the advent of more modern opportunities for cultural and educational satisfaction has added emphasis to these new trends.

Radio, and especially FM—the use of which is soon to be allocated by the Federal Communications Commission to various representative groups and elements in the country—has opened even wider channels for cultural work among the masses of the people. The Garment Workers' effort to establish four radio stations in as many leading communities aims at taking fuller advantage of these new opportunities. In seeking to obtain licenses to operate radio stations the I.L.G.W.U. bases its request on the principle that the airwaves, the channels for broadcasting operation, belong to the people. In this claim it bases itself on the law itself, the Communications Act of 1934, which seeks to prevent the growth of a vested interest in broadcasting by any single group of the community, stipulates that existing stations may have no advantage over others seeking to enter the field, and declares that the door must be kept open for new applicants better able to serve the public interest.

The title to the radio spectrum in which stations operate, therefore, is expressly reserved to the people. The radio channels belong to the people.

Still, it need not be assumed that the licenses at present being sought by labor to operate FM radio stations will be granted without difficulty or without strenuous opposition from the interests which today already are in control of nearly all the standard (AM) broadcasting stations all over the land.

Like many another government agency, the Federal Communications Commission is beset by constant pressures from ever-active, clever and well-financed lobbyists. It must be kept in mind that more than two-thirds of all stations, including substantially all the powerful stations, are affiliated with one or more of the four national networks, further concentrating control. Control of the networks themselves is exercised by a few big advertisers and advertising agencies. To cite a few facts:

▶ Twenty-six per cent of Columbia Broadcasting System's revenues in 1944 came from four advertisers and 38 per cent from four advertising agencies.

▶ Twenty-five per cent of the Blue Network business came from four advertisers and 31 per cent came from four advertising agencies.

▶ More than half of all network revenues came from two industries—drugs and toilet goods, 29.9 per cent; food and food beverages, 22.4 per cent.

▶ The largest single group of broadcast station operators are the big newspaper publishers, approximately 250 stations—of a total of about 900—being owned or affiliated with newspapers.

▶ In more than 110 cities, where there is only one newspaper publisher and only one radio station, the radio station is owned by or affiliated with the newspaper publisher.

▶ Ten of the clear-channel stations—equivalent of more than 444 local stations—are owned by members of the National Association of Manufacturers. The N.A.M.'s control of a high percentage of radio does not stop there. Forty-six corporations listed among the largest contributors to the N.A.M. bought more than $71,000,000 worth of time on the four major networks in 1944. The N.A.M. also conducts an intensive campaign to secure free time for programs to present "the businessman's point of view."

Guardians of Public Interest?

Since the grant of a license for broadcasting is predicated on the prospective station's service to the public interest, a few more facts on this subject may be not amiss.

The effect of American business, including the American radio business, serving as a self-proclaimed "guardian of the public interest," is

revealed in an FCC check of a sample radio week in 1944. In that week the CBS educational program "Invitation to Learning" was carried by only thirty-nine of the 136 stations to which it was made available; the NBC "National Radio Pulpit," a non-commercial religious program in cooperation with the Federal Council of Churches, was carried by 60 stations, rejected by 79. "Labor for Victory," a program alternately presented by the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., and at the time the only labor program carried on any of the four major networks, was rejected by 104 of 139 NBC stations.

There is an obvious relationship between the failure of stations to perform public services, as required by law, and their huge profits. It is profitable to carry an hour of recorded music interspersed with commercial spot announcements; it costs money to broadcast a "Labor for Victory" or a "University of Chicago Round Table."

Origin and Status of FM

Ten years ago Major Edwin Armstrong of Columbia University developed the new system of broadcasting known as FM. Because it made possible the opening of a new broadcasting band with room for additional stations, the development met with strong opposition from the Radio Corporation of America, its subsidiary, the NBC, and other entrenched radio interests. These interests recognized the inevitability of FM development, but were determined to deter its growth for as long a time as possible.

Despite this strong opposition, the FCC, a few years later, under the leadership of former Chairman James L. Fly, began allocating frequencies for FM broadcasting. Experimental licenses were granted. To prevent FM from being seized by existing broadcasters and by large-scale newspaper interests, a rule was made that no more than six FM stations could be licensed to any one interest. Moreover, the rule gave an advantage to those newcomer applicants who proposed to render a service distinct from any available in the community. Also, specific frequencies were reserved for non-commercial educational broadcasting.

The I.L.G.W.U. stations will be located, if permits are granted, in New York City, Philadelphia, Boston and Chattanooga. It is the union's intention to make these stations self-supporting through the sale of a part of their time, although they will not be conducted as profit-making institutions.

In anticipation of the granting of the applications, the I.L.G.W.U. has set up in these states corporate entities known as Unity Broadcasting Corporations. The latter are capitalized at $50,000 each, except in New York, where the capitalization is $100,000. To make these radio stations truly representative of local community life and reflective of local cultural and civic needs, the organizations in these cities will be given full autonomy and control in carrying out the practical work of their respective stations. The corporations, to begin with, will be officered by local people, with the cooperation of local community leaders.

While the parent organization has arranged for 51 per cent of the stock of each individual station to be placed at the disposal of local labor groups, and has supplied initial funds sufficient for the construction of the stations, the union intends to stand by these enterprises and to offer them necessary aid until they find themselves on a sound footing.

Community Service Main Idea

The program planning for these stations is predicated on the thought that each of them should become the most articulate town-meeting hall, the outstanding music hall, the most attractive cultural center in its locality.

With the parent body's moral and financial support, especially in the early stages, it is intended to give these stations an opportunity to serve their communities in the development of public health education, in community industry-labor relationships, in consumer-farmer understanding—in a popular and flexible manner for adults and juveniles alike. These varied activities —ranging from discussion of religious ideals to handling of child problems—are to be guided, in addition to the station's management, with the aid of community representatives closely concerned with these programs, be they outstanding religious leaders, local devotees of the arts, or women's club leaders.

The principal idea behind this plan, however, is to build a closer tieup between union membership in the community, all other public-minded elements in the community, and the interests and problems which stir the nation at large. Through these stations, the I.L.G.W.U. will strive to spur among its members a wider interest in their home towns, to make their communities better places to live in and to encourage among these wage-earners a deeper and more sustained appreciation of cultural and educational values and advantages and, incidentally, a deeper attachment to the labor movement of which they are a part.

Further copies of this reprint are available from:
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ARMED FORCES TALK

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NOTE TO DISCUSSION LEADER

This TALK is about organized labor—labor unions—in the United States. It tells why unions were organized, what they try to accomplish, and how they operate.

In presenting this TALK our purpose is to explain it as factually and impartially as possible. Only by understanding labor can we discuss intelligently its relations with management; and only through fair-minded discussion and action can the relationship develop into a smoothly working one.

Since labor has organized into practically all major industries—steel, automobiles, moving pictures, chemicals, coal, etc.—and includes approximately one-fourth of the Nation's working force, its activities should be of interest to every citizen. As was shown in the past war, labor's part in national security is a particularly vital one, and for that reason this subject should be of special interest to the serviceman.

ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

FIFTEEN MILLION working men and women—about one-fourth of all the employed persons in the United States—have organized themselves into labor unions. When we speak of "organized labor" we mean these unions. There are more than 200 of them organized nationally, with about 60,000 branches called "locals."

How did labor unions come into being? What are their purposes and how do they try to achieve them? What have been their accomplishments—their shortcomings? Why are they important? These are some of the questions that we will try to answer.

Why Are Unions Organized?

There isn't much that an individual worker, by himself, can do when his employer does not furnish satisfactory working conditions, hands him a pay cut which he thinks is unwarranted, or puts him on a less desirable job without apparent or just cause. But there is a good deal that all the employees in a given plant can do if they act together. "In union there is strength." Employees join unions because in unions they have more strength than any of them possess as individuals.

The purpose of unions is to help workers obtain improved working conditions, higher wages, shorter hours, and just treatment from employers. Unions seek to improve the lot of workingmen in general and to achieve standards for them which are considered to be in keeping with our way of life. While labor unions are concerned primarily with conditions under which their members work, they frequently take a stand or bring their influence to

AGO 1-1531-A—771940—48

Thought you would like a copy of this quotation
Jr

Guy
This is nice!

ABRAHAM LINCOLN ON LABOR

Inasmuch as most good things are produced by Labor, it follows that all such things ought to belong to those whose labor produced them. But it has happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others, without labor, have enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor as nearly as possible is a worthy object of any good government.

"But I Can Make You Happy, Dear!"

HITLER'S Private War

If you've ever read the Bible, remember—

◆ they had **unions** in those days too

National RELIGION & LABOR Foundation

618

106 Carmel St. New Haven 11, Conn.

AMERICAN PEOPLE generally have only recently become aware of the militant trade-union movement, impinged upon our national conscience for a mere dozen years or so. Yet unions are as old as history, going back to the beginning of records. For example:

"On the 10th of the month builders at work on the temple rushed out and sat down behind the chapel exclaiming 'We are hungry and there are yet 18 days before the next payday.' They would not work until the king agreed to hear their complaints. Two days later, Pharaoh went to the temple and ordered relief given to the masons, but on the 16th day they struck again. On the 19th day they broke loose and raised a mob at the governor's palace and finally got their demands."

The foregoing decipher and translation by G. Maspero, Egyptologist, covers an incident of some 3000 years ago, in 1100 BC. Tens of thousands of picture writings, heiroglyphics, tablets, relics, papyri and other documents unearthed in the past century in all the lands of the ancients, including those beyond the pale of Rome, attest to the eternal struggle of workers for justice.

Trade unions were legally sanctioned by the Pharoah Amasis in Egypt; by the Jus Coeundi of Solon in Athens; by the Emperor Numa Pompilius in Rome about 600 BC, under whose direction the right of workers to organize was enscribed on the famous Twelve Tables. It should be noted here that American workers received similar inalienable rights only in 1937 AD.

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THE PRE-CHRISTIAN unions of Greece were known as *eranoi* and *thiasoi;* those of Rome as *collegia, sodalicia, corpora.* They were brotherhoods and the sole religious societies of the poor—and they were very specifically trade unions. Their members, who paid initiation fees and dues, were numbered in millions throughout the lands mentioned in the Bible, including Judea.

There were unions of farmers, winegrowers, ox-drivers, fishermen and sailors, as well as unions in every city trade. There were craft unions and industrial unions, and the aim of all generally was a classless society and peace. They fought for the rights of the lowly people, and for democracy—and they practiced political action even as you and I.

In fact, they practised it so well in ancient Rome that there was a period—379 to 373 BC, known as the solitudo magistratuum—when the patrician class was unable to elect a senate at all, the plebians holding all elective offices.

The small but immensely powerful upper crust of Roman society, the gens families and optimate class which lived on the labor of others, could not stomach such rising democracy, and soon produced one of history's greatest fiends — Appius Claudius — during whose reign the Roman conquests were conceived to strengthen the ruling class. The unions, alas, were lulled to sleep with promises of unlimited work for the state, making armaments. Fighting wars was then considered fit only for the noble, workers being too tainted to die gloriously in battle. Would that it were still so.

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THE CONQUESTS opened. Cities and nations were levelled by Roman legions, and slaves by countless thousands shipped back to Rome. Whole countries ran with the blood of innocents, while lands were handed over to Roman generals and scions of the gens families. Our histories still refer to this as *glory.* It fills our textbooks, while virtually all records of the every-

THE NATIONAL RELIGION

The organization of labor is one of t
our time. This movement has much in
cepts of Biblical religion. Both demand
of these,' the abolition of enforced
organization of society, including the
hood. The Foundation exists to pro

RELIGION & LABOR FOUNDATION

is one of the major humanitarian movements of as much in common with the principles and pre- oth demand equity, justice, the rights of the 'least enforced poverty. Both seek the humanitarian luding the economic system, in terms of Brother- sts to promote these ends.

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day, the lowly people have been expunged.

This slavocracy extended the power, wealth and degeneracy of the Roman upper classes, and established a philosophy of brutality unknown in earlier times, although exceeded since by modern fascism.

Any vestige of a true Roman economic system was smothered in the endless shipments of slaves, while lands which had been free in the past were taken from people who had been small farmers for generations and added to the loot of the wealthy.

In the two centuries prior to the birth of Jesus, there were many great uprisings, strikes of the unions, slaves and freedmen, against the inhuman degradations they suffered at the hands of the optimate classes who controlled the state and the military.

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SOME OF THESE are well worth noting, as these uprisings of the common people were the sole drive against the bestiality of the times. First of note in this period was the armed resistance of Veriathus, a shepherd of Lusitanian Spain, in 149 BC. For 20 years this worker led thousands of followers — farmers, slaves, workers, freedmen — and defeated huge consular armies of Rome sent in to pacify the rebellious possession. In the end, the Romans conquered through cupidity and deceit.

Next followed the so-called Servile Wars in Sicily, breadbasket of Rome. The branded Syrian slave, Eunus, born in Apamea, near Nazareth, raised armies in 143 BC overthrew tyrants, liberated cities and held sway over the island. His ranks swelled to over 200,000 fighters who made him their king. When he was finally defeated, his followers, brave fighters for freedom, were crucified on the cross of the ignoble.

But within ten years another Servile War was opened by the new occupants of Sicilian prisons, dungeons, underground factories and slave-farms — this time under the leadership of Athenion and Cleon, the former born also in Apamea, which later was the birthplace of Paul the Apostle. The people under Athenion were again put down, the survivors hunted like beasts, and thousands spiked to crosses along the highways to Rome.

In 130 BC there was another great uprising under Aristonicus in Pergamus, not far from Palestine. The greatest of all was yet to come, and in 74 BC, a Thracian shepherd who had been captured, enslaved, and forced to become a gladiator in the pits rose against the degenerate Roman state. This was the celebrated Spartacus. Behind him the dispossessed and hungry and miserable and oppressed rallied by scores of thousands in a monstrous strike against Rome.

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THE FIRST AIM of Spartacus was merely to escape from Italy. But, as campaign after campaign was fought and won, as great consular armies of the ruling classes were outgeneralled and defeated by the Spartacan forces which swelled to 300,000 soldiers, the cause became greater than mere escape.

In four years, some ten major campaigns were fought up and down the Italian peninsula, and in the end the great Spartacus was killed in an unwise assault following disruption in the ranks of his commanders. In this last great battle for freedom, 60,000 of the peoples' forces were slain, and the Appian Way became a long lane of bloody crucifixes.

We are now near the dawn of the Advent, and I have tried to give you something of the political picture of the times. Through the centuries the

people had built and maintained their unions with the greatest of sacrifice, opposing Rome and the Caesars whom corrupted history brings to us in heroic mold. Prior to the birth of Jesus, the entire fight for democracy, justice, freedom, decency, for anything and everything wholesome, for the right to legally marry and raise families instead of living like beasts, was carried on through the unions in every state of proconsular Rome.

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FOLLOWING THE DEFEAT of Spartacus, Rome suppressed the unions in 58 BC, after centuries of legal trade-unionism. The organizations went underground, but the deathless yearning for freedom continued. Into this cauldron of struggling humanity with the corrupt of Rome astride the known lands of the world, Jesus was born and worked among men.

Now — here is the point of this fragment of true history. Jesus demanded social equality and democracy, as the unions had been demanding for hundreds of years. Where else could the aspirations of Jesus — a working class, not a Sanhedrin Jew — find listeners, save among the ranks of the oppressed? Where else could the apostles find friends and refuge after the crucifixion? "The just are persecuted," said Matthew.

Indeed, archeological research has already shown that the trade-unions were the very cradle of Christianity in its pure and undefiled sense. It has likewise been established that such great characters as Stephen, James, Paul, Peter, Luke, Zachias, John, Clement, Pudens, Titus, Phoebe, Aquila, Priscilla, Lydia, Philologus, Timotheus, Philemon, Epaphras, and others were associated with the unions in positions of leadership. And Jesus Himself was a carpenter, a craft organized back through all antiquity.

Precise history, established through excavation and research during the past century, but censored from the eyes of common people since its discovery, reveals the fact that it was the unions which endorsed, protected and formed Christianity through the first three centuries of its then nameless existence. Christianity became the continuation of their centuries-long fight.

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UNEARTHED DOCUMENTS in many forms, and fragments of historians' writings which escaped wilful destruction in later years, amply prove this. The unions of antiquity were careful to preserve their records, some 1500 having been unearthed in Pompeii alone.

But such precise records were entirely missing from the ruins explored by our archeologists covering the period following the infamous massacres of Diocletian in 303 AD. For in that fateful year the active, progressive sections of the population of Rome and all its possessions and subject lands were set upon, silenced or massacred in one of history's most infamous butcheries.

The ultimate nail was driven into the coffin of early progress by the Emperor Constantine at the Nicine Council in 325 AD, at which the right of people to combine and organize was done away with in finality. No excavations covering the centuries after this have revealed any union records. The uninterrupted written history of the unions stops abruptly, confirming the extent of the crimes of Diocletian.

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CONSTANTINE, who signed the death-warrant of the free trade-unions, also sounded the death-knell of Rome itself, and opened the door to the long, dismal middle-ages and the backward march of feudalism. Likewise, he it was who perverted the original democratic concepts of Jesus the Organizer into politicalized ecclesiastical power — who unlimbered that *ecclesiastical machinery* which through centuries built great churches but lost the common touch.

So much for history. The source material for all this was a monumental work entitled "The Ancient Lowly," compiled by an American, sometime employed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor in a seemingly more honest intellectual period. He lived from 1831 to 1902, and published this thoroughly

documented work in two volumes, the last in 1900. His name was Osborne Ward.

I have tried to show that if there is any group which should seek to understand and support the trade-union movement of today, it is the democratic churches. Every effort has been made in recent times to divorce the unions and their millions of members from all society and hold them up as veritable creations of the evil one.

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NOT ALL PAST labor movements have invited church support, choosing a narrow outlook, interested in limited financial gains while overlooking the need for establishing a broad peoples' movement embracing the churches, labor, family-type farmers, professionals, housewives and all everyday people. This cannot be said of the CIO, whose aims since its inception parallel the aims of all decent thinking citizens.

Too often in the past some churches have been concerned only with serving the well-to-do, with the status quo, with their position as an ecclesiastical machine rather as an humble religion. Even today, we hear a call for a new holy war. And there are no holy wars. The paramount issue of today is continued but for more democratic peace, so that the people of our country and of other countries may live in genuine freedom, rebuild the torn earth, and prosper.

The unthinkable next war, now being blueprinted and sanctified as holy, must be prevented by the progressive people in unions, and the progressive people in the churches of all denominations.

From an address by Forrest Emerson, Public Relations Director of the CIO farm equipment workers, at the national conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action (Evanston, Ill., 1947), which has been widely reproduced in church, labor and other periodicals and publications. This leaflet is contributed to the National Religion & Labor Foundation by the farm equipment and tractor builders of the CIO.

Labor

the PAC IS HERE TO STAY

by Sidney Hillman

When Philip Murray and the CIO Executive Board organized the Political Action Committee, in July, 1943, no time limit was set for its existence. They intended PAC to endure until its clearly defined objectives were realized.

Anyone who has troubled to acquaint himself with the CIO-PAC objectives knows that we are still quite far from their realization. That is why PAC is here to stay.

Last November, at the Seventh Annual Convention of the CIO in Chicago, a resolution was passed declaring that the committee's effectiveness in the recent national election justified its continued existence as a means by which the CIO and all progressive Americans may attain the great goals to which they are dedicated.

The original objectives of the PAC can be summed up in one sentence: **To awaken the American people to their full responsibilities of citizenship that we may safeguard democracy against all evil.**

The objectives are simple, but not easy to attain.

It is generally conceded that the foundation of our democracy lies in our right to vote and our responsibility to use that vote for the good of the nation. Men will die to obtain the right to vote, but unfortunately, when the right is theirs, too many tend to neglect it, and let others decide their current destiny. In presidential elections, even when the voting is very heavy, considerably more than a fourth of the eligible voters do not participate. The picture gets gloomier as one examines the percentage of eligible voters participating in gubernatorial elections, city elections, county elections, township and parish elections. Less than 30 per cent of the eligible voters usually participate in the election of mayors. Often fewer than 10 per cent participate in county or township elections.

This situation — bad enough in normal times—might prove disastrous in trying times such as these. For if this apathy continues, or is deliberately encouraged to continue, a pernicious minority might quietly usurp the power belonging to the people through the election of their candidates to all Government offices.

PAC is dedicated to the task of preventing such usurpation of power. Violently accused of attempting to "capture" the Democratic Party, and of attempting to "capture" the government for labor, PAC has also been accused of trying to foist a "foreign" conception of government on the American people. Any fair-minded person who followed PAC through its utterances and printed programs knows that our basic aim was and is merely to awaken the American people—labor, businessmen, small farmers, housewives—to the urgent need of participating in the affairs of the nation through political action.

We are convinced that if the people understand the issues, know the records of candidates, then turn out in great numbers to vote, the dangers to our democracy will melt away like a fair-weather cloud.

But the people need some organization to gather facts, compile records, and present them in a manner the people can understand. They need an educational institution for political action. They need PAC.

And that is why PAC is here to stay.

The Political Action Committee was established to educate the entire nation. It was not intended for 1944 alone. It was not created merely "to re-elect the President."

As long as the people need education in the functions of government; as long as the need exists to convince all sections of our community that they are parts of one community and, therefore, the interests of any section or group —farmers, workers, businessmen—are of im-

portance to the rest; as long as the need exists to show that what is good for labor is good for the nation and what is good for the nation is good for labor; as long as it is necessary to teach our people to recognize the relation between economic security and a lasting peace; as long as it is necessary to organize people for political action—so long PAC will continue to function.

Future Activities Clearly Defined

Since it has been announced that PAC will continue, many people have inquired eagerly what we are going to do. It seems to me that future activities are clearly defined in our plan, "The People's Program for 1944," which has been widely circulated. Briefly, it calls for:

1. Total victory over our enemies, and all our effort to attain that victory.

2. The establishment of a foreign policy which will assure us a lasting peace.

3. A reconversion program which will assure full employment at fair wages as well as the protection of the people's interests.

4. Comprehensive planning of Public Works to help in a full-employment program and to assure nationally needed projects in flood control, soil conservation, rural electrification.

5. A program to assure the farmer a fair income.

6. The protection of the small businessman against monopolies.

7. The proper discharge of our obligation to our servicemen and women, not just with welcoming parades, but with concrete assistance to help them re-establish themselves in peacetime living.

8. The increase of our social security system as adequate protection of people in need.

9. The extension of equality of opportunity to all our people, and the eradication of racial discrimination.

To attain these objectives, we will work through educational and political action.

First of all, we assume that America is where Americans live. America is not in Washington, D. C., any more or less than it is in Oshkosh or Kalamazoo or any other place you wish to mention. Therefore, we must carry our program of education and organization wherever anyone lives in America.

Then we assume that you cannot have good government at the top and bad government at the bottom. In a democracy, good government begins with the lowest office in the smallest hamlet in the nation. Democracy can be destroyed in a 10 per cent vote in state or county elections. This conception has to be translated through all the communication channels.

The CIO-PAC action will be based on the idea that labor must join hands with progressive elements to fight for national and international security for the people.

This leads to one inevitable conclusion: PAC will have nothing to do with the creation or fostering of a third party on the national scene. During the recent campaign, we demonstrated that we are not encouraging such an idea. We supported a good many Democrats and we helped to defeat a good many Democrats. We also helped in the election of some Republicans and the unseating of others. Quite clearly, we did not judge candidates on the basis of party affiliations but on records.

Aims Remain Unchanged

We fought bitterly against any candidate with a bad labor record because we are convinced that labor-baiters in any public office are undesirable for all the people. We fought

just as bitterly against isolationists, and for the same reasons. But we did not align ourselves exclusively with either party, nor did we attempt to create a third or labor party. Instead we tried to liberalize both. That we shall continue to do.

We also know that you cannot have a people's movement without participation of the people in that movement. For this reason, all our activities will be designed to allow participation by the people. The patterns of organization may be adjusted to varying circumstances, but basic aims and methods will not be changed.

The National Citizens Political Action Committee, which came into existence after the CIO Political Action Committee, will likewise continue along the lines it began and will extend its activities of co-operative action with all labor and progressive groups.

PAC Has Many Friends

PAC has many friends now. We won our friends by demonstrating our good will, our lack of secrecy, and the effectiveness of our methods. As a consequence of our work, the people in America are more politically aroused, and labor and liberal factions are closer to being united on political issues.

In the next year or two, PAC, through its many planned activities, will reach a vast new audience with its educational programs. We know that the number of our friends will increase. We have no secrets, and the people will find this out if they do not already know it. Our objectives are partisan—in favor of a functioning democracy. We will attract partisans among citizens whose faith in democracy remains unshaken. In time, people will recognize in PAC a bulwark against reaction and a protection against all anti-democratic forces.

The foregoing article has been reprinted from This Week Magazine. Copyright 1945 by the New York Tribune Incorporated. Additional copies of this article may be obtained from the national office of the Political Action Committee.

IN UNION

There is STRENGTH

BUT-

IT TAKES KNOWLEDGE *Too!*

GEORGIA WORKERS EDUCATION SERVICE

AND THERE ARE SO MANY PAINLESS WAYS TO LEARN WHAT YOU WANT TO KNOW.

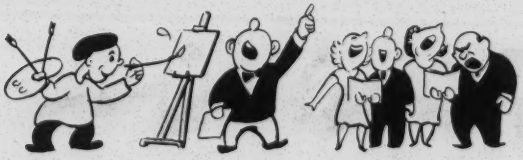
Do You Want To Understand This Dizzy, Bizzy World of Ours?

We'll arrange FORUMS for your Union, get speakers who know what's what.

We'll help plan INSTITUTES and CONFERENCES for you so you and other active union members can talk things over.

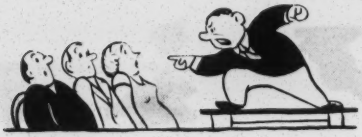
We'll brighten up your union meetings with good, informative movies on this and that.

Maybe You Just Want To Have Fun?



That's easy. You can join a singing group, act in a union dramatics group, mess around with paints, or model in clay, or maybe make nice things out of leather, metal, wood.

You can learn to play all kinds of games and help plan good union parties for the kids and the grownups.



Or Lose Your Shyness in Union Meetings?

By learning about "Public Speaking" and "How to Run a Union Meeting."

By taking part in discussion groups which talk about How Trade Unions Developed, How Collective Bargaining Works.

And Really do a Bang-up Job for the Union in Your Plant

By taking a Shop Steward's Training Course.

And learning about the LABOR LAWS that protect you and your fellow workers.

You can now do any or all these things. The GWES is prepared to set up such groups, for study or play, wherever a group of union members wants to get together for them. All you've got to do is tell your local union officers that you and some other union members want this or that — and quick like a flash, the GWES will come in to give it to you and them.

Other Services Available to the Local

Besides setting up such groups as those above, GWES can help the local in other ways. Suppose you'd like to have some radio programs on the air to let your community know about what your Union wants. We can help you plan your program, secure speakers, write your radio scripts.

Or suppose you'd like to get a communuity or government agency to do some things about health or recreation facilities in your town. We'll send in a competent person to do the survey — help get action on it.

Or suppose you would like to have some books at the union hall for members to borrow, or pamphlets. We will have a circulating library from which your local can borrow.

If you would like to have some good movies at your local meetings, we can see that you have the projector, the movies, and some one to run them for you.

How to Reach Us

1. Tell your Union officers
2. Write or telephone

Frank McCallister, Director
Georgia Workers Education Service
353 Courtland St., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Telephone — WAlnut 1961

What is GWES?

Georgia Workers Education Service is an association of representatives of the public, American Federation of Labor, and Congress of Industrial

Organizations to provide a workers education service for Georgia to be administered without discrimination. It is financed by labor organizations, committees and foundations interested in the field of adult education. Accordingly, the Service is made available without cost to groups requesting it. The purposes are

1. To bring about more effective functioning of trade union members within their respective organizations and their respective communities.
2. To develop a more intelligent appreciation of the common interests of organized labor and the community as a whole.
3. To promote better human relations within the union movement and between the unions and the general public.

Executive Committee

The policy and program of GWES is governed by the following Executive Committee:

E. L. Abercrombie, Southern Representative, Laundry Workers International Union, AFL
William H. Crawford, District Director, United Steelworkers of America, CIO
Thomas W. Culpepper, President, Atlanta Division, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL
Kenneth Douty, Georgia Director, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO
Charles H. Gillman, Regional Director, CIO
George L. Googe, Southern Representative, AFL
Carmen Lucia, Vice-President, United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union, AFL

George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council

James Moore, President, Atlanta Local, United Transport Service Employees of America CIO

Ira De A. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University

Thomas J. Starling, Southern Regional Director, International Union of Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO

Paul L. Styles, Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board

Artie White, Atlanta Representative, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL

Advisory Council

The Executive Committee is aided in its planning by an Advisory Council, consisting of the following members:

Elizabeth Bowles, Director, Industrial Department, YWCA

Harris P. Dawson, Jr., Regional Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

Grace Towns Hamilton, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League

C. L. Harper, Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers and Education Association

Joseph Jacobs, Director, Labor Service Bureau

Guion Griffis Johnson, Executive Secretary, Georgia Conference of Social Welfare

M. J. Merlin, Secretary of Local Branch, Jewish Labor Committee and Workmen's Circle

Henry J. Meyer, Chairman, Fourth Region, Wage Stabilization Board

Frederic Meyers, Regional Director, Labor Bureau of Middle West

Walter Paschall, News Editor, WSB

Harold L. Trigg, Associate Director, Southern Regional Council

THE LABOR COMMISSION of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (Box 577, Chapel Hill, N. C.) is preparing a series of six statements on current labor issues.
This is

NUMBER 1

Enemies of Unionism Winning the First Battle

As I write this the governor of Tennesse signs into law a bill outlawing the so-called "Closed Shop". Georgia will have done likewise before this reaches the printer. Nebraska and South Dakota started the push, Virginia and Arkansas followed, and the battles on the unions will doubtless win in most of the southern states and probably in the Republican-Republicrat combination in Congress.

It is not really a war on the Closed Shop but on the Union Shop. The Closed Shop, technically speaking, might be surrendered without great loss to the labor movement because it can easily breed evils, such as a petty labor monopoly, initiation fees so high that few can get in (such as a New York union charging ($1,000), and apprentice rules that deny freedom to enter a trade.

But the Union Shop is quite different. While the Closed Shop requires the employer to hire only such workers as the Closed Shop allows, the Union Shop leaves him freedom in hiring but requires the person hired to join the union; in other words, it makes all the beneficiaries of the union contract members of the union and denies that form of semi-scabbing practiced by those who receive all the benefits the union wins without contributing anything to it, for union contracts almost universally cover all employees, members or not.

The Religion and Labor Conference recently held in Atlanta passed the following resolution on the matter:

"The Union Shop--that is, one in which a majority of the workers require all the workers to be members of the union--is a democratic institution. Majority rule is a fundamental principle in our democracy. To prevent the Union Shop on the pretense that it is unfair to the non-union minority is, in fact, an injustice to the majority in the shop. The union members probably risked their jobs and certainly made sacrifices to get their union recognized, to obtain better wages and working conditions, and to maintain job security. For non-union workers to profiteer on these sacrifices by accepting the fruits and refusing to contribute morally and financially clearly is unjust. And yet, the state is being asked to legalize this injustice."

The legislators who thus seek to bind labor's strong arms will not win in the long run. They should read some labor history, such as the Taft-Vale decision in England and the law against general strikes recently repealed here. They need to be reminded that the injunction judge brought the Norris-LaGuardia Act and that the Smith-Connally Act proved to be a boon to John L. Lewis and the two railway brotherhoods who came so near tying up transportation. Unjust laws, laws that deny democracy, bring their own recompense in time.

By Alva W. Taylor

Mr Slade
Please talk to me about this
Mr Kelly

THE LABOR COMMISSION of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (Box 577, Chapel Hill, N.C.) is preparing a series of six statements on current labor issues.
This is . . . . . NUMBER 2

The Dollar Versus the Man

Judge Gary advised students to get money because money is power. While most of the rest of the world tends to turn from private enterprise to a controlled economy, we suffer a retreat and are today the most reactionary of the great nations on the dollar vs. the man theme.

The concentration of wealth reaches a new high, until 43 "Billion Dollar Clubs" hold one-fourth of all American assets. The Department of Agriculture reports that the top 10% hold liquid assets averaging $10,500 per capita, while the lowest 40% average $40. The top 20% have 45% of the money income, 82% of the savings, and the top 10% have more money income by one-third than the bottom 50%.

The Federal Reserve Board reports that one-third of American families have incomes of less than $1,000 per year and almost one-half less than $2,000; and then it is proposed that the tax cut be "straight across the board", saving the little man a few cents and the millionaire tens of thousands; then some of our states, including mine, slap a sales tax on food and clothing. Corporation profits are higher than were their fabulous wartime profits, and the purchasing power of the average industrial wage is down by nearly 20%.

The Bureau of Labor Standards made a careful breakdown of a wage income of $43 per week, which, with losses of time, would about equal the $2,000 income, according to the actual needs of a family of four in Washington. The breakdown showed a net weekly deficit of $3.63 or about $200 per year. The family lived in a house renting for $25 a month and spent less than $100 per month on food and clothing, paid no withholding tax and less than $5 per month for health and medical care, and laid up no savings. And yet one-third have less than one-half the $2,000 and we cannot get a 65¢ minimum wage through Congress.

Even with only a 40¢ minimum, the Wage and Hour Administration reports reveal that of the 30,000 establishments inspected, 17,000 were in violation of the law, some 6,000 were chiseling on the 40¢ minimum, and the 40¢ now has a purchasing power of only 25¢ in terms of the meager simplicities on which the poor have to live. Wage-paying violators were compelled to pay $13,360,000 in wages illegally withheld. Did you see <u>that</u> on the front pages with strike news?

We are told that any increase in wages must bring increases in prices. That may be so in some few instances, but not as an average. The CIO <u>Economic Outlook</u> produced figures to show that on the average labor cost is only one-fourth of the entire cost. The last raise in the price of steel totalled from three to four times the cost to the corporations for the wage raises. And now Stuart Chase's studies show that the high wage industries are the largest profit makers.

This recital could be continued to great length. That you may get fuller information, I advise that you subscribe to one or more labor bulletins, and to <u>Economic Justice</u> published by the ~~Regional~~ Religion and Labor Foundation.

Alva W. Taylor

THE LABOR COMMISSION of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen (Box 577, Chapel Hill, N.C.) is preparing a series of six statements on current labor issues.
This is. . . . . NUMBER 3

Labor and the Social Ideals

The ethics of Biblical religion is based upon the infinite worth of the human being, justice between all men, brotherhood, benevolence, mercy, equal rights and opportunities for the least among us, and the good society, i.e., the Kingdom of God.

Labor battles today for a living and a saving wage, the right of organizing, which means the worker has the right to have a say about his contribution in terms of skill and producing power, for security for his family against the perils of unemployment, for time to live and enjoy life outside wage earning hours. The battle for unionization is a battle for democracy in industry, for the welfare of the millions who labor for wages, for the man before the dollar. Labor's century-long drive for a living wage and the right to bargain is the greatest effort in human history to emancipate man from poverty.

The Federal Council of Churches adopted a series of ideals in 1912, reaffirmed them and enlarged them at Cleveland in 1919. All the great denominations have adopted them, and both Jewish and Catholic authorities have adopted like ideals.

In summary, they are: equal rights for all men in all stations of life; abolition of child labor; abatement and prevention of poverty; protection of the workers from all occupational hazards to life, limb, or health, and against unemployment; the right to a job and to organize; the use of conciliation and arbitration; the fewest hours and greatest leisure possible; security against hazards such as unemployment, injury, and old age; a basic living wage; the highest wage industry can afford; the most equitable division of the profits of industry that can be devised; against class domination; for constructive democracy in industry; the sharing of shop control and management; legal minimum wages; profit sharing and progress toward cooperative ownership and management.

Jesus prophesied that if the church was built upon the solid rock of His teachings, the gates of hell could not prevail against it. Where it has been so built, or the extent to which it has been so built, the gates of hell--that is, evil and injustice--have not prevailed against it. But it has not always been so built. For the first 200 years it succeeded well against the opposition of a pagan world. Then it took too much of the world and its ways into partnership, and has all too often narrowed its ethical insistences on individualistic morals to the neglect of social ethics; in other words, it has prevailed mightily in its personal evangel but failed dismally with its social evangel. For milleniums it supported slavery and feudalism; it has confined its battle on poverty to charity, and allowed the monetary contributions to its laudable enterprises to stifle its commission to right wrongs done the poor, the wage earner, the minority groups, and to bring in the Good Society of justice and good will which Jesus and the prophets meant by the Kingdom of God--a society of brothers under a common Father.

The "social ideals" enumerated by the leaders are adequate but they have not percolated down to the rank and file in the pew.

ALVA W. TAYLOR

Labor

PERSPECTIVES

The NAACP vs. Labor

By J. C. Rich

THE PRESENT anti-labor campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, accusing well-known labor leaders of discriminatory practices, provides Southern yahoos with absolution for their sins from an unexpected quarter. Whatever noble purpose the NAACP may have in mind, one immediate result of its actions has been to cloak racists of the stripe of Governor Ross Barnett and Senator James Eastland of Mississippi in a garment of social respectability. For how could lily-whites of the backwater South be wrong if prominent Northern labor leaders also discriminate against Negroes?

The NAACP charges have been made against such men as David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU); David McDonald, President of the United Steelworkers; Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers; and Paul Hall, President of the Seafarers International. In at least one instance, the organization found itself so far off base that it had to beat a hasty retreat to the norms of ordinary courtesy. The NAACP stated that it had not meant to offend Reuther, and regretted that some of its labor activities had outraged him. But it has not granted the same dispensation to McDonald, and certainly not to Dubinsky.

[illegible] according to newspaper [illegible] [illegible] "leaked" [illegible]

[illegible] tion—Reuther has been put on notice that there is a Negro caucus within the United Auto Workers. Presumably, the NAACP believes it is entirely proper to maintain a special Negro grouping within a union, although it justifiably condemns racial segregation when practiced by whites in certain unions.

The course which the NAACP has set for itself is a tragic and self-defeating one. For the American labor movement has long worked toward the same goals as the NAACP. To be sure, some local unions and some union workers, like their non-union neighbors, have adopted the mores and habits of the communities in which they live. But the national organizations are more sophisticated and more responsive to the call of justice and social equality than their various branches in the South. Thus, building a racist—or anti-Semitic—case against the labor movement because of the actions of a particular union violates fact and verity so completely it is nothing less than a trespass on integrity.

And it is this violence to integrity, as well as the malice inherent in the NAACP assault on the labor movement, that has disturbed the labor and liberal-minded community. It is absurd to imply that Dubinsky is no better than Mississippi's meanest bigot, and it is equally absurd to suggest that McDonald runs a Jim Crow union.

Negro steel workers labor side [illegible] with their white brothers. [illegible] civil rights [illegible]

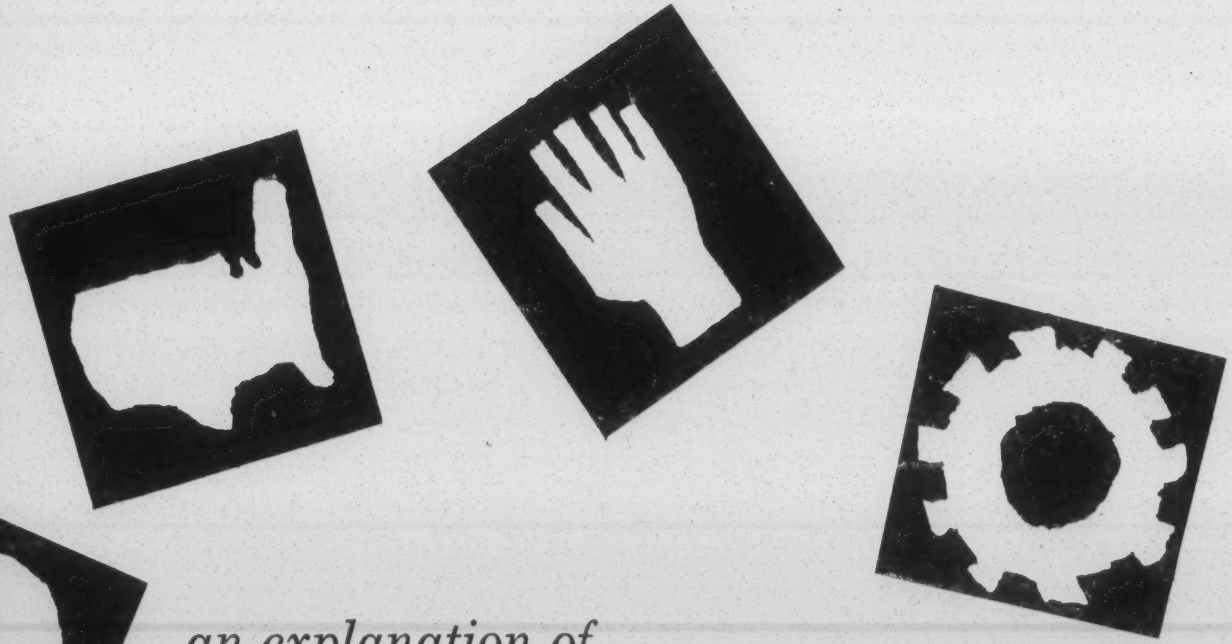
In the garment union, the administration of David Dubinsky has been notable for the degree of acceptance and affectionate regard accorded by whites to Negroes and Negroes to whites. The conflicts and antagonisms of which NAACP spokesmen have made a Federal case are never seen in the market or in the shops. Differences occur, but nobody in sound mental health thinks that one has to go to court about them.

Notice to the effect that the NAACP intended to drag unions to court came last August, when news stories quoted Herbert Hill, the Association's labor secretary, as saying: "We will not be satisfied until discrimination is completely eliminated and we will continue to make progress in a trade-union way undeterred by outsiders."

This statement reveals more about Herbert Hill than it does about union practices. Hill seems to believe that discrimination, or any other evil, can be "completely eliminated." But who is to judge whether in truth there is discrimination and to what degree it prevails? Who is an "outsider" and who an insider in judgments of this sort? And by what prerogative does Hill consider himself an insider in the pursuit of justice, while relegating men like George Meany, Dubinsky and McDonald to the limbo of outsiders?

In the NAACP's battle against labor Hill has distinguished himself on another score as well. While on leave-of-[illegible] from his organization to the Kennedy Labor [illegible] [illegible]

Labor



an explanation of

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, SECRETARY
OFFICE OF MANPOWER, AUTOMATION AND TRAINING
SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN, DIRECTOR